

AN



IRELAND'S BIGGEST SELLING
POLITICAL WEEKLY



PHOBLACHT

Republican News

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Majority say British must go

A TELEVISION PROGRAMME broadcast this week reports that a MORI poll conducted in Britain shows 61% of people in favour of a British military and political withdrawal from the Six Counties within four years. A sizeable number wanted withdrawal immediately.

The poll which features in Channel 4's *Pack Up Your Troubles* documentary on Thursday night and which interviewed 2,000 people, also found 51% in favour of involving Sinn Féin in political talks. A majority of those questioned also opposed repressive legislation employed by the British in the North.

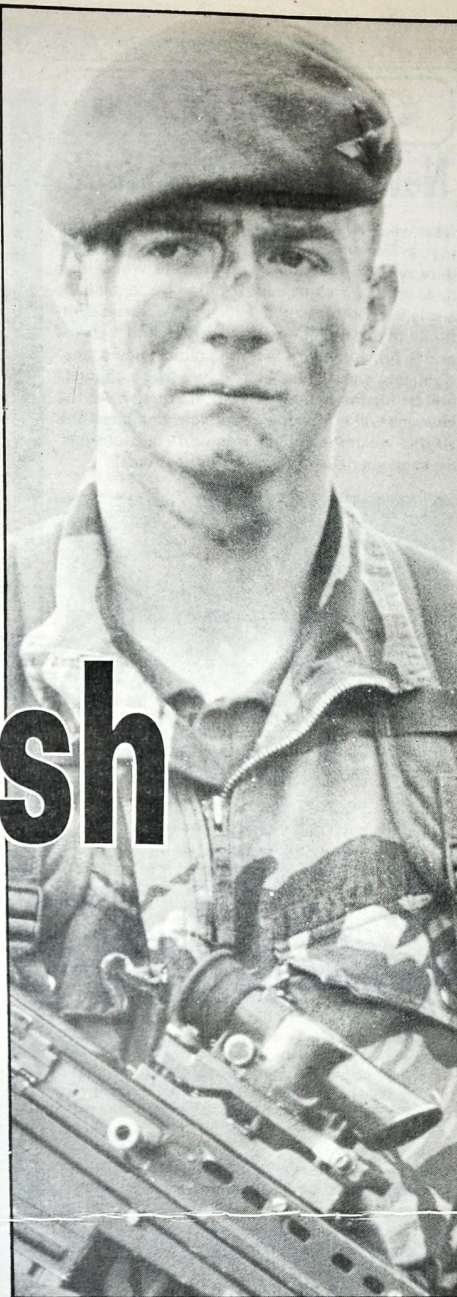
These results allied with the those of last spring's ESRI poll in the 26 Counties which found 82% of those sampled in favour of Irish unity, are a clear message to the British government, demonstrating that its occupation of Ireland is entirely undemocratic.

The wishes of the vast majority of the Irish people is for national

unity and an overwhelming wish of the British people for many years now has been for their soldiers to be taken out of this country. The rejection of the democratic wishes of the people of Ireland by successive British governments and their continued indifference to the expressed wishes of their own people, has produced this violent conflict.

The responsibility for ending that conflict lies primarily with London. But there are important lessons too for the Dublin government and the SDLP in these recent surveys. By continuing to work to a British agenda in Ireland, they protract the problem and prolong the suffering of Irish people. The public good will is there in abundance in both Ireland and Britain for them to confront the British government in the international forum with the demand for Irish unity and national self-determination.

Those who most clearly ex-



press the aspiration to British withdrawal and Irish unity are banned from the airwaves in Britain and Ireland. The censoring of these views has obviously not had any effect: in persuading people either here or in Britain that they are wrong. What it has done is to stifle debate on the Six Counties and to further erode democracy. Such measures are not aimed at reaching a solution to the problem but

are an attempt by the British government to shove it under the carpet. Despite their efforts it has not worked.

The British government cannot ignore the will of the people forever. Sooner or later they will have to come to terms with the fact that their days in Ireland are numbered. It is towards such a realisation that the Dublin government should now be encouraging the British.

10.30am Saturday 2nd November
CONWAY MILL, BELFAST
OPEN TO PUBLIC
MEN & WOMEN WELCOME

Sinn Féin National
Women's Conference



OPINION

New AP/RN next week

Next week AP/RN will be produced in a new format. In line with our policy of keeping right up to date with the latest developments we will be making fuller use of new technology to produce a brighter, better paper. This gives us the opportunity to expand our news coverage and features and to bring Ireland's leading political newspaper right into the 1990s. As always, these changes will be for the benefit of you, the reader. All the changes will not happen overnight of course and AP/RN welcomes comments and contributions. So keep your eye out for AP/RN next week.



● Annesley (right) — dismissive of loyalist sectarian attacks

Annesley and Belstead

RUC CHIEF CONSTABLE Hugh Annesley has revealed his sectarian disregard for the lives of nationalists. Eager to join the ranks of the apologists for the sectarian campaign of terror unleashed by loyalist death squads against the nationalist community, Annesley echoed the words of DUP spokesperson Sammy Wilson, as he rushed to dismiss sectarian attacks by loyalists as merely "reactive" to the IRA.

In an hour-long interview on BBC Radio Ulster on Sunday, October 20th, the head of Britain's official RUC death squads said that despite the recent upsurge in loyalist killings, his number one priority was the defeat of the IRA. He repeated these sentiments on Tuesday at a Church of Ireland synod in Armagh.

The RUC chief constable's complacency in the wake of spiralling loyalist attacks on the Catholic community comes as no great surprise. The organisation he heads has never been and never will be a neutral law enforcement agency; it was and remains a sectarian counter-insurgency force, intent on subduing the nationalist population and their aspirations for Irish unity. In this at least the RUC has a great deal in common with loyalist killers, with whom they collude.

Meanwhile the British minister responsible for 'security' in the Six Counties has come in for scathing criticism following an interview in which he arrogantly dismissed talk of a possible ban on the murderous loyalist gang the UDA.

Lord Belstead, number two at the NIO, was being interviewed for BBC radio on Monday, October 21st, when he replied to questions over the banning of the UDA with the dismissive comment: "I don't think we need to follow the endless discussion as to whether the list of proscribed organisations should be extended. I think by having the UVF and the UFF proscribed, proscription is doing exactly what it is intended to do."

While republicans recognise no right of a British government to ban any organisation in Ireland, Belstead's comments are a sure signal to the long list of UDA victims, that both he and his government, as was reiterated by the RUC Chief Constable, view the ongoing slaughter of Catholics as something not to get too excited over.

Widespread attacks

AS PETER BROOKE carried out yet another of his seemingly endless official openings, this time in Belfast city centre, the IRA was causing him acute embarrassment and his crown forces an additional headache, with a series of bomb and hoax bomb attacks across the centre of the North's largest city.

As British army experts moved in to deal with a number of hoax devices on major roads and bridges, and as Brooke prepared to answer questions for the press in Fountain Street, a number of loud explosions were heard just streets away at the Castle Court complex.

Commenting in a statement on this operation, the IRA said that they had placed two devices on board a commandeered vehicle and placed it in the Castle Court complex on Tuesday, October 22nd. One device containing two pounds of Semtex was timed to detonate ten minutes after an initial half pound charge had exploded to catch bomb disposal experts moving in to examine the scene of the first explosion. The British soldiers though were still several yards off when the second and larger device exploded.

LOYALIST GANGS TARGETED

The IRA in Belfast have said that its Volunteers carried out the two separate attacks against loyalist targets in the city on Monday, October 21st.

In the first of the attacks a booby-trap bomb exploded under a gold Sierra car as it entered Hope Street in the Sandy Row area of South Belfast seriously injuring the driver. In a statement on the attack the IRA said:

"Over the past month a number of our Volunteers independently reported seeing the (named individual) UVF commanding officer in the North, driving a gold Ford Sierra car Registration YUJ 3520 in nationalist areas of the city. We firmly believe he was carrying out reconnaissance for future loyalist attacks.

"Our intelligence department traced the car and established that it was owned by a loyalist with UVF associations stretching back to the late 1970s, who was living in the Westland area. Monitoring of the vehicle established a pattern of use for the vehicle and on the basis of this we placed a booby-trap bomb under the car on Monday evening, in anticipation of our principal target (the named loyalist) driving it the following morning. In the event it was driven by his close associate who suffered serious injuries in the blast."

In a statement on the other operation, the IRA said:

"Our Volunteers targeted [a named loyalist] the UDA's commanding officer in Highfield on Tuesday evening. Unfortunately he (the named loyalist) was not at his Highvale Gardens home when the ASU arrived. Volunteers on the operation were forced to fire a number of shots over the heads of local people who attempted to intervene as the ASU effected its withdrawal from the area."



MORTAR FIRED

The IRA in County Tyrone has said that Volunteers under its command carried out two military operations against members of the crown forces on Saturday, October 19th, and Monday, October 22nd.

The first of these saw an RUC mobile patrol come under fire from a directional mortar in the town of Omagh. The device, which was fired from a roadside ditch as the armoured car passed by, narrowly missed its target and detonated on impact with an electricity junction box adjacent to waste ground. The attack on Monday saw a UDR man escape injury when a number of shots were fired at him through the window of his Cookstown home.

FERMANAGH BOOBY-TRAP

A serving member of the RUC survived a booby-trap attack on Saturday, October 19th, when he discovered a Semtex bomb which had been attached to the underside of his car outside his Lisnaskea home in County Fermanagh.

PATROL BLASTED

The IRA in South Armagh detonated a substantial roadside bomb as a patrol of British soldiers prepared to enter the village of Silverbridge on Sunday, October 20th.

McCarthyism in City Hall

AT A RECENT MEETING of the Protocol Committee of Dublin City Council, a Labour Party motion specifically denying the use of public buildings to Sinn Féin was carried. The meeting took place on Friday, October 11th. The motion was passed by ten votes to eight. Proposed by Lord Mayor Seán Kenny, it must now go before the next full meeting of Dublin City Council, for a final vote. If it is Mansion House for next February's Ard Fheis.

This latest attack orchestrated by Ruairi Quinn of the Labour Party comes hot on the heels of two others. Sinn Féin has already signed a declaration which was an attempt to exclude the party from the Mansion House and was introduced in the council by the Workers' Party. There was then introduced a stalling motion banning all political parties from public buildings.

It is still unclear what the outcome of the crucial vote will be. A group of 23 prominent individuals

in community groups in Dublin have signed a letter calling on the people to oppose this further censorship of Sinn Féin and asking councillors to vote down the motion. The letter says: "While we may have our differences with Sinn Féin we believe censorship and political witchhunts have nothing to offer as a solution to the ongoing conflict in our country."

Speaking to AP/RN, community worker Joe Kelly accused those who support the motion of "double standards", saying that by his par-

ticipation in the affairs of the council, Sinn Féin Councillor Christy Burke was an integral part of the apparatus of local government: "The paratus of local government: 'He has even supplanted in the Mansion House with his fellow councillors with no complaint. Christy even voted for the current lord mayor. How can the city council say that the presence of Sinn Féin in one part of its premises is repugnant and acceptable in another?'"

Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams said: "The Labour Party is aligning itself with the most reactionary undemocratic forces in Ireland. For the Labour Party to espouse a liberal ethos and then to censor a political party is completely contradictory. How does this fit with Labour Party policy, which is against Section 317? Sinn Féin Labour Party is denying Sinn Féin and the people our party represents the right to freedom of speech, opinion and assembly."

A grim job

THE ONLY TANGIBLE RESULT of the new Programme for Government agreed between **Fianna Fáil** and the Progressive Democrats was that **Charlie Haughey** remained in office. The programme was finally agreed before the 4pm deadline on Friday, October 18th. At 4pm the **Leinster House** deputies had to vote on a **Fine Gael** motion of no confidence.

The programme itself covers 29 sections. Interest centred on what policies the programme would implement on job creation, tax reform and tax evasion. Housing, education, health and social welfare and the government's current budgetary difficulties were also prominent aspects of the new programme.

The political circumstances surrounding the formulation of the new programme make it a dubious and suspect document. It was written in the aftermath of the Green-core and Telecom debates. The economic record of both parties makes the feasibility of its objectives laughable. Rarely have so many well meaning platitudes been abused in the one piece of text.

For instance, the programme claims that the FF/PD coalition was formed by the parties in the "national interest". They claim that the programme is driven by "a range of important social, economic and institutional reform objectives". In its introduction, which is titled "Overall Framework" (this title is used to fool us into thinking that the 26-County government actually has a coherent plan) the programme tells

us that proper accountability must be ensured by the state and business at every level; that every citizen must be afforded greater access and openness concerning government and state affairs; that our vital social services will be further developed and improved.

BIG BROTHER

On the question of tax evasion the programme states that "the government will establish a universal ID system". This ID scheme will apply to "significant commercial and financial activities, such as property and stock market transactions and bank accounts". So the ordinary punter will as usual be hounded by the revenue commissioners for sums that seem insignificant compared to recent property speculation deals conducted with public money.

Are we actually expected to believe that the Mick Smurfits and Dermot Desmonds of this world are going to be thwarted by ID cards? Mick Smurfit is a tax exile. That's why he was appointed as Honorary Consul to Monaco. An ID card would be irrelevant for him, as in truth it would be for most of the fi-

Mick Morrissey studies the "Programme for Government" agreed after marathon talks between the Progressive Democrats and **Fianna Fáil**, and shows that the programme does not withstand close examination.

nanial community.

Job creation and employment are topics mentioned throughout the text of the new programme. The hollow jargon flows freely throughout the text. The introduction talks of achieving "pro-jobs tax reform that will promote employment". The section on employment creation tell us that "the government are determined to create the conditions for further sustained employment growth". The Task Force on Employment is one of the vehicles that will enable the government to "take speedy and effective measures to assist employment creation". The initial recommendations of the task force "have already been implemented" according to the document. What these recommendations are seems to be a secret.

The document's authors take lib-

erty with the intelligence of the voting public. Are we really supposed to believe that "The government's priorities include protecting the living standards of social welfare recipients"? Or that the government wants "to develop the health services so as to ensure equality of access to services irrespective of means"? Are we supposed to believe that hospital waiting lists don't exist for those who can't afford private healthcare? Are we supposed to believe that private healthcare doesn't exist?

COMMITTED TO EXTRADITION

On extradition the programme tells us that the government are "concerned", not about the plight of Dessie Ellis, but about Irish citizens escaping justice "in respect of

serious crimes committed by them in continental countries". On the Brooke Talks, the document trots out the much abused piece about "sets of relationships". We will all feel safe in the knowledge that the government remains committed to "eradicating all forms of discrimination in Northern Ireland, and in ensuring evenhandedness in the behaviour of the security forces".

The PD/FF negotiators who formulated this document seem convinced that just by announcing the many social and economic problems facing the 26-County state, they have done the people of Ireland a major service. As the different departments prepare their estimates for next year's budget, it has become clear just how frivolous a gesture the programme for government is. In what Charlie Haughey describes as a "grim job" hundreds of millions of pounds are to be cut from pressurised budgets. Already the government is backing away from its supposed social and economic objectives. However, 'cutbacks' was the one word absent from the Programme for Government document. We will find out all about them in Albert Reynolds' next budget.

the cutbacks conveniently omitted



● **Charles Haughey** — lacking the imagination and the courage to demand what most Irish people wish for: Irish unity

ists who may hold the balance of power at Westminster are being courted.

PADDED DOORS

As for Dublin, they made their courageous protest behind the closed and padded doors of the intergovernmental conference. Didn't they? There is a good reason why the Dublin government is so keen to get some movement on the North. No, not the defence of northern nationalist interest. Haughey's footnote in the history books still requires an illustration: CJ photographed shaking hands with Ian Paisley and James Molyneux — caption, "Historical North-South meeting a prelude to peace?" The Dublin premier needs it badly after the stains on his

CV caused by the recent financial scandals.

In Bodensdown last Sunday, at Fianna Fáil's Wolfe Tone commemoration, Haughey spoke at length of the "openness and imagination" his government would display (towards unionists obviously) if the talks resumed. Yet it does not take much imagination to spell out what most people in Ireland wish for: Irish unity, or what most people in Britain seem to want: a British withdrawal from Ireland.

PULL OUT

Opinion polls are as reliable as the bias in the sample or in the wording of the questions, and the readiness of the people sampled to answer truthfully. This is why

Sinn Féin has always fared badly in opinion polls in the Six Counties, compared to its actual election results. Last Spring's ESRI poll on Irish unity had found that 82% of those sampled wished for Irish unity. And, for what it's worth, a MORI poll organised in Britain for this Thursday's Channel Four programme *Pack Up Your Troubles*, found 51% in favour of involving Sinn Féin in political talks, 61% thinking that the British army should be pulled out quickly and 70% thinking that the presence of British troops made no difference to the situation in the North or made it worse.

The British government does not need 'imagination', it just needs to listen to its own public opinion.

Defusing the issues

BY HILDA MacTHOMAS

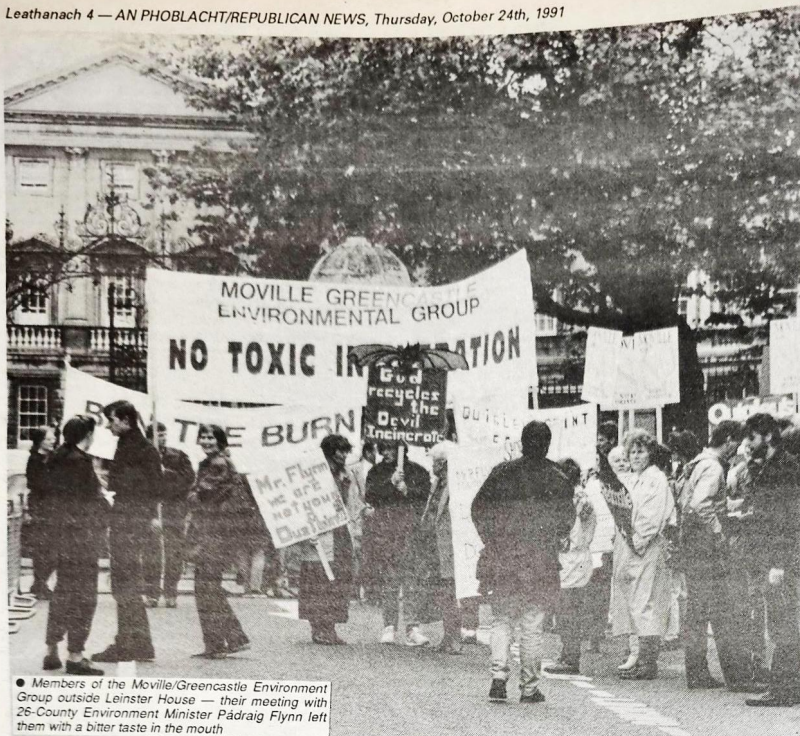
LONDON AND DUBLIN GOVERNMENT MINISTERS came together in London last week for another meeting of the intergovernmental conference. The meeting set about its intended business, that for which the conference had been set up in the first place — to defuse live political issues.

There were controversial questions which might have forced the Dublin government to issue a protest, such as the RUC's singling out of the IRA in the midst of a loyalist upsurge, or fresh reports of collusion between loyalists and the crown forces, or even the recent declaration by British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd that "the debate was no longer about the border and Irish reunification". All such questions were instead described in official statements as "matters which the conference will consider". A place on the intergovernmental conference agenda is the one-way ticket to political non-issue-land.

Dublin Foreign Affairs Minister Gerry Collins sought, and apparently obtained, "reassurances" that British policy hadn't shifted from

support of the Hillsborough Agreement to an integrationist agenda à la James Molyneux. Yet in a separate press conference after the meeting, Peter Brooke was more evasive when asked whether Hurd's words had been debated: "It is not a subject which we on this particular occasion in any sense discussed." Translated: it never came up.

Any British policy shift, or change in public posturing, is due to the proximity of the British general elections. Just as these elections are being blamed for the lack of enthusiasm of the British, the unionists and the SDLP in restarting the now defunct 'Brooke Talks', they can also be blamed for the rash of unionist and even integrationist rhetoric which is coming out of British ministerial mouths — union-



● Members of the Moville/Greencastle Environment Group outside Leinster House — their meeting with 26-County Environment Minister Pádraig Flynn left them with a bitter taste in the mouth

Du Pont campaign hits Dublin

BY LIAM O COILEAIN

"THERE is no good reason why the health, environment and livelihoods of the people of the north-west should suffer for the political expediency of the Southern government or the profit motives of Du Pont. We are as much entitled to clean air, food and water as anyone else. We will accept nothing less," said Enda Craig, of the Moville/Greencastle Environment Group.

He was speaking outside Leinster House, where, on Wednesday, October 23rd, representatives from the 64 community and environmental groups, unions, farmers' groups and political parties on both sides of the border which make up the Derry/Donegal Environmental Alliance, gathered. They have come together to campaign against the proposed Du Pont toxic waste incinerator on the outskirts of Derry. Members of the Cork Environmental Alliance and Greenpeace were also present.

Several hundred people, in six coaches, travelled all the way from Derry and north-west Donegal to impress on Dublin's Environment Minister, Pádraig Flynn, the strength of their opposition to the incinerator. In fact, there is practically unanimous opposition, among politicians and the public in the region, to the incinerator. Among Derry city councillors only UDP (the party set up by the UDA military commander John McMichael) Councillor Ken Kerr supports the incinerator. The Du Pont incinerator would process industrial chemical waste from all over Ireland. The Dublin government has been asked

to fund the project to the tune of £12.5 million.

"Incineration is a pain in the ash; Needham and Flynn we want no cancer on our skin; Ban the Burn; and Du Pont, WE will perish, with the idea that YOU cherish," were just some of the slogans on a myriad of colourful banners, expressing people's real fears that the incinerator will destroy their environment and pose an unnecessary risk to their's and their children's health.

"The evidence is overwhelming worldwide that incinerators are a horror story and destroy all aspects of the local environment," said Enda Craig. He assured reporters that people don't believe Du Pont's assurances that they will not import waste. He also rejected Du Pont's Environmental Impact Assessment, saying: "We have no faith in a Du Pont funded environmental assessment or a British government backed inquiry."

REQUESTS REJECTED

Pádraig Flynn has rejected repeated requests from Donegal County Council for an official meeting with him on the Du Pont affair. According to Craig, Flynn has said that the campaigners against the incinerator are jumping the gun, that nothing has been decided. "We say that it's better to get in too soon than too late," said Craig. He expressed concern that the fact that there is no TD on the Inishowen peninsula in Donegal means that the Dublin government may feel that they will not suffer politically by locating the incinerator just over the border. He said that if this is the wish of the Dublin government they also have "the collusion or agreement of the British government and the desire of Du Pont to create a toxic waste industry in the north-west."

"They have no mandate from anyone to put this just across the border and we will not accept it," Craig concluded. Later, having met Flynn, he said that the meeting had left the group with a "bitter taste in the mouth."

One woman from Moville said that she swims all year round in Lough Foyle. She objected strongly to the incinerator, saying that no matter what precautions were taken, even minute amounts of waste added up. She said that the prevailing wind in the area is south westerly, which meant that the people of Muif and Moville in Donegal would be the ones to suffer from smoke emissions.

NON-COMMITTAL

Letters were handed in to all political parties in Leinster House asking for their support and Flynn met with a deputation of campaigners. Afterwards a Greenpeace spokesperson said that he had been "very non-committal on whether incinerators are safe or not". She accused Flynn of washing his hands of the issue and leaving it up to Du Pont. Flynn later said in the House that he couldn't comment until Du Pont applied for planning permission for the project.

Sinn Féin Derry city councillors Mitchel McLaughlin and Hugh Brady were also present outside Leinster House. McLaughlin made the point that Pádraig Flynn had actually visited Derry to meet representatives of Du Pont and the British government. He demanded an end to such clandestine negotiations, saying: "The people of Derry took great exception that he discussed with Du Pont and the British government an issue as fundamental as the environment of Derry." He emphasised that people are ready for a long struggle and "it will escalate until the message finally gets through".

Police Federation targets ex-lifers

THE RELATIVES of life sentence prisoners were amongst those who expressed outrage at the latest pronouncement from the RUC Police Federation which said the length of time served by lifers is not long enough and that there should be a minimum sentence of 25 years.

In an even more alarming development, the RUC body alleged that ex-lifers have become reinvolved in what they describe as acts of terrorism.

Commenting on the statement, Sinn Féin Prisoners Spokesperson Councillor Francie Molloy described it as disgraceful and has pointed out that such comments could all too easily be used by loyalist death squads as a pretext for murder of yet more nationalists. He called on RUC Federation boss Sam Beattie to withdraw his scurrilous remarks.

RUC leaks continue

FIVE MORE nationalist families in West Belfast were visited by RUC members to be informed that their personal details have been leaked to loyalist gunmen.

These nationalists, told that they are at risk from loyalist killers, include two pensioners who live on the Grosvenor Road. They are totally mystified as to why their details were passed to loyalist killers. The RUC visits informing the people of the risk occurred over the weekend of October the 21st and 22nd.

Censorship challenged

THE third anniversary of the British broadcasting ban was marked by protest in Australia. On October 18th, the eve of the anniversary and of the arrival in the country of Birmingham Six member Johnny Walker, an open letter signed by 21 trade union leaders and nine state parliamentarians was handed into the British consulate in Sydney.

The letter, addressed to John Major, urges an end to the ban and "free debate and information" on Ireland. The initiative was organised by the Australian Irish Congress.

In Belfast, the headquarters of the BBC was the scene for an anti-censorship picket mounted by members of Sinn Féin on Monday, October 21st. The protest, attended by five local Sinn Féin councillors, followed a similar demonstration at the headquarters of Ulster Television.



● Sinn Féin Councillor Máirtín O Muilleoir at Monday's anti-censorship picket outside the Belfast headquarters of the BBC

Judgement reserved in extradition cases

BY ART Mac EÓIN

THE Supreme Court in Dublin reserved judgement in the cases of Belfast men Paul 'Dingus' Magee, Tony Sloan and Michael 'Beaky' McKee. Magee and Sloan are appealing against orders for their extradition to the Six Counties while the state is appealing the High Court's refusal to extradite McKee.

On Tuesday, October 22nd, a bench warrant was issued for the arrest of Paul Magee who did not turn up at the court. His appeal as well as that of Sloan went ahead.

All three men escaped from Belfast's Crumlin Road Jail in 1981 and were later rearrested in the 26 Counties and sentenced to ten years each in Portlaoise Prison by

the Special Court in Green Street. Shortly before their release from Portlaoise, warrants for their extradition were issued by the RUC.

In their absence, the Diplock courts had sentenced Magee to life imprisonment for killing SAS Captain Herbert Westmacott in May 1980. Sloan was sentenced to 20 years for the possession of arms and ammunition and the imprisonment of paid perjurer James Kennedy. McKee also received a 20-year sentence for the possession of weapons with intent to endanger life.

In January this year the High Court in Dublin quashed the extradition order against McKee, on the grounds that he was entitled to claim exemption from extradition because the offences for which he was convicted in the North were political.

The State is arguing that the decision of the High Court was wrong

in its ruling that McKee's convictions did not involve the use of automatic firearms, which are excluded from the political offence definition under the 1987 Extradition Act.

WARRANT ISSUED

Edward Comyn, SC for the state, said that he had instructions to apply for the dismissal of Paul Magee's appeal if he was not present. He asked the court to certify there had been a breach of his bail conditions and order his arrest, pending his extradition to the Six Counties. The court decided to issue a bench warrant for Magee's arrest but that it would hear his appeal.

Magee claimed that the 1987 Extradition Act infringes his rights under the 1937 Constitution because it is retrospective. The offences for which he is wanted would have come within the political exemption clause at the time

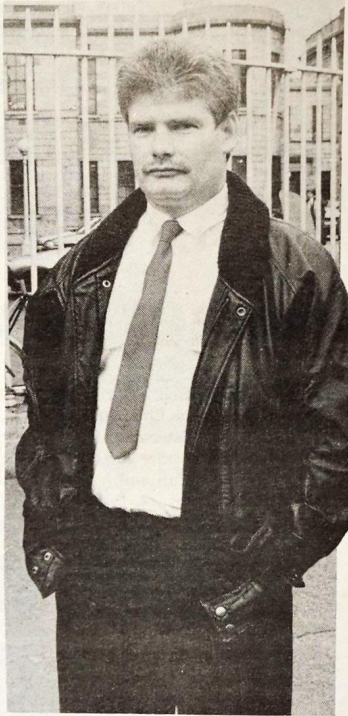
they were committed. He also says that there was undue delay on the part of the RUC in making a request for his extradition.

POLITICAL OFFENCES

The state has cross-appealed part of the High Court judge's order as it relates to Tony Sloan. It claims the High Court was wrong in ruling that several of the offences for which he is wanted were political offences. The High Court had ruled in January that Sloan's possession of a 7.62 rifle and M60 were not excluded from being political offences by the 1987 Extradition Act. He is also wanted in the North for the imprisonment of paid perjurer James Kennedy and his original appeal against extradition was rejected by the High Court.

Patrick McEntee • TONY SLOAN argued that there was not sufficient evidence that the sentiments espoused in a document produced in the High Court by RUC witness Richard Gaughan, who said it was the Constitution and training manu-

al of the IRA, were sentiments shared by Tony Sloan. Sloan and Magee had also appealed against their extradition on the grounds that they would suffer ill-treatment if sent back to the North.



• Anti-extradition protesters outside the Four Courts in Dublin during Tuesday's Supreme Court hearing

Ellis trial resumes in London

AT THE OLD BAILEY, London, the trial of Dessie Ellis continued this week. The circumstances of his extradition and the changing of charges were forgotten as the prosecution presented its case. Their case rests solely on forensic evidence which claims that Ellis's fingerprints were found on 'bomb devices'.

David Jeffreys QC, acting for the prosecution, alleged that Ellis's fingerprints had been found on "a radio transmitter, two encoders and a long-term delay time and power unit". In all 24 separate prints were alleged to have been found on what Jeffreys described as 'a cache of bomb-making equipment'. Jeffreys also claimed that the crown "did not suggest Mr Ellis was in England at the time of the bombings. If he was party to the conspiracy, it does not matter where he was during the execution of the campaign."

Not content with letting the case for the prosecution rest on forensic evidence, Jeffreys laboured over describing five

bomb attacks in Britain, that the prosecution claims are linked to "bomb-making equipment" on which Ellis's fingerprints were found.

The trial was halted for three days as legal arguments between counsel were heard in camera, resuming on Wednesday, October 23rd. The case for the defence disputed the prosecution case on the grounds that the book of evidence used in the Old Bailey trial was the same as that used to convict Ellis in Dublin in 1981. Ellis was being retried for an alleged offence for which he had already served a sentence. On Wednesday, October 23rd, Geoffrey Robertson, Ellis's defence lawyer, stated that "Ellis had worked for the IRA in Dublin in



• Supporters of Dessie Ellis outside the GPO in Dublin on Saturday, October 19th

1981", adding that Ellis believed that the incendiary devices which were brought to his shop in Dublin were for use in the Six Counties.

The judge told the jury to disregard the second charge against

Ellis of possessing explosives between January 1st, 1981 and October 27th, 1983. This comes in addition to the dropping of charges against Ellis for having control of explosive substances within the UK

in the same time period as the other charges. It is widely believed that Ellis would not have been extradited had these charges been omitted from his extradition warrant.



• JOE DOHERTY

Supreme Court hears Doherty case

BY WILLIAM HUGHES

WASHINGTON DC. It was at exactly 1.50pm on October 16th, 1991, that the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, William Rhenquist called the last case of the day's docket. "We will now consider oral arguments in No 90-925, Immigration and Naturalisation Service, petitioner, versus Joseph Doherty," intoned the jurist, known for his extreme conservative views on the Constitution. The celebrated court room was already filled to capacity with a who's who of Irish America, Doherty's family members, faithful Congressional supporters, and representatives from both the national and international media.

I had a bird's eye view of the proceedings. To my left, the eight justices of the court (absent Clarence Thomas) had taken their seats and behind them were their bailiffs. In front of me were the attorneys for the parties in the case. Rhenquist, a political appointee of the ex-Arizona US Senator Barry Goldwater, now sets the tone for a court dominated by the ethos of the reactionary wing of the US establishment. He served in the Justice Department as a deputy attorney general under the disgraced President Richard Nixon. It is against this background that the long and courageous battle of the Irish freedom fighter for political asylum in this country reached the ultimate arena of the highest legal tribunal.

The US government, the losing

party in the lower courts, was designated to address the court first. Its attorney, Maureen Mahoney, immediately ripped into Doherty's case. She claimed the Attorney General had the broad discretion to deny Doherty a hearing on his petition for political asylum on national security and interest grounds. In answer to a question from Justice John Stevens, Mahoney said that the Attorney General's discretion was reviewable only if it entered the realm of the "irrational".

She insisted that Doherty has waived his right to seek political asylum and that even if he were given a hearing, the Attorney General would still deny him any relief because he had committed offences not covered under the political exception clause. "Doherty has no new evidence to offer to avoid

deportation for fear of persecution," Mahoney asserted. She claimed Doherty had manipulated the system for his own political reasons and that he was wanted in Ireland for murder and escape charges.

Mahoney told the court that even if a refugee establishes that he has a real fear of persecution, the Attorney General still had the discretionary power to deny him political asylum.

BOGGED DOWN

Mary Pike, Doherty's advocate, countered all the points raised by Mahoney in her 30-minute presentation. The case then was bogged down over arcane questions of law dealing with procedural and statutory matters totally irrelevant to the due process claims of Doherty. Doherty was being given the form of justice, but not its substance, by a system artificially rigged to favour entrenched power.

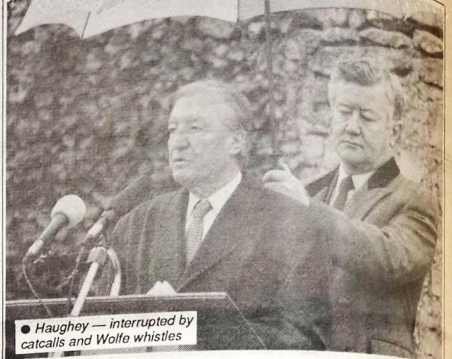
The damnable fact that for over eight years the Reagan/Bush Administrations have acted as both Doherty's judge and jury, cavalierly ignoring a court's ruling barring his extradition, was lost in the tangled web of legalese.

THE REBEL

While listening to the courtroom exchanges, I thought of a passage from Patrick Pearse's poem, *The Rebel*. Pearse wrote, "I am red-dened that they have walked in fear of lawyers and of their jailors with their writ of summons and their handcuffs. Men mean and cruel!" Britain's abysmal human rights record in the occupied Six Counties over the last 20 years, including the terror of the ubiquitous death squads, were also excluded from consideration. It was a sanitised history the court reviewed.

The questions justices ask are not necessarily reliable hints of how they would vote but may indicate how a justice is thinking on an issue. Although it is possible the court could even by a tie vote end Doherty's legal odyssey, such an outcome is highly improbable. A US government that arbitrarily denies a visa to Sinn Féin's Gerry Adams, an elected member of the Westminster Parliament, to visit this country, will stop at absolutely nothing to deport Doherty.

It is my considered opinion, based on all of the above, that Doherty's chances of avoiding removal in 1992, to a dungeon-like cell in the Crumlin Road Jail in Belfast, are fading fast. A final ruling by the justices in his case can be expected early next year.



• Haughey — interrupted by catcalls and Wolfe whistles

Confronting the hypocrites

GARDA HEAVY HANDEDNESS towards anti-extradition campaigners left a bitter taste in the mouth on Sunday last, but this was not half as sour as the hypocrisy of the Fianna Fáil party, which held its annual commemoration by the grave of Wolfe Tone at Bodenstown that morning.

Charles Haughey presides over one of the most corrupt governments since the foundation of the 26-County State, a government wracked by financial scandals, which last year extradited Dessie Ellis on a stretcher to England and which this week went to the Supreme Court in an attempt to send three more victims of political extradition across to face that brand of injustice particular to the Six Counties.

And yet he and a small crowd of the party faithful had the cheek to come to Kildare to portray their corrupted party as the inheritors of Wolfe Tone's proud legacy of egalitarianism, anti-sectarianism and anti-imperialism.

VOCAL BAND

But a spirited band of anti-extradition activists also attended the proceedings, a vocal reminder of Fianna Fáil's shameful record of

sending Irish people to face an internationally-discredited system of justice.

The anti-extradition campaigners were entirely peaceful, staying behind the Garda lines. But their reminders of Fianna Fáil treachery were a little too loud for those gathered in the graveyard and gardai were ordered to push them 50 yards back down the road. The group's loudhailer was also forcibly seized. The absence of any members of the press made this sort of bully-boy tactics all the easier to implement.

A number of anti-extradition campaigners also infiltrated the crowd and were vociferous in making their feelings about Fianna Fáil's extradition policy known. They shouted "What about Dessie Ellis" and "Dessie Ellis is a republican too", before they were duly forcibly removed from the graveyard by gardai.



• The Garda seizure of the protesters' loudhailer did not prevent the Fianna Fáil party faithful (below) from lowering the Tone of the occasion



Pat Murray ends hunger strike

FOLLOWING discussions between a republican representative and Pat Murray, who commenced a hunger-strike protest in a French prison on October 2nd, Pat agreed to come off his hunger strike as and from Saturday, October 19th. His demand — that he not be re-extradited from Germany to England — will continue to be fought politically.

Walsh/Armstrong/Holmes judicial review

JUDGEMENT has been reserved in a judicial review taken on behalf of Irish republican prisoners Roy Walsh, Billy Armstrong and Paul Holmes, three of the longest serving Irish prisoners in jails in England.

The judicial review heard from October 14th to 16th at the London 'Court on the Strand' came in the wake of an Appeal Court hearing earlier in the year. This rejected the three men's case against the British home secretary's decision to deny the prisoners' right to apply for parole or release.

The three Irish prisoners have already served an 18-year sentence and were recently refused leave to apply for parole for at least another five years, despite the fact that a number of other prisoners who were tried and convicted at the same trial for the same offence have already been released.

After hearing the case, presiding Judges Potts and Nolan reserved their judgement. If successful the review could issue an order of court to the British home secretary to reconsider the men's cases.

Meagre benefits increase slammed

THE ANNOUNCEMENT of a 4.1% increase in the level of social security payments to claimants in the Six Counties made on Monday of this week by the British Chancellor, Norman Lamont, have been branded by Sinn Féin as "totally inadequate and an insult to the thousands of people living on or below the poverty line".

The rises, set to come into effect next year, will peg benefit rises to the current rate of British inflation and will in reality mean that those in receipt of benefit stand to gain only between £1 and £2 per week.

Collusion picket on crown forces base

ANDERSONSTOWN BARRACKS in West Belfast was the latest crown forces base to be targeted in an on-going series of anti-collusion pickets organised by Sinn Féin and designed to throw the spotlight on crown forces involvement with loyalist killer gangs.

The picket mounted on Thursday, October 17th, and attended by a number of local Sinn Féin councillors, follows similar demonstrations at other crown forces bases in Belfast, County Derry and County Tyrone.

"Only following orders"



● A 'heavy gang' which is being used by local authorities to turn off the water supply of people who have refused to pay service charges, arrived at the Mervue housing estate in Galway on Wednesday, October 23rd. They proceeded to cut off the water supply to the Farrell household as Niall and his daughter Máiréad Og looked on. Niall Farrell has been active in the campaign against service charges and told *AP/RN* that this was why his and other houses — including one belonging to a soldier recently returned from the Lebanon! — were targeted. Most people in the estate have not paid the charges. When challenged, the heavies, who spoke with Dublin accents and are believed to be employed by a private company in Kildare, said they were "only following orders". Niall Farrell has threatened to take legal action over the deprivation of a water supply to his two daughters, one aged 18 months and the other five years.

CHILD ESCAPES DEATH BY INCHES



AN RUC JEEP narrowly missed killing a four-year-old child in Ardoyne, North Belfast. The incident, which came on Monday, October 21st, saw young Emmet Williams escape death or serious injury when an RUC jeep careered along a pedestrianised street swerved and missed him by inches before crashing into a garden wall.

Emmet, along with his mother Maria and a group of other parents and children, was coming along Havana Walk at 2.30pm when five crown force jeeps screamed into the street from the direction of Ardoyne Avenue. The front jeep swerved at the last minute missing the child by the narrowest of margins.

Immediately following the incident an RUC woman who had been travelling in the lead jeep, began abusing Maria Williams, whom she has targeted for harassment over recent months, as neighbours gathered and RUC reinforcements arrived to swamp the area.

● The garden wall in Havana Court, Ardoyne, which was struck by an RUC Land-Rover, narrowly missing four-year-old Emmet Williams

LITTLE ATTENTION has been given to the recently published annual report of the Standing Advisory Commission on Human Rights. It has produced much research over the years which catalogue the long list of abuses of human rights by the British in Ireland, research all the more damning because it comes from an official body, established by the British government itself. AP/RN examines the latest report.

THE Standing Advisory Commission on Human Rights (SACHR) was established by the British government as part of the Northern Ireland Constitution Act of 1973. The commission, whose selected members are all British government appointees, acts as a pseudo-independent advisory body for the government and the British secretary of state. As part of its brief the commission presents an annual report which highlights and comments upon the implications for human rights of current and impending British policy and legislation in the Six Counties.

In its advisory capacity, the commission is largely restricted to calling for the incorporation of so-called 'safeguards' into already formulated and often enacted British policy and legislation. However, unconsciously, SACHR is in the business of tinkering with the machinery of oppression in the Six Counties, not in its dismantling. In its relationship with the British government, the ethos of SACHR is one of 'concern' rather than criticism. Its history is one of enduring 'disappointment'. Over the years the commission has complained of being denied access to information, deliberately fed disinformation and consistently ignored by the British government. For republicans the importance of SACHR lies less in the polite advice it offers to the British authorities, and more in the continuing litany of human rights abuses by the British government in the Six Counties which even its own Advisory Commission recognises as unacceptable.

SACHR's recently published annual report acknowledges a series of violations of international agreements and standards of human rights by the British government. In a submission on the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) the commission deplores the British government's continuing derogation from its obligation under both ICCPR and the European Convention on Human Rights on the issue of seven-day

detention orders. Condemning the British government's continuing breach of Article 5 of the ECHR and Article 9.3 of the ICCPR the commission describes derogation in this respect as both "unnecessary and undesirable" and calls for the powers of arrest to be brought in line with the European Convention.

The British government's use of exclusion orders is in breach of Article 12.3 of the ICCPR, and the SACHR describes it as "an objectionable interference with freedom of movement" a procedure which "does not lend itself to openness or perceived fairness and its punitive effect as a power of internal exile". SACHR "strongly recommends" that the power should be repealed.

The British government's denial of the right to silence is also identified as being in breach of the International Covenant Article 14.3(g) on the presumption of innocence. This article provides that anyone charged with an offence should not be compelled to testify against himself or herself or confess guilt.

SACHR argues that the British government's attempt to render the use of the right to remain silent as admissible evidence against an accused and the shift in the onus of proof in some possession cases onto the accused, are serious breaches of international law. In a report commissioned by SACHR, John Jackson, a law lecturer at Queen's University, argues that there are many reasons why a person may remain silent during interrogation by the RUC and this cannot be simply condensed into an indication of guilt:

"It is now recognised that there are a number of reasons why an innocent defendant may be silent in the face of police questioning. He may lack knowledge of the matter in question; he may fear misreporting of any reply he makes; he may be confused and afraid that his replies may be misinterpreted; he may be fearful of admitting his involvement or that of others in discreditable conduct; he may be

Human — no Irish



● The British government-sponsored Standing Advisory Commission on Human Rights has a history of enduring 'disappointment' with the British record on human rights abuses

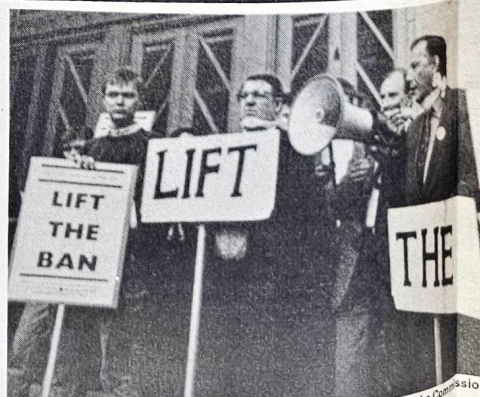
shamed into silence by feeling guilty when he is not in fact guilty. He may have a hostile attitude to the police and therefore be reluctant to answer any police questions or he may be worried about being tricked into implicating others with the risk of being labelled an informer."

Jackson has little confidence in the ability of the trial judge to direct a jury, or in the case of non-jury Diplock courts, direct himself, in the admissibility of silence as corroborative evidence:

"When defendants are silent, it is much easier to invoke Bentham's famous aphorism that 'innocence claims the right of speaking, as guilt invokes the privilege of silence'."

Arguing that there is no obligation on judges to warn juries of the dangers of this 'commonsense' judgement and little evidence of judges making the practice of issuing such a warning, Jackson continues:

"Indeed the evidence suggests that judges are not always aware of the dangers themselves. The law reports are full of instances where



● The British government's broadcasting ban was also criticised by the Commission. Judges have encouraged juries to draw inferences of guilt from silence.

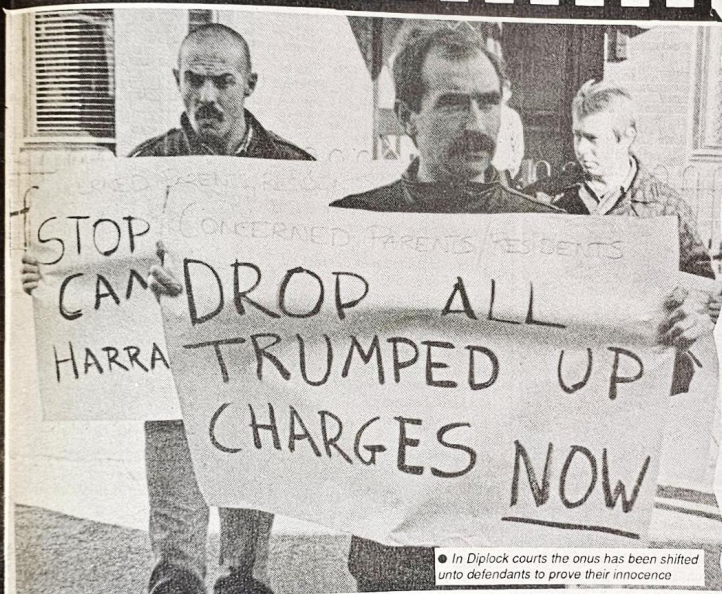
Arguing that the British government's broadcast-



● British human rights in action

to
to
Sen
lan
to

Human rights need apply



● In Diplock courts the onus has been shifted onto defendants to prove their innocence



...mission
...sion, the commission claims
...to have made a series of repre-
...sentations to the Northern Ire-
...land Office calling for an end
...to the ban. SACHR comments

on the sweeping powers available to the British home secretary which allows a British minister to impose censorship at will, without legislative guidelines or control.

Commenting on the inherent contradiction in the censorship of legal organisations which are allowed to stand for political office, the Commission "does not understand why government finds it acceptable for members of Sinn Féin, Republican Sinn Féin or the Ulster Defence Association to be district councillors....but finds it unacceptable that they or anyone else on behalf of their organisation should then be reported directly on the air".

The Commission supports the right of Irish republican prisoners to be transferred to serve their sentences in a jail closer to their family or home. The continuing refusal by the British government to transfer Irish POWs is identified by

SACHR as in breach of Article 8 of the European Convention on Human Rights, which is concerned with the respect for family life.

The SACHR criticises the criteria for permanent transfer which include the catch-all clause that allows the British home secretary to refuse a prisoner on the grounds that he/she is "undeserving of any degree of public sympathy". This amounts to "an award of punishment additional to the sentence of the court" in which "the prisoner's family as well as the prisoner himself was penalised".

In a report commissioned by SACHR, Alana Jones of Queens University's School of Law, argues that although a sentence of imprisonment imposed by the courts necessarily entails the restriction of the individual's freedom of movement and autonomy, "human rights are generally perceived as pertaining to all persons by virtue only of their being human". Therefore, "the status of imprisonment cannot in itself justify the wholesale depletion of individual

rights and freedoms".

On the issue of transfer, Jones points out that the British government signed the Council of Europe Convention on the Transfer of Sentenced Persons in 1984 which was ratified through the Repatriation of Prisoners Act of 1984. Despite this, the British government has continued to deny Irish republican prisoners the right to be transferred. In December 1989, the British home office minister Douglas Hogg stated that transfer may be refused "if the inmate has been convicted of a particularly horrific crime".

As Jones points out, this comment suggests that the British government is using the denial of transfer to republican prisoners as "a punitive measure additional to the judicial sentence" in clear breach of international agreements on the rights of prisoners.

Discussing the British government's current code of practice on the use of lethal force, SACHR identifies the code as falling far short of the international standards. Highlighting "two significant differences between the United Nations Basic Principles on the Use of Force and Firearms" and the British government's 'Yellow Card', SACHR argues:

"The Yellow Card expressly permits the use of lethal force to effect an arrest of someone who has just killed or injured another person, where there is no other way to make an arrest, while the UN Basic Principles permits the use of lethal force to effect an arrest only where the person continues to present an imminent threat of death or serious injury and where less extreme means are insufficient."

Indeed, as SACHR points out, the British code has been stretched even further. In 1975, British Lord Diplock implied that lethal force could be used to effect an arrest of someone who "may at some time in the future pose a threat of death or serious injury". Clearly the floodgates were thrown open and, as people in the Six Counties have learnt to their cost, there is little or no legal recourse in the wake of British crown forces' shoot-to-kill operations.

An investigation commissioned by the SACHR into educational equality of opportunity and the impact of the British government's present restrictions on state funding in Catholic schools revealed massive and sustained sectarian discrimination in the education system in the Six Counties. In a report researched by three eminent academics, Cormack, Gallagher and Osbourne, lecturers at Queens and the University of Ulster, it was revealed that Catholic school pupils had been systematically deprived of funding.

A comparative analysis of voluntary grammar schools in the Six Counties, showed that in 1984/85 Protestant schools received £775 per

pupil from the government, while the comparable Catholic schools only received £738 per pupil. By 1989/90 the gap had widened even further with Protestant voluntary grammar schools receiving £1,218 per pupil and the Catholic equivalent only £1,170. The report reveals a similar pattern of sectarian allocation of funding throughout the education system in the Six Counties.

In over 250 pages of reports and recommendations, SACHR touches on a wide range of issues. The commission renews its call for the video-taping of interrogations by the RUC. Dismissing a list of excuses by the British authorities who continue to refuse to introduce even this minor safeguard towards ending the ill-treatment of detainees, SACHR concludes:

"Public confidence in the proper conduct of the interrogation of those suspected of terrorist offences has to some extent been eroded by the unconvincing and continually changing arguments put forward against the introduction of silent video recording of police interviews."

The Commission describes the newly created offence of "directing the activities of terrorist organisations" as "vague and uncertain" and voices "grave reservations about its human rights implications". SACHR regrets the British government's denial of even minimal language rights to Irish speakers in the continuing rejection of the commission's "modest proposal regarding the use of Irish for the purposes of registration of births and recording individual's names".

There is nothing particularly new in this year's SACHR report. The commission merely reiterates many of the human rights abuses by the British crown forces in the Six Counties that republicans have been identifying for years. What is perhaps more important is that SACHR provides an annual record of the blatantly dismissive and uncompromising attitude of the British government even to its own, relatively innocuous, advisory body, putting on public record Britain's contempt for the human rights of Irish people.



● Little or no legal recourse is open to the people of the Six Counties in the wake of shoot-to-kill operations



● The protest last weekend by hundreds of Kilbarrack people at the threat to their railway service

Commitment in Kilbarrack

PEOPLE who have seen the film of Kilbarrack author Roddy Doyle's book *The Commitments* will remember the scene where three of the characters are crossing a bleak, dimly lit footbridge at night. The bridge is part of Kilbarrack railway station which serves this large working-class area in north Dublin and which has for long been the focus of community discontent.

Hundreds of people last weekend took part in a protest at the station provoked by a recent arson attack and fears that Iarnród Éireann may close it down. People were addressed by representatives from Iarnród Éireann, SIPTU which represents the workers on the railway, and local community groups.

Anger and fear was expressed at the attack on the station and at attacks on railway staff but representatives of the local community made clear that the station itself was a major problem. It stands in stark contrast to other stations on the DART line. There are 800 households in the area served by the station and its closure would deprive thousands of people of

the use of the successful DART service which has set a headline for public transport in Dublin.

BADLY DESIGNED

The arson attack on the station — which some believe was carried out by people from outside the area — came three weeks ago and immediately led to concern that it would be closed as had previously been threatened. But community concern over the station dates back long before this. Badly designed from the start, it is an eyesore in

the locality and a major inconvenience for those who have to use it. In June 1989, the Kilbarrack DART Station Action Group (KDSAG) was set up after women had blocked the railway line in protest at the closure of one of the gates which meant that people had to cross two footbridges to gain access to a platform which they previously had direct access to.

KDSAG drew up an analysis of the station and detailed proposals for its complete redesign and refurbishment. They lobbied Dublin Corporation and Iarnród Éireann but now express frustration that their work was not recognised. While many of the contributions to the rally dealt with the vandalism and the arson attack, Angela Mulligan of KDSAG pointed to the problem of the design of the station which she said must be addressed by the corporation and Iarnród Éireann. Pledging support to the proposals for redesign, Dublin North East Sinn Féin representative Larry O'Toole said this should happen in the context of increased government spending on public transport rather than on motorways.

"Developing public transport would mean a cleaner city, less traffic problems, and a proper service — including a proper station — for communities like Kilbarrack."



ROYAL TRUST STATUS ATTACKED

THE announcement that Belfast's Royal group of hospitals has been conditionally granted 'trust status' by the British government is expected to create a political storm in the city. The decision to allow the North's most famous hospital to opt out of the NHS has been taken despite the massive groundswell of feeling against the proposal and almost universal opposition to it.

No political party in the Six Counties has supported the Royal Victoria's application for 'trust status' which was railroaded through by a small senior management committee which has repeatedly ignored

the opposition voiced by its staff, patients and the public at large. The conditions announced by the British Health Minister Jeremy Hanley, in which 'trust status' has been deferred until April 1993, dependant upon the Board of Managers' ability to claw back a £1.5 million deficit in the hospital's budget, bodes ill for those who have dismissed opposition claims that the move will mean greater cuts in staff and standards at the hospital.

The decision to allow the RVH to opt out of the NHS comes in the wake of a series of trust status hospitals in Britain running into serious financial difficulties in less than a year since they were established.

"Accordingly, we opened to the public in Cranmore last Saturday at 2pm. However, ten minutes later a car containing members of the Special Branch parked close to our position and proceeded to observe those who attended our centre. This activity included recording registration numbers of cars which

vice centre facility — a caravan — in various locations throughout the town.

"It is obvious that these actions were intended not only to curtail the civic work of a legal political organisation but also to deny the residents of Cranmore the benefit of whatever advice on housing, social welfare etc, which they might seek. Given the current state of drug abuse in Sligo, which the gardai

Action in Cork on unemployment

"THE largest oppressed sector of Irish society," was how Senator Brendan Ryan described the unemployed at a meeting in Cork city this week. The Independent member of the 26-County Senate, speaking in the Windsor House Hotel on Monday evening, October 21st, said that unemployment was definitely on his list of priorities, lashing the establishment media for its failure to cover those who spoke out on unemployment and the issues relating to it.

He went on to say how Ireland is described by free market economists as being in excellent economic condition. What these theories didn't explain, he commented, is the massive unemployment we are suffering. He said that since 1985 the state had had 55% growth in manufacturing output which had resulted in no payback to workers nor extra jobs. He emphasised that the biggest single export from the 26 Counties is capital, some £3,000 million, or 10% of GNP, leaving the state in 1989, an amount ten times higher than any other average industrial nation. Referring to the current crop of scandals, he said that a large portion of this money is probably the product of corrupt deals.

He maintained that the real purpose of unemployment is to keep workers pacified. He said that the Irish labour force is, in fact, "one of the best manufacturing workforces in the entire western world", comparing it with the US where 25% of workers are illiterate. He said that this exposed the lie that workers didn't want to work or are incapable of working. His view was that the net savings from laying off public sector workers is minimal and that 50,000 could be safely taken on without causing major costs to the state.

DESPERATE FOR WORK

He reminded the meeting that the majority of unemployed people are desperate for work which in turn leads to exploitation and low wages. He attacked the petty harassment of unemployed people when bureaucrats know that there's no work there. He concluded by advocating the taxing of multinational profits as one way of creating enough capital to in turn create jobs. He said that this would not scare multinationals off as this state still had the best conditions for them.



● BRENDAN RYAN

Dominic Carroll chaired the meeting. He read a letter from the Cork Council of Trade Unions which offered office facilities and a meeting room at the CCTU centre to the group which was to be formed. The meeting heard calls for an organisation for unemployed people to force action on unemployment and said that it was important to tie in with the Irish National Organisation for the Unemployed (INOUE). There were many contributions from the floor, representatives from all the parties of the left being present at the meeting. A commitment was given to have another meeting in two weeks when the aims and objectives of the new group would be thrashed out.

BRANCH INTIMIDATION IN SLIGO

AS A RESULT of the continuous presence of members of the Garda Special Branch close to a Sinn Féin Centre in Cranmore on Saturday, October 19th, Sligo Sinn Féin has accused the Special Branch of trying to intimidate both Sinn Féin and local residents.

Outlining the background to the affair local Sinn Féin spokesperson Seán McManus said: "During the recent local elections, Sligo Sinn Féin promised the people of Sligo

town that we would continue to provide assistance and information to those who requested it. In keeping with this promise we decided that we would provide a mobile ad-

acknowledge, it would suit the Special Branch better to try to track down the suppliers of these drugs rather than waste taxpayers' money by sitting watching the residents of Cranmore seek advice from Sinn Féin.

"For our part we will continue to provide whatever service we can to the people of Sligo, regardless of such attempts at intimidation.

Gaeilge riachtanach agus an Slógadh

LE EOGHAN Mac CORMAIC

CHUALA mé scéal, tráth, fúir dhúine a bhí ag lorg poist in áit ina raibh "Gaeilge Riachtanach" mar choinníoll fostaíochta, agus dúradh leis go mbeadh air a thaispeáint le linn a agallaimh go raibh suim aige, dá laghad, sa Teanga Dúchais. Chomhairligh a chairde leis go raibh sí shimplí le seo a dhéanamh. Nuair a déarfadh an t-agallóir "Dia duit" leis gur chóir dó "Dia 's Muire duit" a rá mar fheagra. Maith go leor. Chaith sé cúpla lá ag cleachtadh an fhoirmlé seo sular tháinig lá an agallaimh. Shiúil sé isteach sa seomra.

"Suigh síos" arsa an t-agallóir leis.

"Suigh 's Muire síos" arsa sé go hiontaobhach...

I dtír Chonail, ag an 4ú Slógadh Shinn Féin ag an deireadh seachtaine seo chugainn ní bheadh cúrsaí chomh hola sin go mbeidh sé riachtanach do dhaoine an saghas bréag sin a chleachtadh. Is cinnte go mbeidh an Ghaeilge ina teanga oibre d'imeachtaí uilig an tSlógadh agus is é sin mar a ba chóir don imeacht nó is ceann de chuspóirí na gluaiseachta go gcuirfimid an Ghaeilge ar ais ina teanga oibre don tír. Caithfidh an gluaiseacht tús leis an chuspóir sin ag pilé ar bpolasaithe reatha tri mheán na Gaeilge, agus is cuí é sin.

Ar ndóig cé go mbeidh na Gaeil ina bhformhór ag an Slógadh, ní dócha go ndéanfaidh éinne acu na foghlaimoírí nó na poblachtóirí atá ar bheagán Gaeilge amach an áit. Fírinne le rá beidh fáilte roimh poblachtóirí atá ag foghlaim, agus poblachtóirí atá líofa beirt, nó cuirtear an Slógadh ar siúl dúinn go léir a bhfuil suim againn sa teanga agus i bpoblachtachas leis. Osclaíonn an Slógadh 1991 ar Aoine 8ú Samhain agus beidh tús foirmeálta leis an chliar ar mhaidin Sathairn.

Agus an fear a d'iarr an post agus é ar bheagán Gaeilge? Tá sé ina chathaoirleach anois ar bord Semi-State Company, no less, ach ná lig do sin thu a chur as don Ghaeilge!

MEON DEARFACH POBAIL DON GHAELIGE

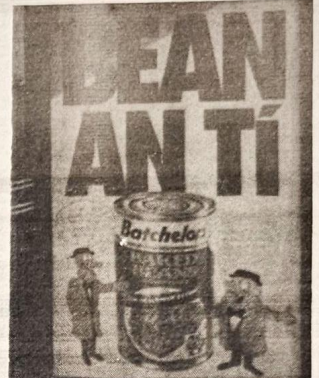
DEIR Gael-Taca go bhfuil tacaíocht láidir i measc an phobail d'úsáid na Gaeilge mar mheán láidir margaíochta i ndiaidh gur éirigh go breá lena fheachtas i mBaile Phámar-Leamhchán i mBaile Atha Cliath chun an Ghaeilge a chur in úsáid ar fhógraí sna hollmhargai áitiúla.

Shocraigh na hollmharagai sa cheantar gur shiopaí dátheangacha a bheadh iontu. Tá bunús mór na bhfógraí imheánacha agus seachtacha sna siopaí dátheangach agus tá Gaeilge in úsáid fosta ar an chóras ardu fuaim.

Thaispeáin roinnt tuarascálacha ar na mallaibh go bhfuil an pobal ion-

tach tógtha leis an fhógraíocht sa Ghaeilge. Shocraigh Birds Eye agus Telecom Éireann beirt fógraí Gaeilge a sheoladh i ndiaidh taighde a rinne siad ar dhearcithe an phobail i leith na teanga. Agus de réir an tuairisc is déanaí ó Henley Centre Ireland, beidh an teanga ina meán láidir margaíochta sna 1990í, ag comhlachtaí atá ag iarraidh a scair den mhargadh a chosaint.

Is féidir tuilleadh eolais a fháil maidir le feachtas Ghael-Taca ar fhógraíocht na Gaeilge ó Chiarán Ó Feinneadha, BAC 6264531.



● Sampla den fhógraíocht sa Gaeilge i mBaile Atha Cliath

Leabhair le seoladh i mBéal Feirste

TA sraith de lánseáileacha leabhar á n-eagrú i mBéal Feirste an mhí seo mar chuid den athbheochan liteartha atá faoi lán seoil sa chathair.

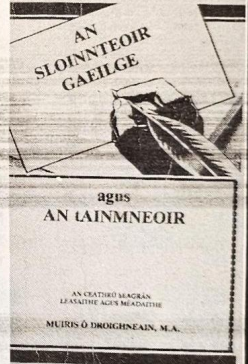
An Satharn seo, tiocfaidh clann Mhuiris Uí Dhróighneáin chun na cathrach le bheith i láthair ag seoladh *An Sliointeoir agus An t-Ainmneoir* le Mhuiris Ó Droighneáin, nach maireann. Is é an *Sliointeoir* ceann de na leabhair Ghaeilge is mó díol ariamh agus is é seo an cúigiú cló a cuireadh air. Is i lárionad nua Ghaeil Bhéal Feirste, Cultúrlann Mac Adaimh Ó Faigha, a sheoltar an leabhar ar 11n De Sathairn.

An tseachtain seo chugainn seoltar leabhar úr an chomhairleora

Shinn Féinigh, Máirtín Ó Muilleoir, *Holy Cow, Sin Ceann Mór* sa chathair. Céadnochtadh an leabhar an tseachtain seo caite ag an Oireachtas i gCluain Dócaín agus táthar ag súil le rachairt mhór a bheith ar an leabhar ar bailiúchán é de cholúin a foilsíodh ar Lá agus ar Chomhar.

De Sathairn, 16 Samhain, beidh an t-iriseoir cumasach, Liam Ó Muirthile, sa Chultúrlann le cnasach ailt uaidh féin, a foilsíodh le dornán blianta anuas ar an *Irish Times*, a sheoladh. Ba é *Comhar* a d'fhoilsigh *An Peann Coitianta* agus cheana tá ardmholadh faighte ag an saothar.

Fosta i Mí na Samhna tabharfaidh Uachtarán Chenradh na Gaeilge, Proinsias Mac Aonghusa, a chéad chuairt oifigiúil ar Bhéal



ar an chathair buaifidh Cathaoirleach Bhard na Gaeilge le díograiseoirí teanga atá bainte le scéimeanna teanga, ina measc an mheánseoil nua Gaeilge atá lonnaithe sa chultúrlann.



● Máirtín Ó Muilleoir, an gasúr o dheils, ag an chéad Slógadh de Shinn Féin ag tús an chéid



Tugadh omós d'Oglaigh as ceantar Bhun na bhFál i mBéal Feirste a thug a raibh acu sa sracadh do shaoirse na hÉireann ag an chuimhneachán bliantúil Chomplacht 'D' agus oíche bhronntai.

Tugadh na bronntai ag oíche shiamsa Dé Céadaoin, 16ú Deireadh Fómhair, i gCumann na Méirleach ar chlanna den 12 Oglach marbha agus cimi áitiúla. De Ghomhaigh, 20ú Deireadh Fómhair, thug Comhairleoir Shinn Féin Joe Austin an oráid ag cuimhneachán gearr ag na huaigheanna poblachtacha i reilig Bhaile an Mhuilinn.

CUIMHNEACHAIN CHOMPLAcht D

Imeachtaí

FREE DESSIE ELLIS PICKET
2-3pm every Saturday
British Embassy
Merrion Road
DUBLIN
Organised by the Dublin Anti-Extradition Committee

ANTI-EXTRADITION MEETING
meets 6.30pm every Tuesday
Dublin Resource Centre
Crow Street
DUBLIN

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

ANTI-EXTRADITION PICKET
5.30pm-6.30pm
Every Tuesday and Friday
During Ellis trial
O'Connell Bridge
DUBLIN

ANTI-EXTRADITION PICKET
9.30-11am
Every Monday
During Ellis trial
Old Bailey
LONDON

ANTI-EXTRADITION RALLY
Saturday after Ellis verdict
2pm British Embassy
DUBLIN

ANTI-EXTRADITION PICKET
Night of Ellis verdict
5-6pm O'Connell Bridge
DUBLIN

CAMPAIGN
Free speech for
Mary Robinson campaign
Weekly meetings
Every Thursday
3pm-4pm
An Siol Bhríon
Mac Curtain Street
CORK

SINN FEIN REGIONAL MEETING
Carlow, Kilkenny, Wexford
Home Rule Club
KILKENNY
Thursday 24th October
All members and supporters to attend

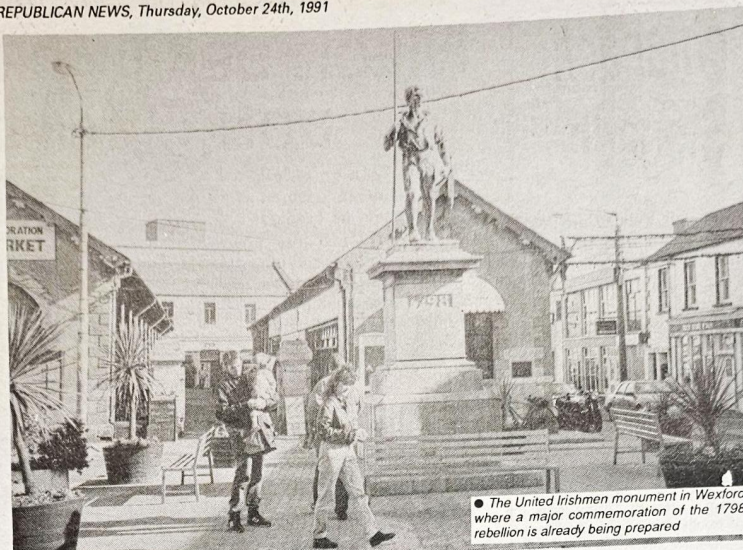
MUSIC & POETRY NIGHT
Night of H-Block Music and Poetry
8.30pm Friday 25th October
Baltasar Arms
NAVAN
All welcome

PUBLIC MEETING
"Labour Movement: Speaking out on Britain's war in Ireland"
Speakers: Bernadette McAliskey plus speakers from the RMT, NUJ, Labour CND and the TOM
7.30pm Friday 25th October
Conway Hall, Rod Lion Square
LONDON

FUNCTION
Friends of Pamela Kane
Featuring Wishbone and guests
8pm Friday 25th October
Campions Lounge
BALCHIFFEN
Malahide Road
Táille: £2.50

INC AGM
10am Saturday 26th October
Teachers Club
Parnell Square, 10am
All members welcome
Social that evening
DUBLIN

WOMEN, WAR AND RESISTANCE
A day of discussion for women on campaigning for peace and self-determination
Speakers: Bernadette McAliskey; Reem Abdelhadi; Helena Zangana; Camilla Power; Nihal Aktas
11am Saturday 26th October
London Women's Centre
Wesley House
4 Wild Court, off Kingsway
LONDON
(continued on page 13)



● The United Irishmen monument in Wexford where a major commemoration of the 1798 rebellion is already being prepared

Wexford remembers the United Irishmen

BY ART MAC EÓIN

"In the 1960s the Catholics got off their knees and the system collapsed. Then the real rulers — the British — came in and took over the running of the place. Far from democratising the area they turned it into a political/military bureaucracy. Your own Taoiseach Mr Haughey once called the Northern state a failed political entity, but there are things being attempted today to try to shore it up."

These words of Belfast Protestant Bob Heatley are some indication that the radical Protestant tradition in Ireland is not entirely dead. Heatley was speaking in Wexford at a seminar to commemorate the bicentenary of the founding of the United Irishmen, a movement whom he believed held some answers to the country's problems today.

He said that with the upsurge in sectarian murders in the North it was important to stress that this was not the only thing happening there. The Protestant community he said, is not homogeneous and by no means do all its members support such activity.

The seminar which was opened by the Mayor of Wexford, Vincent Byrne, in the town's historic Westgate Tower on Saturday, October 19th, was organised by the Wexford Historical Society in conjunction with Eidge McCall and Comóradh '98 who are aiming to hold a major commemoration of the 1798 rising in 1998.

RESTORE THE BALANCE

The first talk by Dr Thomas Graham, sought to restore some balance to the picture of the Dublin United Irishmen organisation which established academic texts on the period have

tended to portray as being at the point of disintegration on the eve of rebellion in May 1798.

Graham gave a detailed account of the preparations and mobilisation of the Dublin United Irishmen of whom there were 10,000 on paper at least, for a rising in the city. Betrayed by an informer, the rising was aborted but Graham stressed that contrary to accounts by historians such as Pakenham, a serious attempt at a rising in Dublin was made and he quoted extensively from texts of the period to lend weight to his contention.

The second lecture by John Grey, from Belfast's Linenhall Library, concentrated mainly on the political conditions leading to the emergence of the United Irishmen in the revolutionary cockpit which was Belfast in the late 18th century. This he said, was partly due to the fact that there was a tradition of Presbyterian radicalism in the city. Presbyterians as well as Catholics were oppressed to a degree at the time and in seeking reform some were willing to enlist the support of Catholics. This whole question of co-operation with Catholics had divided the earlier Volunteer Movement. The loss of the radical Protes-



● Dick Roche addressing the United Irishmen seminar in Wexford

tant tradition, Grey said, was a tragedy. The quality of the civic debate on Belfast City Council had declined considerably since those days.

The third lecture was given by Wexford man Brian Cleary. He said that in Wexford, two great forces had come together in common cause for at least 30 years before 1798. These were Protestant liberalism and rising Catholic ambitions which became apparent as the emerging middle class took advantage of political reforms.

Cleary produced receipts from the period issued by the republican forces which he said indicated that the 'Wexford republic' had operated for a short period at least on the civil level.

REVISE THE REVISIONISTS

In an overview Dr Kevin Whelan, historian, researcher and publisher, attempted to give what he called a post-revisionist analysis of the United Irishmen. He criticised Pakenham's description of the United Irishmen as a mere mob of peasants without real political ideas. It was

time, Whelan said, to 'revise the revisionists'.

"While we cannot return to a simplistic, hagiographical, nationalist history, neither should we accept the reductionist, revisionist view", he said.

Whelan pointed out that the areas most active in 1798 were the areas which were most literate. It had been most effective in the English-speaking east coast. Seventeen ninety-eight, he said, was a young man's rebellion, most of the participants being in their mid 20s.

He referred to several handbills published at the time which called on the poor to involve themselves in politics and change the unjust structure of society. This, he said was solid, factual evidence refuting the claims that the United Irishmen had no practical political programme. They appealed to the glaring inequities in Ireland. It would be wrong to see the United Irishmen as a group of self-serving bourgeois elements in Dublin and Belfast.

At the time what would now be called a 'golden circle' existed which ran the

country in its own interests. There was a marriage of convenience between the junta in College Green and the English rulers. If the English connection which propped up this regime were broken, its power would dissipate.

In the 1790s, the British army were quite prepared to use the Orange Order in repressive activities. By this time the state had been completely sectarianised. The mistake would be to subscribe the injection of sectarianism in the 1790s to the United Irishmen. This had been introduced by the British. However, there were many modern commentators who made this mistake. In political cartoons at the time, some of which were displayed at the seminar, the British attempted to portray the United Irishmen as sectarian in the same manner as today's revisionists.

BRITISH PROPAGANDA

Much of what revisionists claim was Catholic sectarianism was simple social aggression, Whelan said, adding that the rising of 1798 had now been fought three times. The first was

during the rising itself, the second occasion was the subsequent debates for the hearts and minds of the people and the third occasion was by modern historians. The argument that 1798 was a sectarian, agrarian rebellion he said was no more and no less than British propaganda parroted by the revisionist historians.

Daniel O'Connell he said, had given a good example of this convenient misconception by his defensive image of the rebellion. When asked about it O'Connell pointed out that Catholics had been led into the affair by Presbyterians as if they had been astray, and that the whole thing would never have happened but for the formation of the Orange lodges and the repression of Catholics. O'Connell's campaign had subsequently linked the national democratic struggle too much with a conservative Catholic idea.

LECTURE

The Saturday seminar was followed on Sunday by a tour of the Vinegar Hill battle site of 1798 by Brian Cleary and an interdenominational service at the PJ McCall Cottage. A lecture was given on Sunday evening on the United Irishmen, the Wexford-Dublin Links by Dr Thomas Graham.

The weekend events have marked a constructive beginning in the preparations for a major commemoration in Wexford of the 1798 rebellion.



Calling a spade a spade

BY
DARA
MacNEILL

SCRAP SATURDAY is back, at last. It was very sadly missed indeed during the recent damburst of scandals in the South. Greencore, Telecom, Dermot Desmond, Carysfort College, the sewage pipeline thingamejig — all we've heard over recent months is pœ-faced deliberation and serious comment.

Amongst ourselves we've enjoyed more than a few guffaws and sniggers but 'nationally' (you know what I mean) we've been deprived of a golden opportunity to, simultaneously, sit up, point our fingers at the powers that-be and let loose one long, vast bloody good belly laugh. These things are important, y'know.

Hopefully, that situation can now be remedied, all our lives brightened considerably, and the bulk of our political and economic leaders treated with the ridicule they so richly deserve.

One small point. Why in God's name do RTE insist on broadcasting this obviously popular programme at such an obviously unpopular hour? I dunno, but I and many more like me enjoy our Friday nights. Ergo, Saturday mornings tend to be something of an intellectual twilight zone. Alright so they repeat it on Sunday mornings but, occasionally (when it's a good weekend) a similar situation arises. RTE television for example does not screen either *Today Tonight* or a major film, at 10.30am. So why this programme — especially when you consider that on both 2FM (that's RTE 2 to you) and RTE1 (One FM?) the rest of the day's programming schedule is filled

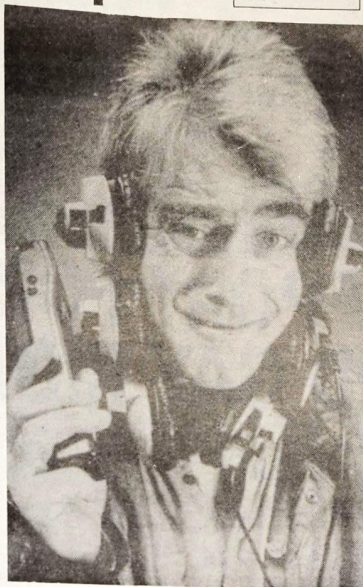
with such dross. Its just a suggestion... so if any members of the RTE authority are reading this...

For whatever reason I managed to catch last week's edition of *Scrap Saturday*. It was good, if perhaps a little predictable at times. As usual the show's star was 'The Boss' and his lickspittle sidekick, Mara. Running a close second and surely destined for future stardom is 'her nibs' herself — the pompous, self-inflated *Sunday Indo* 'gossip' columnist Terry Keane.

'ALL ONLY A LAUGH'

Also making an appearance was FF TD Ned O'Keefe, whose sole claim to fame was that he attempted to sexually harass RTE journalist Una Claffey in the Leinster House Bar. Contacted after the show for his reaction, Ned apparently remarked that it was 'all only a laugh'. We don't doubt ye Ned. I'm sure you laughed right along with the rest of us.

For a 'mere comedy show' *Scrap Saturday* has received a quite extraordinary amount of media attention. Unfortunately, in our backwards political culture it is perceived as somehow revolutionary to savagely satirise the powers that be, almost treasonable to point the



● Dermot Morgan of *Scrap Saturday*

finger and say "The King is stark bloody naked". Satire, as anyone who's ever enjoyed a few laughs will tell you, is common currency in Irish people's lives. Taking the piss out of pompous powerful figures is as old as Irish civilisation. What is revolutionary about *Scrap Saturday* is that, finally, our 'national' media have acknowl-

edged this. What is so incredible is that they have taken so long to do so. Hip Hip Hooryay, our 'national' media have taken one step closer to reflecting life as it actually is — our culture — rather than what they perceive it to be.

In doing so, they have also — albeit to a very limited extent — crossed a mini rubicon of

their own. To a limited extent they have acknowledged that it is acceptable to say to corrupt persons 'you are corrupt' — even in a roundabout sort of way. As opposed to the bland newspaper style of 'questions have been raised about this person's suitability'. It's calling a spade a spade rather than a long, wooden-handled implement often used to overturn pieces of soil.

Interestingly, during last year's broadcasts RTE had a monitor positioned in the studio who was there to ensure that the SS team didn't go too far. He's not there this year. Let's be thankful for small mercies and hope *Scrap Saturday* manages to live up to its reputation, and sail closer to the proverbial wind than ever before. Otherwise we'll all just return to our pub conversations. And perhaps our media will take heed and learn that the public want them to talk straight, tell it as it is — report the damn news, not couch it in vague and qualified media-speak. A forlorn hope? Maybe. After all, why jeopardise the cosy relations they enjoy with the powerful — the ones who provide them with most of their stories. A symbolic relationship. I think you call it. Or utter corruption...

LESSON SOMEWHERE

A recent broadcast of the *Oprah Winfrey Show* featured interviews with five of the elite few who have, so far, walked on the moon. In more than one sense perhaps... One individual is a fundamentalist preacher, another a recovering alcoholic, yet another is researching the para-normal and another has dedicated his life to a search for Noah's Ark! There's a lesson there somewhere.

Imeachtaí

(continued from page 12)

KARAOKE & DISCO NIGHT

Golden Oldie Disco

8 till late Saturday 27th October

Galsbys

NEWRY

Organised by Newry PDF

KEVIN BARRY COMMEMORATION

Speakers: Gerry O'Neill

Fr Paddy Ryan

Chaired by Tom Kenney

3.30pm Sunday 27th October

RATHVILLY

County Carlow

Organised by Sinn Féin

COLLUSION PROTEST

Relatives for Justice march

Assembly 2pm Sunday 27th October

Davis Tower Block

BELFAST

March to city centre

Rally at city hall

PUBLIC MEETING

Ireland: Scenarios for British

disengagement

Speaker: Bobbie Heasley — Author of

Breaking the Deadlock

7.30pm Tuesday 29th October

Friends House, Easton Road

LONDON WC1

Organised by the London Connolly

Association

HALLOWE'EN BALL

9pm-1am Thursday 31st October

Connolly Hall, Essex St

DUBLIN

Tickets: £2.50

Organised by the Friends of Pamela

Kane Committee

WOMEN ONLY HALLOWE'EN

PARTY

8-12pm Thursday 31st October

The Unity Club (upstairs)

96 Dalston Lane

LONDON E8

Disco - Bar - Snacks

£3.50-£2.50 unwaged

Organised by the London Women

and Ireland Group, to raise funds for

the 1992 International Women's

Week delegation to Belfast and Derby

SPECIAL MEETING

Speakers: Richard Balla — MEP for

Lambeth, Southwark and Lewisham

Linda Watts — Lambeth Council

John Tymon — Branch Secretary.

Brent NALGO

Steve Whaley — Leader,

Lambeth Council

Joe Callinan — Deputy Mayor,

Lambeth Council

3.30pm-6.30pm

Thursday 31st October

Assembly Hall, Lambeth Town Hall

LONDON

Organised by Lambeth

NALGO — Irish Group

All NALGO members

and public welcome

HUNGER-STRIKE PUBLIC

MEETING

3pm Saturday 2nd November

Solidarity House

Fleet St

DUBLIN

All Welcome

HUNGER-STRIKE EXHIBITION

12-5pm Saturday 2nd November

Solidarity House

Fleet St

DUBLIN

All welcome

WOMEN'S CONFERENCE

2nd-3rd November

Conway Mill

BELFAST

BORDER ROADS PICKET

1pm Tuesday 5th November

Leinster House

DUBLIN

IRISH NIGHT

Music by Justice

Saturday 9th November

Galsbys

NEWRY

organised by Newry PDF

BORDER ROADS DAY OF ACTION

2pm Sunday 10th November

Assembly

Scotstown, County Monaghan

The Diamond, Clones, County Monaghan

The Four Seasons Hotel, Monaghan Town

Killyclohger, County Leitrim

Pettigo, County Donegal

Road openings take place from all assembly points

Bus tickets and details available from

Nora Cumiskey phone: 202019

Mail Order Christmas Books

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Ten Men Dead	by David Beresford	£4.50
The Irish Hunger Strike	by Tom Collins	£7.95
Twenty Years On	by Michael Farrell	£4.95
Green Against Green	by Michael Hopkinson	£12.95
Error of Judgement	by Chris Mullin	£4.95
A Pathway to Peace	by Gerry Adams	£2.95
Cage 11	by Gerry Adams	£4.95
British Brutality in Ireland	by Jack O'Brien	£7.95
Gerry Adams	by Colm Kenna	£6.95
The Secret Army	by J Bowyer Bell	£9.50
Ireland the		
Censored Subject	by Danny Morrison	£2.00
West Belfast	by Danny Morrison	£5.95
The Shankill Butchers	by Martin Dillon	£5.35
Women in a War Zone		£4.99
Terrible Beauty	by Diana Norman	£5.99
Peggy Deery	by Nell McCafferty	£4.95
Michael Collins	by Tim Pat Coogan	£6.99
The SAS	by Raymond Murray	£16.99
The Irish War	by IFM Mailbox	£4.95
The Shooting of		
Michael Collins	by JM Keehan	£5.99
The Troubles	Edited by Taylor Downing	£6.20
Irish Rebels in		
English Jails	by O'Donovan Rossa	£7.99
Patrick Pearse &		
the Lost Republican Ideal	by B Murphy	£10.50
Rebels	by Peter De Rosa	£4.95
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of James Connolly	by Desmond C Greaves	£6.95
Cormac Strikes Back		£3.30
Who fears to Speak?	by Gerry Adams	£1.50
No Comment	Article 19	£4.35
Provisional IRA	P Bishop & E Maille	£4.99
Mary Ann McCracken	by Mary McNeill	£5.50
Ireland Her Own	by TA Jackson	£9.50
The Troubles 1912-1922	by Ulick O'Connor	£3.99

British Brutality in Ireland	by Jack O'Brien	£7.95
Liam Mellows and		
the Irish Revolution	by Desmond Greaves	£9.00

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USE A SEPARATE SHEET OF PAPER.

Please make Cheques or Postal Orders payable to:
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for package and postage.

Orders should be placed by December
2nd to ensure arrival before Christmas.

Sinn Féin National Draw Results

Week Number Two

First Prize: £500 — Ticket

No 2893, PJ Rice, Car-

rickree, Co Monaghan;

Second Prize: £250 —

Ticket No 4893, Christo-

pher Quinn, Enfield, Co

Meath; Third Prize: £150

— Ticket No 9210,

Christy, Regan's Tavern,

Ballaghaderreen, Co

Roscommon; Fourth

Prize: £150 — Ticket No

4064, Silverbridge,

Newry; Fifth Prize: £100

— Ticket No 11418, Pas-

cal, c/o Sean McManus,

Sligo; Sixth Prize: £100

— Ticket No 1126, Lon-

don, England; Seventh

Prize: £50 — Ticket No

2159, Brigid McNulty, In-

niskene, Co Monaghan;

Eighth Prize: £50 —

Ticket No 7407, Judy

O'Connell, Bundoran, Co

Donegal.

Next Draw Saturday,

26th October.



Gay rights activist Don Donaghy founder of the Gay switchboard

WIDE SUPPORT FOR LESBIAN AND GAY RIGHTS

BY ART MAC EOIN

FIANNA FAIL Parliamentary Party Chairperson Jim Tunney has come under attack for his opposition to proposed government reforms in the area of gay rights.

The criticisms came at a Gay and Lesbian Equality Network (GLEN) press conference which welcomed proposals to change the criminal law in relation to gay people in the 26 Counties. The changes

follow the Norris judgement in the European Court of Human Rights.

A large number of national organisations and political parties have endorsed a declaration of support for GLEN's Campaign for

Equality. The declaration welcomes the Law Reform Commission's recommendation that there be an equal age of consent of 17 for everyone, heterosexual and homosexual and urged that the category "sexual orientation" be included in the Unfair Dismissals and Employment Equality Acts.

Speaking at the Dublin press conference on October 17th, Chris

Robson, co-chairperson of GLEN, said his organisation was particularly gratified by statements of support for anti-discrimination legislation from Church of Ireland Archbishop of Armagh, Dr Robert Eames.

CHILD CUSTODY

According to Margaret McWilliams, the most sensitive area of all

for Irish lesbians, as many have been or still are married, was child custody. She called for legislation to ensure that a judge in a custody case could not use the fact of a woman's sexual orientation or involvement in a lesbian relationship as a reason to refuse her custody of her children. She said that as the law now stood many lesbians do not contest custody cases (where there is judicial separation) because of the threat that their sexual orientation will be revealed to the court, to workmates or friends.

The press conference was addressed by a number of speakers from different organisations. Michael Collins of the Dublin Travellers Education and Development Group (DTEOG) expressed support for GLEN's campaign. Pointing out that the Travelling community suffered from prejudice and discrimination, he called for solidarity between all those who are oppressed and marginalised in Irish society.

Gay rights activist Don Donaghy said gays and lesbians were well able to take on the likes of Jim Tunney and they had no fear about overcoming such political opposition.

Also present to express their support for the campaign were David McConnell of the Irish Council for Civil Liberties, Patricia O'Donovan Assistant General Secretary of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions, Sylvia Meehan of the Employment Equality Agency, and Donal Toolin of the Forum for People with Disabilities.

The campaign also received a letter of support from the Irish Section of Amnesty International.

Dublin government neglects handicapped

BY LIAM O COLEAIN

WHAT PRICE a government which neglects the needs of the most vulnerable of its citizens?

De Valera's constitution, which the Dublin government is supposedly bound by, states (Article 40, Section 1) that: "All citizens shall, as human persons, be held equal before the law. This shall not be held to mean that the State shall not in its enactments have due regard to differences of capacity, physical and moral, and of social function."

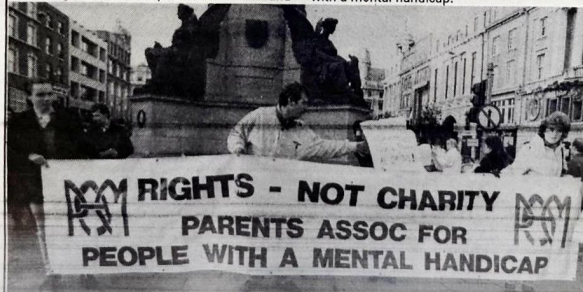
But for the past five years a group called the Parents Association for People with a Mental Handicap (PAM) has been asking the Dublin government to prioritise children and

adults with a mental handicap. Over the past three weeks this campaign has gone public, due to frustration with the government's deaf ear approach. Over the past few weeks the group has distributed some 100,000 leaflets to the public, has contacted all TDs, picketed O'Connell Bridge and has even occupied the offices of the Department of Finance.

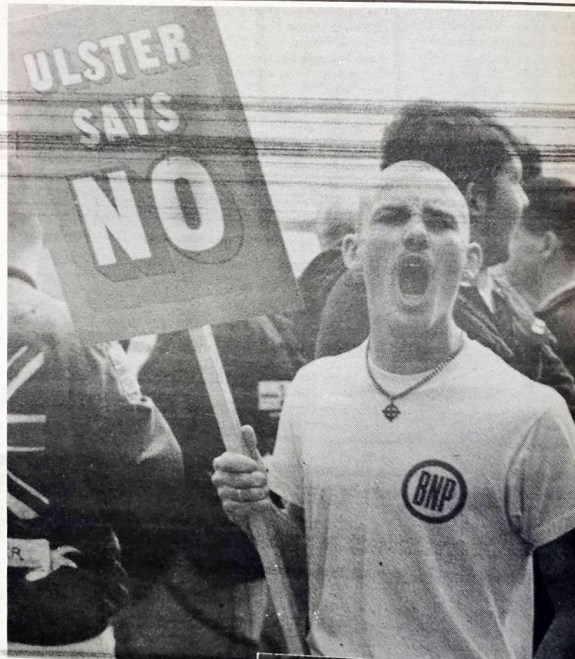
It has chosen to highlight its four most urgent demands. The first is for the provision of residential placement for handicapped persons. In the Eastern Health Board area alone there are over 600 people on a priority waiting list. These people are the sons and daughters of elderly parents who can no longer cope. There are also 534 children and adults on the waiting list for day-care placement. These two demands are only the tip of the iceberg, though, the state being content to leave parents to shoulder the burden of caring for children with special needs.

The group is also highlighting the scandal that there is little or no speech therapy for their children and that these children are not entitled to a medical card.

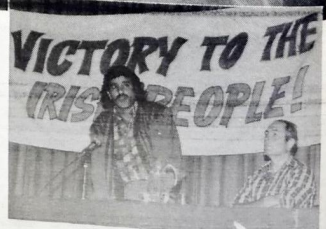
PAM is asking people to ring local TDs in Leinster House (Tel: 01-7891111) to express support for a better service for all people with a mental handicap.



The neglect of its most vulnerable citizens by the Dublin government is further proof that all the children of the nation are not cherished equally



THE LINK between loyalism in the Six Counties and fascism in England was on display in Birmingham earlier this month. Thus from the fascist British National Party gathered outside a meeting to commemorate the ten 1981 hunger strikers and carried Unionist placards. The October 10th meeting was addressed by Oliver Lynch, brother of hunger-striker Kevin, Sinn Féin Lisburn Councillor Michael Ferguson and a representative of the Kashmiri Workers' Association seen here with Oliver Lynch (right).



REMEMBERING THE PAST COERCIVE LEGISLATION

BY PETER O'ROURKE

IN THE AUTUMN of 1931, at the height of the Cosgrave era of coercion against republicans, some of the most oppressive legislation of the period was introduced in an attempt to crush the Republican Movement.

By the late 1920s, in the aftermath of the Civil War and the release of the thousands of republican political prisoners and internees in the 26 Counties, the IRA began to reorganise in preparation for a renewed campaign against the Free State and North's regimes.

The IRA, with a numerical strength of between 15,000 and 20,000 members, was commanded by such talented leaders as Maurice Twomey, Michael Price, Peadar O'Donnell, Frank Ryan, Tom Barry, Sean Russell, George Gilmore and Sean MacBride.

The 'dump arms' order of May 1923 was reversed and under the supervision of Russell, the Director of Munitions, large quantities of weapons, dumped following the ending of the Civil War, were moved to new and more secure hiding places.

During the period 1929-'31, there was widespread drilling, arms training and raids for arms by IRA units and an effective campaign aimed at persuading jurors not to participate in court cases involving republicans. As IRA activities increased, Eoin O'Duffy, the Garda Commissioner, and later leader of the infamous 'Blue-

shirts', urged the Free State authorities to enact emergency legislation to "deal with the IRA".

MILITARY TRIBUNAL

The Cosgrave regime, alarmed by the reorganisation of the IRA and the political activities of Sinn Féin and the newly-formed Saor Eire, decided once and for all to crush the Republican Movement. On October 17th, 1931, a Constitution (Amendment No 17) Act, and a new draconian Public Safety Act, set up a five member Military Tribunal to deal with political 'offences' with the power to impose the death penalty. The act also authorised the Free State regime to proscribe certain organisations and bestowed on the police extensive powers of arrest and detention.

A joint pastoral of the Catholic bishops, read out in every Catholic church the following day supported the Free State draconian measures, condemned the IRA and Saor Eire as "communist organisations", describing them as "sinful and irreligious organisations" and stated that no Catholics could belong to them.

Two days later the Free State authorities banned the IRA and eleven

other organisations including Saor Eire, Cumann na mBan, Fianna Éireann, the Women's Prisoners' Defence League, the Revolutionary Workers Group and the Friends of Soviet Russia. With almost every progressive organisation in the Free State banned (Sinn Féin was left off the list) and newspapers either censored or banned, the Cosgrave government began once more to arrest and imprison large numbers of republicans.

PAPER SUPPRESSED

As the arrest of republican activists commenced throughout the country, IRA leaders were forced to go 'on the run' to avoid arrest. The Military Tribunals suppressed four issues of *An Phoblacht* edited by Frank Ryan in a row and the paper was forced to cease publication. Ryan, who brought out a new paper, *Republican File*, in November 1931, was arrested the following month and imprisoned in Arbour Hill Military Prison.

The coercive legislation and the widespread public reaction it aroused, was a major factor in the defeat of the Cosgrave government at the general election of February 16th, 1932. When the Fianna Fáil government, led by Eamonn de Valera, came to power the following month, the Military Tribunal was suspended, the order banning the IRA and other organisations lapsed and the 77 republican prisoners were released. It was only to be a matter of time, however, before de Valera, who had been elected with the active support of the IRA, would begin to imprison republicans and proscribe the IRA.

Under draconian legislation the IRA and eleven other organisations were banned by the Cosgrave regime on October 20th, 1931, 60 years ago this week.

Sinn Féin's Owen Carron and Danny Morrison. Both men had been refused visas to visit the US and when they entered the country were arrested and charged under immigration laws.

Bertie worked first in the Bethlehem steel plant and later in the Erie County Sheriff's Department. Said to have the "energy of someone a third of his age" he ran regularly but tragically died just after winning Buffalo's 'Bullfeather Run'. He is survived by Mrs Cronin, by his sons Sean, Michael, Kevin and Brian, and daughter Margaret, all resident in the US, brothers Pat and Thomas both in England and sisters Mrs Maureen O'Hanlon and Mrs Florence McCabe, both of Bailieboro, County Cavan.

Cavan, Bertie emigrated to the United States in 1954. He played with Bailieboro Shamrock's football team in the 1940s and also represented his county. A republican all his life, Bertie never stinted in his support for the struggle for Irish national self-determination.

He it was in 1982 who mortgaged his house to raise bail for

OBITUARY Bertie Cronin

THE DEATH in the United States last August of Bertie Cronin robbed the struggle for Irish freedom of a lifelong friend.

A well-known Gaelic sportsman in his native County Cavan during the 1940s, Bertie continued his involvement with sport long after he emigrated to the US; in fact he died at the age of 62 after completing — and winning — a five kilometre race in his adopted home of Buffalo, New York.

A native of Bailieboro, County

InDíl Chaimhne

BLAKE, Peter; CASEY, Tommy; CORRIGAN, Peter; FORSYTHE, Martin; MAGUIRE, Dorothy; MEEHAN, Maura; MCGOLDRICK, Tom; MCKENNA, Martin. In proud and loving memory of Volunteers Peter Blake, Martin Forsythe, Dorothy Maguire, Maura Meehan, Tom McGoldrick, Martin McKenna and Sinn Féin members Tommy Casey and Peter Corrigan. I maois laocha na nGael go raibh siad. "They may kill the revolutionary but never the revolution." Always remembered by their friends and comrades in the Republican Movement.

CASEY, Tommy (1st Ann). In proud and loving memory of my dear husband Tommy murdered by agents of British imperialism on October 26th, 1990. When they murdered you that night they murdered part of me today. Remembered and quietly kept, no words are needed I will never forget. Always remembered by his loving wife Cathleen.

CASEY, Tommy (1st Ann). In proud and loving memory of a dear father who was murdered by agents of British imperialism on October 26th, 1990. Always remembered by his son Kevin, daughter-in-law Kathleen and Ryan.

CASEY, Tommy (1st Ann). In proud and loving memory of a dear father who was murdered by agents of British imperialism on October 26th, 1990. Always remembered by his daughter Anastasia and son-in-law Patsy.

CASEY, Tommy (1st Ann). In proud and loving memory of a dear father who was murdered by agents of British imperialism on October 26th, 1990. Always remembered by his daughter Fiona.

CASEY, Tommy (1st Ann). In proud and loving memory of a dear father who was murdered by agents of British imperialism on October 26th, 1990. Always remembered by his son Thomas.

CASEY, Tommy (1st Ann). In proud and loving memory of a dear father who was murdered by agents of British imperialism on October 26th, 1990. Always remembered by his daughter Collette and son-in-law Paul.

CASEY, Tommy (1st Ann). In proud and loving memory of a dear father who was murdered by agents of British imperialism on October 26th,

1990. Always remembered by his daughter Martina.

CASEY, Tommy (1st Ann). In proud and loving memory of our grandfather who was murdered by agents of British imperialism on October 26th, 1990. Remembered always by all his grandchildren.

CASEY, Tommy (1st Ann). In proud and loving memory of Tommy Casey, shot dead on October 26th, 1990. RIP. Padre Pio, pray for him. Always remembered by the Conway family, Carrickmore.

FITZSIMMONS, Frank (15th Ann). In proud and loving memory of my dear brother Frank who was killed in action with his brave comrades on October 16th, 1976. As each day dawns and starts anew as each day ends I think of you and in between no matter where, deep in my heart, you're always there. Always remembered by his loving sister Mimi, brother-in-law Jim and family.

FITZSIMMONS, Frank (15th Ann). In proud and loving memory of my uncle Francis who was killed in action on October 16th, 1976. St Gerard, pray for him. Always remembered by his niece Sharon and husband Raymond.

FITZSIMMONS, Frank; MARLOWE, Paul; SURGENOR, Joey (15th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Vols Francis, Joey and Paul who did on active service on October 16th 1976. Always remembered by the Republican Movement, Short Strand and Mervin.

FITZSIMMONS, Frank; MARLOWE, Paul; SURGENOR, Joey (15th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Vols Francis, Joey and Paul, who died on active service on October 16th 1976. Always remembered by the Short Strand Commemoration Committee.

MCKENNA, Martin (12th Ann). In proud and loving memory of our friend and comrade Vol Martin McKenna who died on October 23rd 1979. Thy memories fade, and life departs, you'll live forever in our hearts. Remembered always with pride and affection by Pól, Patricia and family, Belfast.

Comhbhrón

HOBAN. We wish to extend our deepest and sincere sympathy to our friend Charlie and family on the recent death of his father Kevin. From Bridie, Richie, Gith, Harry and Eilish, Coolock, Dublin.

HOBAN. Deepest sympathy to Charlie Hoban on the recent death of his father Kevin. From Coolock Sinn Féin.

TREANOR. Deepest sympathy is extended to Mary and family (Derryconely, Augher, County Tyrone) on the death of Felix (Fe) on October 17th, following a period of illness. He was a stalwart supporter of civil rights and national self-determination for the Irish people. May he rest in peace. From Sinn Féin Councillors Caoimhghín Ó Caoláin and Brian McKenna (Monaghan County Council) and Raymond McMahon (Dungannon District Council).

WALL. Deepest sympathy is extended to the Wall family on the death of Willie. From the management and staff of AP/ RN.

WALL. Deepest sympathy is extended to the Wall family (Balinglass) on the death of Willie on October 15th. A loyal and true friend will be missed. From Dr. Dwyer, Dr. Boyle, Sinn Féin Cumann, Blessington.

WALL. Deepest sympathy is extended to the Wall family (Balinglass) on the death of Willie. From Hugh Byrne, AP/ RN.

WALL. Deepest sympathy is extended to the Wall family (Balinglass) on the death of Willie. From Gerry and Kathy O'Neill, Blessington.

WALL. Deepest sympathy is extended to the Wall family (Balinglass) on the death of Willie. From Paul Baker, Rathvilly.

WALL. Deepest sympathy is extended to the Wall family (Balinglass) on the death of Willie. From Tom Kenny, Rathvilly.

Buíochoas

QUIGLEY. Kitty and family wish to thank their friends in the Republican Movement for their support during

Malachy's (Mal) illness and death. To those who attended the funeral mass and burial, and to those who sent mass cards and letters of sympathy, the holy sacrifice of the mass has been offered for your intention. Again many thanks.

Beannachtaí

CASSIDY, Denise. Welcome home Denise and good luck on your release from Maghaberry. Best wishes from Pat, Scotland.

CREANEY, Martin (H4). Birthday greetings to my mate Martin Creaney for the 10th. All the best and remember the cake from Darren, Scotland.

FLOOD, James (Portlaoine). Wishing you a happy birthday, best wishes from

all of us. From your sisters, brothers and their families.

HILLEN, Michael (H7). Happy birthday Michael. From the John Mitchell Sinn Féin Cumann.

HILLEN, Michael (H7). Happy birthday Michael. From the Newry Prisoners Defence Fund.

★★★★★★★★

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THE FLYING COLUMN

A SCOTTISH MAGAZINE with links to the Loyalist Prisoners' Welfare Association and the Independent Orange Lodge is targeting individuals and families for attack by loyalist thugs. The magazine *The Red Hand* is produced every two to three months and sells between 4,000 and 5,000 copies, mainly at Glasgow Rangers matches in the winter and at loyalist marches in the summer.

Following an article published in the *Scotland on Sunday* newspaper on October 13th, the magazine is to be investigated by British police. Articles on the Six Counties and loyalist squabbles are interspersed with pieces targeting supposed republican sympathisers as well as businesses and pubs. Many of these supposed sympathisers are in flute bands while others are merely Celtic fans who have incurred loyalist displeasure. Names, addresses and phone numbers are printed. One Edinburgh family had to change its phone number after receiving a spate of threatening and obscene calls.

A typical piece of hate targets named members of a pub football team, saying that: "These young men should bear in mind that by blessing themselves or having the portrait of the Roman anti-Christ tattooed on their bodies, they are following in the paths of such progressive forces as Hitler, Mussolini, the Mafia and of course their heroes in the IRA. Loyalists encountering such garbage should endeavour to readjust their Fenian physiognomies as fully as possible." Another feature of the magazine is "Greatest Hits" — an entertaining look at how republicans meet their maker.

A coach firm has reluctantly refused to carry republican bands after threats made in the magazine. Even the official Orange Order in Scotland has said that the magazine is manipulated by loyalist paramilitaries.

RUC Chief Hugh Annesley appeared on the BBC's *Newsnight* programme on Monday night, October 21st. He was asked whether he foresaw circumstances where the RUC would ambush loyalist terrorists. Annesley replied that he didn't like the use of the word ambush but

said it was possible "in a set-piece operation" that a "lethal confrontation" could take place.

Does that sound like a wordy shoot-to-kill policy to you too?



APOLOGIES to Detective Frank McLaughlin from Naas, who asked our photographer for a few snaps of the anti-extradition protestors at the Fianna Fail Wolfe Tone commemoration on Sunday last.

We did our best to accommodate you, Frank, but your heavies blocked the shot.

THAT SUNDAY AFTERNOON in Bodinstown, the Workers' Party held their Tone commemoration and Tomas Mac Giolla told how it was in Belfast, "on the anvil of the realities of that proletarian city" that the Workers' Party had "hammered out our revolutionary creed". Indeed many Belfast people have intimate and not too distant recollections of Sticky Lump hammers.

He correctly drew attention to the anti-sectarianism of the United Irishmen, going on to say that they "stepped back from the carnival of tribalism which had engulfed the country and set out to unite the people in a fight to overthrow an entrenched order of privilege, greed and oppression." He continued in similar vein, saying that, "they embarked on what was the first ever civil rights campaign to confront the Kings and Popes and Princes with a demand for religious freedom and complete enfranchisement". Not one mention in the whole speech of Tone's advocacy of breaking the connection with Britain.

The following quotation, which we print for Tomás's benefit, is from Tone's statement at his court martial in 1798: "From my earliest youth I have regarded the connection between Ireland and Great Britain as the curse of the Irish nation; and felt convinced that whilst it lasted this country could never be free nor happy. My mind has been

confirmed in this opinion by the experience of every succeeding year, and the conclusions which I have drawn from every fact before my eyes. In consequence, I determined to apply all the powers which my individual efforts could move in order to separate the two countries."

END OF AN ERA

Well, comrades, that's it. *The Flying Column* has been cruelly downed in mid-flight. Poor Chuckey this week crashes into obscurity. The no-warning attack by the powers-that-be comes a week before the birth of what they call an all new-improved APRN.

The dreaded image consultants have been called in to give the paper what they call a "new look for the '90s" and yours truly has been informed in no uncertain terms that I belong in the '70s. Chuckey's years of active (active? — Ed) service mean nothing to these cold assassins. Our *lái* will surely come but alas poor Chuckey will not survive to see that glorious dawn.

Or will he survive his dive to fight another day? (No, and good riddance. — Ed.)

Dúirt Siad

Mr Annesley has no evidence to support his theory that loyalist paramilitaries are "reactive" to the IRA, indeed the IRA has been reasonably quiet of late — in a period of sustained sectarian attacks by loyalist gangs on the Catholic population. — *Irish News* editorial, Monday, October 21st, headed, "A theory shot down by facts".

Mr Gerry Reynolds (FG, Sligo/Leitrim) said that as a young man he had often wondered why politicians were held in such low esteem, but having listened to Mr Roche, he now knew why. The best thing Mr Roche could do was to get himself a Morrison visa, but he doubted that he would pass the personality test. — *Vitrol in Leinster House* before last week's vote of confidence, *Irish Times*, Friday, October 18th.

Unlike Fianna Fáil, our deputies did not enter this House with revolvers in their pockets. — Pat Rabbitte calling the pot black in Leinster House, Friday, October 18th.

I hope that when Commonwealth leaders next meet, in two years' time, it will be Nelson Mandela's turn to be welcomed among us as head of state of a non-racial, democratic South Africa. — Namibian leader Sam Nujoma at the Commonwealth Conference in Harare, Wednesday, October 16th.

His earthy assessments of opponents such as Garret FitzGerald (That bollocks!) and Conor Cruise O'Brien (a shoneen, meaning a little John Bull) are entertaining. — London's *Independent* on Sunday article on Charles Haughey, October 20th.

Charlie has a flinty eye and a cold way with challengers, including non-political ones. After his office was re-furbished in 1982, he demanded to know why his new toilet did not have central heating. The architect mumbled something about thermal units, to which Charlie, sliding the toilet key down the table, replied: "Well, you try it on your way out, and I hope it freezes your balls off." — *Independent* on Sunday.

The fact is that being a member of the GAA in the Six Counties has always been a singularly risky pastime, as evidenced by the number of innocent members of the association who have been killed by the forces. That the UFF should choose publicly to make membership of the GAA even more precarious for individuals can only be regarded as an ominous sign of further atrocities to come. Yet the implications for the GAA people in the Six Counties have hardly caused a ripple amongst the sports people of the Republic who had other things, like the rugby World Cup, on their minds. Ireland is indeed in a lamentable state. — John Barrett in the *Irish Post*, October 19th.

Not far from here, the first British soldier died at the opening of our own revolution. Hidden guns amongst a populace in revolt was as common then as it is today and there will always be young men ready to die for something they believe in. — Spencer, Private Investigator, in US action series *Spencer For Hire*, comparing armed resistance to British rule in the America of the 18th Century and Ireland in the 1990s.

