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1970

ULSTER DEFENCE REGIMENT

'Peace' Train funded by British

BOTH THE 'Peace' Train organisation and the so-called Families Against Intimidation and Terror group have been slush-funded by the British government, it was revealed in the House of Commons last week. See story page 5

1991

ROYAL IRISH REGIMENT



IRA EXECUTES INFORMER



IN A STATEMENT about the killing by the IRA of Louth man Tom Oliver on Friday, July 19th, Oglach na hEireann say that the man had been working as a Garda Special Branch informer for a number of years. The following statement on his execution was supplied to AP/RN:

"The IRA has a clear duty to protect its organisation, its Volunteers and the back-up provided by its supporters. Tom Oliver's death was due to his willingness to act as an agent for the Dublin government's Special Branch while he actively assisted the IRA.

"We were aware that an informer was working in the Cooley area for some time because of the loss of IRA munitions, raids on homes and arrests. We carried out a painstaking investigation into these incidents which led us to the direction of Tom Oliver. We placed him under close observation and our suspicions were confirmed. He was seen meeting a Special Branch man." [The IRA statement names the Special Branch man.]

"Tom Oliver, over the years, assisted the IRA in numerous ways.

He supplied houses, transport and the ingredients to manufacture explosives. He also supplied accommodations for IRA transport. He passed all this information to his Special Branch contacts.

"On one occasion in 1986, an IRA Volunteer on an operation on the Omeath/Newry Road was captured. He was badly beaten by the RUC and later sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment. Oliver supplied the explosives for this operation and his own tractor to transport the explosives. He also passed this information on to his handlers. He received £1,000 following the capture of an ammunition dump. These two incidents are a sample of the information Oliver passed on.

"Attempts by members of his own family to persuade him to stop

informing failed. He was entrapped by the Special Branch and dependent on the money he was receiving from them. The Special Branch used him for their own ends, well aware of the danger they were placing him in. We have made it clear in the past and do so on this occasion, that anyone under pressure from either the RUC or Garda to act as an informer should come forward voluntarily. They will not be harmed, irrespective of what they have betrayed."

GRENADES AT DERRY HQ

Three RUC men were injured when an active service unit of the IRA lobbed two impact grenades at the RUC's Strand Road headquarters in Derry. The RUC men were guarding the entrance to the barracks when the operation took place shortly before 2am on Thursday, July 18th.

BOMB DEFUSED

Also on Thursday afternoon, in Belfast, the IRA carried out a daring bombing mission in Royal Avenue,

one of the city's most densely populated streets. An IRA Volunteer carried a bomb, in a biscuit tin, into the Bank of Ireland. He told the staff they had ten minutes to leave the premises. It took the British army bomb disposal squad several hours to defuse the bomb which was fitted with an anti-handling device.

CHOPPER HIT

The Fermanagh Brigade of the IRA claimed responsibility for a machine-gun and rocket attack on three British army helicopters circling Kinawley village. One of the helicopters was reported to be hit several times and was forced to withdraw during the attack. The IRA operators used an RPG 7 rocket and a 12.7mm anti-aircraft machine-gun in the attack.

BOOBY-TRAP DISCOVERED

A UDR man narrowly escaped injury when a booby-trap bomb planted underneath his car failed to explode. He drove from his home with the device under the car to the

UDR base at Killymeal Road where it was spotted by another UDR man. The bomb was subsequently defused.

DRUGS LIES REFUTED

The IRA has strongly refuted reports that it is involved in drug-running and other criminal activities. Such reports appeared in several Dublin newspapers recently and in a statement issued in Dublin on Tuesday, July 23rd and signed "P O'Neill, Irish Republican Publicity Bureau" the IRA said:

"The Irish Republican Army categorically denies recent media reports that it is involved in drug-running, allegations that have already been discounted, even by the RUC."

"These reports are periodically recycled by British government sources. We challenge their authors to substantiate the stories and the so-called evidence on which they are based."

"Failure to do so will demonstrate that there is no such evidence."

UDR "comes of age"

Loyalist militia renamed

BY TOM O'DWYER

LIKE LONG KESH, which was re-titled 'The Maze' when it became an international by-word for repression, the UDR was renamed as the Royal Irish Regiment (RIR) on Tuesday. In every other respect it will remain the same. The loyalist militia survived virtually intact — in spite of large cuts elsewhere in the British army — by gobbling up the Royal Irish Rangers, a regiment which has a sizeable proportion of Southern Catholics in its ranks.

The justified anger felt by nationalists against the UDR was voiced the following morning in an *Irish News* editorial. The Belfast daily referred to the regiment's part-timers as "yobs with guns who, in a more civilised society, might expect to be in prison or a mental institution".

These part-time ex-members of the UDR will be the major element in the new Royal Irish Regiment. While other British army regiments are being cut or merged, the UDR has, in effect, dropped only marginally in size. It has suffered some cuts, but these have been offset by bringing in the Royal Irish Rangers. The Royal Irish Rangers have had their numbers cut in half.

Before the new changes, the sectarian regiment, which was based only in the Six Counties, stood at 6,300. By contrast, the Royal Irish Rangers numbered only 1,195 soldiers, 15% of whom were from the 26 Counties. The new

present strength enabled Lieutenant-General Sir John Wilsey, British General Officer Commanding (GOC) in the Six Counties to say:

"This signifies the coming of age of the UDR. This will mean even more patrols on the ground."

Wilsey had more bad news for nationalists. He denied emphatically that there would be any reduction in the proportion of ex-UDR, part-time members of the new regiment

for, at least, the next three years. The British GOC added that "vetting regulations will be unchanged" — clear evidence that the authorities do not intend to move in any way against the loyalist gangs which operated within the UDR and will continue to operate within the RIR.

IRA FORCED BASES' CLOSURE

Although the changes mean no change in repression for national-

ists, there were two small crumbs of comfort. The decision not to re-open the Glenanne UDR base in South Armagh, meant in practice, a further retreat from the area. Wilsey tried to play down the closure stating that the base had "outlived its usefulness". One of the reasons for that was the IRA bomb earlier this year which reduced it to rubble. Wilsey was forced to admit that guarding the base was beyond his forces' operational capacity.



● The former Glenanne UDR base — "had outlived its usefulness"

Loyalist murder in sight of British post

THE SECTARIAN CAMPAIGN by loyalist gunmen against nationalist taxi drivers resumed with the fatal shooting of a black taxi-driver on the edge of West Belfast. The run up to the Brooke Talks had witnessed an upsurge in sectarian attacks by loyalist death-squads in which, during a period of three months, 15 nationalists were shot dead and another two seriously injured.

The death of Thomas Hughes on Friday, July 19th, after a three-month partial suspension of the loyalist campaign of sectarian terror to coincide with the Brooke Talks, appears to mark the end of the so-called 'loyalist ceasefire'. This latest killing brings the number of taxi drivers to die in sectarian attacks by loyalist gunmen to five in less than eight months.

Thirty-five-year-old Thomas 'Tatler' Hughes was a married man with two young sons. He was a good worker a reliable bread-win-



● THOMAS HUGHES

The other piece of good news was the closure of Drumard UDR base in the centre of Armagh. Drumard has long been seen by Armagh citizens as an organising centre for the loyalist death-squads that operate within the UDR.

Since its formation out of the hatted B-Specials in 1970, the Ulster Defence Regiment's 'battle-honours' have struck fear into nationalist communities. These include such examples as the murder of Mr and Mrs Devlin in Edendork, County Tyrone (1974), the Miami Showband massacre (1975), the murder of two nationalists in Castledawson, County Tyrone (1975), that of Adrian Carroll in Armagh (1983), its involvement in the Shankill Butchers' murders of the late '70s and many, many more.

The Royal Irish Rangers was formed in 1968 out of the Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers, the Royal Ulster Rifles and the Royal Irish Fusiliers. It was predominantly loyalist but its recruitment levels were also assisted by some 26-County membership.

The media-conscious move behind the change from UDR to RIR, has had some initial success. It was

corner of Linden Street and the Falls Road."

Constant harassment had forced Thomas to lodge the details of incidents with a local solicitor who had written regularly to the British Ministry of Defence to complain on his client's behalf. In the words of the Falls Taxi Association, the dead man was 'crucified' by the crown forces who never allowed him a minute's peace.

ARRESTS

In the wake of the shooting of Thomas Hughes, his family, friends and neighbours were also to bear the brunt of British army and RUC harassment. Arriving at the scene of the shooting, local Sinn Féin Councillor Fra McCann was refused access to local houses which overlooked the scene of the incident and was told to 'fuck off' by a member of the RUC.

On his way to the Royal Victoria Hospital, Councillor McCann was detained at an RUC checkpoint. A chorus of laughter from the patrol greeted McCann's suggestion that they should perhaps be pursuing Thomas Hughes' killers into the Shankill.

Throughout last weekend relatives and friends of the victim were frequently mocked about the killing. On his way to the undertakers to make arrangements for the funeral, Hughes' father-in-law was stopped and held for over 20 minutes at a British army checkpoint. On the way to collect the body at the city morgue, Tatler's father-in-law was stopped by two RUC men and ordered out of the car he was travelling in, together with the driver and another passenger. The car was searched by the RUC, who left the vehicle's contents scattered on the road and the three men were told, "Whatever fucking business you

HARASSMENT

Prior to his murder by loyalist assassins, Tatler Hughes was targeted for constant harassment and threats from British crown forces. Speaking to AP/RN a relative said that the dead man had been forced to leave his last job as a private taxi driver because of constant harassment from the RUC. "He was stopped at least once a day and abused. Even the day before he was killed an RUC man threatened his life during a confrontation at the

welcome of Fr Raymond Murray who took the move at face value. Murray has documented, publicised and condemned UDR atrocities over the years. His mistake is based on honest over-optimism about British policy and any nationalist who repeats it is certain to be disappointed.

Seamus Mallon's response,

which incorrectly suggested that the changes had brought an end to a 'locally-recruited militia' in the Six Counties, was considerably less honorable. The Royal Irish Regiment will contain just as large a loyalist militia as the UDR did and to suggest otherwise is either dishonest or ignorant.

Unionist reaction to the merger



● A black taxi at the spot where Thomas Hughes was murdered by loyalists in clear view of the British army post on the Divis Tower

have in this place, get it done and get out."

At the morgue, with the arrival of more RUC personnel and the UDR, the car was stopped and searched again. Still not content, the RUC arrested the three men and together with their car they were taken to Long Kesh where they were held for over three hours while their vehicle was stripped down and searched for the third time.

NUMEROUS COMPLAINTS

The Falls Taxi Association where Thomas Hughes worked has received numerous complaints from their drivers about members of the British crown forces gloating about their fellow worker's death. A young man from Andersonstown was arrested when a row broke out after an RUC man joked about the killing.

In sharp contrast to the harassment by British crown forces of

Thomas Hughes' family, friends and

colleagues, there appears to have been far less attention given to Hughes' killers. The shooting took place only a few yards from a British Army observation post perched on the top of Divis tower. The post dominates the Belfast skyline, with a clear view for miles around yet, according to the RUC, the occupants of the observation post neither saw nor heard anything last Friday night. Commenting on the RUC's claim, local Sinn Féin Councillor Fra McCann, said that no one believed the RUC's account. He continued:

"Local people believe that the British crown forces were actively involved in colluding with the loyalist death-squad which carried out this attack. Indeed the fact that the occupants of Divis observation post were suddenly and inexplicably struck both blind and deaf during the incident, is a clear indication that, at the very least, the crown forces were indifferent to the shooting of a nationalist taxi driver."

grass-roots anger and fear that 'their' regiment was being subjected to changes without their approval. The UDR, loyalty's standard-bearer, has been changed because of British strategic considerations, this time less sensitive than in the past to loyalist feelings, but, as always, the main factor deciding Westminster's military and political policy.

But the propaganda value of name-changes such as that of the RIR is short-lived and the fundamental sectarianism of the new regiment will soon make its name as unpopular as that of its predecessor.

Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams called for the total disbandment of the regiment:

"A change in name will not alter the sectarian nature of the UDR. The nationalist community has already gone down that road once before and will not be conned again... Irish nationalist politicians who in the aftermath of the collapse of the Brooke Talks, are eager to appear to have won a political victory, should note that Northern nationalists will not easily forgive anyone who endorses this tactical manoeuvre by the British."

Thomas Hughes' family, friends and

has been surprisingly muted. Official Unionist MP Ken Maginnis initially criticised it. He then cited his friends high up in the British military and assured his fellow loyalists that everything would be OK — a sure sign that he knew no real change was taking place.

This drew flak from Ian Paisley and the DUP, reflecting loyalist



● Thatcher at the Drumard UDR base, long seen by Armagh citizens as the organising centre for loyalist death squads in the area



'Attend August march' — POWs

IN A MESSAGE from Portlaoise Prison the republican prisoners urge people to mark the tenth anniversary of the hunger strike fittingly on August 11th.

"As republican prisoners we are acutely aware of the debt we owe our comrades who this time ten years ago were dying to prevent the criminalisation of this final campaign in our long war of independence. Their selfless devotion to Ireland and to the political status and dignity of those captured in the fight to free her from foreign domination is an inspiration to people everywhere forced to struggle for right against might.

"It is said that the fear of death lies not so much in the act itself but in the realisation that one is losing one's future. From the confines of a prison cell the future is a precious treasure to be savoured with an intensity few outside the walls would have time to contemplate. For healthy young men to willingly forego a future beyond the bars, intelligent and sensitive young men, patriotic, idealistic and highly motivated young men, it is a sacrifice beyond measure. That they felt it necessary to risk death in order to protect a personal integrity which should have been theirs by right is an indictment of British rule in Ireland that needs no further elaboration.

"On the tenth anniversary of

the Long Kesh hunger-strikes, we remember their heroism as one after the other they embarked on a protest marked by prolonged suffering, made all the more difficult by up to two months of intense deliberation. As soldiers and patriots it was the ultimate act of gallantry. As ordinary decent human beings it was the ultimate act of love for fellow prisoners who suffered with them the tortures and humiliations which England specially reserves for her Irish enemies.

"Today the struggle carries on and when republicans have successfully and inevitably accomplished the mission to which we have dedicated ourselves the inspiration provided by our brave hunger strikers will be seen to have played a pivotal role in achieving Ireland's full national demand.

"On Sunday, August 11th, a march is taking place in Belfast to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the Long Kesh hunger strikes. We call on all those who support Irish freedom to attend the march if at all possible and show Britain and the world that the Irish people remember our brothers who hungered for justice."



Waste dump for Sellafield confirmed

THE BRITISH NUCLEAR WASTE firm Nirex has confirmed that the Sellafield nuclear reprocessing plant in Cumbria is the chosen site for a new nuclear waste dump despite objections from people in Ireland and Britain. The dump is expected to be ready for use in about ten years.

Sinn Féin's spokesperson on the Environment Sheena Campbell, who two weeks ago warned of "grave risks to the Irish people" if the British nuclear industry nominated Sellafield as the disposal site for Britain's radioactive waste, has called for "a united campaign of opposition by the Dublin government and political parties North and South, now that the decision has been taken and the proposal given the go-ahead".

Campbell said:

"The Irish Sea is already the most radioactive in the world. For almost 50 years British nuclear installations, especially Sellafield, have been pouring millions of gal-

lons of radioactive waste into the Irish Sea. Nuclear accidents and the unintentional leakage of waste have added significantly to the dangers posed by these installations to people living along the British and Irish coasts.

"The construction of a huge underground waste disposal facility which will hold almost all of Britain's low-level and intermediate waste presents a major environmental risk. This danger will be increased with the likelihood that nuclear waste from other nations will also be processed at Sellafield and stored in this underground dump.

"This project must be prevented



• SHEENA CAMPBELL
and every step taken to exert pressure on the British government to abort this proposal."

Seven-day detention law modified

A FURTHER MANIPULATION of the judicial system in the Six Counties to suit the British government's strategy was announced in the British House of Commons on Thursday, July 18th. The British government intends to modify that section of the Emergency Provisions Act which allows them to hold political suspects for up to seven days.

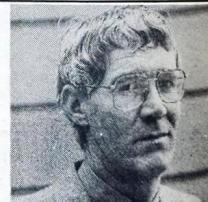
The announced changes, dictated by the British government through an "order in council", now mean that a person can be detained for four days, after which they must be charged or released. If charged they must then be brought before a local magistrate where the RUC can then apply for them to be returned to their custody for a further three days' interrogation.

These changes have little to do

with the British government's concern for the rights of those arrested by the RUC and more to do with offsetting the bad publicity they received earlier this year when the European Court of Human Rights ruled that seven-day detention was unjustified.

DEROGATION

On that occasion the British government refused to heed the Court's



• PADDY McMANUS
direction and end this draconian measure. Instead they derogated from the European Court's human rights convention set up to protect citizens from potential maltreatment while in detention. The rejection of the court's instruction and the risk they ran of further international censure by doing so shows the importance to the British government of this seven-day detention facility. It is the cornerstone upon which rests their arrest and torture policy.

This modification is in fact a sleight-of-hand device which allows them to continue with seven-day detention while they can claim to have the approval of an outside agency, a magistrate.

Commenting on the changes Sinn Féin councillor and the party's legal affairs spokesperson Paddy McManus said:

"These changes will not stop the torture in RUC barracks, which is once again a regular and almost daily occurrence, nor will it help the process of peace."

'PEACE' TRAIN FUNDED BY BRITISH

IT HAS BEEN revealed by the British Minister of State at the Northern Ireland Office, Brian Mawhinney, that the British government has funded the 'Peace' Train and the so-called Families Against Intimidation and Terror (FAIT) group to the tune of £12,500 with more money promised.

This revelation came in the House of Commons on Friday, July 19th, soon after the publicity stunt staged by the 'Peace' Train group arrived there after travelling from Belfast to Dublin and by ferry to Holyhead and train to London. In the Commons they were met by MPs including Labour's Harry Barnes. It was in reply to a speech from this MP in praise of the bogus peace groups that Mawhinney made his announcement.

After lavishing praise on Barnes for raising the issue, and on the two groups, Mawhinney said: "In the past few days I have been able to put my money where my mouth — and my pen — would normally be." He told the Commons that the Northern Ireland Office's Central Committee for Community Relations, for which Mawhinney has responsibility, has to date provided £8,500 to the 'Peace' Train group.

Mawhinney promised to consider giving more money to any project the group might set up in the North.

Even more than the 'Peace' Train group, FAIT concentrates almost exclusively on attacking nationalists' use of force in response to British terror in Ireland, and is largely a front for the Workers' Party. This tiny group is to be provided with a "seedling grant" of £4,000 "to enable it to prepare a strategy for its future development". FAIT's spokesperson Henry Robinson is a member of the Workers' Party (see *Flying Column* 18/7/91) which will no doubt ensure that this "future strategy" is in line with the strategy of its British government benefactors.

Many genuine community groups in the Six Counties who have had their funding axed by Mawhinney and his colleagues because of political vetting will share



• CHRISTY BURKE

the cynicism of nationalists about these bogus peace initiatives and their British slush-funds. Dublin Sinn Féin Councillor Christy Burke said the slush-fund was: "Another example of Irish people being used in a cynical propaganda exercise by people working on behalf of the British".

PICKETED

On its arrival in London the 'Peace' Train was picketed by members of the Troops Out Movement. TOM chairperson Richard Stanton pointed out that the train had been presented as a project of New Consensus whose "membership and support comes not from the peace movement, but from political



• Mawhinney — has provided £8,500 to the 'Peace' Train group groupings and individuals who are not pacifists. Supports of New Consensus include ex-UDR officer Ken Maginnis who has publicly supported Britain's shoot-to-kill policy in Northern Ireland." Stanton continued:

"If British politicians are genuinely interested in the pursuit of peace, now is the time for them to consider the one peace route not yet tried — that of British withdrawal from Ireland. This is a peace route that has achieved a majority consensus in both Britain and Ireland, with 82% of southern Irish people supporting Irish unity and over 60% of people in Britain supporting British withdrawal."

City centre march victory



THE NATIONALIST PEOPLE of Belfast notched up a significant victory last Monday when the RUC announced that they planned to allow a nationalist march to pass through Belfast's city centre on its way to a rally at the City Hall.

The announcement followed a three-month-long campaign by the Belfast-based Right to March group, which was set up in March this year when the RUC banned an International Women's Day march from the city centre.

Una Gillespie, spokesperson for the group, said she was delighted by the decision and regarded it as a landmark in the struggle by nationalists to establish equality of treatment in their own city. She said the victory belonged to the people who persevered with regular marches which were banned from the city

and those who picketed outside the City Hall to highlight the ban.

The RUC's announcement provoked a typical response from the unionist bigots on Belfast City Council. Leading the charge against the decision to allow the march was DUP councillor, Sammy Wilson. He said he would consult with his colleagues about staging a counter-demonstration.

Belfast Sinn Féin councillor, and leader of the party's group on the council, Gerard McGuigan, reacted by stating that Wilson "wanted to wreck everything when he did not get his own way".

The Right To March group expressed concern that the DUP was involved in an attempt to have the march banned by organising a counter-demonstration. This they feared would give the RUC the opportunity to ban both demonstrations on the grounds that a breach of the peace might arise. However Una Gillespie said that the planned march would be peaceful, like all their previous activity, and it was up to the RUC to deal with any loyalist counter-demonstrators.

If the march gets to the City Hall it will be only the second time in living memory that the RUC have given way under pressure from nationalists demanding the right to march through the city centre. The last occasion was in the late '70s

when a group, the Trade Union Campaign Against Repression (TUCAR), marched through the city centre to the headquarters of NICRU in High Street. They were protesting against the death in RUC custody of Brian Maguire, who was a shop steward.

The organisers of this week's demonstration don't expect the march to be as big as it could be because it is holiday time and it is leaving from one of the smaller nationalist districts in south Belfast. However they are appealing for as many people as possible to join in the mould-breaking march. The march will leave the corner of Balfour Avenue and Ormeau Road on Sunday, July 28th at 2pm for City Hall.

British army destroys community efforts

A CROWD of up to 100 local people gathered on the Monaghan/Tyrone border at Drumfarrer on Saturday, July 13th, and reopened the closed border road there. The operation was carried out under the aegis of the Monaghan/Tyrone Community Association.

The reopening work, involving tractors, link-boxes, spades and shovels took three hours to complete. However, what was once the main Dublin to Derry Road before the construction of the new route from Emyvale to Aughnacloy via the infamous British army checkpoint, was the focus of a destructive British army attack on Thursday and Friday July 18th and 19th. The Community Association's work was completely destroyed and massive craters were re-dug where the new route had been bedded.

Despite the mobilisation of local people once again on Sunday, July 21st, it was decided to defer attempts at another reopening due to the heavy presence of British army personnel in the immediate area.

Monaghan Sinn Féin County Councillor Brian McKenna has echoed his fellow Sinn Féin Councillor Caoimhghin Ó Caoláin's earlier demands that Charles Haughey and his ministers in government immediately announce the withdrawal of all 26-County co-operation in the form of the presence of Garda and Dublin government troops while British army closure exercises are in train. He also demanded that they "take a definite stance of opposition to this ongoing campaign of harassment of border communities which has led to a decade and a half of misery and suffering".



• BRIAN MCKENNA

Trail of blood and corruption leads to Pretoria

THE SOUTH AFRICAN government's dirty tricks campaign to boost Inkatha and to do down the ANC came unstuck in a very big way last week when it was discovered that the Law and Order ministry had funded the Zulu tribal organisation. It is a disaster for the racist government's attempts to divide Black South Africans along tribal lines and will certainly mean resignations from the cabinet. Even President de Klerk may have to step down.

Since 1985, Inkatha has been the lynch-pin of the government's military strategy as it sought in secret to combat the support of the ANC. At the very time it was negotiating with Nelson Mandela about democratic reforms, the Pretoria administration was using the Zulu organisation to slaughter ANC supporters. Its twin objectives were to suggest that Inkatha had considerable support and that the two Black organisations were vying for power in the townships.

The racist suggestion behind this was that Black people could not solve their differences peacefully. The

government constantly referred to the fighting as "Black-on-Black violence" although the ultimate source of this violence was the White-run state. Inkatha members were encouraged to run riot in ANC-supporting areas and, on occasion Black members of the South African Defence Forces, dressed up as Inkatha members, committed appalling murders as provocations.

Last week, the anti-apartheid *Weekly Mail* also discovered a memo in the Afrikaans language from Durban police chief Major Louis Botha referring to Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. This memorandum justified giving Buthelezi the money on the basis that it

rallies. But later evidence showed the total figure was more like six times that amount.

STATE FORCES' KILLING

The government crisis worsened on July 18th when a former army sergeant admitted his unit committed the mass murder of 26 people on a train to Soweto last September. The commando unit of Fiv Reconnaissance Regiment, an SAS-style force under the control of the South African government's Directorate of Military Intelligence, dressed up as Inkatha supporters for the operation. At the time, the ANC stated that it suspected the massacre was committed by state forces, but the government poured cold water on the suggestion.

The *Weekly Mail* also discovered a memo in the Afrikaans language from Durban police chief Major Louis Botha referring to Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. This memorandum justified giving Buthelezi the money on the basis that it

was of "cardinal importance" to "show everybody that he is strong".

After these revelations, the Zulu leader whose members have virtually declared war on the ANC, swore an oath on television that he knew nothing about the money. The sheer size of the 1.5 million-rand kickback makes this denial very hard to believe. On Tuesday, deeply embarrassed by the scandal, the chief announced that 250,000 rand would be given back and his deputy was forced to resign. In challenging the ANC as a representative of Black South Africans, he has presented himself as an opponent of apartheid. But here was evidence that he received money from its supporters.

CABINET RESPONSIBLE

Buthelezi is not the only figure to lose out in the present crisis which is being called "Inkathagate". The trail of responsibility stretches into the cabinet and there are confused reports that it may go as far as the State



• Buthelezi's right-wing Zulu organisation has been funded by the de Klerk government

President. On July 22nd, the government's Auditor-General told reporters that four cabinet ministers signed a paper authorising the payments to Inkatha. Law and Order Minister Adrian Vlok (who has already suggested he might resign) and Foreign Minister Pik Botha have already admitted doing so. But the Auditor-General stated that both de Klerk and Barend du Plessis, the finance minister also signed it. De Klerk has, up to now, denied all knowledge of the money. But, the following day, he retracted his story.

De Klerk's government has tried to present itself as reformist, anxious to create a peaceful, negotiated settlement. On that basis, it has pressed governments throughout the world to drop anti-apartheid sanctions against South Africa. But the present crisis shows the Pretoria regime is far from benign.

The slush-money and the responsibility for bloody massacres which came to light this week, have shaken its entire strategy. It now remains to be seen whether de Klerk can continue to negotiate with the ANC, after bankrolling its opponents and while his government is involved in racial massacres.

Scheme workers worse off

NEXT WEEK all social welfare allowances in the 26 Counties will be increased under the terms of the budget. Workers have received a pay rise under the PESP but the state's 11,000 SES workers will not benefit at all.

On the Pat Kenny Show recently a spokesperson for the Department of Social Welfare admitted that there are cases where people on Social Employment Schemes are worse off financially than they would be on the dole. Scheme workers do not have the same rights as other workers, and are also denied those inadequate benefits which Social Welfare recipients receive. They are not entitled to fuel or rent allowances or even a Christmas bonus.

The Irish National Organisation for the Unemployed (INO) has called for SES wages to be increased to £88.83 for single people (it is currently £69) and £111.83 for married people and for a full inter-departmental review, including the INOU, to remove disincentives arising from income differences and eligibility criteria on the various Workers.

The Scheme Workers' Alliance is continuing its campaign against this injustice and to that end a mass picket will



• Better off on the dole

be held on the FAS head office in Bag Street in Dublin on Wednesday, July 31st between 11am and 2pm unless a pay rise is confirmed beforehand. Pickets will also be placed on other FAS offices throughout the state.

Government sticks the boot in

THE DUBLIN GOVERNMENT announced details of its hotchpotch cuts package on Friday last, in a knee-jerk reaction to the unexpected £200 million increase in government costs so far this year.

will fall on an already dangerously underfunded Department of Health. There will be a £10 increase per day in private and semi-private bed charges; occasional users of the drugs refund scheme will face delays in payment; and the number of hospitals on night shift accident and emergency call in Dublin will also be reduced from September 1st, with the accompanying threat to life caused by added delays before a patient gets to hospital. VHI charges are also expected to rise, although the Department's budget will be cut by £11.5 million expected savings in this area are expected to run to over £22 million, almost a quarter of the £100 million which is to be saved.

Reynolds also warned that these cuts are only a foretaste of what is around the corner, further cuts being expected later this year and in the 1992 budget.

ing is sacrosanct", those already living below the poverty line have little to look forward to.

Almost every government department was affected but those worst cut include £11.8 million from environment, £10.2 million from social welfare and £6.2 million from education.

The Irish National Organisation for the Unemployed said that the bulk of the cuts fall squarely on the poor and the unemployed. "One pound out of every ten has been fished from the poor through a £10 million cut in the social welfare budget," said INOU general secretary Mike Allen.

The unions are also likely to come under government pressure to settle for less in October when they meet the government to discuss the Programme for Social and Economic Progress.

Republicans honour Dublin Volunteer

ON THE 15th anniversary of the death of IRA Volunteer Patrick Cannon, republicans from the north of Dublin marched from Dardale roundabout to his graveside in Balgriffin Cemetery, where a commemoration ceremony was held in his honour on Sunday, July 21st. The march was led by a Fianna Eireann colour party and the Volunteer Tom Smith Fife and Drum Band.

Patrick Cannon who lived in Edenvale estate in Raheny was killed with his comrade Peter McEcar in a premature explosion at Castlederg, County Tyrone, on July 17th 1976.

The proceedings in Balgriffin were chaired by Bernadette Quinn who called for a wreath to be laid on behalf of Dublin North East Sinn Féin. A minute's silence was observed and to a drum roll the colour party lowered the flags.

Quinn then introduced Larry O'Toole who was the Sinn Féin candidate for Artane in the recent local government elections. O'Toole pointed out that in the elections the voters of the Artane constituency had given Sinn Féin 1,137 first preference votes. Included in this was a massive 520 votes from Dardale — almost 70% of the total poll in that estate. He said that the vote received had been a great boost and while he was not elected on this occasion, the party now had a man-

date from the people of the area to fight alongside them for their interests.

He went on to say that politicians often ignored pre-election commitments adding:

"Our message to Councillors Haughey, Green, Bourke and Broughan is that they have myself and 1,137 voters just over their shoulders to keep the pressure on them to carry out their duties and obligations to the Artane electorate."

EXTRA OBSTACLES

He pointed out that during elections, unlike other parties, Sinn Féin had to contend with extra obstacles such as censorship, lack of media coverage and Garda harassment: "But in spite of this people came out to vote for Sinn Féin, activists came out to work for Sinn Féin, householders, despite blatant interference by the Garda Special Branch, put posters in their windows. The community also support-

ed our fundraising raffles and dances." He said that the message to the perpetrators of such harassment was that despite their efforts, Sinn Féin was relevant and that the community would not be bullied by their underhanded tactics. "Above all", he concluded "we are here to stay."

The main speaker of the day was Monaghan Sinn Féin Councillor Caoimhghin O Caoláin, who paid tribute to the sacrifice made by Patrick Cannon and Peter McEcar adding that republicans paid tribute also to those who continue to confront the crown forces in the occupied Six Counties. "We salute each and every one of them", he said.

"Living here in Dublin Patrick Cannon could have had other pursuits, but he answered the call of the beleaguered people in the North." He said that it was not just for those beleaguered northern nationalists that Patrick Cannon had fought and died but for the rights of all the Irish people. The Proclamation of 1916, he said, had a relevance to everyone in the country.

Councillor O Caoláin said that there were many ways for people to involve themselves in the republican struggle. Some may choose the path taken by Patrick Cannon, others could involve themselves in the political activism of Sinn Féin or give practical support during elections. Selling *An Phoblacht/Republican News* was a worthy pursuit and helped to combat censorship. People could help the struggle by raising the issues or writing to the newspapers.

ROAD RE-OPENING

He told those gathered in Balgriffin that at the same time as the Dublin commemoration, others were gathering at Drumfarrer on the Monaghan/Tyrone border to once again re-open a road de-

stroyed by the British army. Tractors, picks, shovels and link boxes were the only weapons that would be used. This he said was "people power Irish style". Referring to the Special Branch members who were present in the graveyard, O Caoláin said that one day "the Sécurité of Ireland" would face the people's justice.

He said that Sinn Féin's electoral strike in the area had not gone unnoticed elsewhere and pointed out that if Larry O'Toole had been a candidate in the North Monaghan area he would have been elected on the first count.

O Caoláin criticised the system of local government in the 26 Counties saying it amounted merely to a system of local administration and that local authorities lacked real power. In this context he drew attention to Sinn Féin's policy document *Local Power and Democratic Right* and recommended that people acquaint themselves with its proposals so that it would be a living document.

He said that it was important in the struggle to "be ever on the offensive" and he urged republicans not to allow lethargy into their ranks. He cautioned against viewing republicanism as merely a way of life. "Let none of us look on the course of the past 20 years as an acceptable way of life," rather a passage in our lives we must go through to secure a new beginning for all the people of this island, irrespective of their attitudes to us or indeed their allegiances. As republicans serious in our task we need to inject a new aggressiveness into our efforts. Nothing less than success and at the earliest opportunity will suffice. Pat Cannon gave his life, will you give of your time and talents?", he concluded.

The ceremony ended with the playing of *Amhrán na bhFiann*.



● Marchers at the Volunteer Patrick Cannon commemoration in Dublin on Sunday



Flame still burning brightly

OVER 700 people attended the annual Martin Hurson commemoration in County Tyrone on Saturday, July 15th. Leaving the local GAA club on the outskirts of Cappagh shortly after 7pm, the parade marched to Cappagh graveyard for a wreath-laying ceremony and oration by Sinn Féin activist Jim Gibney.

The local GAA had already hosted the finals of the Martin Hurson Memorial Cup football tournament on Saturday afternoon which had been running over the last couple of months. With victory in the county tournament being secured by both the local men's and women's teams, the parade left the GAA grounds led by a colour party of former POWs, many of whom had been in jail during the 1981 hunger strike, and accompanied by the Martin Hurson Memorial and the Cloughfin pipe bands.

The graveside proceedings were chaired by local Sinn Féin Councillor, Francie Molloy and wreaths were laid on behalf of the Hurson family, the memorial band and the Republican Movement.

Jim Gibney, who was National H-Block/Armagh Committee organiser during the 1981 prison struggle, traced the roots of the hunger strike and outlined the circumstances in which the hunger strikes took place. Addressing the crowd, he said:

"The Irish people were proud of

the resistance that had been displayed over the last 20 years in the struggle for Irish independence. They were particularly proud that their community had produced young men and women who had endured so much hardship and suffering in the prisons between 1972 and 1981 to prove that the freedom struggle was a political cause and not a criminal venture."

Commenting on the ten men who died, Gibney said they were unique individuals "with a unique sense of commitment" which had won them a special place in the hearts of Irish people. Referring to the ongoing struggle, Gibney paid special tribute to the republican people of Tyrone for their steadfastness in the face of the SAS death squads who had shot dead several

IRA Volunteers, and the campaign of intimidation against the nationalist people by the UDR and RUC. He concluded:

"The Irish struggle for independence is in its last phase. The struggle will not be handed on to another generation. The spirit of freedom which was lit in the mid-'60s is still burning brightly and the republican people of Ireland have the will and the means to exhaust the British government's determination to hold onto the Six Counties."

Recruitment attempts appeal

THE Sinn Féin candidate in the North Belfast by-election scheduled to take place on August 28th, Joe Austin, has appealed to anyone being pressurised by the RUC to act as an informer to come forward and contact either a member of Sinn Féin, a solicitor or a local priest.

Austin issued the appeal after being approached by an unofficial private taxi driver from the Lower Falls who said the RUC were pressuring him to pass information. The man, who wishes to remain anonymous as he is afraid he might be targeted by other members of the crown forces, said that the campaign to recruit him started several weeks ago.

An RUC man called McConnell, based at Springfield Road Barracks suggested to him at a checkpoint that he "couldn't be earning very much money at the moment". When the man didn't respond, his licence was taken on the spurious suggestion that it was "flawed". The taxi driver was told to collect the licence at the barracks.

Following the incident, the driver contacted a solicitor who lodged an official complaint at the barracks. However this did not deter the RUC from approaching the taxi driver for a second time when he returned to the barracks to retrieve his driving licence.

A few days later, again at a checkpoint, RUC man McConnell threatened to plant evidence in the man's car and have him imprisoned if he continued to refuse to co-operate and act as an informer for the RUC.

Commenting on this form of pressure North Belfast Sinn Féin candidate, Joe Austin said it was important to record with a solicitor any approaches made by the RUC to recruit informers. He continued:

"Often the only way to stem the tide of RUC intimidation is to publicise the fact that they are pressuring you to act as an informer. Anyone who finds themselves targeted by the RUC should immediately contact the relevant people in their own communities and make the fact known."



● JOE AUSTIN

Dropping the demand for Irish unity

IN 1948 the South's first inter-party government, headed by Fine Gael's John A Costello, announced legislation which would dispose of the last legal links with Britain and the Commonwealth and make the 26 Counties an 'Irish Republic' — and, Costello explained, "to take the gun out of politics". Pre-empting republican arguments by appropriating the symbols, not the substance, of national sovereignty, had always been a major motivation for de Valera. So too for John Costello.

Once the Republic of Ireland Act was passed, the Dublin government mounted an anti-partition campaign, by launching an anti-partition fund in the Mansion House in Dublin in January 1949. This fund aimed to subsidise the northern Nationalist Party and run a publicity campaign on partition. The drive petered out a few years later. Meanwhile the British responded to the Republic of Ireland Act with an act of their own, the Ireland Act 1949, which not only acknowledged the 26 Counties as a foreign state outside the Commonwealth, but included the following paragraph, in response to expressed unionist fears:

"It is hereby declared that Northern Ireland remains part of His Majesty's dominions and of the United Kingdom and it is hereby affirmed that in no event will Northern Ireland or any part thereof cease to be part of His Majesty's dominions and of the United Kingdom without the consent of the Parliament of Northern Ireland."

This clause provided 20% of the Irish people and under 2% of the UK electorate with an effective veto over any British move towards Irish reunification. The Ireland Act effectively provided partition with a double lock: to end it would require not only a plebiscite in the Six Counties but also a vote in Westminster. Unionist consent was necessary, but not sufficient. For privately, what were the British really saying?

British Cabinet minutes from 1949, released recently, stated that "so far as can be foreseen, it will never be to Great Britain's advantage that Northern Ireland should form part of a territory outside His Majesty's jurisdiction. Indeed it seems unlikely that Great Britain would ever be able to agree to this even if the people of Northern Ireland desired it". A few days after the publication of the Ireland Act, Costello proposed to Leinster House a resolution, passed unanimously, which repudiated "the claim of the British Parliament to enact legislation affecting Ireland's territorial integrity" and called upon the British to "end the present occupation of our six north eastern counties".

The freezing of the national aspiration into articles of the Constitution, coupled with changing economic circumstances,

unionists. For a while, with moderniser Terence O'Neill in charge in Belfast, southern politicians believed the approach could work.

SPAWNING REVISIONISM

One year after the 1965 Lemass-O'Neill meeting, Lemass set up an informal all-party committee in Leinster House to suggest amendments to the Constitution with a view to make it more acceptable to northern unionists. Apart from the divorce ban (Article 41.3) and the position of the Catholic Church (Article 44.1) the committee recommended the amendment of Article 3 (2 was left untouched) to: "3.1. The Irish nation hereby proclaims its firm will that its territory be reunited in har-

mony and brotherly affection between all Irishmen..."

Part 3.2 restates the scope of application of the state's laws. The late '60s spawned an intellectual current, now commonly labelled 'revisionist', which drew on growing historical research to try and justify northern unionists' right to veto Irish unity. Another popular target was to be the 1916 Rising and its leaders: Pearse was the subject of a famous hatchet job of an article, written in 1966 by Francie Shaw SJ and withheld until 1972. In 1969, however, for reasons which boiled down to the undemocratic and rigid nature of the Six-County state, the Troubles erupted, and the Leinster House report was shelved.

Southern political reaction to the Troubles was one of surprise at the extent of northern nationalist disaffection from the northern state, and of fear that the cosy stability of the 26-County state and its economic regeneration would be threatened by the upheaval across the border. The Dublin government attempted

only once to place the question of the North, and of Britain's role, on the agenda of the United Nations. In August 1969 Patrick Hillery, then Minister for External Affairs, requested on behalf of his government an urgent meeting of the UN Security Council and the sending of UN troops, or at least joint Irish-British contingents to the North to deal with the emergency.

As Britain argued that Article 2(7) of the UN Charter (non-intervention in domestic affairs of states) prohibited discussion of the North, Hillery reminded the Council of the history of partition, and that his government did not "in any way concede [to the British] the right to exercise jurisdiction" — a statement based on Articles Two and Three. However, further consideration of the question was suspended. So ended the first and last attempt by any Dublin government to have partition discussed at the UN.

In 1972 revisionists came

In the concluding part of our examination of Articles Two and Three Hilda MacThomas focuses on their role in the politics of Anglo-Irish relations and on the debate to remove or water them down.



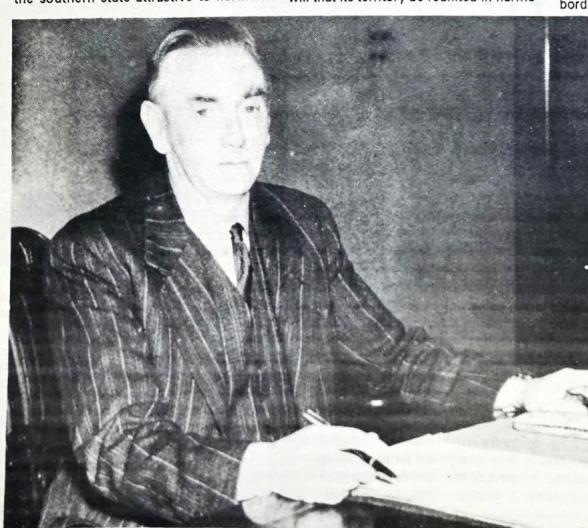
● December 1980 meeting within these Islands" after back on the offensive. Garret Ó Conaire, Conor Cruise O'Brien in Ireland both argued that the view was a minority view, that most people were in favour of Home Rule and crown à la Daniel O'Connell. Ireland had two nations, Gaelic and nationalist, an English-speaking, Protestant

TWO NATIONS

Two nationism was essentially unionists being the victims. The first claim by a priest-ridden Society to maintain their integrity, behind the border. This with unionists, who like all of us from a serious identity problem in the same way as the consent in the 1949 Ireland Act recognising unionists' of self-determination", two-theories retroactively justifying partition on the grounds that the border simply validated a existing national frontier.

In 1973 the British, having suspended the Stormont parliament the year before, produced the Northern Ireland Constitution Bill, and later version Northern Ireland Act 1973. 1982, superseded and largely replaced the Government of Ireland Act 1920. The latter states the need for "wide community support" for any administrative arrangement if power is devolved to the new administration.

A clause provides for "arrangements with any authority of the Republic of Ireland" on devolution. And the act's first clause re-establishes the Northern Ireland's British sovereignty claim. Counties, as well as the need for the consent of the majority of Northern Ireland" to affect any change in the North, or to end the unionist veto. It was to be suspended. The only one took place in 1973. The border poll was the most nationalists and pro-expected result.



● John A Costello — his Fine Gael government passed the Republic of Ireland Act



● meeting in Dublin between Haughey and Thatcher when it was agreed to discuss "the totality of relationships" after which Thatcher reiterated Britain's claim to the North

Garret Fitzgerald in
a New Ireland, and
Brien in his States of
that the republican
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el O'Connell, and that
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nalist, and the other,
Protestant and unionist.

COLONIALISM
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The 'consent' principle was accepted
later that year by the Dublin government
headed by Fine Gael leader Liam
Cosgrave at Sunningdale. The
Sunningdale Agreement is in fact the first
official acceptance by a Dublin govern-
ment of the unionist veto. The Irish com-
munique stated: "The Irish Government
fully accepted and solemnly declared that
there could be no change in the status of
Northern Ireland until a majority of its
people desired a change."

The Sunningdale Agreement however
was never lodged with the UN. A loyalist
strike in 1974 ended the power-sharing



● After the loyalist strike of 1974 the Sunningdale Agreement collapsed

executive and the agreement collapsed,
its main legacy being the Criminal Law
Jurisdiction Act in the 26 Counties.

SILVER TEA-POT

In the communiqué that followed
Charles Haughey's summit meeting with
Thatcher in May 1980 — the famous 'silver
teapot' meeting — Haughey said that
change in the North would only "come
about with the consent of a majority of
the entity's people". At a second meeting
in December 1980, as political prisoners
were in the middle of a hunger strike in
the H-Blocks and Armagh, Haughey and
Thatcher agreed to set up joint study
groups to examine legal, political and
economic problems between Ireland and
Britain. The communiqué also said that
future discussions would encompass "the
totality of relationships within these
islands", a phrase which Brian Lenihan later
hinted meant everything was on the table.
Unionists objected. Paisley led 500 men
on to an Antrim hillside, brandishing gun
permits. Thatcher rebuked the Dublin govern-
ment, and reiterated Britain's claim
over the North.

When Fine Gael leader Garret
FitzGerald became premier later that year,
and announced his Constitutional
Crusade, a campaign aimed at bringing
about reforms of the South's constitution
to make it more palatable to unionists,
Haughey described it as "self-abase-
ment". Defending Articles Two and Three
in particular, he criticised "this suggestion



● Garret FitzGerald (above) and Conor Cruise O'Brien (below) early revisionists and two nationalists

that we in the Republic have something to
be ashamed of because of partition".
Other Haughey pronouncements included
describing the North as a "failed political
entity".

Yet more recently Haughey tempered
his hostility to devolution and the unionist
guarantee, as he prepared to meet those
same unionists in the context of the
abortive Brooke Talks. Haughey argues
that the concept of "totality of relationships",
which has now entered even the
unionists' glossary, somehow dilutes the
guarantee. Northern nationalists, still cor-
nered in the most repressive state in
Europe, beg to differ.

In 1984 the New Ireland Forum, a gath-
ering of nationalist parties from which
Sinn Féin was excluded, reported that the
"best and most durable basis for peace
and stability" was "a united Ireland in the
form of a sovereign independent Irish
state to be achieved peacefully and by
consent". The other two options were a
confederal state and joint authority over
the North. Thatcher, in her famous "Out,
out, out" rebuff, rejected all three options
as impinging on Britain's sovereignty over
the North. What remained of the Forum
Report was its revisionist thrust, the fact
that while critical of partition and of
unionism, the report did not ask for an end
to the guarantee, and proposed some
spurious notion of 'equality of the two
traditions' (nationalist and unionist), which
was later to be re-hashed by the British in
their Hillsborough Agreement. FitzGerald
and Hume were now ready to consider
just about any offer which the British
might make. The Treaty which ensued
from the negotiations was signed in
Hillsborough in November 1985. Its first
article contained the guarantee, and
more:

"The two governments a) affirm that
any change in the status of Northern
Ireland would only come about with the
consent of a majority of the people of
Northern Ireland; b) recognise that the
present wish of the people of Northern
Ireland is for no change in the status of
Northern Ireland; c) declare that, if in the
future a majority of the people of
Northern Ireland clearly wish for and
formally consent to the establishment of a
united Ireland, they will introduce and
support in the respective Parliaments legis-
lation to give effect to the wish."

Part 1(b) was an affirmation of the
unionist position. Part 1(c) was portrayed
as a major nationalist advance, especially
by John Hume, in that 'consent' had be-
come sufficient. Britain is now neutral,
Hume claimed. However the circum-
stances which would bring that consent
about, namely pressure applied by the
British as they prepare to leave, as op-
posed to any constitutional reform which
some 26-County politicians believe might
attract unionists, were clearly not about to
arise, as British politicians were at pains
to point out. 1(c) was therefore nothing
more than a gloss on the unionist veto.
The then British direct-ruler Tom King said
that by signing the Treaty FitzGerald had
now agreed that "for all practical pur-
poses and into perpetuity there will not be a
united Ireland, because he has accepted



the principle of consent that the will of the
majority in Northern Ireland must pre-
dominate and that Northern Ireland,
which is our fervent wish, remains part of
the United Kingdom".

BRITAIN NOT NEUTRAL

Hume's claim that Britain was neutral
in six-counties seemed to get some credi-
bility in a speech made by the current six-
county direct-ruler Peter Brooke last
November in which he said that Britain
had "no selfish or strategic interest in
Northern Ireland", but in an interview
with author Padraig O'Malley for his re-
cent book *Questions of Nuance*, Brooke
clearly stated that the British government
was "not politically neutral on Northern
Ireland", and that Article 1(c) only stated
Britain's desire to participate in negotia-
tions should the need arise.

Brooke's view was that this was no dif-
ference from "the position of the British
government all the way down to 1920".
This was the position of the conservative
and unionist party in government. Hume,
he added, "would have a fairly large task
if he was seeking to move the [Conservative] party to change this position".

In spite of the guarantee, however,
unionists refused to have anything to do
with the Hillsborough Agreement, be-
cause of the right of inspection over
northern affairs which it gave Dublin. And
in 1988 two unionists, the McGimpsey
brothers, challenged the Hillsborough
Treaty through the southern courts. A
strange case, in which unionists chal-
lenged the validity of a British treaty ac-
cording to the South's Constitution, in
particular Articles Two and Three. The
case was reminiscent of an earlier one,
brought by former Fianna Fáil minister
Kevin Boland in 1974.

ANTI-CONSTITUTIONAL

The Boland case was based on a
clause in the Sunningdale Agreement in
which it seemed that Liam Cosgrave had
agreed to withdraw the South's claim over
the North. When Cosgrave announced
that there would be no referendum on the
issue, Kevin Boland took him and the
agreement to court. The court found that
an agreement by Cosgrave that the Six
Counties were part of the 'United

(continued on page 10)

(continued from page 9)

Kingdom' was a matter of policy and not a formal recognition which would affect the de jure sovereignty of the South over the North according to the Constitution. Some judges pointed out, however, that a formal recognition would have been anti-constitutional.

In the McGimpsey case, which they lost on appeal, the Supreme Court found in particular that Article One of the Hillsborough Treaty did not contradict Articles Two and Three of the Constitution as it merely expressed "a political judgement about likely future events". The court reiterated that Irish unity was a "constitutional imperative", that is that Article Three obliged Leinster House and the Dublin government to work towards Irish unity, a ruling which the Dublin Supreme Court had already made in two extradition cases, McGlinchey and Russell. Yet, and in spite of unionist attacks on the court decision which they described as "harsh, uncompromising and strictly nationalistic", unionists missed the crucial point, that is that Dublin had now signed an international agreement in which the unionist veto is guaranteed.

CONSENSUS ON 'CONSENT'

A consensus has been built in the past 20 years in the South's political and media establishment, in favour of a formal recognition of the British claims on the North. This consensus expresses itself in two ways: by pushing forward the 'consent' doctrine, which has been successfully sold as simple democracy in action — although it gives a 20% minority a veto over political progress, against the wishes of a large majority in Ireland, and a majority in Britain as well; from time to time by advocating reform of Articles Two and Three, especially when the politicians doing the advocating are in opposition.

It is worth remembering that when FitzGerald was in power from 1982 to 1987 he never mentioned a referendum on Articles Two and Three, and during the 1985 London/Dublin talks, the British broached the subject of constitutional changes without result. In July 1987, on the 50th anniversary of



● Official Unionist Chris McGimpsey challenged the Hillsborough Treaty in southern courts

series of articles, one of which, signed by Garret FitzGerald, then in opposition, while recognising Articles Two and Three had some value in international law, "they have had a negative effect on unionists' attitudes to a future relationship with the rest of Ireland" and "encouraged the use of unconstitutional methods".

Those are, by and large the two arguments given by all revisionists, or more properly perhaps, all neo-unionists: Articles Two and Three antagonise the unionists and encourage the IRA. Both arguments can be swiftly discounted. While it is true that unionists have expressed anger at these articles, their amendment or removal will not bring unionists any

closer to Irish unity. Unionists have said as much. What an amendment may achieve, however, is an even greater feeling of abandonment and despair in northern nationalists.

In the *Irish Press* series, Progressive Democrat leader Des O'Malley advocated amending Article Three as recommended by the 1967 Leinster House committee. More recently, in November 1990, the Workers' Party proposed a motion in Leinster House, in which Article Three was amended to include the 'consent' clause. The motion was lost through arguments that such a move was untimely given the then ongoing 'talks about talks' between Peter Brooke and northern parties. Fianna Fáil, who had criticised the Hillsborough Agreement when they were in opposition on the grounds that it conflicted with Articles Two and Three, did not oppose the motion on principle. Typically the Fianna Fáil attitude is a fudge, agreeing to the idea of constitutional change in the context of some undefined new arrangement in the North with an all-Ireland dimension.

Last year the articles became bargaining counters in the Brooke Talks. They appeared in the summer in a statement by Official Unionist leader James Molyneaux. Peter Brooke then confirmed that Articles Two and Three would be on the talks agenda. The Northern Ireland Act of 1974 would not. How is that for neutral?

Unionists then raised the stakes by issuing statements about the 'hostile claims' and the 'blackmail' exercised by the 1937 Constitution and the Supreme Court, after which neo-unionists in the 26 Counties fell over themselves trying to apologise. The Workers' Party motion was the tail end of that scramble.

Meanwhile unionists assured the press that Articles Two and Three were not a pre-condition for talks. What they had achieved, however, was a successful sounding out of the southern political establishment: they had plenty of support there. Unionists had started negotiating ahead of the talks, and they were doing it fairly cleverly through the media.

The debate on Articles Two and Three is essentially about the right of the Irish people as a whole to self-determination, as against the maintenance of the unionist veto, backed by Britain.

DISTORTED DEBATE

So far the debate has remained at a fairly academic level and in the media has been distorted by the censorship and bias which warps all discussion of issues related to the national question in the 26 Counties. Some may consider it unthinkable that Fianna Fáil would amend Articles Two and Three but their record on the Hillsborough Agreement and on political extradition speaks for itself. If they feel it is in their interest this most fundamental of principles will be ditched too.

Recent opinion polls again confirmed the desire among the majority of Irish people for unity. On Articles Two and Three the question of change was posed in the context of a new political arrangement resolving the conflict in the Six Counties and in these hypothetical circumstances a majority, not surprisingly, favoured constitutional change.

The key point is that there has to be constitutional change but only in the context of real political change. Tinkering with the existing constitution while partition remains is at best useless and at worst highly dangerous. For republicans, opposing the watering down or deletion of Articles Two and Three does not contradict, but actually reinforces, their contention that for a new united Ireland, a new constitution, framed by agreement of all the people of Ireland, will be essential.

Articles Two and Three are a public statement that Irish people do not accept the British claim to sovereignty over the North. While they are not enforceable in international law, and while in terms of real politics, they have not made much difference to successive Dublin governments, if they go, the only claim to the validity of the concept of an Irish nation-state will rest with the northern nationalists. Abandoned by 'nationalist' parties North and South, they will have to face a future of continued second-class citizenship while looking back on a past which has been declared worthless. It must not be allowed to happen.



● Last year the articles became bargaining counters in the Brooke Talks

Fadhb na gcinnlitreacha

LE EOGHAN MAC CORMAIC

BHUEL, tá sé tarlaithe arís... tá sráith nua de chinnlitreacha le cuimhneamh againn, an bhabhta seo an RIR muna miste leat. 'Sé mo mhéas go bhfuil sé i cinnlitreacha seo ina cuid mhór de na fadhbanna atá againn inár dtír bheag seo.

Eist. Tá fadhbanna agam le cinnlitreacha, bim i goónáig measa go gceannú leis ná cinn mhíchearta. Ar feadh na mblianta bhínn idir dhá chomhairle cé aon UDA nó an UDR a bhíodh freagraí maraithe náisiúnaíthe. Bhiodh sé cosúil le scannán ó Stát Aontaithe Mheiriceá agus sráith maraithe aibitreach ná bunús scannáin Hollywood eile — greannmhar marach go raibh sé chomh dáiríre.

Ach smaoine anois a ná dilseoirí bochta fein. Tri sheachtaí ó shin bhí bárrionn na Sasana trasna ag bronnadh meirge don UDR agus ag insint do na mforáisi cé chomh tábhachtach agus a bhí siad don troid in aghaidh sceí... gabbh mo leithscéal ach tá orm meanfach a dhéanamh ag an phointeo seo. Maith go leor, déanta.

BUN OS CIONN

Cibé scéal, bhi Ellis trasna le croí a spreagadh iontu agus anois níos lú ná miar eis sin tá an domhan bun os cionn do-

htha aris. Tá deireadh le cur lena n-arm pearsanta fein, agus níos measa fós beidh iarsma den réisimint á cheangailt le réisimint a bhfuil 30% Caitliceach ann agus... 15% ar rugadh agus tóighdha sna 26 Chontae.

Abar liom, caidé mar a bheidh Somhairle ón tSeanchill, Béal Feirste in imhne an ceann sin a mhíniú dà chlann nuair a thabharann sé Séamus ón tSeanchill Baile Atha Cliath abhaile ar scor Nollaig leis ó Ghearmáin nó pá aít a bhean an BA ionraithe? Agus níos suimiúla ná sin, caidé mar a ghlaicfaidh muinntir Phort an Dunáin leis nuair a chluinidh siad blás an 15% idir thaobh an bhóthair i láir na hoíche?

RANGER IMITHE

Siléann sibh go bhfuil fadhbanna agaibh é agus bionn daoine i bpone níos measa i goónáig. Tá fadhbanna aithneantaí i goeist anseo ag a nílseoirí, chan amháin go bhfuil an UDR nofa cailíte acu, ná cuir san áireamh acu go bhfuil an focal luchachmar Rangers cailíte acu i ndeireadh an chathlán sin... ach anois san RIR nua seo tá an diabhal aím Irish ag dul isteach in aít Ulster!

Ní nach ionadh go bhfuil Paisley et al ag éiri tógha faoi. Nach gerónaóniu tú na seanlaethanta simplí nuair nach raibh na fadhbanna i cinnlitreacha seo againn? Nuair nach raibh ann an lítear bheag amháin... in aimsir na B Specials?

Ceanada molta faoi smachtbhannáí

CHUIR KADAR ASMAL, cathaoirleach de chioiste Ghluaiseach Frithchinedh-eileáit na hEireann, fáilte roimh chineadáin phriomháire Ceanada, Brian Mulroney, nach bhfuil rún ag Ceanada na smachtbhannáí ar an Afric Theas a thóigáil go foill.

Dúirt Mulroney agus é ar chuirtear sa tairisear na mallaibh "go raibh Ceanada ar an chéad tairis ar an smachtbhannáí a chur ar an Afric Theas agus go mbeadh sí ar an tairis cheireannach leas na smachtbhannáí a bhaint.

Chomh maith sin dúirt Mulroney gur chór eisíteadh le Nelson Mandela sula níodanán tairis bith réiteach faoi na smachtbhannáí.

Mhol Asmal cinneadh Mulroney ag rá gur ríteasas tábhachtach a bhí ann mar gheall ar neart infeisteoíochta



● KADAR ASMAL

Ceanada san Afric Theas ach ní raibh minic aige nach leanfadh rialtas na 26 Chontae an sampla seo mar bhí Cathal Ó Eochaidh débhriodh ar an ábhar seo.

Mhol sé chomh maith seasamh na

Damhargeas as bheithe ag dul i goinne na smachtbhannáí facin Krugerrand, airgead na hAfraice Theas, a bhaint ar siúl sa Chomhphobal Eorpach.

Bónaí, calaois & £2 mhilliún

Ceist: Cén uair nach bhfuil coir ina coir?

Freagra: Nuair atá sí bainte le níos lú ná dhá mhilliún punt.

Ach is saghas coir speisialta an choir seo, tugtar "calaois" air. Tá dhá chineálach de calaois "bhóna gorm" an pháirt dáiríre, agus calaois "bhóna bán", an pháirt nach bhfuil chomh dáiríre sin. Mar bheirt choir, nil sé chomh dona sin.

Ciallaíonn an téarma "bhóna bán" go bhfuil sé bainte le daoine gairmíla agus dá bhír sin bóna na daoine seo ón uasalairí agus is gráth go mbionn airgead acu sa chéad dul sios.

Dá mbeann ag éileamh airgead difhostaiochta agus an am ceanna ag obair a áit tóigáil deirfi go mbeann ag briseadh an dli. Bheadh an choir calaoise den saghas "bhóna gorm" déanta agam toisc gur duine den lucht cibre mé. Duine nach bhfuil airgead aige agus atá ag déanamh na caimiléireachta dá bhír riachtanais.

Bheadh toradh mo chaimiléireachta riachtanais ar thart faoi £300 níofig difhostaiochta agus dá mbeadh an t-ádh liom ar rún céanna ón ofig cianacháin. Bheadh brat iomlán d'fhoileann amach ag iarráidh an ghnóimh aindleathach seo a stopadh ar ndóigh.

Ag deireadh an lae ghearrfán plóníos carcrach orm agus i ndiaidh domh a scáileadh saor bheadh ornach gach pingin rú a áisic. Is mór an seans go nglacfaí an t-airgead as mo chuid airgead difhostaiochta.



● Tá coir mhilliún punt ná coir bhóna bán inghlactha feasta

Ar an láimh eile tá an *Serious Crime Squad* faciotar éis fóigairt go bhfuil an t-oiread sin de chásanna calaoise acu a bhfuil níos mó ná mhilliún punt i gceist nach bhfuil siad in ann iad a láimhseáil. Shíl mé go raibh siad chun fóigairt go raibh tuilleadh duine uathu, ach níor thóigair. Chinn siad nach mbeidís ag glacadh le cásanna feasta a bhfuil níos lú ná dhá mhilliún punt i gceist.

Bhí áthas an domhain orm leis sin, gur chuijmigh mé go mbeadh £60 mar choir bhóna gorm agus beidh sí ar mo thóir go fóill... An bhfuil éanna ag long bríeadóra ar thuarastal mhilliún punt go leith sa teachtaí?

— Joe McQuillan, An Chois Fhada



● Ar dtús Mo Johnston, anois tá na Ramgers iomláin cailíte acu

gclár araidé sa streacháil ar son neamhspleáchas na hEireann. Ar an 9ú Lunasa 1971 baineadh úsáid as mar chórás luath-rabhadh sa mhaidin le tionscnamh imthreoráin a chur in iúl do daonra agus le blianta ina dhiaidh sin chualasas go ríaltá torann na gclár araidé i gceantacháin náisiúnaíacha a fogaírt go raibh forsaí an choróin sa láthair.

Ba mhaith le 20/20 Vision cuimhní na ndaoine is sine a athbhóthach ar mhórshíul Béal Feirste nuair a bhuaileann siad na clár ar an bhealach go dtí an churriúin. Tá sé de rún ag an ghráfa "Bratach an Phobail, atá 100 troigh ar fad agus atá ina chuntas grinn de na 20 bliana deireanacha den scrádach, a thabhairt leo. Léireofar an dealbh a rinne siad leis an 75ú cuimhneachán D'Eiri Amach na Cásca a chomháradh i Seanmhúileann Mhic Con Midhe, Béal Feirste.



POSTANNA CAILLTE I BEN SHERMAN

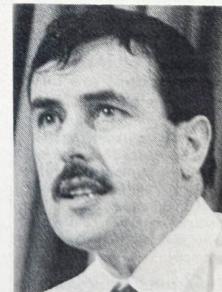
LE MARCAS MAC RUAIRÍ

D'FHOGAIR an chomh-lacht déanta leínte, Ben Sherman i nDoire, Dé Luain go mbeidh siad ag cur seachtar duine is seasa as obair sna mionna seo chugainn. Níor tugadh cùis ar bith don bhogadh seo ag an mhonarcha ar an Bhothar Bellevue, áit a bhfuil céad is ochtó duine fostaithe.

Creidtear go bhfuil an tionscail léinte go gineárláití i gcuil agus tá eagla ann go mbeidh níos mó caillíuntí le teacht ag monarchhana áitiúla eile.

Dúirt urlabhráil Shinn Féin Mitchel McLaughlin:

"Is nuacht mhillteacháin é seo ag teacht ag tús na laethanta saoire bliantúla i nDoire. Tá an eac-namaiocht



● MITCHEL McLAUGHLIN
aitiúil iontach soghonta roimh mhálaírtí si mbhargadh aigíod agus tá sé ag brath ar an rannóg mhíondiola is ar an rannóg seirbhise nach móir." Dúirt sé, d'ainneoin maimh gur leir nach mbeidh buacaiocht eacnamhúil i nDoire dá mbeadh laghdú ar bith eile sa rannóg déantúis.

Imeachtaí

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

PICKET
Free Dossie Ellis
2-3pm every Saturday
British Embassy, Merrion Road
DUBLIN
Organised by the Dublin Anti-
Extradition Commitee

ANTI-EXTRADITION MEETING
meets 6.45pm every Tuesday
Dublin Resource Centre
Crown Street
DUBLIN

TWO FUNCTIONS
FOR DANNY McNAMEE
8pm-12 midnight
(late bar each night)
Thursday 25th July —
Skin Video and John Moloney
Sunday 4th August —
Mark Steel (Brixton Comic)
All three evenings at: The Old
White Horse Inn
Brixton Road
LONDON SW9
Tickets £3/£2 concessions
All dates have full supporting
programme,
food, raffle & bookstalls

COMMEMORATION
65th anniversary of
the death of Thomas Kennedy
Speaker Seán Ó Faoláin
July 28th
Rathgarroch
WATERFORD

COMMEMORATION
For Vol Kevin Lynch
March and wreath-laying ceremony
Prominent speakers
3.30pm Sunday August 4th
Assembly at bus depot
Station Road
DUNGIVEN

PARADE
10th Anniversary Hunger-strike
20th Anniversary Internment
Friday 9th August
NEWRY
Prominent speakers
Bands required
Phone Newry 0693-68538
before 4.30pm
Organised by Sinn Féin
County Down and County Armagh

FOLKNIGHT
Saturday 10th August
Gatesby's
NEWRY
County Down
Taillie: £3

(Continued on page 13)

URGENT

The elections are over,
now clear the bills.

AP/RN Print are appealing to
areas with outstanding debts
from the recent 26-County local
elections to make immediate
payment of all monies owed.

AP/RN Print also takes this opportunity to thank all those areas who cleared their accounts promptly.

Fergus McCann,
Manager,
AP/RN Print.

URGENT



Chubb's old clothes

By TOM O'DWYER

SOMETIMES academics develop and change their ideas over time, challenging established notions. More often, they simply rely on their early work, repeating the same phrases in lecture after lecture, book after book. Their laziness leads them to fit in as far as possible with establishment notions so as to avoid criticism and, gradually, they lose whatever insight they once had.

In 1970, Basil Chubb, political science professor at Trinity College, wrote *The Government and Politics of Ireland* which became a text-book of Irish political science. Earlier this year came *The Politics of the Irish Constitution*. It is deeply depressing to compare the two. In 20 years, the man has simply gone backwards.

The study of political science in the 26 Counties has not been marked with much courage or vision. That is hardly surprising, given the spinelessness of the key political figures. But Chubb's latest book plumbs new depths. There is not one single new idea among these pages. Almost everything is taken word-for-word from his previous work and is cheapened in the process.

What Chubb doesn't repeat from his own work, he borrows from political hacks like Dessi O'Malley or Garret Fitzgerald. His latest book actually reads like Fitzgerald's proposals to the New Ireland Forum or like a Progressive Democrat policy-paper. The clichés and the prejudices of that ilk are to be found all over its pages and not once are they examined critically. It has all the hall-marks of a shoddy undergraduate essay.

Chubb begins by arguing correctly that the word 'constitution' applies not merely to the piece of paper containing the basic law of the state, but also to the way in which its legal and political systems function. It has to be both 'organic and dynamic' to cope with the changing political reality. But his insight stretches no further than that. He is simply unable to grasp the complex set of problems which stem from partition and which have blighted southern as well as northern politics for the last 70 years.

He sets himself clearly against the religious prejudices inherent in Burrenach na hEireann — in particular, the ban on divorce which reflects the influence of the Catholic hierarchy. But he ignores the fact that sectarian partition of Ireland is at the root of all that. The Catholic bishops simply couldn't have

wielded the same power in a united Ireland.

The Trinity professor's constant refrain is that the present 26-County constitution was suitable for the Ireland of the 1930s, but not for today. Again and again, he compares de Valera's 1937 document to a suit of clothes which has outlived its usefulness. Although it has been developed by judicial intervention and by amendment, "the fit of the constitution has become less good with the passage of time".

THREADBARE CLOTHES

But Chubb's own clothes are also pretty threadbare. As far as he is concerned, the exclusion of divorce and the commitment in Articles Two and Three to creating a united Ireland are two different sides of the same coin and he wants to do away with both. The fact that uniting Ireland would, of its nature, tend to reduce the power of the hierarchy, isn't even considered. The nationalist aspiration is, quite simply "unachievable" and Chubb argues, like Garret Fitzgerald, that it should simply be dumped in the hope it might persuade the loyalists to become more amenable to sharing power with nationalities.

As with Fitzgerald's empty rhetoric, there is no concrete attempt to explain why a united Ireland has become "unachievable". No evidence is provided to show the loyalists would actually become more open to negotiation. The only 'solution' Chubb can find to the present conflict involves power-sharing under joint London/Dublin sovereignty — the SDLP's proposal to the New Ireland Forum and Fitzgerald's preferred option. The Trinity professor does not seem to feel he has to confront the fact that this suggestion looks rather "unachievable" at the moment and that it never could achieve a lasting peace.

There is a strong ascendancy air about this book. Ireland is referred to again and again as an "off-shore island of Great



• Basil Chubb — unable to unlock the complex problems which stem from partition

Britain". The "nagging" wish to re-integrate all of the national territory is heavily disparaged. There is also a fairly racist ring at times. Leaders of African and South American countries could justly object to the contrast Chubb draws between their experience and that of the first years of the Free State which involved a brutal civil war and economic policies designed to ensure the power of the rich:

"In contrast to the experience of Third World countries, Irish independence involved a take-over, lock, stock and barrel of a going concern, by people able to keep it going."

For Chubb, it is a self-evident fact that "Irish people accepted liberal democratic values deriving from the British tradition". He repeats this refrain throughout the book but makes no real effort to prove an extraordinarily broad assertion which entirely ignores the history of progressive thought and its effects on Irish people over the last two centuries. Chubb seems to be saying that

neither the French Revolution, the American struggle for independence nor our own history affected our concepts of freedom or democracy. Such values were generously bestowed upon us by our benevolent colonial masters.

CONFUSED MIND

In the Trinity professor's confused mind, this kind of what was "prevented the new state from developing into a right-wing Catholic, authoritarian regime". You can hold such a view only if you ignore the real history of Ireland from 1916 until the referendum over Dev's constitution.

In that period, there certainly was a challenge to Irish democracy from a 'right-wing Catholic, authoritarian regime'. It came from the Blueshirts, spawned by the Cumann na nGaedheal government. That party was the one which largely imported the keystones of the British legal and political system into this country in 1921. It also challenged the right of 26-County voters to elect a de

Valera government in 1933 when O'Duffy threatened to march on Leinster House, imitating Mussolini's march on Rome. It only backed down when republicans as well as Dev's own supporters, organised themselves to prevent a fascist takeover.

This work makes no attempt to confront the more repressive aspects of the 26-County constitutional system. The fact that we have been living under a "state of emergency" since 1939 and that the Offences Against the State Act allows the government to institute a form of martial law, simply aren't dealt with. The fact that the Dublin government has instituted a more drastic form of censorship than any other European state doesn't even rate a mention.

SHORT SHIFT

Irish sovereignty and neutrality get short shrift in this work. Chubb's pro-EC bias comes out loud and clear. Groups critical of the EC are "small but vocal", they raise "emotive issues" and their arguments are based "on dubious principles". He suggests that the time may have come "when the adjective 'sovereign' in Article Five is no longer appropriate" and refers to it as an "anachronism". Neutrality is "a shibboleth" which takes no account of the political changes in Europe.

Effectively, Chubb's short book is little more than an argument for reviving the proposal of a Leinster House committee in 1967, to tone down the commitment towards Irish unity contained in Article Three of the 1937 Constitution. But he would like to go further. His own preference is for a totally redrawn constitution, which reflects the dominant status of the EC institutions and which fully recognises partition.

What is particularly obnoxious about his presentation of these views is the fact that he makes no serious attempt to confront alternative arguments or to explain how he comes to his conclusions. That would be fine if Chubb were some ordinary citizen, simply putting forward his own views. But the man has been a professor of political science at Trinity for over 30 years. He does have a responsibility to consider these issues more deeply. He doesn't have the right to pretend that there isn't widespread opposition to his viewpoint.

• *The Politics of the Irish Constitution* by Basil Chubb is published by the Institute of Public Administration in Dublin and sells at £9.99.

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Flawed premise

BY
DARA
MacNEILL

IT'S that time of the year again. All is relatively quiet with the big wide world. The public are Gulf-wary and eastern Europe is, well, a little beyond the comprehension of the average citizen.

'Concerned broadcasters' are running short of subjects about which to make 'concerned' documentaries. Except the British, that is. Dammit, when all else fails there's always Ireland — the 'interminable conflict', the 'dready steeples of Fermanagh and Tyrone' and all that.

Last Monday night (July 22nd), it was the turn of the BBC's *Panorama* team to bring the routine injustices of the Six Counties to the attention of the great — and seemingly uncaring — British public. On this occasion the camera fodder was killings by the British army and the evidence they provided for the existence of a shoot-to-kill policy.

The premise of the programme was irretrievably flawed. The approach taken to the killings was the Shock-Horror/Spectacular Revelation school of journalism. It was as if these 'abuses' were anomalies in the life of the Six Counties, as if they weren't actually symptoms of a much deeper malaise.

In other words, the shooting dead of Fergal Caraher was a shocker all right. But it was an irregular occurrence — not the mark of a dysfunctional statelet, or the inevitable consequence of Britain's Dirty Little

War, say the men from the BBC.

The other killers received the same treatment. A UVF man shot dead, moments after he had gunned down a Catholic. The killing of two joyriders. The killing of three men who attempted to rob a bookshop in West Belfast. The catalogue of horrors goes on.

And between all these killings one common denominator was discovered. The circumstances surrounding them were "disturbing" — the obscuring of reality with a polite euphemism has always been something at which the British have excelled, particularly in the last 20 years.

OVERZEALOUS

But there was more. The soldiers involved in the incidents had, it appeared, been a little overzealous in the prosecution of their duty. (Still, better them than us.) And this, of course, was due to the fact that the law was so incredibly vague so as to leave the poor confused squadie — already overburdened with the overwhelming nobility of his mission — in a right conundrum altogether. Shoot the bastards, or not? It's a tough job, but...

And this, essentially, is as far as the BBC went. The law is

vague, ergo people get killed, ergo change the law and they won't. To reassure us, we were shown some PR footage of a 'concerned' Mr Major in session with his industrious cabinet. 'In Them We Trust', went the unspoken commentary.

MILITARILY COUNTERPRODUCTIVE

And why, the programme continued, was all this of so much concern in other words, why was *Panorama* disturbing the tranquil British conscience? Because these killings were losing the war for us! They weren't exactly achieving the desired "hearts and minds" goals. That's it; killing innocent civilians was militarily counterproductive, more especially when you got found out.

US politicians used to utter much the same during the Vietnam war, as do supposed Israeli left-wingers from time to time.

Some attention was also paid to the (unofficial) Carraroe Inquiry, which took place in Cullyhanna recently. No true purpose, we were patronised to, would be served by this "theatre" which merely served to "build emotions among the audience", whilst the presenter reserved a full mouthful of bile for pictures of some Sinn Féin leaders in the audience.

And the killing itself? 'Tut, tut', was all the man from the BBC could say.

• The shadow of a British gunman falls upon the body of one of three men murdered by the SAS on Belfast's Falls Road in January 1990

Prisoners' families — the forgotten victims

BY PAULINE BENNETT

WHILE MANY OF US are familiar with the atrocious conditions in which many of our POWs are held, sadly their families remain the forgotten victims of Britain's war in Ireland. It is to be welcomed, therefore, that a new book has been published, tackling, for the first time, the issue of the effects of long-term imprisonment on the families of prisoners caught up by default in the brutality of the British judicial and penal system.

The book deals with a range of related subjects from the effects on children of having a parent in prison for a political offence, through to the censorship of those most affected by Britain's continued interference in Irish affairs.

It addresses these subjects by letting those affected by this system speak for themselves, giving an outlet to the voices, which, all too often, are not heard. Carol Coulter interviewed over 30 people directly affected by long-term imprisonment for political offences, including a number of prisoners' families as well as some ex-prisoners, both loyalist and republican.

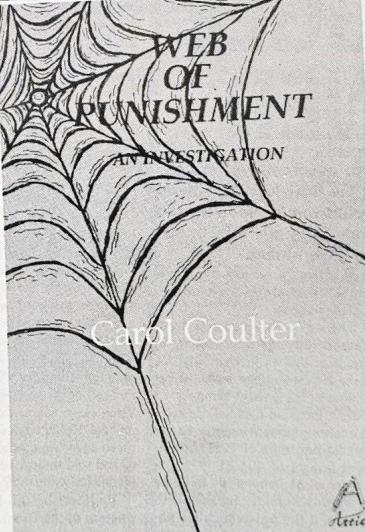
The differences between how loyalist and republican prisoners' families cope with imprisonment of a loved one, provide an interesting insight

The conclusions of Alan and Eddie, two former SOSP loyalist prisoners, after years of self-politicisation in prison are informative and enlightening, and also gave a great deal of hope to this republican who had despaired at loyalist intransigence.

TRAVELLING TO ENGLAND

The book is, however, at its strongest when it deals with the plight of families who have to travel to England in order to visit imprisoned relatives. The dedication and courage of these people is truly inspiring as they struggle on against the sheer pettiness of the British government.

You can't help but be touched by May's story. Her son Paul was sentenced to serve life imprisonment in 1984 with a recommendation to serve 35 years. May has shunned the responsibility of regularly visiting her son and vividly describes her plight. She tells of the burden of saving for regular visits, she tells of the worry of passing through customs with the threat of PTA constantly hanging over her head and of course, the emotional toll of all it. May is 73 years old and from Belfast.



She cannot travel alone as she suffers from bronchitis. Paul has put in for a transfer to a prison in the Six Counties every year and every time has been turned down. She finished her story by telling us:

"I won't be able to keep it up much longer. There's a case going to the European Court about transfers, but I might be dead by then."

Carol Coulter's book is

worth reading by all republicans. Not only is it informative, giving us a rare insight into the private lives of the prisoners and their families, but it should also motivate us into giving more than just lip-service to those who are sacrificing so much in the struggle to free Britain's last colony.

• *Web of Punishment: An Investigation* by Carol Coulter. Published by Attic Press.

Imeachtai

(Continued from page 12)

BUSES FOR

HUNGER-STRIKE RALLY

ON AUGUST 11TH

From Munster to Belfast

To book contact:

Don O'Leary

Cork Sinn Féin Office

Tel: 021-311389

12pm-5pm

Monday to Friday

From Dundalk

Coxes Demense to Belfast

Contact: Joe Heany

From Drogheda

Contact: 041 35567

From Muireannamor

Contact: Briggell Elliman

From Dublin:

Contact: 5 Blessington Street

Dublin 7

Tel: 308783

From Newry

Leave Francis Street

1pm, August 11th

Taille 2

VIDEO SHOW

The Irish Hunger-strike

7.30pm Thursday 15th August

Roger Casement Irish Centre

131, St John's Way

LONDON N19

Archway tube

RAFFLE NOTICE

The Fianna Éireann monthly raffle due to be held on August 10th has been postponed.

MEMORIAL DRAW NOTICE

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

DRAW

London Co-ordinating Committee

First Prize: £1,000

Lucy Chisholm, No. 00576

Second Prize: 1916

Commemoration Poster

Bryan Curran, No. 03259

Third Prize: Republican Picture

Sinn Féin's demands

Sinn Féin's ultimate objective is to create the political conditions necessary to secure a true and lasting peace in Ireland. This can only be achieved by:

- The ending of partition arising from British rule in six of Ireland's 32 counties;
- British disengagement from Ireland and the restoration to the Irish people of the right to exercise self-sovereignty, independence and national self-determination;
- The setting of a definite date within the lifetime of a British government for the completion of this withdrawal;
- The disarming and disbandment of the Royal Ulster Constabulary and the Ulster Defence Regiment as part of the military withdrawal;
- The calling of a Constitutional Conference to which all political parties would be invited. This conference to be responsible for determining the nature and composition of an emergent national police service and the judiciary. If Britain was sincere about disengaging and was committed to an orderly transfer of power, this could be achieved with a minimum of disorder;
- The unconditional release of all political prisoners.

You can join Sinn Féin by writing to: 44 Parnell Square Dublin 1.

Name.....

Address.....

Age..... Tel:.....

OBITUARY

Dinny Gallagher

IT WAS WITH deep regret and sadness that republicans in Derry learned of the sudden death in Altnagelvin Hospital on Wednesday, July 17th, of Denis Gallagher, known to his friends as Dinny.

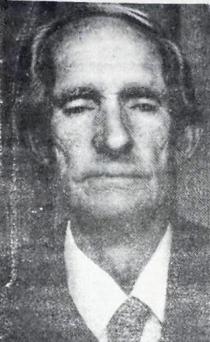
Dinny was a life-long supporter of the republican struggle; he gained his republican politics from his father, whose internment he witnessed in 1928. Throughout his life Dinny worked

tirelessly on behalf of republican prisoners, including his own son Denis, an ex-blanketman recently released from Long Kesh after 16 years. Dinny was involved in the Prisoners' Dependents Fund, the

Magilligan Welfare Committee in the early '70s, and the Relatives' Action Committee in the late '70s and early '80s.

He was also very much to the fore in setting up many of Derry's flute bands in the early '80s; it was fitting therefore that the Spirit of Freedom Flute Band provided the guard of honour as Dinny's Tricolour-draped coffin was carried to the city cemetery. There, the funeral oration was delivered by Councillor Gearóid Ó hÉara.

With the recent outbreak of loyalist intimidation of nationalists and republicans in the Waterside area of the city, it is worth remembering that Dinny was one of the first people to lose his job as a city council worker in the Waterside as a result of similar intimidation over 20 years ago.



● TOM LANE
and grandfather and a good Irishman.

TOM LANE LAID TO REST

THE DEATH took place in Waterford on July 14th of lifelong Irish republican Tom Lane. A native of County Kerry, Tom settled in Waterford City in 1949.

In the subsequent years he worked tirelessly in the cause of Irish freedom, building support for the struggle against British occupation in the Six Counties. In this work he was assisted by his wife, Cathy, who died in 1988. One of Tom's main concerns was the plight of the POWs and in recognition of this work An Cumann Cabhrach made him their Munster Honouree this year. As Tom was too ill to attend the ceremony he was represented by his son David. Tom Lane was one of the first in Waterford to campaign on behalf of the Blanketmen in the H-Blocks of Long Kesh and the women in Armagh jail. During the 1981 hunger strike he was to the fore in Waterford

in the campaign in support of the hunger strikers.

Tom Lane was not a man who sought the limelight but preferred to get the work done. At his funeral the coffin was draped with the Tricolour and the procession was led by a lone piper. At the graveside a wreath was laid on behalf of the Republican Movement. The oration was delivered by Noel Ryan of Waterford Sinn Féin. He said that Tom Lane was a true Irish republican who all his life believed in the cause of Irish freedom. In the days when republicans were few in Waterford, Tom was there working on behalf of the cause he held so dear. Tom Lane he said, was a loving husband, father

greetings on behalf of Frank Burke, Brian and family.

MacGURK, Paty (H6). Happy Birthday Paty, keep smiling. From mum, dad and Brund.

MacGURK, Paty (H6). All the best on the 30th. From Aunt Margaret, Joe, Joseph Og and girls.

MacGURK, Paty (H6). Best wishes. From your brother Martin, Jackie and Michael.

MacGURK, Paty (H6). Happy Birthday Paty. From your nieces Trish and Lisa.

O'NEILL, Declan (Portlaoise). Belated birthday greetings. From the Casement/Nolan Sinn Féin Cumann, Stillorgan.

O'NEILL, Declan (Portlaoise). Congratulations to Naylor and Linda on the birth of their baby boy. From the republican PWAs, Portlaoise.

QUIGLEY, Tommy (Full Sutton). Best wishes on your birthday. From Marcus and family.

QUIGLEY, Tommy (Full Sutton). Happy Birthday Tommy. Best wishes Roy and family.

QUIGLEY, Tommy (Full Sutton). Happy Birthday Tommy. Love and best wishes Gerard and Carol Ann.

QUIGLEY, Tommy (Full Sutton). Happy Birthday and best wishes, love Brian and family.

QUIGLEY, Tommy (Full Sutton). Happy birthday son. Hope to see you soon. All my love Mum.

O'DONNELL, Dwayne. Birthday memories of our brother Dwayne whose 18th birthday would have occurred on July 27th, 1991. No special day is needed Dwayne for us to think of you, for you were a very special big brother, and we thought the world of you, you died so very young. Your last thoughts are unknown, but you left us with the memories that we are very proud to own. Always remembered by brothers, Barry, Mark, Fergal and sister Seana.

O'DONNELL, Dwayne. In proud and loving memory of a very special friend who would have celebrated his 18th birthday on July 27th. Always loved and missed by Aliceen.

O'DONNELL, Dwayne. Birthday memories for our greatest friend and neighbour, Dwayne. Always remembered by Sharon, Geraldine, Bernadette and Bronagh.

O'DONNELL, Dwayne. In loving memory of dear friend Dwayne, whose 18th birthday would have occurred on July 27th. Deep in my thoughts your memory is kept, to love to cherish and never forget. Always remembered by your friend Bronwyn (Maghaberry).

Comhbhrón

KANE. Deepest sympathy is extended to Albert Kane and family on the death of his father. From Dublin North-East Sinn Féin.

LANE. Deepest sympathy to the family and friends of Tom Lane. From Eamonn Ó Catháin, Portlaoise.

LANE. Deepest sympathy to family and friends. From the Republican Movement, Waterford.

LANE. Deepest sympathy to family and friends. From the Waterford and Extinction Committee.

LANE. Deepest sympathy to family and friends. From Noel Ryan.

LANE. Deepest sympathy to family and friends. From Liam Ó Catháin.

LOUGHLIN. Deepest sympathy is extended to Andy Loughlin on the death of his brother Liam. From Sean Healy and family, Portlaoise.

RYAN. In fond remembrance of Pete and his family, comrades and friends, my great sorrow on our great loss. From Bridget, New York.

McGLYNN, Rita McGlynn and family wish to thank most sincerely all those who sympathised with them on their recent bereavement, all those who attended the removal, Mass and funeral, those who sent Mass cards and floral tributes. A special word of thanks to the Republican Movement, the prisoners in Portlaoise, the Central Committee of An Cumann Cabhrach, the staff of AP/RN and our many friends in Ireland and England. The holy sacrifice of Mass has been offered for the intentions of all.

Buiochas

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NOTICES DEADLINE

All notices should be in our Dublin or Belfast offices no later than 5pm Monday for inclusion in that week's paper.

AN PHOBLAICHT/REPUBLICAN NEWS, Thursday, July 25th, 1991 — Leathanach 15

I nDil Chuimhne

CASSIDY, Seamus; DAVISON, Brendan; TOLAN, Tommy. In proud and loving memory of Volunteers Seamus Cassidy, Brendan Davison and Tommy Tolan. I mease laochra nGael go raibh siad. "They may kill the revolutionary but never the revolution." Always remembered by their friends and comrades in Oglalaigh na hEireann.

BROWN, Jimmy (1st Ann). Precious memories of my beloved husband Jimmy. Forever loved and missed by his wife Eileen.

BROWN, Jimmy (1st Ann). In proud and loving memory of my father Jimmy. Always remembered by his son Fra, Enda and grandchildren.

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BROWN, Jimmy (1st Ann). In proud and loving memory of my father Jimmy. Always remembered by his daughter Patricia, Peter and grandchildren.

CASSIDY, Seamus (19th Ann). In memory of Val Seamus Cassidy, killed July 20th, 1972, by Crown forces. Always remembered by Paul, Mary and family.

DAVISON, Brendan (3rd Ann). In proud and loving memory of Vol. Brendan Davison, 3rd Batt Belfast Brigade. Mary Queen of the Gael pray for him. When old times we do recall it's then we miss you most of all. Always remembered by his mother and father, Bernadette and Harold Davison.

DAVISON, Brendan (3rd Ann). In proud and loving memory of my brother Vol Brendan Davison. Still sadly missed by Sinead, Danny and Michael.

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THE FLYING COLUMN

UDA longest serving regiment

Cork Examiner, Wednesday, July 24, 1991

THE Ulster Defence Regiment was formed in 1970 to replace the B-Specials, the reserve of the murder cases is that of the UDR Four, who are serving life sentences for the murder of

AS IF the mUrDeR regiment's links with loyalist death squads weren't clear enough as it stood, the Cork Examiner ran with this headline on Wednesday last.

LIEUTENANT General Sir John Wilsey, GOC of the British army in the Six Counties, at a press conference to explain the merging of the UDR with the Royal Irish Rangers, was asked why the UDR was so recently presented with their colours by the English Queen (at immense expense in security, over £2 million) when it was well known in army and establishment circles that it would soon no longer exist in name.

Wilsey explained that students from the Royal College of Needlework had been working on the regimental flag for years and that the clock could not be stopped.

Commenting in the Irish Press on Wednesday, Anne Cadwallader asked: "Are the silk threads of the colours more important than the representations from the (Dublin) government, from the Cardinal and from the SDLP?"

Obviously so.

AND should the commanding officer of the Royal Irish Rangers, Brigadier Adrian Naughton, secure command of the new merged regiment, Orange conspiracy theorists (a species of which there is no shortage) will have something to chew on.

For Naughton is a 49-year-old Dublin-born Catholic. And although the Chief Constable of the RUC, Hugh Annesley, is a Protestant, it will surely be a source of discussion and discontent in Orange halls throughout the Loyal Province that not only was he also born in Dublin but both men are graduates of Trinity College.

THE FORMATION of a Royal Irish Regiment is by no means a new idea.

The new regiment's earlier namesake was summoned from Ireland by King James II in 1688 and was kept on by William of Orange. Its service at the 1695 Siege of Namur in Belgium was rewarded with the title Royal Regiment of Ireland, the Lion of Nassau from the Arms of William III, and the motto Virtus Namuroensis Proemium.

Later battle honours, apart from four gained for service with the Duke of Marlborough, were limited to Queen Victoria's imperial adventures.

Its proudest nicknames were 'The Namurs' and 'Paddy's Blackguards'. Like other regiments which relied on southern Irish recruits, the Royal Irish was disbanded in 1922.

A SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT on the 26-County army was carried in the Irish Times on Tuesday last. In one piece Lieutenant Colonel John Duggan boasts that, "The defence forces are truly the people's army..."

Who does he think he's kidding?

Adrian J English, the Irish correspondent for Jane's Defence Weekly, in an article on the equipment used by the Free States, predicts that air defence batteries may each expect to have a SAM (surface-to-air-missile) troop by the year 2009.

I am assured that the People's Army has a more immediate demand and a lot more use for such a weapon.



A MURAL unveiled in Belfast on July 14th commemorating IRA Volunteer Joe McDonnell, who died on hunger-strike on July 8th 1981, was defaced by vandals only three days later.

These vandals wore green uniforms, carried semi-automatic rifles and travelled in heavily-armoured vehicles. Gangs of these vandals regularly roam the streets of West Belfast.

SUNDAY EXPRESS REPORTERS have demonstrated the ease with which British security at points of entry can be breached.

Three reporters and Irish freelance journalist Kieran Devaney, who was travelling without a passport, took their car via the Folkestone-Boulogne ferry to France and back.

Devaney pretended to be asleep in the car and went unchallenged by immigration officials both coming and going. On the ferry back to Britain the reporters went to the bar, where they introduced Devaney to fellow passengers as Mr Quinlinian. This elicited no reaction from the great British public.

Methinks old Clueless Coleman has got very little face left to lose.



NOTES



@CONNC



Did I mention our Unacknowledged Villainy Faction?

MAJOR Roberto d'Aubisson, the man responsible for thousands of murders committed by government-sponsored death-squads in El Salvador, is suffering from cancer of the mouth.

D'Aubisson, who earned the nickname Major Blowtorch after a favoured torture technique is rumoured to be terminally ill.

He founded the ruling Arena party and is the real power behind President Alfredo Cristiani. Among those whom he is said to have targeted for assassination is the Archbishop of San Salvador, Oscar Romero, shot dead in 1980 while saying mass.

Upon hearing of the seriousness of d'Aubisson's illness, a senior Christian Democrat opponent happily commented: "This proves that God exists. The voice that sent so many to their deaths has now been struck."

A CAMPAIGN has been launched in London to demand justice for a race equality officer employed by Newham Council and arrested by police following a fascist attack on a meeting which he was attending.

Sultan Mohammed was one of those present at a packed meeting of mainly Black people in Euston, in central London in May. They were there to hear US civil rights activist, the Reverend Al Sharpton.

A gang of British National Party thugs launched a smoke-bomb attack on the hall. Sultan was one of those appealing to people inside to keep calm and let police handle the situation but when he asked police outside to take action against the fascists he was himself arrested and charged with threatening behaviour and causing actual bodily harm to a police officer.

This second charge was dropped at Sultan's first court appearance but the Crown Prosecution Service has since substituted it with a charge of common assault on a police officer.

Despite eyewitness identification of the fascist who threw the smoke bomb and the open gloating of the BNP in their racist rag about the attack, not one White supremacist has been charged.

The Sultan Mohammed Defence Campaign is calling for all charges against him to be dropped. The campaign can be contacted via PO Box 273, London E7 or at (031 881 5581).

TWO PASSENGERS DIED when a helicopter pilot crashed while demonstrating how he had to fly at an average height of 20 feet to avoid Argentinian radar and snipers during the Malvinas/Falklands War.

A court heard this week that former Brit John Wright never actually flew in the Malvinas. This though, did not prevent him from giving a graphic description of the war to his terrified passengers as he swooped and plunged and wove through trees in Staffordshire in England at speeds of up to 200 mph.

Wright eventually hit a power cable and crashed the chopper. Two of his passengers were killed while he and three others survived. He is denying manslaughter and endangering an aircraft by recklessness.

Ironically the Agusta 109 helicopter he was flying was the same model as was used by the Argentinians during the 1982 conflict.

UDR MAN Mark Anthony Whymett from Bangor was remanded in custody on Saturday, July 13th, charged with murdering his wife, Angela, in the early hours of the 12th, at her father's home in Tullycarnet, near Belfast.

A prosecutor told the court Whymett admitted to the RUC that he had killed his wife following "her rejection of his amorous advances".

Dúirt Siad

All these changes are wholly beneficial. This signifies a coming of age of the UDR. This will mean even more patrols on the ground and improve the all-round professional ability of the regiment. — Lieutenant General Sir John Wilsey, General Officer Commanding the Brits in the Six Counties on the merging of the UDR and the Royal Irish Rangers to form the Royal Irish Regiment.

Now the UDR has not sought to be sectarian, one-sided or filled its ranks with Protestants but that's the way it turned out. That is certainly the perception. — Lieutenant General Sir John Wilsey.

It is disturbing for law-abiding drivers to be confronted by yobs with guns who in a more civilised society might expect to be in prison or a mental institution. — Irish News editorial on the UDR.

Certain divisions of the Guards Regiments will be placed in suspended animation. — British Defence Secretary Tom King announcing cuts in the British army on Tuesday.

Glenanne had outlined its usefulness as a base. — GOC Sir John Wilsey again. Glenanne UDR base will not be rebuilt following an IRA attack earlier this year, which demolished the base, killing three UDR soldiers.

"...as useful as a chocolate fireguard..." — Belfast Sinn Féin Councillor Mairtin O Muilleoir on the London-Dublin conference's abilities to redress nationalist grievances, Monday, July 22nd.

If she will refund the council the cost of her free trips abroad and the cost of the free meals she enjoyed last year, I will eat the minutes of the Parks Department meeting which approved the closure of the council play centres. — Mairtin O Muilleoir referring to the junkets of his fellow councillor, Margaret Crooks, chairperson of the Parks Department Committee.