

AN

IRELAND'S BIGGEST SELLING  
POLITICAL WEEKLY

# PHOBLACHT

## Republican News

Sraith Nua Im 12 Uimhir 33

23 Lúna

Thursday, 23rd August, 1990

(Britain 40p) Price 35p

# THE IRISH HOSTAGES



**RECENT EVENTS** on the world political stage have focussed attention on the concept of political hostages. There are in Ireland and Britain, several hundred prisoners who are being held as political hostages by the British government. They are being cynically used as pawns in British attempts to defeat the Irish freedom struggle as was pointed out by life prisoners on parole who spoke publicly this week.

The recent spate of paroles for republican POWs serving life sentences, including those serving indefinite sentences at 'the Secretary of State's Pleasure' (SOSP), represents the implementation of a policy mapped out for the British government by some of its allies including Fr Denis Faul, some years ago. It is based on the assumption that paroles and releases will lead to a softening of attitudes towards British rule among the nationalist population in the North. The aim in the short term is to undermine the Campaign for Lifers, while the long-term strategy is to sow dissension and demoralisation in republican ranks. Six-County Prisons Minister John Cope admitted this when he said that the summer parole scheme was a "hearts and minds game".

And still there are prisoners who have served 18 years and more in jail and do not know when they will be released. As one SOSP prisoner says in this week's *AP/RN*: "It is a clear manipulation of the situation because, although they are letting them out on parole, they are still keeping them in jail until they have perhaps done 18, 19 or 20 years... When Christmas came and I was knocked back for another year it was devastating, it just plays with your emotions." These are the direct effects of what John Cope sees as "a game".

The manipulation of POWs does not end with the lifers issue. In Belfast's Crumlin Road Jail, the authorities are continu-

ing with their brutal policy of forced integration of loyalists and republicans. This has led to a number of serious assaults.

Republican prisoner Brian McCullagh, serving a 12-year sentence, was refused parole to visit his mother in Wales who was seriously ill. His mother subsequently died. The decision not to grant McCullagh what the NIO term "compassionate parole" further demonstrates the political nature of the parole system.

### UNACCEPTABLE PRISON POLICIES

The British government seem intent on pushing their unacceptable prison policies. They would be well advised to look at the history of republican prison struggle over the past 20 years. They have continually misread the POWs as the weak link in the republican struggle. This has led to several attempts to break the will of the prisoners — all of which failed, some with tragic consequences. The most obvious recent example was the failure of their criminalisation policy. Their pursuance of this policy and their failure to realise the depth and strength of republican prisoners led to the death on hunger-strike of ten young men in 1981.

The onus now rests with the British government to end their confrontationalist prison policies, and so avoid what will undoubtedly be another defeat for them and further suffering for the prisoners.

# DEMAND THE RIGHT TO WORK

**THIS WEEKEND** the workers in the Gateaux factory in Dublin are marching for the right to work — not just for themselves but for all Irish working-class people against whom multinational bosses are waging a campaign to take away all the rights won by Irish trade unionists through decades of struggle.

The Gateaux strike and lock-out is the latest front on which that fight is being fought. The British-based management has flouted negotiations procedure and used the dispute to ditch its Irish work-

force. It does not matter that its Finglas plant has been profitable; what is at issue is the company's determination to impose its will on a submissive workforce. They would rather close down than deal with their employees on reasonable terms. But the workers at Gateaux have refused to submit.

They are determined to keep their jobs and have called on all Irish people to boycott the products, including tea and coffee, of Lyons, the parent company of Gateaux. The workers' action through this long and gruelling strike has been an example to all Irish workers and trade unionists and has shown up the failure of much of the trade union leadership to stand with their members where it really matters — on the shop floor and the picket line.

## KEEP GATEAUX OPEN

**March and rally in support of the Gateaux workers assembles:**

**1pm on Saturday, August 25th**  
**Parnell Square, Dublin. March to the GPO.**



# Castlederg contractors had been warned

THE West Tyrone Brigade of the IRA have said that Volunteers attached to their command planted the booby-trap device which killed David Bogle at Strabane Road on Saturday, August 18th. In their statement on the incident the IRA said that the firm for which Bogle was working had continued, despite warnings, to carry out contract work for the crown forces.

The IRA made specific reference to warnings issued in the wake of a bomb attack on Castlederg Barracks in March this year when they warned contractors not to engage in the rebuilding of the devastated base.

Saturday's blast occurred when Bogle went to the firm's building yard and attempted to reverse a JCB digger off the site. Bogle died at the scene.

## STRABANE MORTAR ATTACK

The same IRA brigade also said that their Volunteers had been involved in the mortar attack at Strabane Barracks 48 hours before the Castlederg operation.

A single mortar was fired into the main barracks yard at 7pm but failed to detonate. It was made safe by British bomb technicians.

## POMEROY SHOOTING

The Tyrone Brigade of the IRA have said that their Volunteers opened fire on the crown forces in the village of Pomeroy on Thursday evening, August 16th.

The IRA said that a substantial number of shots had been fired in the attack but that there were no reports of any crown forces injuries.

## PARANOID BRITS CREATE NEW FORCES

Following the recent string of successful IRA attacks against military targets in England it has been revealed that the British Ministry of Defence have decided to create a new force called the Civilian Guard Service to take over the patrolling of military bases in place of civilian contractors who had been fulfilling the duties due to shortages in military personnel.

The setting up of the new force was revealed in a Parliamentary Defence Committee report which also gave details of plans to recruit a further 600 military police to make up for 'a short-fall in that branch of the

security services'.

The report noted in conclusion: "It remains a fundamental aspect of service personnel's duties to protect themselves and their bases."

## IRA POSTER

Thousands of posters signed by the Belfast Brigade, Oglagh na hEireann, have been put up in all the nationalist areas of Belfast calling on people to stay clear of the crown forces.

The posters carry a photograph of a British army foot-patrol and the outline of an IRA Volunteer at a detonator and they read "Stay Clear — Isolate the Enemy — Keep Them in Fear".

Since the mounting of the posters the Belfast Brigade, Oglagh na hEireann, have issued the following statement:

"The Belfast Brigade's first consideration when planning any military operation against British crown forces is the safety of the population in the immediate area. In the

recent past our Volunteers have had to withdraw from ambush positions, cancel operations or remain in position for prolonged periods because of the proximity of civilians to targeted crown forces personnel, vehicles and installations. Naturally this greatly increases the chances of our Volunteers being captured or killed and material or weapons being discovered.

"We realise that as the present war situation has lasted for 20 years now the presence of crown forces in our areas has become part of the so-called 'normal routine'. This has led to a situation where many people simply ignore their presence unless they are harassed or inconvenienced. It must also be recognised that the crown forces are specifically trained on how best to use the civilian population for cover and tend to feel relatively safe when civilians are about.

"The Belfast Brigade therefore appeals to people to be aware of this situation and to be aware of the presence of crown forces. We



would ask you not to linger near any of their installations, keep clear of their vehicles and, if possible, go in doors when they are in your area.

"Remember, there is a war in progress and you can contribute significantly to its successful conclusion by simply observing these common sense precautions. Stay clear — keep them in fear!"

## STAY CLEAR



KEEP THEM IN FEAR

## THE SDLP'S REFERENDA PROPOSAL

# A MAJOR POLITICAL FRAUD

BY  
HILDA  
Mac THOMAS

WHILE the North's establishment politicians are holidaying, and as the 'talks about talks' impasse recedes from the front pages, it may be opportune to take note of two important issues, both linked to the current impasse, both crucial for the future.

The first, the controversy about Articles Two and Three of the 1937 26-County Constitution. Those Articles (Note 1) have often been the target of unionist anger. They were the subject of a case brought before Dublin's Supreme Court in which two unionist broth-

ers attempted to prove that the Hillsborough Treaty contradicted those Articles — a tactical move by the unionists to try to have the Treaty scrapped.

In a judgement delivered in March of this year, the Supreme Court said that the Hillsborough Treaty, and in particular its Article One, (Note 2) was a "recognition of the de facto situation in Northern Ireland" but "without abandoning the constitutional claim to the re-integration of the national territory".

The matter did not rest for long. As Direct-Ruler Peter Brooke started his series of meetings with unionists and the SDLP, Articles Two and Three, or rather their deletion from

the South's Constitution, resurfaced as a precondition for unionists to consider talking to the Dublin government. Supportive noises were heard in Dublin from such neo-unionists as Fine Gael.

## MAJOR PROBLEM

Last week Official Unionist Party leader James Molyneux, recalling the Supreme Court verdict, said that it represented a major problem which had changed unionist thinking. When Peter Brooke was later pressed to comment, he agreed that it was likely that the Articles would be part of the agenda in future talks.

The *Irish News's* editorial took the broad nationalist view fairly openly: the Articles did not represent an aggressive intent but "a belief held by the majority of people on this island that the people of Ireland share a common destiny". Therefore, the *Irish News* continued, it would be "quite ridiculous to expect nationalists to renounce their nationalism as a precondition to talks".

## REFERENDUM

The means to change the South's Constitution is through a referendum, and the holding of referenda is what the SDLP is pushing these days — though not directly on amendments to the Articles, at least on some arrangement in the North which may affect the South's constitutional claim on the whole of Ireland.

Hume's idea, evoked last week by party colleague Sean Farren, is that any agreement which the SDLP and the unionists came to regarding a devolved administration in the North, and which would be paralleled or followed by an agreement between Belfast and Dublin regarding the relationship between the two parts of Ireland, should be submitted

to the electorate in both states for their approval. To be acceptable the overall arrangement should require, according to Hume, a "majority" in the North and an "overwhelming majority" in the South.

Hume developed this 'joint referendum' proposal in an article in the *Irish Sunday Independent* on May 20th. In it he argued that in the new European context, and given what he saw as the British government's "declared neutrality" in Ireland as expressed in Article One of the Hillsborough Treaty, both governments intended to "set up institutions in Ireland that will respect the identity and diversity of all the people in Ireland". When these institutions were agreed by political parties, they should then become the subject of a referendum North and South.

Now Hume gets lyrical at that point: This would be the first all-Ireland consultation since, well, since 1918, and any agreement approved in this way could truly be said to represent the views of the Irish people. What else could the Provos ask for with their slogan of self-determination for the Irish people as a whole, etc etc. (See *AP/RN* May 24th, 1990.)

## MAIN THRUST

For this seems to be what Hume's main thrust is about — countering the republican argument that the Irish people as a whole have been deprived of their right to self-determination. When the Hillsborough Treaty was signed, Hume announced triumphantly that Article One proved conclusively Britain's neutrality in Ireland, and therefore that the struggle of the IRA was groundless. Unfortunately for Hume it did not take long for some British minister to describe the Treaty as a "bulwark against Irish unity". But this did not deter the SDLP leader from developing his twisted argument.

Given the level of coverage which the SDLP





● Monaghan/Tyrone border crossing at Greagh — again rendered impassable by the destruction of the British army

# MONAGHAN AND TYRONE DIVIDED AGAIN

THE LATEST road closure by the British army means that apart from the main road at Aughnacloy, counties Tyrone and Monaghan have been cut off from one another again. Greagh Road, one of the longest-surviving border crossings re-opened due to the efforts of the South Tyrone/North Monaghan Community Association was destroyed by the British army over Tuesday and Wednesday, August 14th and 15th.

Greagh Road had been open for over six months and had proved a popular and busy crossing. It links the north Monaghan area of Clara with its natural hinterland of the Clogher and Aughnacloy.

er areas of South Tyrone and had been in constant use by local people going to work, church and to socialise. During the recent harvest period, it proved invaluable to the local farming community who have land on both sides of the border.

The British army arrived at Greagh crossing, as well as at the

crossing at Drumferris which had been opened the previous Sunday, following a spate of openings and closures. They came in massive strength, transporting earth-moving equipment and dug huge trenches strategically along both crossings, up to 200 yards in each case, with one long single trench running the length of the Greagh crossing, and with the road foundations strewn about the area.

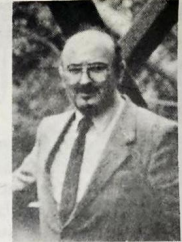
The closure now means that as *AP/RN* goes to press there is not a single road open between counties Monaghan and Tyrone, except the main one which goes through the infamous British army checkpoint at Aughnacloy, necessitating delays of up to two-and-a-half hours for people travelling to work.

## ABSOLUTE DETERMINATION

Jimmy McKenna, chairperson of the North Monaghan/South Tyrone Community Association and association secretary, Mary Teator expressed their absolute determination not to allow these actions to deter them from their efforts.

Sinn Féin Monaghan County Councillor Caoimhghin O Caoilain and Dungannon District Councillor Raymond McMahon have both strongly condemned this latest destruction by the British army and have encouraged more of the local community to heed the call of the Community Association to respond positively.

On Friday last a delegation from the US-based group American Protestants for Truth About Ireland (APTII), visited the border and were met in Monaghan by local councillors and members of the South Tyrone/North Monaghan Community Association who gave them a briefing on the road-opening campaign to date.



● CAOIMHGHIN O CAOILAIN

Group leader Rachel Hoffman, president of the national office of APTII and Kerry Lynn Bohan, director of the group's public affairs department, were among those who visited several of the closed crossings on the Monaghan/Tyrone border that afternoon. They expressed shock and horror at the action of the British army in its efforts to sever communities whose bond stretches back for centuries.

During the week a further US group visited the Monaghan/Fermanagh border. Travelling to Lackey Bridge and Aghafin was Pete Foley of the American/Irish Political Education Committee. During the course of his visit to Clones, Foley attracted the unwelcome attention of the local Special Branch.

Following a meeting earlier this week of the South Tyrone/North Monaghan Community Association, spokespersons advised that a programme of work be drawn up, including a number of road-openings in coming weeks and months and a number of other activities complementary to the aims of the association which will help to draw more Irish and overseas attention to the plight of the beleaguered border people.

leader enjoys, and the censorship applied to republican views, one can expect that the 'joint referendum' idea will get a lot of publicity but not much of a challenge on the airwaves. Few 26-County politicians like to challenge Hume.

Hume's referendum idea deserves more that the sycophantic treatment he is accustomed to. It will have to be thrashed out early and properly as befits a major political fraud. Below are a few points to start the debate.

1. The joint referendum would of course take place within each of the two partitionist states. The unionist electorate will therefore go to the polls in the same political frame of mind as it has done since partition: defensive, besieged, clinging to Britain's apron strings and to the past rather than planning its future. Hardly a suitable context for securing unionist approval of an 'all-Ireland' arrangement, unless, and this is the most likely option, the arrangement which is being voted on is also partitionist. In any case, the 'unionist veto' remains, along with the biggest of all gerrymandered constituencies in Ireland: the Six-County state. (Note 3.)

2. Referenda can be very biased depending on the wording used, and because a complex political option cannot be disposed of by being put in front of people who had no part in drafting it and by asking them for a simple yes/no answer.

3. If the Southern electorate is being asked to vote on a partitionist arrangement, they will in effect be voting on something they won't have to live with. Given the media hype which would undoubtedly be unleashed, and with censorship still in force, it would be difficult for Southern voters to justify to themselves a 'no' vote. The Southern referendum could even be framed in such a way that it amends Articles Two and Three of the present Constitution. So Southern voters, asked to make a positive choice apparently to bring peace and justice to their country, would in effect be abandoning Northern nationalists once again to the nightmare of second-class citizenship in a unionist state, as the Treaty did in 1921. (Note 4.)

4. The double referendum will not result in all the votes being added after the count North and South. A positive result requires a majority in each partitionist state. If Hume's recommendation was implemented with straight majorities on both sides of the border, this would amount to giving each unionist vote double the weight of a Southern vote. With the requirement of an overwhelming majority in the South (75% perhaps) this makes each unionist vote worth more than three Southern votes.

5. This brings into focus the question of what Hume means by 'self-determination'. Hume sees it as the right of each individual, and each community, for example the unionists, to

determine their own future — as if any group of people could secede and call itself a nation, with a right to self-determination, regardless of the people who live on its territory and happen to disagree. The fact remains that Ireland was partitioned under threat of "immediate and terrible war", and that such a threat made by the British to force the Irish side to sign the Treaty in 1921, invalidates such a Treaty in the present context of international law, in which self-determination has become a "peremptory norm". (Note 5.)

6. While the idea of joint referendum will be pushed by the SDLP for some time to come, it may never come to anything if SDLP and unionists do not agree on some form of devolved administration in the first place. In the meantime Hume will still try to make political capital out of it, by using loaded words like 'self-determination' to try to claim the nationalist high ground from republicans, and thus make his party's eventual participation in a Six-County internal arrangement more palatable to nationalist voters.

7. Finally, to illustrate this maxim of British rule in Ireland that if voting threatened to change anything, it would promptly be made illegal: why not extend the referendum to the whole British electorate and ask them if they want their government and troops to continue

interfering in Irish affairs? Or is this one also a foregone conclusion?

On the whole, Hume's tactics since the early '70s have been consistent: to help stabilise Ireland by bolstering the Northern Catholic middle class and involving it in the running of the Northern state, by convincing the Southern establishment to abandon all nationalist claims and replace them with 'aspirations', and creating some cross-border institution which would normalise relationships between the two states while allowing for continued input by Britain.

Those are the objectives of the British and US governments, which have consistently helped Hume in his political ascent. There are however, two main spanners in the works: unionist intransigence, and the popular resistance struggle born and sustained on decades of unionist oppression followed by British military repression.

One of Hume's main concerns is therefore to counter the republican argument, and this is what he does with his 'joint referendum': a spurious re-definition of the concept of self-determination, a play on the meaning of 'people' and 'majorities', it tries to steal the republican agenda and render the popular freedom struggle meaningless. It is up to republicans and democrats to ensure Hume is not allowed to do so.



● John Hume, Seamus Mallon, Eddie McGrady and Joe Hendron leaving Stormont after meeting with Peter Brooke in February of this year

## NOTES

1 Constitution — 26-County state (1937)

Article Two: The national territory consists of the whole island of Ireland, its islands and the territorial seas.

Article Three: Pending the re-integration of the national territory, and without prejudice to the right of the Parliament and Government established by this Constitution to exercise jurisdiction over the whole of that territory, the laws enacted by that Parliament shall have the like area and extent of application as the laws of Saorstát Éireann and the like extra-territorial effect.

2 Hillsborough Treaty, November 1985

The two governments (a) affirm that any change in the status of Northern Ireland would only come about with the consent of a majority of the people in Northern Ireland; (b) recognise that the present wish of a majority of the people of Northern Ireland is for no change in the status of Northern Ireland; (c) de-

clare that, in the future a majority of the people of Northern Ireland clearly wish for and formally consent to the establishment of a united Ireland, they will introduce and support in their respective parliaments legislation to give effect to that wish.

3 Unionists have always loved referenda in the North, as they are sure to win them! The last one was the 1973 border referendum. Boycotted by all nationalist parties including the SDLP, it asked voters:

"Do you want Northern Ireland to remain part of the United Kingdom?" (591,820 said yes);

"Do you want Northern Ireland to be joined with the Republic of Ireland outside the United Kingdom?" (8,463 said yes).

4 Acknowledgements to POW John McComb (Frankland), for an excellent letter on the subject, printed in the *Irish News*, June 13th.

5 See 'The Right of the People of the Whole of Ireland to Self-Determination, Unity, Sovereignty and Independence', a submission by Richard Harvey to the 13th Congress of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, March 1990.



# Heavy gang tactics back in use

IN THEIR attempts to disrupt the political work of Sinn Féin the Special Branch in the 26 Counties has been targeting party activists and other members of the public and using tactics reminiscent of the notorious Garda

'Heavy Gang' of the '70s. A number of recent incidents seem to confirm this trend with the political police using beatings, attempted bribery, and strip-searching to intimidate their victims.

## Assault in Coolock Barracks

A MEMBER of Sinn Féin in Dublin was assaulted by two members of the Special Branch when he was held for 22 hours in Coolock Garda Barracks. He was slapped about the head and face, thrown against a locker and punched in the body after being interrogated for hours on end.

Nick McBenet, a member of Coolock Sinn Féin, was leaving a meeting with four other members of the party when he was arrested by the Special Branch under Section 30 of the Offences Against the State Act. That was at 10.15pm on Monday, August 13th, and his ordeal was to continue until nearly 8pm the next day.

The gardai took party literature McBenet had in his possession and brought him to Coolock barracks where he was interrogated for an hour before being put in a

cell for the night. The next morning a team of eight Special Branchmen, working two at a time, began an intensive interrogation, asking him questions about members of Sinn Féin and the activities of the party.

They continued for several hours with a mixture of threats, inducements and intimidation. They asked him did he "know any criminals you want us to sort out?" and "would you tout for us?" "jokingly" offering him £1,000 per week.

### SEEMED LIKE DAYS

He was questioned in the interview room for two sessions of about three hours each with a break in his cell at around 1pm but he told AP/RN that he had been so disoriented that it "seemed like I was in for three days".

It was during the last hour or so of his interrogation that McBenet was assaulted by two Special Branch members.

He was forced to stand up and one of them stood behind him and one in front. He was elbowed in the

chin and back and pushed against a locker. One of the gardai slapped him in the face with the palms of his hands and he was also struck on the top of his head and slapped in the ears. The two gardai also repeatedly feigned punches and kicks at his face and groin and one of them stood on his feet with his full weight. He was cut on the wrist by his attackers. McBenet cried out during this beating and the Branchmen backed off when a uniformed Garda entered the room.

When the Sinn Féin member said he would write to Charles Haughey — one of the local TDs — about his treatment, one of the Branchmen replied "Haughey's not our boss. Our boss is the minister for justice" and "you complain to anybody and we'll show you harassment".

While McBenet was in custody gardai raided his flat and took away more party material including a cumann minute book. He was eventually released on Tuesday evening.

## Dirty dealing in Dún Laoghaire

LAST WEEK AP/RN exposed a sinister and totally illegal attempt by the Special Branch to intimidate a young man into planting incriminating material in order to "get" North Clondalkin Sinn Féin community worker, John McCann. This week, a similar and quite bizarre incident has come to light involving a Dún Laoghaire coal merchant.

The victim of this latest plot was 30-year-old John Davis, who was arrested under Section 30 of the Offences against the State Act at 2.15pm on Tuesday, July 31st, by two Special Branch detectives Roche and Eustace, and was driven to Kill O' the Grange Garda Station.

While being 'interviewed', Davis said he was offered sums ranging from £1,000 to £7,000 in return for furnishing the gardai with the names of people. He was later offered a new lorry for his coal business. Davis was shocked by his arrest as the extent of his political involvement was selling *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, which he gave up some 14 years ago.

### "TAKE OUT O'HARE"

As if these allegations and offers were not bad enough, Davis, by then with just one Garda, was asked to "take out" Rita O'Hare, Sinn Féin's National Director of Publicity. Davis replied that he didn't drink but the detective made very clear to him that he wanted him to shoot her.

The situation became ever more bizarre as the Garda indicated that he would supply a gun and bullets and that he would even drive the vehicle from which the shots would be fired. Detectives threatened Davis with a beating if he refused to co-operate. During his time in the station the two gar-

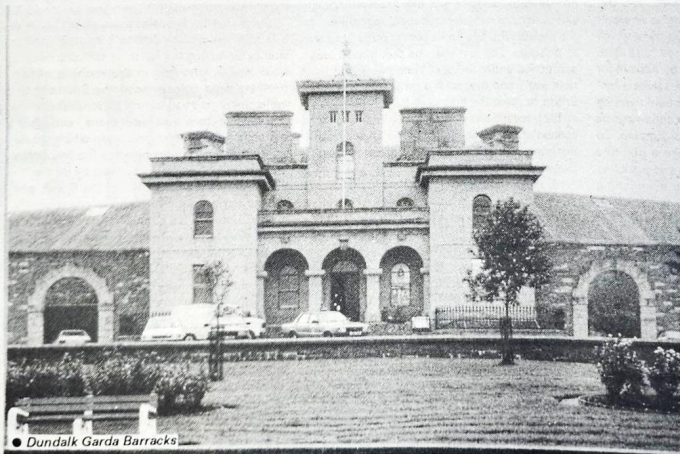


● RITA O'HARE

dai kept referring to Rita O'Hare.

The two Branchmen threatened to re-arrest Davis before the following weekend and further warned that they could destroy his coal business. They claimed that they had been given clearance to follow him 24 hours a day and if that meant following him bumper to bumper, then so be it. They also indicated that if he co-operated, social welfare payments which had been stopped would be renewed.

John Davis refused to be intimidated and was finally released at 9.45pm. He is very shaken and worried about what happened to him and has sent letters of complaint to the Garda Commissioner and the Garda Complaints Board. He has lodged an affidavit with his solicitor giving a full account of his ordeal and is considering further legal action.



● Dundalk Garda Barracks

## Dundalk strip-search ordeal

A DUNDALK WOMAN who was arrested along with three men while travelling in a private taxi in the town, was subjected to a degrading strip-search during her time in Garda custody before being released without charge.

Christine Breslin, a member of Sinn Féin's Women's Department in Dundalk, was arrested with three friends at 3.30am on Saturday, August 18th. They were returning from a Sinn Féin function. All four

were arrested under Section 30 of the Offences Against the State Act.

### STRIP-SEARCHED

Christine Breslin was taken to Dundalk Garda Station. Upon ar-

rival she refused to take off her coat as a bangharda was not present but she did empty her pockets. The gardai were not satisfied with this and would not put her in a cell for the night as they had done with her companions, but instead kept her sitting on a chair for three-and-a-half hours while awaiting the arrival of a bangharda from Drogheda to search her.

She was then taken into the in-

terview room where she was told to strip while a bangharda was preparing herself by putting on rubber gloves. When Christine refused she was informed that she would be forcibly stripped if necessary. She undressed herself and when naked, she was ordered to squat in front of the bangharda with her legs apart. When the bangharda was finished abusing her, Christine Breslin was put into a filthy cell for the night. She only received breakfast after repeatedly asking

### TABLETS REFUSED

Later in the morning she asked a Garda in charge if she could have some headache tablets. He asked if

she had the money to pay for them. Even when she said she had, he still refused her the tablets.

After several interviews, fingerprinting, and photographing she and her companions were released without charge at 1.30pm with no explanation for their arrest. Her three male companions were not strip-searched or treated in the same degrading fashion.

Christine told AP/RN that for the rest of her time spent in Garda custody after being abused, she felt "deep and sincere sympathy for all women prisoners who are experiencing this degrading treatment daily.



# Boycott Lyons

BY TOM O'DWYER

WHEN the Gateaux workers assemble at Parnell Square on Saturday for a demonstration to highlight their fight for jobs, every serious trade unionist in Dublin and many from different parts of the country will be present. That is because their struggle has become a test case for Irish trade unionism. Success or failure at the Gateaux bakery in Finglas will decide the future for thousands of other workers.

Even those who are unable to attend that demonstration will be able to play a role in the Gateaux struggle. The workers are now engaged in a direct battle with Gateaux's parent company, the British-based food giant Allied Lyons. The strike committee has called on all Irish people to boycott Lyons Tea, Lyons Coffee and any other Lyons products.

The Gateaux workers have been battling against a British-based company which is responsible for some of the most high-handed management decisions in recent Irish labour history. The company intends to import cakes from its British bakeries to the Irish market rather than to bake them here. It has broken with every accepted industrial relations procedure in order

to do that.

Although the plant was profitable — it made £300,000 in the year 1989/90 — Allied Lyons was determined to make as many people as possible redundant. It was negotiating for 30 voluntary redundancies when suddenly, off their own bat, its managers decided to fire five young workers. These were dismissed, not because their work

was unsuitable, but because they did not qualify for redundancy payments as they were new to the trade.

In doing so, Gateaux by-passed the industry's joint industrial council and forced the Bakers' Union (BFWAU) to call a strike. During the strike, the company announced that it had lost an important order and then claimed that the loss of this contract made the Finglas plant uneconomic. The workers were told that the plant would close whatever they did.

## FRANTIC NEGOTIATIONS

Frantic negotiations at the Labour Court produced a rescue plan agreed by the Dublin-based Gateaux managers who appealed to Allied Lyons to rescind the closure decision. After considerable debate, these proposals were also backed by the workers. But Allied Lyons still refused to budge. After 41 years, a bakery which employs over 500 workers in the high season, would simply be shut.

When the provocative actions of the company's Dublin-based managers, the see-thru excuse of lost contracts and the unbending determination to close are all taken into account, it seems Allied Lyons are operating industrial procedures which have become common in Thatcher's Britain.

These procedures are far from being the rule in Ireland and have been vigorously resisted, most recently by the Waterford workers. But with the onset of the Single European Act in 1992, cutting down the last controls on multinational companies, actions like that of Allied Lyons are bound to become more common. That is why the fate of the Gateaux workers affects thousands of others.

The Gateaux workers have also had to cope with censorship. Larry O'Toole, chairperson of their strike committee, is a member of Sinn Féin and has been excluded from

the airwaves under Section 31. One of their chosen spokespeople has been refused the right to put their case in the media.

On top of all that, the workers have suffered from some of the most appalling union leadership in recent years. Instead of concentrating his criticisms on the factory bosses who were making 540 of his members redundant, BFWAU general secretary Paddy Shanley actually boosted the propaganda campaign against the workers through 'red' smear tactics.

He suggested that a small left-wing current known as Militant was deeply involved in deciding the workers' tactics. Members of this group were involved in helping the strikers in the same way as members of many other left currents and parties such as Sinn Féin. But, by alleging that Militant played a more direct role, Shanley was really suggesting that his own members couldn't make up their own minds and were relying on outsiders to do it for them.

## TOTALLY REFUTED

This was totally refuted by the strike committee which also condemned the use of the allegation by Shanley's colleague on the Labour Party National Executive and party leader, Dick Spring. Apart from being a gross insult to the Gateaux workers, these comments were music to the ears of Allied Lyons. The closure could now be blamed on workers who were 'led astray' by a small sect.

The Gateaux workers are now appealing to the wider labour movement in this country and to consumers who, like them, could well face equally unscrupulous management in the future. Anything that bears the name of Lyons must be left to gather dust on the shelf. Irish trade unionists have to show the company it can't walk over us. If it does, others will follow suit.



• Gateaux strikers

# Family on the street

BY ART Mac EGIN

A DUBLIN FAMILY have been sleeping rough on a city street for the past eight days. They were evicted from their two-roomed flat in a four-storey house in North King Street where they had been living for over six years. The eviction from the privately-owned house was carried out on foot of a court order made last April.

Leslie and Ellen Kelly and their three-year-old son are determined to stay where they are until the Corporation rehouses them in the area.

Speaking to *APRN* Ellen Kelly, who was born and bred in nearby Linenhall Street, related the story to date:

"The landlady put us out because the Corporation want to buy the building in order to widen the road here. She got the sheriff to put us out last week.

"All we want is to be rehoused in this area. The only choices the Corporation gave us were Tallaght or Clondalkin. That is too far away. I was born and reared in this area and my relations live around here. As far as the house in Clondalkin is concerned, we were told that it would be three weeks before the people occupying the house there moved out, so even if we had accepted it we would still be sitting

here on the street."

Two other families were evicted from the North King Street building. One family went to live with their parents on the Navan Road and the other was rehoused in Finglas. Ellen Kelly says she would not object to being housed in the Finglas area:

"I told the Corporation last week that we would take a house in Finglas, but they said that there was none and yet the other couple were given a house there on Friday."

## LOCAL HELP

Ellen's husband Leslie was anxious to point out the help given to the family by local businesses since they were evicted. "The people around here have been very good to us. The Richmond Bar, the Crossroads and Dukes' around the corner. They gave us hot meals and things like that. And all the neighbours have been helping us



• The Kelly family — victims of Dublin Corporation's short-sightedness out a lot.

"A house in Clondalkin or Tallaght is no good to me. I'm on the assistance and only get £40 a week. I couldn't afford to travel in from there to visit friends and relations. My mother and father are very old and I try to go up to them every day."

All the family's belongings line the narrow pavement outside the house. Although covered to some extent with plastic, the household

appliances are getting damaged with every shower of rain.

## HISTORIC SPOT

The old tenement house where they lived is on the route of Dublin Corporation's 'Inner Tangent' motorway and it is the Kellys' belief that it will be demolished and that it is for this reason that eviction took place. The semi-detached house which has fallen into some disrepair

was part of a terrace now demolished and the corner where it is situated is an historic area of Dublin city. Just across the street from the house is a plaque to mark the spot where Kevin Barry was captured by crown forces in the 1920s.

Once again it looks as if local character, heritage, and above all working-class families, will be the ones to suffer due to the short-sighted nature of Dublin Corporation planning.



# Damning evidence on Whiterock killings

"Those people are trained to use maximum force. As Peter's father I want justice with maximum force." With those words Joe Thompson, father of Peter Thompson, who was savagely gunned to death on January this year with friends John McNeill and Eddie Hale, has articulated the demand of the nationalist community that the professional killers of Britain's death-squads must be made amenable for their actions.

Thompson's comments came after the family were given a copy of the autopsy report on their 23-year-old son who died in a hail of bullets as he emerged from robbing a bookmaker's shop at the junction of the Whiterock and Falls roads on January 13th last.

The report provides precise evidence of the nature of Thompson's death and confirms the chilling and damning accounts of the murders given by eyewitnesses at the time. In the report the pathologist notes that Thompson was hit by at least ten bullets and several bullet fragments fired from three different weapons. The weapons in question were two machine-guns firing .223 calibre ammunition and a pistol firing 9mm ammunition. The wounds inflicted on Thompson were to the back, head, arms and legs.

In eyewitness accounts of the killings given in *AP/RN* at the time, one witness said he saw "a gunman armed with some sort of rifle or machine pistol."

"Within seconds he was firing at

two men who were coming out of the front door of the bookies. He fired in short bursts. As he stopped firing a second gunman took over."

Describing the end of the firing the witness said: "I watched as he (the second gunman) quite deliberately drew a hand-gun and fired into the men's bodies as they lay on the ground."

## HEAD WOUNDS

This piece of testimony is fully backed up by the autopsy report which shows that besides the wounds to Thompson's back, arms and legs he had received two bullet wounds to the right side of the head, one which entered behind the ear, and a second which entered the ear itself.

Calling on the Director of Public Prosecutions to reverse an earlier decision not to prosecute any of the soldiers involved in the killings, Gerry Adams, MP for West Belfast, said:

"This report focuses attention once again on the circumstances



● Scene of crown forces death-squad killing of three men on January 13th last

surrounding the deaths of these three men and the actions of the soldiers involved. It also raises many questions which have yet to be answered. Why was the driver, who clearly presented no threat to anyone, shot dead? Why was he not challenged? Why were the other two not challenged as they left the bookies? And why did the soldiers fire into their bodies after they had

fallen to the ground?

"It is widely believed within the nationalist community that, as on so many other occasions, the judicial and legal system is being manipulated to protect members of the British crown forces from the consequences of their actions. The DPP must immediately begin proceedings against the British soldiers involved in these killings."

No date has yet been set for the inquests into the shootings but solicitors for the families of the dead men said they believed the inquests should commence in October or November. The autopsy reports have also been forwarded to the British Attorney General, Patrick Mayhew, who has it in his power to overturn the decision of the DPP not to prosecute.

## Brit terrorises two families

A BRITISH SOLDIER'S wild rampage through Tyrone in the early hours of Thursday, August 16th, during which two families were terrorised, ended with Jonathan William Boyd being charged at a special court sitting in Lurgan on the same day, with having an SA 80 rifle and 24 rounds of ammunition under suspicious circumstances. He was further charged with seizing two cars by force.

Boyd, an 18-year-old private in the Royal Irish Rangers, whose address was given as Armagh Army Headquarters, was remanded in military custody to Craigavon Magistrates' Court on September 13th. He had been part of a large British army presence deployed in the Tyrone/Monaghan border area in a follow up to their closure of the Greagh and Drumferrur border crossings the two previous days.

At about 2am on Thursday morning, the Kilpatrick family were roused from their sleep by Boyd's hammerings on the door of their South

Tyrone home. When Kilpatrick opened the door and refused Boyd's order to hand over his car keys, a gun was turned on him and he was threatened that he would be shot if he didn't hand them over. The couple have two small children and, fearing for their safety, Mrs Kilpatrick threw the keys out into the street. The soldier drove off in their Vauxhall Cavalier car, which he promptly crashed and wrote off only a half-a-mile down the road, as he approached Aughadarragh school.

He continued on his rampage through the

Aughur area of Tyrone, arriving at another house a further half mile down the road at around 3am. He roused the entire McKenna household in his attempt to get the keys for their car, a Vauxhall Belmont. The English-born son-in-law of the elderly householder came to the door when the soldier became particularly abusive and a verbal exchange followed. Boyd grabbed the man's two children saying: "I'll shoot the two children first and then myself." He also threatened to "blow his fucking head off", referring to eight-year-old Dermot McKenna. The child has not yet recovered from his ordeal.

Boyd drove off into the night and was eventually arrested at Lurgan. Both families agree that Boyd appeared to be under the influence of some drug but the RUC have since attempted to play down the night's events.

## Structured sectarianism

"SECTARIANISM is so ingrained and structured in civil service departments in the Six Counties that it is taken as a matter of policy by those responsible for those departments and worse still is taken for granted by many who suffer from it."

Speaking to *AP/RN* Sinn Féin Councillor Pauline Davey used these words to describe her reaction following an incident in Bellaghy, County Derry.

Davey related how she had sought consultation with contractors employed by the Department of the Environment, to remove green white and orange painting from kerbstones in the village of Bellaghy.

The kerbs had been painted recently by local people to welcome home several republican prisoners from the town who were released on four-day summer parole.

Davey said she had been contacted by local people about the arrest of young people from the town in connection with the painting of the kerbs. One man was subsequently charged with damaging the kerbs and although out on bail he is

subject to a nightly curfew. She described the arrests as being based purely on sectarianism within the RUC, and contrasted it with the same forces collaboration with loyalists who annually paint whole towns red, white and blue.

Davey commented: "I personally was re-routed through the village of Hillhead this year by RUC men eager not to have loyalists, involved in painting the red, white and blue, disturbed."

Davey went on to seriously question the role of the DOE and in particular their district roads manager, Mr Baird, in the removal of only green, white and orange painting, while specifically ordering the contractors not to touch red, white and blue paint in other parts of the predominantly nationalist village of Bellaghy.

## Whiterock man targeted

ANOTHER CASE has come to light of the RUC using arrests of young nationalists for petty offences to put them under pressure to act as informers.

Stephen McMenemy (24) from the Whiterock, Belfast, was arrested by the RUC on Wednesday night, August 15th, as he drove down the Falls Road.

At the time of his arrest McMenemy had a passenger in the car and the RUC accused him of operating as a pirate taxi. The passenger and McMenemy were both taken to Springfield Road Barracks where they were held for almost an hour.

On reaching the barracks McMenemy was questioned about the alleged offence and was then told by a uniformed RUC man: "If you co-operate we'll sort out any problems you encounter with your insurance or PSV licence." McMenemy was told:

"You'll be doing both us and yourself a favour."

Reference was then made to the fact that McMenemy had been the subject of a punishment that McMenemy should 'use this opportunity' to get back at those who shot him. The RUC told McMenemy several weeks prior to his arrest and surveillance for 'about the area regularly'. He was then asked to tell them what he knew about 'activity in the area'.

At this point McMenemy asked to be given im-

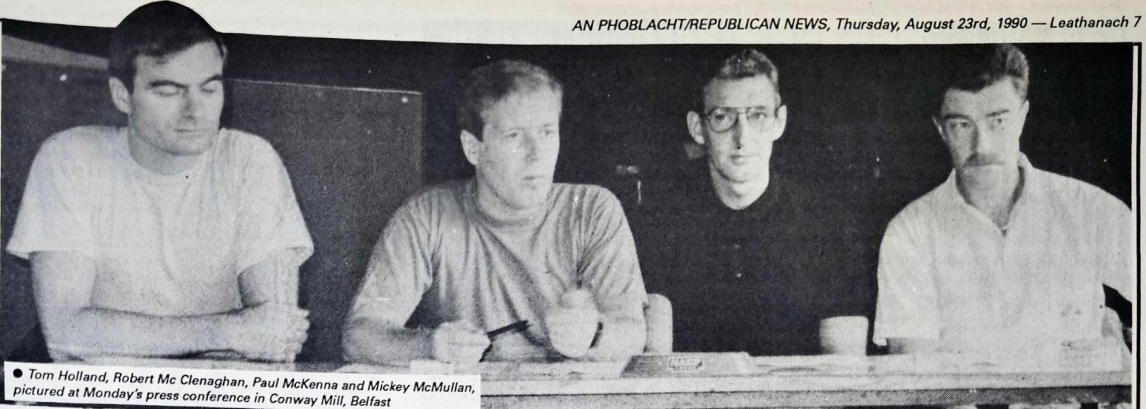


● STEPHEN McMENEMY

mediate access to a solicitor. When he did so the RUC man said that he was only joking and that there was no need for a solicitor.

McMenemy was then told that a file was being sent to the DPP with the purpose of seeking charges of pirate taxi-ing. He was again told: "Don't forget we can sort out any difficulties if you just co-operate with us and keep your eyes open." McMenemy was then released and immediately contacted Sinn Féin and a solicitor about the incident.





● Tom Holland, Robert Mc Clenaghan, Paul McKenna and Mickey McMullan, pictured at Monday's press conference in Conway Mill, Belfast

# Lifers being manipulated by British

**REPUBLICAN PRISONERS** serving savagely long sentences and out on four-day parole attended a press conference held in Belfast's Conway Mill on Monday, August 20th, where the life sentence review system was labelled as "basically corrupt and open to manipulation by the Northern Ireland Office".

Robert McClenaghan, speaking on behalf of the Campaign for Lifers (CFL), called for "fundamental changes" to be made to the parole and release system. Referring to the 111 long-serving prisoners who had received summer parole, he claimed that they had all been used and abused by the NIO:

"We have consistently stated that the NIO are holding these prisoners as political hostages to be released only at the whim of the British government and this can be clearly seen in the policy of granting parole without release dates."

## SIX DEMANDS

The Campaign for Lifers was formed in February 1988. In consultation with life prisoners the campaign formulated six demands centred around the Life Review Board which decides when and if a lifer should be given a release date. The six demands around which a long campaign have been fought and

which have attracted widespread support from both the public and from prison reform groups, call for:

1. An end to indeterminate sentences;
2. The right to legal representation at a review board hearing;
3. An objective criteria for release;
4. An end to secret reports;
5. The right of prisoners to know the names of the people sitting on the review board, for the purposes of appeals;
6. Reasons for 'knock-backs' whereby a prisoner appears before the Review Board and is without explanation told that he/she will not be considered for a Review Board hearing for a specified period which can range up to five years.

The CFL claims that the paroles are a cosmetic exercise used by the NIO to obscure the fact that no meaningful changes have occurred within the system. Dismissing

Security Minister John Cope's claim that paroles were for the preparation of prisoners for eventual release, McClenaghan said that many prisoners had still been turned down for release even after a number of such paroles:

"We would call on all those who have welcomed the parole to demand that the NIO grant release dates to those parolees and to implement immediately the six proposals put forward by the prisoners themselves to end the political manipulation of prisoners and their families."

## PAROLED PRISONERS

Attending Monday's press conference were three republican prisoners out on a four-day parole. Tom Holland from Ardoyne is in the 17th year of his sentence, Paul McKenna from the Lower Falls has served 13 years and Mickey McMullan is in the 18th year of his imprisonment. Tom Holland told the press conference:

"The NIO introduced the home leave system under pressure because they want to be seen as humanitarian, but the fact is that I have already served six times as long as Private Ian Thain — it is just

bias and political manipulation."

## WELCOME HOME

The day before the Belfast press conference life-sentenced prisoners on summer parole were welcomed home to Derry by relatives, friends and supporters. The Bishop Street Centre event was organised to greet lifers Raymond McCartney, Eamon McDermott, Eddie Harkin, Eoghan MacCormaic and Pete Whelan.

Both Raymond McCartney and Eamon McDermott emphasised that despite paroles nothing has changed and those serving indeterminate sentences remained political hostages. Frank Nellis, recently released from Crumlin Road Jail, also addressed the gathering about the appalling conditions in that jail due to forced integration, and a statement was read from the women POWs in Maghaberry.

## VISIT BANNED

A ban has been imposed on another republican life prisoner, Jackie McMullan, from visiting his fiancée, Ella O'Dwyer, in Durham jail during his home leave at the weekend.

It was revealed that the Home

Office in London ruled against the visit on the grounds that his fiancée is a top-security prisoner and he is a serving prisoner. A lawyer for the NIO said that he opposed the application for the visit on the grounds that it was against the purpose of the home leave system, which they regard as being the preparation of long-term prisoners for a return to a normal home environment on release.

Judge Carswell, at the High Court in Belfast on Tuesday, August 21st, ruled that prison authorities were wrong to ban McMullan from seeing his fiancée to make arrangements for their wedding. The judge called for immediate and urgent consideration to be given on behalf of the couple as he said that speed was obviously very important in the matter.

McMullan, from Andersonstown Grove in Belfast, has applied for a Judicial Review in the hope of overturning the ban and Carswell, in a reserved judgement, said that the ban by the prison service had been made on the wrong grounds and was an incorrect exercise of its discretion.

AP/RN interviews Tom Holland on page 9.

# Prisoners warn "we'll take no more"

THE REPUBLICAN prisoners in Crumlin Road Jail have said that the Northern Ireland Office has had its chance to introduce "meaningful changes" and warned of the consequences of rising tension and worsening conditions provoked by the British government's forced integration policy.

The prisoners pointed out in a statement issued through the Sinn Féin POW Department on Monday, August 20th, that "the NIO's policy of integration in Crumlin Road Jail has again focussed attention on the petty and vindictive nature of the prison authorities in general. Their arrogant and patronising press releases are indicative of the con-

tempt with which they deal with prisoners' complaints.

"Following a series of protests inside the jail, we were given the impression that measures would be taken to guarantee the safety of prisoners. For our part we collectively decided to refrain from open prison protest and attempted to create a favourable atmosphere con-

ducive to the introduction of segregated conditions.

## GESTURE MANIPULATED

"Our conciliatory gesture was cynically manipulated by the NIO who attempted to portray our disciplined approach as a sign of weakness. We wish to condemn the duplicity and hypocrisy of the NIO — features which seem to recur on a regular basis, particularly when dealing with prison issues."

The prisoners continued by stating that conditions within the jail were "appalling":

"Animals would not be expected to live in a urine-soaked environ-



● March against forced integration in Crumlin Road Jail

ment under continual lock-up with cold and unhygienic meals. We are at the end of our tether.

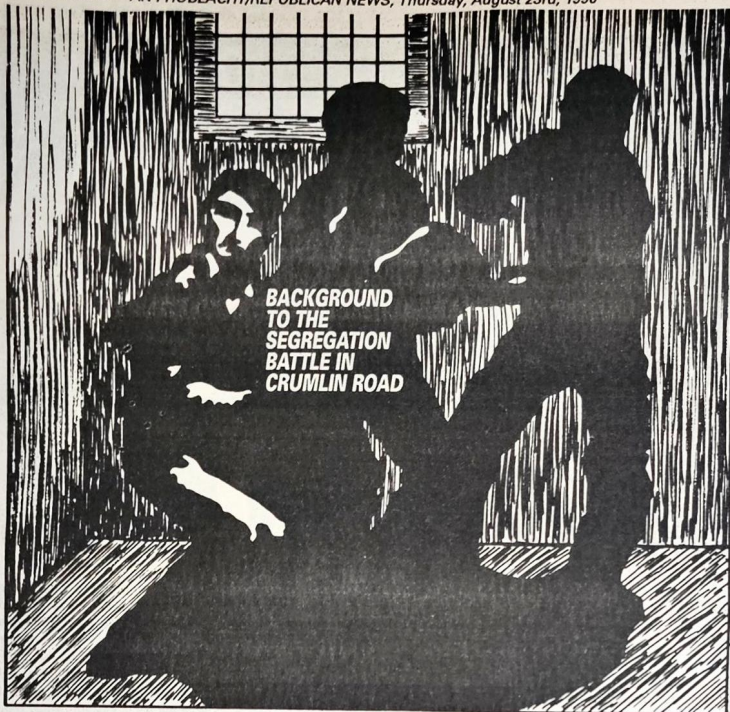
"If the NIO seriously expects republican POWs to quietly accept behaviour such as this, they have obviously learned nothing from the past 20 years.

"On every single occasion when

the NIO have sought to provoke a confrontation with republican prisoners they have lost. They have had their opportunity to introduce meaningful changes."

The statement ended by saying: "They must now be prepared to accept the consequences of their failure to do so."





BACKGROUND TO THE SEGREGATION BATTLE IN CRUMLIN ROAD

# THE POLITICS OF FORCED INTEGRATION

By  
Danny  
Morrison  
(Crumlin  
Road)

ABOUT THE TIME that the British prisons minister in the North, John Cope, was glibly boasting that there had been changes introduced at Crumlin Road Jail, Belfast, aimed at easing conflict, four loyalists were viciously assaulting a republican prisoner, 24-year-old South Derry man Martin Molloy.

The incident not only refuted the propaganda point being made by Cope — that the jail was currently incident-free and prisoners would be more safe from attack — but it showed the dangers posed to prisoners as a result of the failed policy of forced integration, now into its 15th year. Indeed, Cope's statement about making greater use of facilities and staff to keep contact and friction to a minimum is actually a contradiction of official British policy which is to integrate republicans and loyalists as if they are in jail as individuals and not part of a political conflict and committed to a cause.

## HISTORY

Forced integration is one of the last vestiges of the British strategy of criminalisation introduced in March 1976, most aspects of which were overturned by the 1981 hunger-strikes. But in Crumlin Road Jail little



● DANNY MORRISON

has changed. Incredible as it may seem the administration initially made attempts to forcibly integrate republicans and loyalists in the same cells but this was abandoned in April

1976 after a month of serious fighting.

In the intervening years there have been riots in the jail, bombs, hand-to-hand fights, roof-top occupations, protests at remand courts, no slop-out protests, token hunger-strikes, and wrecks of cell fittings and canteens. Prisoners have been hospitalised and many more have, on occasion, been put in the punishment unit and lost privileges. The position of the Northern Ireland Office is that because no prisoner has been killed so far, this indicates that there is collusion between republicans and loyalists, each of whose commands within the jail only want segregation from the other side so that they can separately perpetuate an organisational hierarchy.

Of course, command structures undeniably exist in the jail and, what's more, they are tacitly recognised by sections of the administration. If the republican structures couldn't be suppressed in the H-Blocks where blanket-men were kept behind closed doors, often in solitary confinement, for over four-and-a-half years, then they can readily flourish in a remand wing where all of the re-

publicans can daily exercise together for an hour in a yard, and where they can associate in a canteen for two hours every other evening, unsupervised apart from warders present in observation posts.

## THE JAIL

There are four wings in Crumlin Road Jail. Sentenced prisoners (all of whom are non-political) are held in 'D' Wing. Republican and loyalist remands are held on mixed landings in 'A' and 'C' Wings, and non-political remands are held in 'B' Wing. To keep conflict at a minimum, republicans and loyalists have tenuously operated a system of self-imposed segregation which results in a halving of entitlement to the exercise yard and canteen association.

However, prisoners still have to pass each other on narrow landings and stairways when slopping out, collecting food or parcels, going on visits, getting called for the governor or the welfare. It's easy to visualise how a fight can break out when, as in the case of republican remand Tommy Braniff from Ardoyne, the loyalist charged with assassinating his father is passing him every day. For three months I was in the cell next to that of the same loyalist who was charged with possessing RUC security files on my movements.

Earlier this year, Sam Marshall, a republican remand, was assassinated shortly after being released on bail. Tension in the jail was naturally high the next morning — when his death was announced on the radio the loyalists here were banging on their cell doors, whooping and cheering. The potential for conflict has increased in the last nine months, given a large influx of loyalists as a result of the Stevens Inquiry into collusion between loyalist death-squads and the crown forces.

## THE NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE

The NIO's claims to be opposed to segregation in principle can have no credibility, given that convicted republicans and loyalists have a choice about where they serve their sentences and the majority opt for the segregated wings alongside their comrades in the H-Blocks. Actually, segregation exists in Crumlin Road Jail already for sex offenders, those in protective custody and those not accepted by republicans or loyalists and who go to 'B' Wing.

So why does the NIO persist with this policy which has such potential for conflict? It has already resulted in separate protests on the outside by republican and loyalist solidarity groups and by loyalist attacks on prison officers and their homes.

Firstly, the NIO, traditionally intransigent and still peopled by some Victorians who believe that prison should be a place of fear, has caught itself on a hook of its own making and had opportunities to climb down but failed to respond.

Secondly, the reluctance to change was probably influenced in part by the pathetic responses and abysmal ignorance of leading loyalist and nationalist politicians. For example, the leader of the Democratic Unionist Party, Ian Paisley, after meeting NIO officials proclaimed that he had been given a guarantee that no loyalist would be forced to share a cell with a republican! As has already been shown, that hadn't happened since 1976. He also claimed that in future two not three prisoners would be kept to a cell. On integrated landings two to a cell was always accepted as an absolute maximum.

For the Social, Democratic and

Labour Party, Seamus Mallon, not to be undone, stated that 'paramilitary influence' could best be ended if sentenced prisoners. Remands and sentenced Diplock court prisoners are separated by about 15 miles of town and country! Certainly, a few orderlies service the remand wings but they are short-term prisoners convicted of non-scheduled offences, not 'dangerous revolutionaries'!

Thirdly, the NIO has cited the increased danger of escape attempts if segregation is granted. Indeed, despite all the platitudes about the prison administration offering inmates the opportunity to serve their remand period or sentence in an integrated system free from 'paramilitary control', the pretext of increased escape bids is the argument on which their case actually rests.

The governor of Crumlin Road Jail, John Semple, has said as much in an affidavit in response to a judicial review being sought by Eugene McKee and presently being heard in the Belfast High Court. Semple said that the integrated system reduces "the prospects for planning escapes from the prison in that loyalist and republican groups are highly unlikely to make escape plans together".

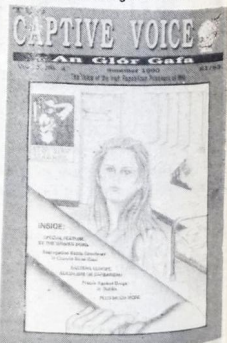
But if all this was such a real threat, then why allow segregation in the H-Blocks from where republican prisoners have already carried out a successful escape in 1983? The fact is that in a segregated system in Crumlin Road — either through separate wings (the republican preference) or separate landings — administrative control would be maintained, as is currently the case, by restricted movement of limited numbers of prisoners.

## A LEGITIMATE AND ACHIEVABLE DEMAND

Segregation is a legitimate demand and is being sought not as a threat to security but insofar as contact with loyalists is reduced to a minimum and that prisoners are safe from attack. In one recent attack Kevin Craven, from North Belfast, almost lost an eye, had a front tooth knocked out and was hospitalised for two weeks. The NIO have cynically described such attacks as being 'collusion' between both groups.

Segregation is an achievable demand, given that the NIO this autumn hopes to involve the SDLP and unionist parties in face-to-face negotiations aimed at reaching agreement on internal devolution. Whilst republicans are opposed to any re-vamping of Stormont, we should make sure that all parties have to have a concerned, even if jaundiced eye on the situation in Crumlin Road Jail.

This may just be the politic time for the NIO to change its tune.



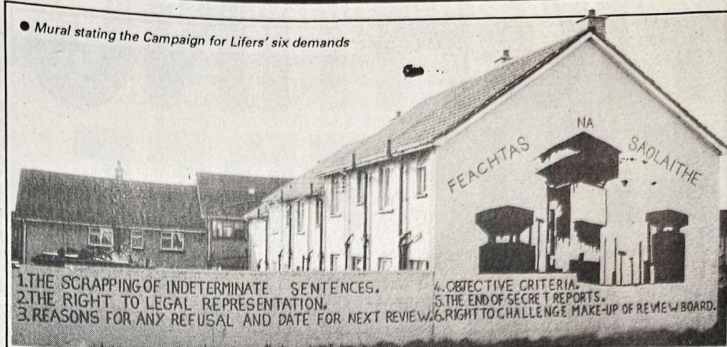
● The above article is taken from the current issue of *The Captive Voice/An Glór Gafa*.



# AP/RN INTERVIEWS SOSP LIFER TOM HOLLAND

## "They won't de-politicise us"

● Mural stating the Campaign for Lifers' six demands



1. THE SCRAPPING OF INDETERMINATE SENTENCES.
2. THE RIGHT TO LEGAL REPRESENTATION.
3. REASONS FOR ANY REFUSAL AND DATE FOR NEXT REVIEW.
4. OBJECTIVE CRITERIA.
5. THE END OF SECRET REPORTS.
6. RIGHT TO CHALLENGE MAKE-UP OF REVIEW BOARD.

TOM HOLLAND, from the Ardoyne district of Belfast, was arrested on May 5th, 1974 and sentenced to life imprisonment at the Secretary Of State's Pleasure (SOSP), the regulation which allows young people convicted in the Diplock courts to be held indefinitely until their release is ordered by the British direct-ruler. On his arrest Tom was 17 years and three months old and he says that, as it now stands, he will have to serve at least 17 years and seven months before possible release.

At his last review he was "knocked back" (denied a hearing until a later date) for one year for what they called an "attitude problem". They refused to explain what they meant by this when Holland asked and said that they couldn't go into any more detail.

Holland said that when the Campaign for Lifers started they were able to build up a "massive head of steam" on the issue for all political parties and that the reasonable demands raised by the prisoners had influenced the political agenda of the NIO, church groups and others:

"The NIO had to react and, rather than doing something concrete or something fundamental about the review board's whole procedure, what they did was they introduced paroles as a cosmetic gesture in an effort to undermine or undercut the whole of the Campaign for Lifers.

They are using the prisoners as pawns in a political game and it is very psychologically damaging for prisoners and their families."

Tom Holland says that when John Cope announced the summer parole scheme quite publicly last year, he said it was a "hearts and minds game". Tom commented:

"That is exactly what he is talking about in relation to the Republican Movement and the struggle on the outside and we are fully aware of that."

### USING THE POWS

Talking about the Fr Faul argument that releasing republicans would break the Republican Movement, and about the use of the prisoners as a weapon against the Movement, Tom says:

"The problem with confronting that is that they are seen to be acting in a humanitarian manner. No-one is going to turn around and say that they shouldn't be getting parole after 13 years — it is good to see the lads out. It is, however, a very clear manipulation of the situation because, although they are letting them out on parole, they are still keeping them in jail until they have perhaps done 18, 19 or 20 years."

On the position of the Campaign for Lifers now he says:

"We are going to have to go back to the basics of the six proposals and re-assess our position on them in light of the parole schemes. We need to discuss how we see the situation with the families and from that discussion try and understand what the British government is at and hopefully from there we can cut through the confusion of the parole scheme and get back onto the main ground of the six proposals.

"The paroles have taken us into a cul-de-sac. We have to get out of that back to the six proposals; that is the only way we are going to remove any political bias or manipulation by the NIO and the British government.

"The problem I see with that is that the NIO is now setting the pace in relation to the Lifers and the SOSPs. The pressure that is coming on now from Fr Faul and Co is not so much 'let's try and get people out' it is 'let's try through more flexible paroles to give the impression of reason and humanity'. In other words bring the paroles down from 13 to possibly 12 or eleven years and also increase the amount of time they can spend with their families — why not have three periods of parole a year or why not have seven or ten days.

"What we are saying is that this is clouding the issue. We are not against paroles but we must get back to the central problem of the six proposals."

### PAROLES

Speaking about the effect that the paroles have had on himself and his family, Holland said:

"I believe that I have suffered as an individual and my family has also suffered because of my particular situation. Last August when I got out for my first parole, and my review was that Christmas (1989), my sister was talking to me about the possibility of settling down, in the sense that it is only a matter of months now to the review and that because of the parole that I would be released. I was trying to warn her that that might not be the case. She was listening to the warning but not believing it as she thought that I was just being cautious for the sake of

not raising her hopes.

"When Christmas came and I was knocked back for another year it was devastating, it just plays with your emotions. Our families could be having welcome home parties for possibly another two to five years before we will eventually be released."

Concluding, Holland said:

"The political aspect of what the NIO is at has also to be taken into consideration in that we see the whole idea of their policy in relation to Lifers and SOSPs as an attempt to de-politicise you. That is the reason they are keeping people in jail so long.

"We now have Lifers and SOSPs in jail 16 or 17 years and they could easily serve 20, 22 or 23 years and I think the point that we are going to have to make is that irrespective of NIO policy, they won't de-politicise us. We support the right of the Irish people to self-determination and the resistance the Irish people use, we give it our full support. So this latest front in the war to de-politicise the struggle by attempting to de-politicise prisoners is doomed to failure just as the H-Block strategy was doomed to failure.

"Since I went into jail it has been a continuous struggle and when I went on the blanket from 1978 until 1982 and the no-wash protest there was a lot of struggle and sacrifice. A lot was given up for the overall good of the Movement both inside and outside of jail.

"If, because of our political views, we have to stay in jail for an extra two to five years then we are prepared to do that. We are prepared to spend more time in jail for our political beliefs to ensure that our struggle in jail and our struggle outside is not going to be criminalised or de-politicised."





# FIGHTING FOR FREE SPEECH

BY  
TOM  
O'DWYER

**DON NGUBENI** of the ANC's Radio Freedom and **Augusto Morales** of the Salvadorean stations Radio Farabundo Marti and Radio Venceremos, spoke to *AP/RN* in Dublin last week during **AMARC 4**, the world community radio conference. The experiences of the two revolutionary broadcasters coincided on many points and both condemned censorship in Ireland.

Radio Freedom broadcasts from outside South Africa. It is based in Lusaka, Zambia. Censorship and harassment would make it impossible for the station to operate in the apartheid state. Ngubeni, the station's director, explains that it provides "a forum for debate on various political issues that crop up inside the country".

Pretoria has tried to jam Radio Freedom but the station broadcasts on a number of wavebands and "you cannot jam all of them all the time", he adds. "We are the only radio station that continues to broadcast what cannot be broadcast from within the country".

Although the ANC is now involved in talks to prepare for real peace negotiations, the censorship laws remain in force. The liberation movement believes that the freedom of the airwaves is essential before real peace negotiations can begin.

## CONSTANT THREAT

In El Salvador, the task of broadcasters like Augusto Morales is even more difficult, under military dictatorship and the constant threat of the death-squads. He explained through interpreter Helen Dixon, that he and his colleagues began by setting up a station on a deserted beach, attaching their broadcasting aerial to a balloon. This experiment was, unfortunately, a failure and the young broadcasters were forced to move to the guerrilla-held areas in the mountains where they have become a

target for the military. Two of Morales' colleagues have already been killed.

The Farabundo Marti National Liberation Movement (FMLN), has been involved in direct peace talks with the Salvadorean government since May. At the latest meeting under this peace process during July in Costa Rica the government was forced to sign an agreement about human rights under which it promised to stop internment, torture and assassinations. Among other rights promised under this agreement is the right to free expression.

"This agreement has a negative side for members of the government and a positive side for the people," says Morales. "By signing it they have accepted that they have been violating human rights in general, the political constitution and even laws they have written themselves."

"For the people it means that there is now a very broad space for human rights. It means there is now a legitimate legal space in which to organise and move around the country. The FMLN has full confidence that the people themselves will know how to use that space."

## NEGOTIATIONS

Don Ngubeni makes it clear that the negotiations between the ANC and the South African government are at a very different stage: "What we are involved in at the moment is talks about talks to force the

government to accept the principles of the Harare Declaration. These principles are exactly the same as those demanded by the FMLN in El Salvador."

The ANC demands that the government lift the state of emergency, stop political trials and release all political prisoners, the police and army should move out of the townships, all executions must

cease and the unconditional return of all political exiles.

"The government has gone quite some way in meeting these demands. It has lifted the state of emergency except in Natal. But the last meeting which was held on August 6th was intended to raise this very issue. It was also intended to raise the difference between the ANC and the government over the meaning of the term political prisoner."

"As in El Salvador, this situation has created legal space within which the liberation movement and the democratic forces can operate. The government will start releasing political prisoners by September 1st."

Both the South African and the El Salvadorean denounced censorship by the governments in Dublin and London on principle:

"We're talking about a matter of principle here," says Ngubeni. "If censorship is wrong for the process of democratisation in South Africa, or if censorship is against the principle of democracy itself, then censorship cannot be right anywhere."

"My opinion is that the absence of the free flow of information creates suspicion and fear. Therefore one part of the people doesn't know what the opinions of the other side are. Once you don't know what the other side is thinking,

once you don't have access to their opinions, you don't know how to relate to those people."

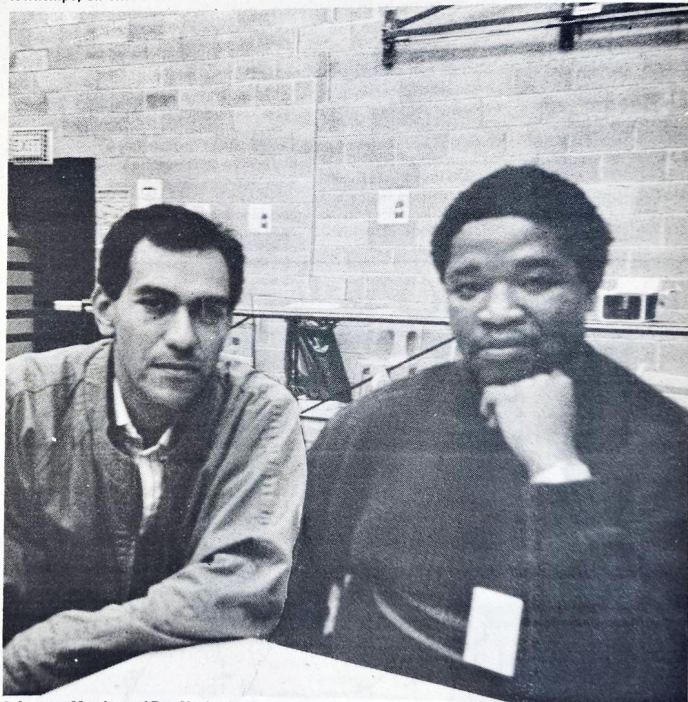
## UNDERSTANDING

"It is necessary that there is a free flow of opinion so that the opinions of everybody on a particular issue are known and understood. That is the only way in which you can bring people closer — through understanding each other."

Dealing with the same issue, Augusto Morales agrees. He adds:

"As far as the relations between the struggle in different countries goes there are common problems and problems which are specific to each country. For us in El Salvador it is a very serious thing that in Africa, in Asia, in South America and in certain other parts of the world that whole forests are being cut down. We also see with considerable alarm that in many countries, censorship is a form of cutting down ideas, just as the forests are cut down."

"For the world's peacemaking efforts, we consider that communications are vital. We believe that every country that considers itself democratic should give space to constructive criticism and contribute to pluralistic thinking. It should give a space to all the components of a given society. If one sector is excluded, it's already an undemocratic society."



● Augusto Morales and Don Ngubeni at the AMARC 4 world community radio conference in Dublin last week

# Free the airwaves

AMARC 4, the world conference of community radio broadcasters meeting in Dublin, strongly condemned Dublin government censorship of the airwaves "as represented by Section 31 of the Broadcasting Act" during its final plenary session on Saturday, August 18th.

A resolution on the issue of broadcasting freedom noted Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which states that "Everyone has the right to freedom of opinions without interference

and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers." The motion went on to condemn the state's ban on information about abortion and to call on the governments of South Africa and El Salvador to democratise the airwaves.

The motion also noted the serious effects of censorship for democracy in Ireland: "Defending the right to communicate and the freedom of speech and condemning censorship all over the world,

AMARC calls on the Irish government to eliminate Section 31 and other constraints on the free flow of information. Until censorship is abandoned we support all Irish broadcasters who resist or challenge censorship."

The conference also paid tribute to the Easter Rising, the 75th anniversary of which occurs next year. The Rising was the occasion of the world's first revolutionary radio broadcast when a transmitter taken into the GPO by Joseph Plunkett was used to announce the Rising.



# Coiste Helsinki chun Bille Cearta na Gaeilge a dhréachtú

Tá Coiste Helsinki, an grúpa cearta daonna idirnáisiúnta, ag dréachtú tuarsacála nua faoi shéanadh cearta ar lucht na Gaeilge sna Sé Chontae.

In agallamh i rith na seachtaine seo caite i LA, nuachtán laethúil na nGael a fhoilsítear i mBéal Feirste, dúirt Björn Cato Funnemark, gníomhaí cearta daonna aitheanta ón lorus, go bhfuil sé cheana féin ag bailiú eolais faoin leatrom a dheantar ar Ghaeil na Sé Chontae.

Bhí Funnemark ar chuairt go Béal Feirste chun tuarscail nua Helsinki faoi shárú cearta daonna sa Tuisceart a phoiblíú. Ar seisean:

"Foilseófar an tuarscail faoin Ghaeilge taobh istigh de bhliain agus cosúil le tuarscail ar bith a fhoilsímid beidh preascáid idirnáisiúnta ann lena láinséil, agus scaipfear cóipeanna de ar fud an domhain.

"Foilseófar an tuarscail in Ioruaís. Aistreófar go Béarla é agus bheinn thar a bheith sásta dá gcuideóidh Gaeilgeoirí liom í aistriú go Gaeilge."

## TAITHI FADA

Mhaigh Funnemark go bhfuil taithí fhada aige féin ar bheith ag fiosrú leatrom ar phobail teanga ar son Coiste Helsinki, coirte a bhain an duais Nobel mar gheall ar a n-obair ar son cearta daonna.

"D'fhoisigh mé leatrom teanga san Ungáir is sa Rómáin mar shampla. Agus fiú an mhéid eolais atá agam cheana faoin Ghaeilge sa Tuisceart is léir go bhfuil cosúlachtaí ann.

"Mar shampla tá cosc ar shráidainmneacha Gaeilge sna Sé Chontae de réir dlí agus feachtas ag gabháil ar aghaidh le fada ansin chun sráidainmneacha Gaeilge a chur in airde. Ni rud ar bith nua é seo agam.

"Fuair mé an rud céanna ach an uair a d'fhoisigh mé séanadh cearta teanga san Eoraip. Tharla an rud céanna céanna sa Rómáin."

"Is ar cheisteanna mar seo a thosaíonn daoine ag iarraidh a gcearta teanga a bhaint amach ó na húdaráis."

## PRIONSABAIL UI FIAICH

Agus mhaigh Funnemark go dtacaíonn sé le Prionsabail Uí Fiaich, sraith éilimh a d'fhoisigh lucht na Gaeilge ó thuaidh i mí Meithimh.

I measc rudai eile maítear ann gur chóir go mbeadh an ceart ag gach duine plé leis an stát as Gaeilge, go mbunófaí stáisiún teilifíse do lucht na Gaeilge mar aon le stáisiún raidió, go bhfuil ceart ag gach duine ar oideachas as Gaeilge, agus gur ceart go ligfí do chimi an teanga a úsáid. Ar seisean:

"Is doigh liom gur moltaí iontach réasúnta iad agus gur tús iad ar an phróiseas atá de dhíth chun a gcearta a thabhairt do lucht na Gaeilge sna Sé Chontae."

## BILLE CEARTA

"An rud ba mhaith linn a fheiceáil ná Bille Cearta don phobal Gaelach.

"Nuair atá teanga i gceist tá tú ag caint ar mheán-cumarsáide pobail a cruthaíodh í a forbaird thar tréimhse 1,000-2,000 bliain. Ni mór seasamh a thógáil faoi aon bhaigir ar an teanga sin."

"Na laethanta seo tá meabhraíocht níos fearr ar chúrsaí comhsaol agus bá níos mó ná mar a bhí riamh.

"Tá gá le go dtarlódh an rud cheana i gcás tenagacha, go háirithe na miontean-gacha ar fud na cruinne. Ni mór do dhaoine bheith teanga-lách.

"Agus mar gheall ar na rudai atá ag tarlú in oirthear na hEorpa agus eile beidh tábacht níos mó ná riamh leis an meabhraíocht agus an tuiscint seo feasta."

## Tríd sáile an chime

# Paról trócaireach diúltaithe

Fuair máthair cime anseo bás le déanaí, Bean McCullagh, máthair Bhrian atá ag déanamh daoradh 12 bhliain. Le linn a tinnis deireanach d'iarr Brian cead dul trasna go dtí an Bhreatain Bheag chun í a fheiceáil ach cé go raibh litir faighte aige ó lia ag minniú cé chomh easlán agus a bhí an bhean ní bhfuair Brian cead ón Oifig Tuisceart Éireann.

Nuair a fuair sé an drochscéal go raibh a mháthair marbh d'iarr sé arís cead chun dul trasna chuig an tschoirde. Bhí an Oifig Baile sa Bhreatain toilteanach Brian a ligint isteach sa tír ach dhíultaigh an OTE cead uaidh paról a fháil. Is scéal agus staid do-mhaite agus do-thuigthe seo.

Tá fhois ar an OTE nach bhfuil fiontar ar bith nach dtiocfaidh Brian ná aon cime poblachtach eile ar ais ó paról trócaireach. Tá fhois acu go bhfuil lian na bparól gnáthach ag ardú cheana féin sna príosúin ach cad a tóimh ach an OTE ag baint dea-phoiblíocht ar lámh amháin nuair a mhaíonn sé as an mhéid cimi Saol a gheibheann paról samhraidh ach ar an lámh eile tá polasai chomh suarach seo a dhíultaíonn cead do dhuine a dhul go dtí socráid a mháthair.

Cáinimid an OTE as an seasamh seo agus molaímid do dhaoine gan chreidiúint go bhfuil ré nua sna príosúin go fóill cuma cad a deireann an OTE ina poiblíocht. Tá meon i réim fós ann nach dtuigean an focal 'trócaire'.

Cuirimid ár gcomhbhrón le clann McCullagh, agus ár gcomraídi Bríain go háirithe in aimsir seo a mbrón.

## Bhí siad go léir sa ghníomh

Is cuimhin liom leabhar a léigh mé tráth faoi Hollywood a raibh cabaidil ann faoi Marxachas. Bhuel, bhí sé anoi Harpo, Groucho, agus Chico Marx cici ar bith.

Ar fáth éigin fanann an teideal i mo chuimhne fós "They all got into the Act."



Tháinig na focail sin in intinn dom inniu de bhí eacitra a tharla le linn do lucht teilifíse Peter Taylor a bhí inár mbloc ag déanamh scannán do chláir faisnéise.

Sular tosaigh siad ag scannánú d'iarr siad orainn gan a bheith ag bacú leo. B'fhearr leo a bheith mar "cuileog ar an mballa", sin é nár mhaith leo aon rud as an gnáth a fheiceáil ach ag an am céanna gur mhaith leo achán rud gnáthach a fheiceáil.

Bhí an saol ag dul a aghaidh mar sin de go dtí go dtáinig na beartanna eadaigh chuig an bloc. Bhí léine, de réir achán dealramh, ar iarraidh ó bheart Mícheál Mac Gormáin. D'iarr sé ar an coimheadóir chun scairt gutháin a chur ar an oifig le fáil amach cá mbeadh a chuid eadaigh.

Teilifís beo. Bhí an ceamara ag rolladh; bhí an microphone ag taifeadadh; bhí an lucht go léir ag fearadh, ag fanacht ar eacitra éigin.

Dráma sna blocanna-H. D'fhuil an bardach. Bheadh eadaigh Dickel ag teacht ar an vean níos moille an oiche sin. "Cut. Mir 1."

An oiche cheanna tháinig na beartanna ach níor tháinig léine Mhíchil. Bhí sé ar buille, ag smaoineamh go raibh an bardach ag insint bréaga d'aon-ghnó an mhaidín sin.

"Cá bhfuil mo léine?" arsa Mícheál leis an bardach.

"An raibh tú dáiríre ar maidín?" arsa an bardach.

"Bhí" arsa Mícheál "ghlaioigh tú ar an guthán agus fuair tú freagra go raibh mo léine ann."

"Níor ghlaioigh mé aon áit" arsa an screw. "Shíl mé go raibh tú ag déanamh giota beag aisteoireachta don cheamara agus rinne mé amhlaidh. Ni raibh mé ach ag ad línné!"

Mar a dúirt an leabhar úd "bhí siad go léir sa ghníomh..."

— LE EOGHAN MAC CORMAIC (AN CHEIS FHADA)

# Ceacht 4

Tógtha ó Progress in Irish

## Foghlaim:

ag léamh, reading  
ag scríobh, writing  
ag obair, working  
ag súgradh, playing  
ag féachaint, looking  
ag éisteacht, listening

táim (tá mé), I am  
tá tú, you are  
tá sé, he is  
tá sí, she is

nílím (níl mé), I am not  
níl tú, you are not  
níl sé, he is not  
níl sí, she is not

an bhfuilím (an bhfuil mé?)  
am I?

an bhfuil tú? are you?  
an bhfuil sé? is he?  
an bhfuil sí? is she?

## Léigh:

1. Táim ag obair; nílím ag súgradh.
2. Tá an páiste tinn ach níl sé ag gol.
3. An bhfuil tú ag éisteacht? Táim.
4. Tá siad ag obair agus tá siad ag canadh.
5. Tá an obair críochnaithe agus táimid ag rince.

## Cuir Gaeilge arís seo:

1. I am tired but I am working.
2. The girl is ill but she is not crying.
3. You are talking; you are not listening.
4. Are you reading? We are not reading; we are writing.
5. They are eating and drinking.
6. The man is going away; he is not coming here.
7. They are not playing; they are working.

ag canadh, singing  
ag rince, dancing  
ag imeacht, going away  
agus, and  
ach, but  
anois, now

táimid, we are  
tá sibh, you are  
tá siad, they are

nílimid, we are not  
níl sibh, you are not  
níl siad, they are not

an bhfuilimid? are we?

an bhfuil sibh? are you?  
an bhfuil siad? are they?

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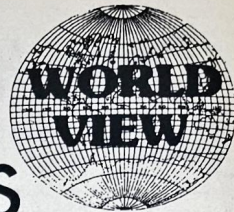
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# Petrol price war with real casualties



**WHEN** the world witnessed the tearing down of the Berlin Wall last year there were hopes that a new peaceful order was being created. Inside the last 18 days, those hopes have been dashed. US dogs of war are straining at the leash in the Gulf, backed up by their inevitable British counterparts. The war to keep down Western petrol prices has all but begun.

The casualty-list of such a conflict will be horrendous. Within the next two weeks the US will have a quarter of a million soldiers in the region; its high-tech weapons threaten Kuwait as well as Iraqi civilians. Chemical and even nuclear bombs and missiles are being prepared by the US while Iraq has already stated that it is prepared to use its own array of poisonous weaponry. Jordan faces the possibility of Israeli invasion.

As the European Community wheels in behind the US in its Middle Eastern oil war, Irish citizens in Iraq and Kuwait are coming under increasing danger. But that fact has gone unnoticed by Fine Gael foreign affairs spokesperson, Peter Barry. He called on the Dublin government to take part in the war preparations by sending an envoy to a meeting in Paris to organise an EC military force in the region. As *AP/RN* goes to press there were unconfirmed reports that some Irish citizens might be set free. The news came soon after the Dublin government refused to take part in the nine member Western Union meeting in Paris.

## PROPAGANDA

In the floods of propaganda and counter-propaganda, people are likely to be swept away, so it is probably worth remembering the source of the conflict. The unjustified invasion of Kuwait by Iraq was followed by a UN call to almost totally boycott the country. Only food and medication were to be allowed in. But the UN resolution did not allow for military action. US forces were ordered to "interdict" all goods going to and from Iraq by

force, if necessary. This went far further than the UN position and brought criticism from that organisation's secretary-general Perez De Cuellar.

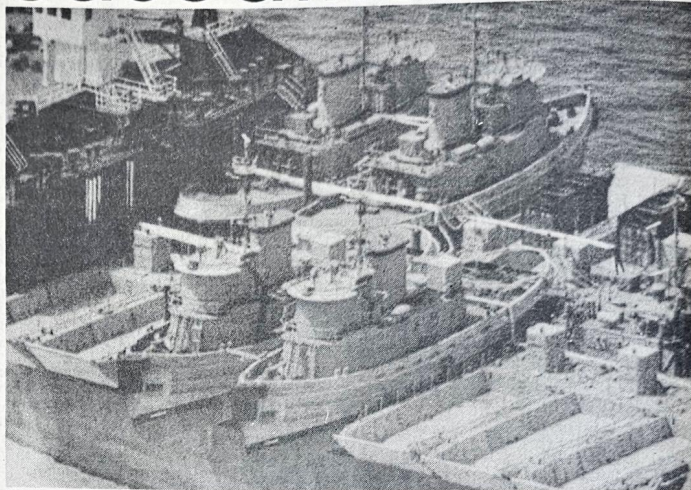
Under the combined effect of the invasion and the boycott, the price of oil began to rocket. This was one of Iraqi President Saddam Hussein's objectives and it is a popular one in the eyes of poorer Arabs. The wealthy Kuwaitis and the monarchs of the Gulf have considerable investments in the West and have almost always backed Western policies rather than those of the more radical Arab states.

Saddam's willingness to stand up to the impending US invasion has created an enormous wave of support for him among less well-off Arabs and especially among Palestinians. That goodwill should blind no-one to the fact that Saddam is guilty of genocide against the Kurds and repression against the Iraqi opposition.

## POWER BALANCE

The US proceeded to organise a huge fleet and to brow-beat Saudi Arabia into making an appeal for foreign troops to defend its territory — troops which Bush and Thatcher were all too willing to provide. The Iraqi action had entirely changed the balance of power in the region and possibly in the rest of the world as well.

The feudal, pro-Western monarchies of the oil-rich Gulf states were under threat. So was Israel, Washington's sub-station in the Middle East. Saddam would have to be 'taught a lesson' or US influence would take a nose-dive. The economies of the imperialist coun-



● US army or marine landing craft and launches on the deck of a US-registered freighter

tries would also suffer seriously.

George Bush is under considerable pressure to act quickly. The huge costs of the operation are beginning to be felt in the US. A prolonged shooting war will escalate these costs and could begin to turn US citizens against the operation. Increasing numbers of Arabs are beginning to oppose both the US and the rulers who invited the US forces into the Arab Gulf. There is a danger that, over time, the boycott of Iraq will prove less and less effective. It is certain that US and British soldiers would find prolonged conflict in the desert heat very difficult.

All this means that a provocative US action may happen as early as this week, forcing the Iraqi army to respond and plunging the Gulf into war once again. Bush's gun-toting hasn't so far had the desired effect. On Sunday, August 19th, two Iraqi vessels refused to turn back from

their destinations when the United States navy fired shots across their bows.

The oil-tanker *Khanafin* refused to stop when the US frigate *Reid* fired across its bows. Sailors aboard the *Reid* were put on battle stations, and then stood down again as the Iraqi captain continued on his way. The captain of another Iraqi tanker, the *Baba Gurgur*, also refused to be intimidated when the frigate *Bradley* fired warning shots at it later that day.

Bush is very likely to react to these events either with direct military aggression or by staging an incident which might make such aggression seem less unjustified. The awesome military hardware he has brought to the region is unlikely to be returned unused.

## TENSION

As tension turns into fighting, around 350 Irish citizens will be in

the firing line, placed there by Saddam Hussein in an effort to deter attacks. They will suffer the same hunger as Iraqis, if the US food blockade works. They will be moved to military installations if the shooting starts and could be hit by any air bombardment of these bases.

With them will be the citizens of those states responsible for the escalation of the conflict. But, unlike the US, British and French citizens, the Irish belong to a state which is militarily neutral. The only reason for their being held is the fact that the 26-County state is part of the EC which has supported the US military build-up.

Put at its simplest, EC membership and the failure of the Dublin government to distinguish itself from the belligerent Western states, endangers Irish lives. It's a large price for Irish people to pay so that US drivers pay less at the pumps.

# Buthelezi's sectarianism

**THE CURRENT TALKS** about negotiations between the South African government and the ANC may bring peace, but extreme right-wing forces within the government are provoking tribal violence in an effort to weaken the liberation movement. In the eight days up to Tuesday, the death-toll of that violence in the Johannesburg region had reached 381.

Apartheid means the subjugation of the Black majority by a tiny white minority, but its objective is also to set Black tribes against each other. For half a century, Nationalist Party governments have played Zulus off against Xhosas and smaller tribes off against these larger ones. For the last few years, this approach has meant continued violence between ANC supporters and Zulus in Natal province. But it did not spread to other areas until this month.

The Zulu leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, is one of the main beneficiaries of the divide-and-rule policy. For many years,

Pretoria tried to present Buthelezi as the authentic leader of the Black people. He was allowed to set up his own paramilitary gang, Inkatha, in order to crush opposition among Zulus and he repaid this favour by parroting some of Pretoria's propaganda.

## SET-BACKS

The release of Mandela and the unbanning of the ANC were considerable set-backs for the extreme right which still controls large sections of the police. Its response was to further egg on Inkatha.

Black workers in the townships around Johannesburg are usually cut off from their families and live

in single-sex hostels. They come from all over South Africa and are crowded together in appalling conditions which are extremely likely to create violence. The horrific riots which have claimed so many lives in the last week started in these hostels when Inkatha supporters turned on members of other tribes.

The ANC leaders believe that creating the maximum unity among Blacks is their key task at the moment, as they face down the apartheid government. That may mean talks between the ANC and the Inkatha leader. But giving credibility to Buthelezi and his fanatical supporters might also encourage these forces to undertake further sectarian action in the future.

Whichever course the liberation movement takes, it is now clear that Buthelezi's forces pose a real danger to the peace process. His sectarian power-struggle can only set back the liberation of all South Africans.



● Police search ANC supporters on their way to a rally calling for calm in Tokoza township.



# REVIEWS

## The alternative majority

BY  
ART  
Mac EÓIN

THIS MONTH saw the publication of the fourth edition of the *Alternative Ireland Directory* (AID). The 250-page paperback directory is described as a guide to "new social movements in Ireland" and aims "to document the various movements through which people, individually or as communities, are challenging conventional ways of doing things".

The directory is a practical handbook and contains comprehensive up-to-date listings with a critical overview of each movement written by key participants. The groups and movements profiled are extremely wide-ranging and cover areas as diverse as women, co-operatives, the environment, lesbians and gays, peace, spirituality, animal rights, alternative medicine, travellers, the Third World, Gaelic, education, trade unions and employment, social welfare, film and video, theatre, food and travel.

tionist and contains information on a 32-County basis.

The first *Alternative Ireland Directory* was published in 1981 and this fourth edition is produced by the Quay Co-op, a Cork-based workers' co-operative.

### EMPOWERING THE PEOPLE

The introduction to AID contains broad political statements, but you get the general feeling that it is veering towards a call for a form of politics which would act as an alternative to both capitalism and state bureaucracy. This would seem to complement the entire thrust of many of the groups

listed in AID which aim at empowering people through collective action and co-operation.

One very interesting overview was the one on travellers given by Niall Crowley of the Travellers' Education and Development Workshop: "1992 approaches, the Single Market looms, and the Irish government promotes 'European'. A central concept in this dramatic move to open frontiers and drop trade barriers is the mobility of labour. It is ironic therefore that it is accompanied by the continuing repression of those most mobile in search of income — Europe's nomads." He goes on to detail the level of prejudice and discrimination suffered by travellers throughout Ireland and the absence of any state action to improve the conditions of the travelling community.

Clare Farrell gives a concise history of women's struggle and feminist politics in Ireland, and explains the various forces at work which have led to recent setbacks in the area of reproductive as well as civil rights such as divorce.

### AWARENESS

A good indication of how previously marginalised political issues and movements can suddenly come to centre stage is given in the Viewpoint on the chapter dealing with animal

rights: "As the '80s progressed into the '90s, it appears that the word 'Green' is probably the thing ever to have happened for our wildlife. Hitherto, the media very often depended on the sensationalism of the ALF and its militant activities to address animal issues in any form. Now there is a national and indeed international awareness that the environment is extremely delicate, and is disintegrating at an alarming pace. The panic buttons have been rung and right across the social and political divide, it has finally become fashionable to be concerned about our flora and fauna."

While steering clear of party politics AID is indispensable as a guide for Irish political activists of a left or progressive variety. It will prove invaluable as a quick reference for many radical and alternative organisations, helping some to keep in touch with others.

Republican activists North and South will find this publica-



tion helpful in their day-to-day activities, in that it lists countless community-based groups. It will be extremely helpful also for their work with other progressive organisations within Irish society.

At £4.95 it is very reasonably priced, with an attractive lay-out and colour front cover. *Alternative Ireland Directory*, published by the Quay Co-op.

useful if often arguable chapter sitting the Irish experience in the context of other minority languages in Europe, and this too, one hopes, will add to the discussion and lead to action. If it does then this grossly over-expensive book will have contributed something: often we seem to need the outside 'expert' to make us realise the crisis, or to trigger recognition and action.

One of the most telling sections is the report on the implementation of Bórd na Gaeilge's action plan for Irish when, as he says:

"The nadir of these (reports) is probably the fourth item of implementation reported by the Geological Survey Office in 1986: 'A table was set aside in the tea room each Wednesday for those who wish to speak Irish.'"

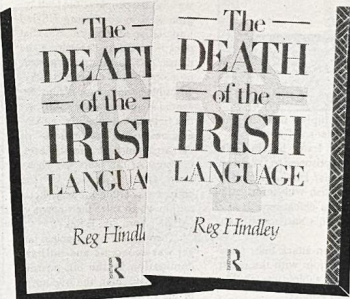
It is a pity that the history is so shallow, the current accounts so biased by whoever had his ear, and so often overtaken by later developments (this discussion of LA is very flawed here) because he does see the significance, for example, of television as a factor and a potential for good.

Ach is dócha go bhfuil gníomh de dlúth go prainneach ag an bpointe seo.

● The *Death of the Irish Language* by Reg Hindley. Published by Routledge. Hardback price £45 (Sterling).

or Irishman speaking Irish to his children who would not have done so if there had never been a language movement — something contradicted by the linguistic history of his Mór Arainn, An Bualtín and, in more recent times, An Clochán, (efforts which, though fallen on bad times lately, could easily have been built on, efforts he too easily disparages). His Mór experience is given some account by himself on p.104 without mentioning its contradiction of Blythe.

Be all that as it may, the whole topic the book addresses is a vital one. The author adds a



ordinary native speakers" or: "It cannot be over-emphasised that Gaeltacht people resent the expropriation of their language by wealthy townspeople who are not native speakers".

The proof of these assertions, as one might expect, is in the assertion!

### 'IMBALANCES'

There are similar 'imbalances' in the treatment of the fortunes of Conradh na Gaeilge in the acceptance of Comhallas Uladh Data and if the arrogant insistence of Eamán De Blaghd that "there was not as much as one ordinary Gaeltacht farmer

of Ireland seems to be irrelevant (it certainly doesn't suit his presentation).

### LACK OF TRAINING

He is a geographer as I mentioned, not an historian, and the lack of a training in history is apparent in the chapters dealing with the history of the language and in those analysing its decline. One would expect that imperialism, colonisation and the effects of both on generations of the conquered and colonised would be dealt with in due seriousness — they are not.

He has (willingly?) bought many pups, one of the most grotesque being the Belfast man's pamphlet in 1972 published by the Stalinist British and Irish Communist Organisation which is quoted approvingly, and two-nationalist and echoed in sub-Marxist sentences like "The upper-class seizure and (limited) use of the Gaeltacht language flies in the face of normal class relationships and is repugnant to many

**An expensive wake**  
THE DEATH of the Irish Language at £45 Sterling in hard-on-the-eye small, black type and including maps and tables a magnifying glass is needed to read, is too expensive by far and as overpriced as it has been heretofore, over-praised.

Certainly the maps, tables and detailed accounts of the actual state of affairs in the various Gaeltachtaí is thorough, useful, and important as a reference tool — but then one must add that O Riagáin, O Húgín, O Gíasián, O Gadhra and, to a lesser extent, Fennell, have all adverted to the facts, listed, and tabulated them.

Certainly also it is a frightening statistic that he has come up with — less than 10,000 people using Irish as the home language in the Gaeltacht areas.

But that very sentence points to a hidden agenda so to speak:

Hindley — a geographer (has this discipline taken primacy in (and one can identify some of these speaking/attitudinising vicariously through him) disparage, discount and ignore the Irish-speaking families outside the designated Gaeltacht areas. To him Irish is only the Irish transmitted from parents to children in a defined and traditional place; the Irish of the rest

SINN FEIN is dedicated to forcing a British withdrawal from the occupied Six Counties, the re-unification of our country and the establishment of a democratic socialist republic.

If you would like to join Sinn Féin, or find out more about our activities and policies, fill in the form below and send it to Sinn Féin, 44 Parnell Square, Dublin 1.

Name .....

Address .....

.....

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Tel .....



## Imeachtaí

**ANTI-EXTRADITION  
WHITE-LINE PICKET**  
2-3pm every Saturday  
Falls Road/Whitlock Road  
Junction  
**BELFAST**  
Organised by Belfast Anti-Extradition Committee

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

**WHITE LINE PICKET**  
Whitlock/Springfield Road  
Junction  
on anniversary of the death of each  
hunger-striker  
**BELFAST**

**WHITE-LINE PICKET**  
"Justice for all"  
6-7pm every Friday  
Finglas Dual Carriageway  
Janelle Shopping Centre  
**DUBLIN**

**WHITE LINE PICKET**  
"Segregation in Crumlin Road Jail"  
5-6pm every Saturday  
Glenshane Road  
**MAGHERA**  
County Derry  
Organised by the  
County Derry Relatives Action  
Committee

**CIORCAIL COMHRA**  
Sin Gach Luan  
Club an Conartha  
6 Sraid an Fhearchair  
Irish Learners' Conversation Group  
9pm every Monday  
Conradh na nGaeilge Club  
6 Harcourt Street  
**DUBLIN**

**ANTI-EXTRADITION FUNCTION**  
Music by Bodhrán  
7.30pm Friday 24th August  
Molly Malones  
Green Street  
**DUBLIN**  
Táille: £2.50

**DESMOND GREAVES  
SUMMER SCHOOL**  
Friday August 24th to Sunday  
August 26th  
Kinlay House  
Lord Edward Street  
**DUBLIN**  
Fee: £8 for weekend, £2 per  
session  
Enquiries/fees: Phone 973154

**SEAN RUSSELL  
50th ANNIVERSARY  
COMMEMORATION**  
Assemble 2.30pm  
Sunday 26th August  
Five Lamps  
March to Fairview Park  
**DUBLIN**

**BENEFIT SOCIAL**  
in aid of Conradh na Gaeilge  
Music by Saoirse  
Thursday 30th August  
The Victorian  
Holloway Road  
**LONDON**  
Admission £1 (includes buffet)  
Fáilte roimh Chách

**BALLAD SESSION**  
Music by Rogues Gallery  
Friday 31st August  
Central House  
**CLONMELLON**  
County Westmeath  
Táille: £1  
In aid of An Cumann Cabhrach

**FUNCTION**  
Featuring The Irish Brigade  
Saturday 1st September  
The 79 (formerly The Hunting  
Lodge)  
Ballyfermot  
**DUBLIN**

# Join Sinn Féin



# ENGLISH PAPER ADMITS ANTI-IRISH BIAS

THAT RECENT ARTICLES in the London *Independent* newspaper contained an anti-Irish bias was recognised by the paper's ombudsman, Gordon Downey, in a recent adjudication.

He found that an article by Andy Gill on the Fleadh Festival of Irish music in Finsbury Park, titled 'Thirst among equals', was "clearly exaggerated and insensitive". Gill had commented in his rock music column that "the snatches of overheard conversation here concerned not so much the music, which was of distinctly secondary importance, but fondly-remembered bouts of past boozing leading to superhuman feats of heroism — such as, for instance, standing".

## THE INDEPENDENT

This was supposed to be a music review but Gill gave a totally distorted and racist view of the festival, making at least 15 exaggerated references to alcohol consumption:

"On one or two occasions it was possible to see someone without a can or paper cup of grog to hand... barely an undiluted pupil in the park."

### COMPLAINT

Patrick Reynolds of the Irish in Britain Representation Group had written to complain that "the article was racist, stereotypical, insulting, inaccurate, biased, misleading and exaggerated".

Gordon Downey also agreed that articles by Stan Gebler Davies, whose reactionary anti-Irish writings have been highlighted in *AP/IRN* on a number of occasions recently, "clearly risked giving offence".

Pat Reynolds had cited an article by Garbled Davies in June entitled 'The News Headlines from Dublin', saying that it was "a gross stereotyping and

distortion of the Irish people, and part of Davies' irrational hatred of Irish people".

A Gebler sample? How about: "The Irish have decided to rejoin the world. They are going to quit violence and murder... No more bombs or slaughter." In an earlier article on the Irish language and the proficiency of republican POWs he wrote: "The easiest way to learn Gaelic is to murder someone for the IRA."

The IBRG says that "anti-Irish propaganda in the media, aligned with British and Irish censorship, serves the purpose of promoting British political policies in Ireland". It has also condemned the 26-County government for its silence and ineffectiveness in the area of challenging anti-Irish propaganda in the British media as "an insult to the Irish people at home and abroad". It laments the fact that the defence of Irish people and Irish identity and culture has been left entirely to the voluntary efforts of individuals and organisations in the community.

## OBITUARY



# JAMES QUINN

REPUBLICANS in Belfast were saddened to learn of the death on August 14th of James Quinn, a veteran republican who died at the age of 75 years after a long and full life during which he remained loyal to the republican ideal.

Jimmy Quinn was born in the Dock Lane area of Belfast in 1915. He joined the Republican Movement as a young man of 17 years and became active in the IRA in the Queen Street area.

Like so many republicans Jimmy was to experience life as a prisoner of the British, first at the age of 18 and then again as an internee in 1939.

On release Jimmy married Margaret McCorry and they were to have four sons and four daughters. The Quinn boys were also to experience imprisonment with each one in turn serving time as either sentenced prisoners or internees from the

1950s until the present day. Up until his death Jimmy Quinn remained a staunch supporter of the right of the Irish people to national freedom and independence and his greatest regret would have been not living to see his people free.

The Republican Movement in Belfast owe a great debt to people like Jimmy who suffered quietly through the lean times and the good times and who remained undaunted despite all that was inflicted upon them. To his wife and family circle we extend our deepest sympathy. Your loss is our loss. I measc laochra ár muintir go raibh a anam uaisle.

questions.

1. The views expressed by Tom O'Dwyer, like any book reviewer, are his, and do not represent the editorial line of *AP/IRN*.

2. The 'Stage Theory' of revolution has been a bone of contention between "Stalinists" like Owen Bennett and "Trotskyites" like Kieran Allen for years. My experience of both groupings in Britain is that the debate is based on a very superficial understanding of Trotsky's writings on revolution. One result of this is that both groupings are critical of the conduct of the Irish struggle for freedom from British imperialism.

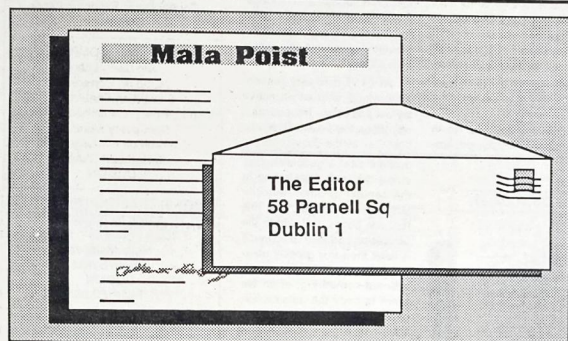
3. Trotsky himself did not discount the bourgeois revolution — he experienced a bourgeois and a socialist revolution himself in 1917 — but he did not go along with the view that it was a necessary precondition for socialism. Neither did he believe in "instant socialism" especially in a country where the development of the productive forces was at a low level. His life and the circumstances of his death bear testimony to his belief that the struggle for democracy does not cease with the socialist revolution. Stalinism is a negation of democracy and holds back the struggle for

socialism through its accommodation with capitalism.

4. What does Owen mean by "a nation's social growth"? This is another example of the failure to see things in class terms. The partition of Ireland represented progress for the Irish bourgeoisie. They were given their freedom to exploit in return for a deal which left Britain in economic control of both sides of the border. The "burden" fell on the working class, especially the nationalists in the Six Counties who paid the price for the liberation of the 26-County bourgeoisie with the British jackboot on their necks. That part of society represented by the Haugheys and O'Reillys has done very well out of partition that is why they are so keen to defend it. Remember it was a previous owner of the *Irish Independent*, WM Murphy, who called for the execution of Connolly.

Finally, *AP/IRN* is a newspaper and a theoretical journal. It gives us the news and views on the struggle against Britain from the point of view of the struggler. We can have our theoretical debates in *Míla Píot*.

Pádraig O'Braidaigh,  
London.



### 'Con job'

A Chairde,

So the great white "liberal" Mr Con Houlihan, who never tires putting himself forward to his readers as Mr Nice Guy, the soul of affability and benignity itself — let his true intolerant colours show recently, by insulting our Freeman Nelson Mandela by calling him a fascist, no less. Not only does Con insult the vast majority of South Africans, whose popular and respected leader he is, but he insults the citizens of Ireland as well and especially the city of Dublin. This outburst of course tells us much more about Con's supremacist values and slave-minded colonial mentality, than it reflects upon the great struggler and sufferer for liberty, Nelson Mandela. This noble and dignified freedom-fighter for justice and peace, who has had to endure the inhuman indignities of 27 years' incarceration amongst his deadly enemies, deserves better than to have to suffer such unfair and unjust slings and arrows from sheltered trends such as Con who have never known remotely, such hardship. No more Mr Nice Guy, eh, Con?

To attack Nelson so, is in practical effect to condone the real fascism that is apartheid itself. It leaves a very bad taste.

I suppose this reactionary diatribe of Con's should come as no surprise really, given his embarrassingly obsequious attitude to the occupying crown oppressors of part of his own country. At least it can be said of Con that he is consistent regarding the two

oppressors concerned, in that in both cases he has supported the big battalions. A strange situation for a writer who claims to espouse the cause of the underdog, endlessly.

Finally, Con has besmirched the honour of the gallant sons and daughters of Kerry who themselves have been so brave in their resistance to imperialism down the centuries. It is up to Kerry to clear its name and wipe this stain from its noble brow.

Manifestly, it is Con who has saying something an extremist, by his own pen.

Jer O'Leary.



### Friends and enemies

A Chairde,

There is a saying, "The enemy of my enemy is my friend". With that in mind why did our paper (August 9th) attack the president

of Iraq, lumping him together with Thatcher and Bush?

Are the Iraqis holding Irish republican prisoners in jails or remand centres? Do the Iraqis supply the British with information to help them defeat republicans? Are the Iraqis anti-republican? NO!

Why then attack their president? Why join with the racist, sexist gutter tabloid press? Why not just say nothing?

Hopefully our paper did not feel it had to appease anyone by saying something anti-Iraqi, ie August visitors.

Churchill once said in relation to the defeat of Hitler that he'd make a pact with the devil to defeat Mr Hitler. Because Churchill said it republicans should not reject the maxim out of hand. In fact we should adopt it when and wherever possible to defeat the British.

Hence my opening line: 'The enemy of my enemy is my friend'. Weren't we all wishing the Argentinians well in the Malvinas? Why not the Iraqis?

Sean McLaughlin,  
H-Blocks.

### The editor replies

The maxim: "The enemy of my enemy is my friend" is one that should be rejected by Irish republicans. To adopt such a simplistic approach is to follow the way of the imperialists and to misunderstand the essential difference between the imperialist and the revolutionary outlook. Revolutionaries in any country, in examining an international political situation, must look at its implications for those people direct-

ly involved and for the world community as a whole, as well as for their own struggle.

Having done so they must present honestly and straightforwardly their analysis of the forces involved and of the place of the conflict in the balance of progressive and reactionary movements in global politics. That is what *AP/IRN* has attempted to do as comprehensively as possible.

"Weren't we all wishing the Argentinians well in the Malvinas?" asks the comrade. Yes, and we wish the people of the Gulf region well in combating US-led imperialist aggression. But that does not stop us describing the nature of the Iraqi government, no more than it stopped *AP/IRN* describing the nature of the Argentinian government in 1982. At that time we said that the "justifiable nationalist celebrations" of the Argentinian people at the reconquest of the Malvinas "have been grossly abused by the corrupt and brutal military dictatorship which rules their country" (*AP/IRN*, April 8th, 1982).

Then as now our principal target was economic and military domination by the big powers and, in particular, the hypocrisy of the British jingoism and war-mongering with which we are all so familiar.

Our friends are all oppressed people in every country. Our enemies are their oppressors, national and international, and our own.

### Apathy for segregation

A Chairde,

At a meeting of Magherafelt District Council on August 14th, Sinn Féin and unionist councillors were the advocates of an amicable settlement to the segregation issue at Crumlin Road Jail.

It is a cause for regret that SDLP representatives chose not to use their vote on this occasion.

Such indifference is utterly deplorable, in a state which has tottered on the brink of fascism for 70 years.

County Kerry Relatives  
Action Committee.

### Stage socialists

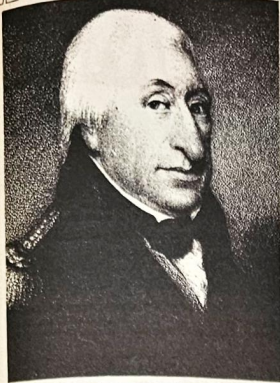
A Chairde,

Owen Bennett's letter on the review of Kieran Allen's book *The Politics of James Connolly* contains a number of interesting



# REMEMBERING THE PAST

AN PHOBLACHT/REPUBLICAN NEWS, Thursday, August 23rd, 1990 — Leathanach 15



## NAPPER TANDY

BY PETER O'ROURKE

**JAMES NAPPER TANDY, United Irishman and political activist, was born in Dublin in 1740.**

A popular Dublin merchant, Napper Tandy was regarded as a radical as early as 1780 when his opinions were considered as being too extreme for his Volunteer corps from which he was expelled.

Like many other republicans in Ireland he was deeply influenced by the American Revolution of 1776 and the French Revolution in 1789. In October 1791 he helped Theobald Wolfe Tone and Thomas Russell to

found the Society of United Irishmen and the following month became first secretary of the Dublin branch.

He took the Defenders oath in 1793 but was betrayed by an informer the following year and forced to flee to America. Hearing of developments at home, he went to Paris in 1798, was appointed a general in the French army, and though considerably older than

many of his associates in the United Irishmen, took command of a small expedition which followed in the wake of General Humbert's invasion of Ireland.

By the time he landed on his native shore at Rutland Island, off the Donegal coast, in September 1798, Humbert had been defeated in Connacht. Napper Tandy took to the sea again and attempted to return to France, but was arrested with his three comrades in the neutral city of Hamburg.

In September 1799, after almost a year in prison, they were handed over to the British authorities, much to the anger of Napoleon, who protested that Napper Tandy was a general in the French army and demanded their release.

In April 1801 he and his companions were charged at Lifford Court with attempting an invasion of Ireland. While the other three were treated leniently, Napper Tandy was sentenced to death but his sentence was later commuted to transportation for life.

However, the French insisted on Napper Tandy's release before the signing of the Treaty of Amiens with Britain and in May 1802 he arrived in Bordeaux where he was given a civic reception and a military pension. He died there 15 months later.

The popular ballad, *The Wearing of the Green*, by which the name Napper Tandy became universally known, has, in no small way, contributed to the preservation of his memory.

James Napper Tandy died on August 24th, 1803, 187 years ago this week.

## In My Chimhne

**BRADLEY, Eamonn (8th Anniversary).** In proud and loving memory of Vol Eamonn 'Bronco' Bradley, Derry Brigade, Oglaiha na hEireann, who was shot dead by crown forces on August 26th 1982. I measc laochra na nGael go raibh a. Always remembered by his friends and comrades in the Derry Brigade.

**BRADLEY, Eamonn (8th Anniversary).** In proud and loving memory of our son Vol Eamonn 'Bronco' Bradley, who was killed by British troops on August 26th 1982. Death is nothing at all. I have only slipped away into the next room. Whatever we were to each other, that we are still. Call me by my old familiar name, speak to me in the easy way which you always used, laugh as we always laughed at the little jokes we enjoyed together. Sadly missed and loved by his Mother and Father.

**BRADLEY, Eamonn (8th Anniversary).** In proud and loving memory of Vol Eamonn 'Bronco' Bradley, who was killed by British troops on August 26th 1982. A prayer, a tear to the end of time, for a wonderful brother we are proud to call ours. Sadly missed and loved by his sisters Martina and Lynn.

**BRADLEY, Eamonn (8th Anniversary).** In proud and loving memory of Vol Eamonn 'Bronco' Bradley, who was killed by British troops on August 26th 1982. Although the grave his body holds, his soul they cannot kill. They are but fools who think him dead — his spirit lives on still. Proudly remembered by his loving brother Louie.

**BRADLEY, Eamonn (8th Anniversary).** In proud and loving memory of Vol Eamonn 'Bronco' Bradley, who was killed by British troops on August 26th 1982. We cannot bring the old times back, when we were all together, but memories of you will live on in our hearts forever. Sleep, Irish soldier, sleep. Loved and missed by his sister Jean, brother-in-law Noel and nieces Noella, Natalie, Róisín and Kayleigh.

**CARLIN, James; CURRAN, Martin (18th Anniversary).** In proud and loving memory of Vol James Carlin and Martin Curran, South Down Command, Oglaiha na hEireann, who died on active service as a result of an accidental explosion on August 26th 1972. Thug aia a raibh acu ar son a muintir agus a dtír. Always remembered by their friends and comrades in the South Down Command.

**CONVERY, Brendan; MALLON, Gerard (7th Anniversary).** In proud and loving memory of Vols Brendan Convery and Gerard Mallon, who were killed on active service on August 13th 1983. Always remembered by Geraldine, Kevin and Brendan, Armagh.

**DAVISON, Brendan (2nd Anniversary).** In proud and loving memory of Vol Brendan Davison, who was murdered by loyalists on July 25th 1988. "If you strike at, imprison us or kill us, out of our prisons or graves we will still evoke a spirit that will thwart you and mayhap raise a force that will destroy you. We defy you — do your worst." Always remembered with pride by Nancy and son Charles.

**DAVISON, Brendan (2nd Anniversary).** In proud and loving memory of Vol Brendan Davison, Oglaiha na hEireann, who was murdered by agents of British imperialism on July 25th 1988. Greater love hath no man than this, that he lay down his life for his friends. Never forgotten by Paul (H-Blocks), Archie (Crumlin Road) and all the Fleming family, Derry City.

**DAVISON, Brendan (2nd Anniversary).** In proud and loving memory of Vol Brendan Davison, who died on July 25th 1988. "To carry on, no matter what odds are against you, to car-

ry on no matter what torments are inflicted on you. The road to freedom is paved with suffering, hardships and torture. Carry on my gallant and brave comrades, until that certain day." — Tom Williams. Always remembered by his loving brother Brian, wife Rita and Brian Og.

**DEVINE, Michael (9th Anniversary).** The Republican Movement remembers with pride Vol A Vol Mickey Devine, who died after 60 days on hunger-strike on August 20th 1981. Mickey Devine identified the cause of his people's suffering — British misrule in Ireland — and chose active republicanism as a means to eradicate it. "Life springs from death and from the graves of patriot men and women spring living nations." — Pádraig Mac Piarais.

**H-BLOCK MARTYRS (9th Anniversary).** In proud and loving memory of Vol Bobby Sands MP, Francis Hughes, Ray McCrossin, Pat O'Hara, Joe McDonnell, Martin Hurson, Kevin Lynch, Kieran Doherty, Tom McElwee and Mickey Devine, ten gallant Irishmen who laid down their lives in the H-Blocks of Long Kesh in the cause of Irish freedom. Mary, Queen of Ireland, pray for them. Dark Rosaleen, how gentle your graces, for they they braved death's longest death, to die. Always remembered by the Jim McGinn Sinn Féin Cumann, Kilsrea, South Derry.

**HUGHES, Patrick; MADDEN, Noel; ROWNTREE, Oliver (18th Anniversary).** In proud and loving memory of Vol Patrick Hughes, Noel Madden and Oliver Rowntree, South Down Command, Oglaiha na hEireann, who were killed in an accidental explosion on August 22nd 1972. "Whenever death may surprise us it will be welcome, provided it brings us a victory." — Che Guevara. Always remembered by their friends and comrades in the South Down Command, Oglaiha na hEireann.

**HUGHES, Patrick; MADDEN, Noel; ROWNTREE, Oliver (18th Anniversary).** In proud and loving memory of Vol Patrick Hughes, Noel Madden and Oliver Rowntree, South Down Command, Oglaiha na hEireann, who were killed in an accidental explosion on August 22nd 1972. Always remembered by the John Mitchell / Newry Martyrs Sinn Féin Cumann, Newry.

**HUGHES, Patrick (8th Anniversary).** In loving memory of Vol Patrick Hughes, who was killed in action on August 22nd 1972. Remembered always by Newry PDF.

**HUGHES, Patrick (8th Anniversary).** In loving memory of Vol Patrick Hughes, who was killed in action on August 22nd 1972. Remembered always by the bold, inscribe his name on the roll of fame in letters of purest gold. Always remembered by his loving wife Theresa and family, Dundalk. **McKEOWN, Patsy (16th Anniversary).** In proud and loving memory of Vol Patsy McKeown, South Down Command, Oglaiha na hEireann, who died on active service on August 27th 1974. Always remembered by the John Mitchell / Newry Martyrs Sinn Féin Cumann, Newry.

**MALLON, Gerry (7th Anniversary).** In proud and loving memory of Gerry 'Moose' Mallon, who was killed by crown forces on August 13th 1983. Always remembered by Harry Soraghan, County Monaghan.



## Freedom Justice Peace

Irish republican supporters living in Britain can make a major contribution to the achievement of democracy and justice in Ireland.

Sinn Féin and republican supporters in Britain aim to identify and mobilise the Irish republican constituency in Britain in the coming year in solidarity with the objectives of the struggle.

**Your support is vital.**

**If you are interested in becoming involved in solidarity activities around PRISONERS — FUNDRAISING — PUBLICITY**

Fill in this form and return to:

Aine Connolly, Sinn Féin (British Desk), 44 Parnell Square, Dublin 1, Ireland.  
Tel: Dublin 726100 or 726932.

Name .....

Address .....

Tel .....

## Beannachtai

**McGEOUGH, Gerard (Düsseldorf).** Happy birthday for September 2nd. Good luck and God bless. From Mum and Dad. xxx

**McGEOUGH, Gerard (Düsseldorf).** Birthday wishes for a better year ahead. From Roger and Sharon. xxx

**McGEOUGH, Gerard (Düsseldorf).** Birthday wishes. Uncle Gerard. From your three nieces Tara-loo, Tanya and Terri. xxx

**McGEOUGH, Gerard (Düsseldorf).** Happy birthday. Wishing you good luck for the year ahead. Love from Colette and Abby. xxx

**McGEOUGH, Gerard (Düsseldorf).** Birthday greetings. From your old friend Peadar.

## Comhbhrón

**HURLEY.** Deepest sympathy is extended to Dermot and family on the death of his mother. From the Ernie O'Malley Sinn Féin Cumann, Dublin.

## Buíochas

**BRIDGETON** Republican Flute Band would like to thank the people of Lurgan for their hospitality and the kindness shown to them on their recent visit. Also the owner and staff of the Royal Oak Bar.





# THE FLYING COLUMN

**THIS latest ad for the Royal Air Force is a revelation.**

"If someone asked me what 2 plus 2 makes I couldn't tell them," it reads. The speaker is supposed to be a fast jet navigator in mid-air and if you think you can reach this level of performance, then this job could be the one for you.

The ad ends: "So, while you can still remember your name, fill in the coupon."

Did you ever get the feeling you were overqualified?

And I always wondered why those jets keep crashing into each other in training accidents!

## MOHAWK SOLIDARITY

The 19th anniversary of the introduction of internment in the Six Counties was given an international dimension by Mohawk Indians in Minnesota in the United States. A demonstration was held, complete with internment bonfire, in a show of solidarity with political prisoners worldwide. Speakers discussed political prisoners from Ireland, America, Puerto Rico, South Africa, El Salvador and the Mohawk nation. The organisers found that, despite the wide variety of cultures represented by these various speakers, the similarities were far more striking than the differences, the desire for freedom being as universal as the threat to that fundamental right.

When the bonfire was lit, everyone was invited to join in a Mohawk prayer. Each individual was invited to throw tobacco into the flames so that their prayer would be carried to the heavens. Janet Gray of the Mohawk nation spoke, describing the earth as a temple and emphasising

that the murder, oppression and torture practised by tyrants will no longer be tolerated in that temple.

## PARANOIA CORNER

Brit bomb disposal 'experts' have blown up a bag of dog biscuits which had been delivered in error to a retired officer in Gillingham, Kent.

Meanwhile, bomb disposal 'experts' in Catterick, North Yorkshire have, within the past month or so, carried out controlled explosions on an amazing assortment of items. Demolished suspect packages contained one copy of *Huckleberry Finn*, a suitcase full of clothes and a holiday brochure, a jam sponge cake and the latest deadly device; an empty cardboard box!

If you're an Irish emigrant to London and the prohibitive cost of accommodation has led you to consider the merits of living in a squat, then a top Tory in Hackney has news for you.

Andrew Turner, a prospective parliamentary candidate for Hackney South and Shoreditch, has accused Hackney Council of unwittingly providing safe houses for IRA 'terrorists' by allowing thousands of flats all over the borough to stand empty or be squatted.

Maybe Andy should give George Clueless Coleman a buzz with his counter-insurgent breakthrough.

The most infamous case of "IRA squatters" that I can recall, is of course, that of the Guildford Four. Maybe it was in fact their poor choice of accommodation which led the police to decide to fit them up for the 15-year stretch?

## Dúirt Siad

No, they'd probably have hanged the right men... not proved against them, that's all. — Retired Master of the Rolls Lord Denning, on the Guildford Four in an interview in the *Spectator* magazine.

We shouldn't have all these campaigns to get the Birmingham Six released if they'd been hanged. They'd have been forgotten, and the whole community would have been satisfied. — Lord Denning, in the *Spectator* magazine.

... all the words in the language which we used to condemn immorality... have been taken out. No bastards, no buggers. — Screaming Lord Denning again, attacking modern morals.

People ought not to take notice of everything he says. — Lady Denning.

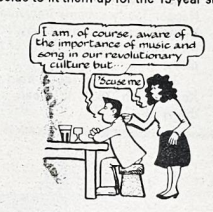
Northern Ireland remains a profoundly unsatisfactory instance of democratic life, and the reasons may lie in the rationale behind its creation in the first place. The British government may argue that there is a peaceful political way of solving the conflict, but it has failed to show what that might be. Its failure might be associated with its refusal to address the analysis offered by Sinn Féin. Is it not time for the British government to 'think the unthinkable'? — Oliver Rafferty SJ, in an editorial in the August edition of *The Month*, an English Catholic publication, titled 'Talking with 'terrorists'.

The closer that violence has been directed to individuals in Britain, the more urgent the government is in trying to resolve the 'question of Ulster'. In the aftermath of the bombing of the Carlton Club, where thankfully there was no loss of life, not only did the Home Secretary make a statement in the House of Commons, but the Prime Minister herself, accompanied by senior officials, toured the bombed building. — Oliver Rafferty SJ.

The sensible, the humane, the just thing is to offer talks without preconditions in the hope of avoiding further bloodshed. If there is to be a solution to our problems, Northern Ireland needs to be placed at the top of the British political agenda. The government must demonstrate that it rejects the idea of an 'acceptable level of violence'. It must work harder to produce a peaceful settlement. Such a settlement can only come about if all parties to the dispute are involved in talks. That includes, in some form, Sinn Féin. To that extent Mandela spoke the simple truth. — Oliver Rafferty SJ.

Revisionism has reached such a pitch in our society that some of those we hear from would have us believe that the Famine was merely a kind of 19th century precursor of the Scarsdale diet. — Modern historian and journalist Tim Pat Coogan, speaking last Sunday at the 68th commemoration of Michael Collins' death at Beal na mBláth.

NOTES



## A Chara,

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