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POLITICAL WEEKLY



# AN PHOBLACHT

## Republican News

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# BRITAIN CAN END THIS WAR

EXPRESSIONS of "deep shock" from Margaret Thatcher in the wake of the IRA bombings which devastated two of the main British border posts in Ireland ring hollow down the decades of her futile policies in the Six Counties which have prolonged the Irish war into the last years of the 20th century. The six British soldiers, and one civilian collaborator, who lost their lives on Wednesday were the latest victims of that British failure to face the truth that there can be no peace while their military and political presence remains in our country.

The simultaneous explosions at the heavily-fortified British army border posts on the main Derry to Buncrana road — where five soldiers were killed — and at Newry on the main Dublin to Belfast road — where one soldier was killed — virtually demolished both bases which are key installations in the military frontier with which Britain imposes the division of Ireland. Their destruction and the loss of six military personnel has been one of the most morale-shattering blows against British forces in recent years.

The sixth man killed in the Derry blast worked directly for the British forces in a Derry barracks and continued in spite of many IRA warnings against such collaboration. Media concentration on that aspect of the attacks could not conceal the truth of the IRA statement that "this morning's military operation again devastates the British myth of containment. Until the British government ends its futile war in Ireland, attacks such as this morning's will continue."

Over and over again it has

been proven that the British cannot contain the threat to its military presence in the Six Counties from the IRA in spite of the heaviest concentration of its forces and in spite of every new repressive measure.

### NO BRITISH SOLUTION

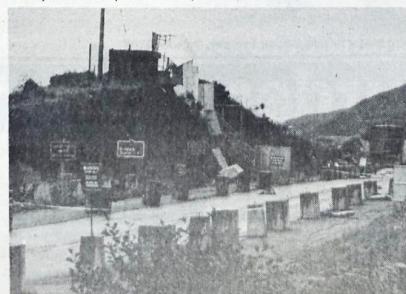
Thatcher's expressions of shock will come as little comfort to those whom she has sent to the front-line of her Irish war. For over ten years her governments have been sending troops across the Irish Sea, and have increasingly been putting locally-recruited personnel up

front, to risk death and injury in pursuit of a policy which is doomed to failure. There can be no British solution to the conflict in the Six Counties. Every attempt to impose such a sham solution has only prolonged the injury, pain and death which war brings.

It is Britain's war. If there were no border posts and checkpoints, no troops on the streets, no barracks and torture centres, no battalions of British soldiers guarding a fortified border or besieging communities, then there would be no bombings and shootings.

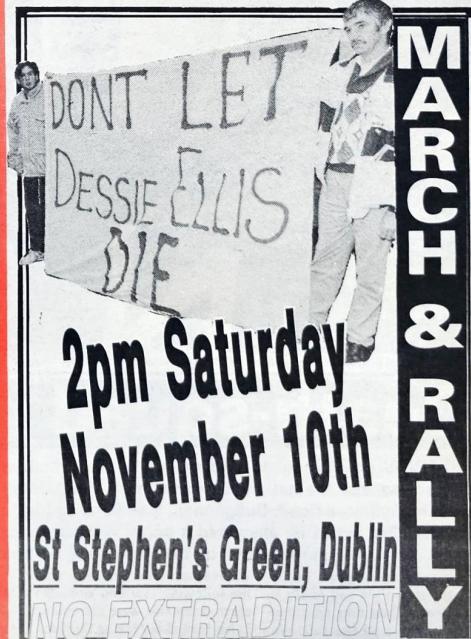
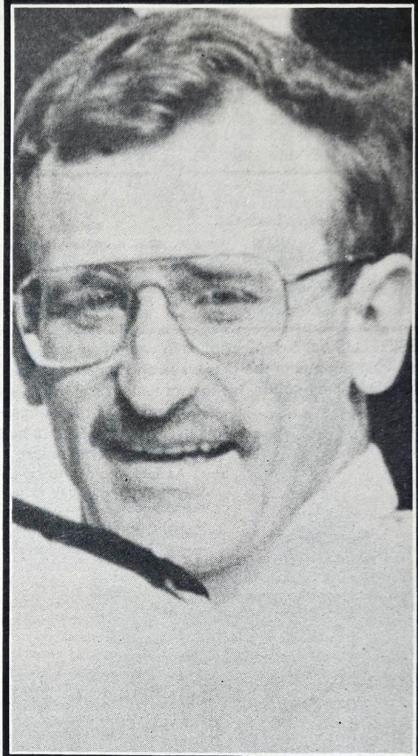
If there was, instead, British recognition of the inevitable fact that its military and political role in Ireland will come to an end eventually, then the way to peace would be open. The British government must be forced to come to terms with that reality, to recognise sooner rather than later that it's for the Irish people as a whole, without the interference of a foreign power, to resolve their differences and decide their future.

Britain can end this war.



DESSIE ELLIS' HUNGER-STRIKE  
AGAINST EXTRADITION

DAY 16



# Hunger-striker weakening as campaign gains momentum

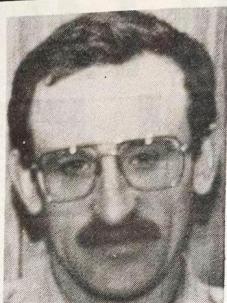
DESSIE ELLIS has lost 17 pounds in weight since he commenced his fast against extradition — ten pounds in the first week and seven in the second — and while he is reported to be in excellent spirits, his loss of weight has been very noticeable and he is entering a critical stage of the hunger-strike with the deterioration of his eyesight expected to be the first sign of permanent damage resulting from the fast.

As TDs returned to Leinster House on Wednesday many of them, including government ministers, Charles Haughey and his

deputy-leader and presidential candidate Brian Lenihan, were acutely conscious that the hunger-strike is of growing concern to people right across the country. Fianna

Fáil TDs and ministers in particular have been meeting the anti-extradition view in lobbying

bying and protests in the past week. The presence of banners outside Leinster House on Wednesday asking them if they will allow Dessie Ellis to die was not just a token one but another example of what they have been encountering in many centres on their travels.



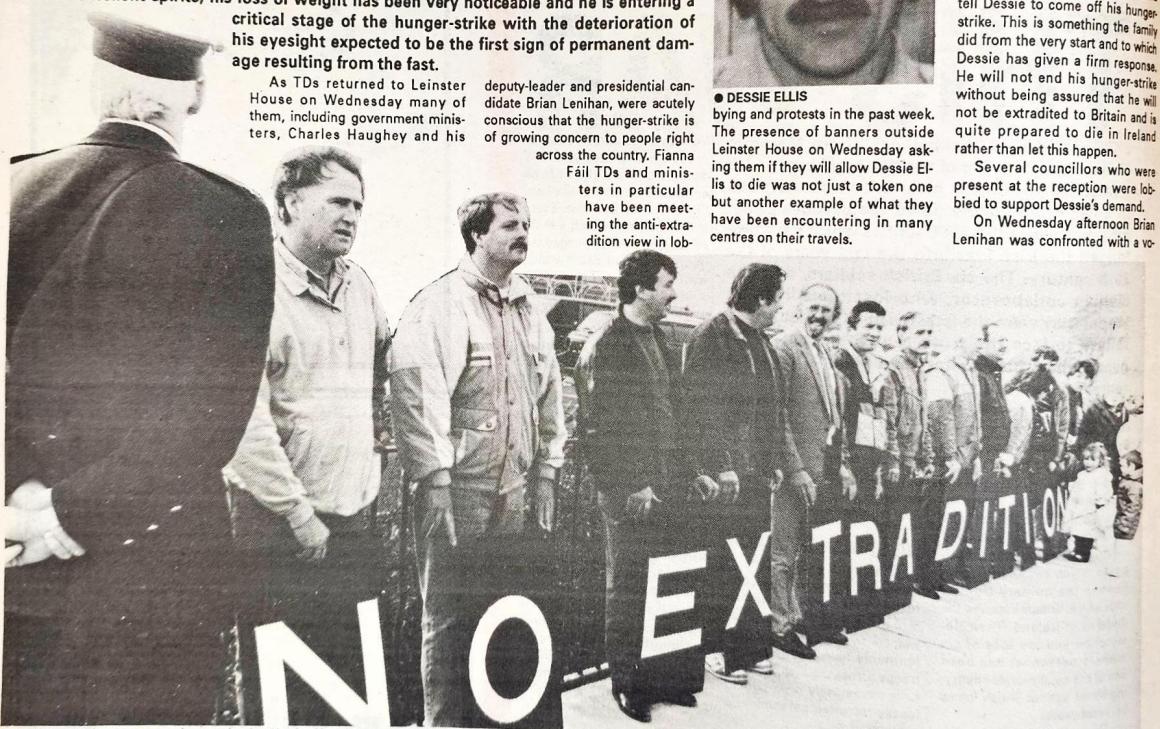
DESSIE ELLIS

## COUNCILLORS LOBBED

At the reception itself, as Haughey moved through the crowds of people, he came face to face with Martha Ellis who pleaded her brother's case. Haughey's only reply to her was that the Ellis family should tell Dessie to come off his hunger-strike. This is something the family did from the very start and to which Dessie has given a firm response. He will not end his hunger-strike without being assured that he will not be extradited to Britain and is quite prepared to die in Ireland rather than let this happen.

Several councillors who were present at the reception were lobbied to support Dessie's demand.

On Wednesday afternoon Brian Lenihan was confronted with a vo-



Anti-extradition protest at the opening by Charles Haughey of the new 'Square' shopping centre in Tallaght, on Tuesday, October 23rd

## Death-squad murders Tyrone man

PRO-BRITISH death-squads have claimed another random victim in their campaign of terror against the nationalist community. Frank Hughes, an elderly taxi-driver from Donaghmore Road, Dungannon, was lured to his death on Tuesday evening, October 23rd, when he answered a bogus call purporting to come from a receptionist at the Glengannon Hotel on the outskirts of his home town.

The callers, members of the UVF, registered the call at 10pm and it was a short time later that Hughes answered the call. His

whereabouts were unknown until the following morning when his charred remains were discovered in his burned-out taxi at Derryann

Road not far from the village of Moy. Saying they carried out the at-tack, the UVF, under their flag of

convenience, the Protestant Action Force, claimed the man was a well-known republican. This claim was utterly rejected by the dead man's family and by Sinn Féin and totally contradicted by the fact that the killers would have had no way of knowing which taxi-driver would answer their call.

This latest killing, taken in con-

junction with a recent upsurge in death-squad activity in the area, led Sinn Féin's Francie Molloy to comment that it was now apparent that pro-British killers had regrouped in the 'murder triangle' and were intent on instilling terror into nationalists on a par with that experienced in the area in the early 70s.

Haughey was surrounded by a large crowd of Dessie Ellis and demonstrators emerged from his car to open the new 'Square' shopping centre in Tallaght, County Dublin, on Tuesday, October 23rd. Haughey, on Tuesday, triggered loud shouts of "No extradition" and "Release Dessie Ellis". Haughey's car halted almost directly opposite a crowd of 50 Dessie Ellis supporters and the Fianna Fail leader was left in no doubt as to their message.

Again, as he slowly made his way towards the shopping centre, Haughey proceeded to shake hands with those who lined the walkway on either side, he was met with the question "Will you let Dessie Ellis die on hunger-strike, Charlie?". Refusing to answer the question but visibly embarrassed, he moved along.

Following the official opening ceremony inside the shopping centre, Haughey proceeded to a reception in a large marquee across the road. Again he was met with Dessie Ellis demonstrators, as was the County justice minister, Ray Burke.



• Dessie Ellis' sister Martha confronts Charles Haughey on the issue of her brother's extradition on Tuesday last

cal anti-extradition picket on his arrival in Monaghan town. He was met and spoken to by Sinn Féin Councillor Caoimhghin Ó Caoláin who handed him a letter calling for Dessie Ellis' release.

From Tuesday, October 23rd, at 12noon, a number of people from Finglas commenced a 48-hour fast and vigil outside Leinster House. From 1pm to 3pm on Wednesday a larger rally was held outside Leinster House as part of this same protest. Dessie's sister Martha and Fianna Fáil anti-extradition protester Nora Comiskey addressed those present. Speaking about the politicians that she has met to plead Dessie's case since he commenced his fast, Martha Ellis said that all she was getting was the "wink, wink, nudge, nudge, wait for the Supreme Court decision" response. Martha reiterated that it will probably be too late for Dessie by then.

A national student demonstration against continuing cutbacks in education also converged on Leinster House that afternoon. Two student representatives addressed the anti-extradition protesters. The deputy president of Trinity College Students' Union, Martina Murray, told the picket that the union had just passed a motion giving its full support to the Dessie Ellis campaign. The Union of Students in Ireland's Women's Rights Officer, Joan O'Connor, also spoke, assuring the anti-extradition protesters that USI is in complete support of his case.

#### PLANS CHANGED

On Monday night last, anti-extradition campaigners met Wicklow Fianna Fáil TD Dicéar Roche to urge him to support Dessie's case. On Tuesday afternoon, October 23rd, the Bray Anti-Extradition Committee leafleted and petitioned in the town when Fianna Fáil presidential candidate Brian Lenihan came to campaign. Lenihan had planned to sign the book of visitors in the Town Hall but he changed his plans to avoid the group of ten anti-extradition protesters who had gathered outside, instead visiting a local



• SAM ELLIS

school. He and Albert Reynolds were confronted on their way out of the school grounds by the protesters. A planned walkabout in a local shopping centre was also cancelled. Lenihan's bus headed off towards Greystones with a Dessie Ellis poster firmly stuck to it.

On Monday, the Bray branch of SIPTU passed a motion calling on the government to use its power to

release Dessie Ellis. That motion will come before the Bray Trades' Council in mid-November.

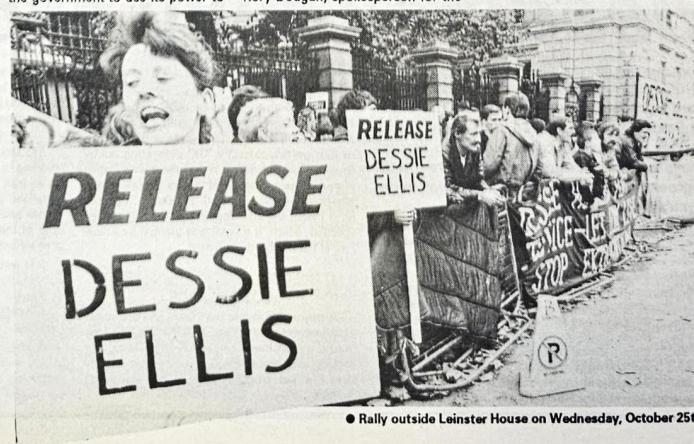
In Dundalk also on Monday, presidential candidate Mary Robinson refused to meet a delegation from the Dundalk Anti-Extradition Committee. A request to submit questions in writing to be answered the following day was rejected by Rory Dougan, spokesperson for the

committee, the committee preferring to put Dessie's case forward at a public meeting in the town. At that meeting Mary Robinson refused to answer the following question:

"Do you believe that a person extradited to Britain on a political charge would receive a fair trial?" sticking to her line that such matters didn't come within the parameters of the office of president. After the meeting there was a short meeting between Labour leader Dick Spring and a representative of the committee. The representative explained the details of Dessie's case and emphasised that he is now reaching a critical stage in his hunger-strike. He asked Spring to use his office to intervene and ask the Minister for Justice to stop Dessie's extradition, explaining also that Dessie is willing to face whatever evidence can be brought against him in an Irish court under the Criminal Law Jurisdiction Act. Spring undertook to speak to the minister.

#### SUPPORT IN UNITED STATES

In the United States the United Irish Counties, which includes dele-



• Rally outside Leinster House on Wednesday, October 25th

gates from 32 Irish county societies in the New York area, unanimously resolved this week to support Dessie Ellis' fight against extradition. It was agreed to send a formal letter to Charles Haughey and the local consulate office urging Dessie's release and opposing his extradition to Britain. Among those in attendance was Barbara O'Neill, a cousin of Haughey's and a prominent member of the Friends of Fianna Fáil.

Demonstrations were held in support of Dessie Ellis last weekend in New York, Chicago, Philadelphia and San Francisco. The largest of these was in New York, outside the offices of the Irish Consulate on Madison Avenue, where several hundred people turned up. Irish Northern Aid's Martin Galvin told the crowd that "American pressure could well make the difference between life and death for Dessie Ellis". The national campaign in America will be escalated this weekend to include protests in Boston, Detroit and Atlanta.

#### BROTHER'S APPEAL

An appeal was made by hunger-striker Dessie Ellis' brother, Sam, at a well-attended anti-extradition meeting in Cabra last week, for more and more people to get involved in Dessie's campaign in every possible way, including lobbying their elected representatives to act, "because for us to do otherwise would be a crime, and not just against my brother, but against the nation of Ireland.

"He has no chance of a fair trial in Britain," said Sam Ellis. Dermot Finucane, who earlier this year beat extradition proceedings in the Supreme Court, referred to his extradition victory in which his appeal, based in part on the basis that the offences were politically motivated, was upheld:

"Dessie Ellis' extradition warrants are being processed under the new act, which 'redefines' the political exemption clause. The whole mess of extradition, the changes in the law, the fact that the Dublin government signed the 1987 Act without derogating from any article of it, throws a spotlight, like nothing else does, on just how much the courts here are dictated to by Britain when it comes to political cases," he said.

#### CALL TO SDLP

On the eleventh day of Dessie's hunger-strike, Martha Ellis addressed a press conference in Belfast which was well attended but badly reported by the media and was chaired by Rosalyn Russell, whose brother was extradited by the Dublin government; she was joined by former Fianna Fáil cabinet minister Kevin Boland and party member Nora Comiskey.

Martha Ellis told the press that in spite of some weight loss and deteriorating eyesight, Dessie's morale was high and he was determined to see the hunger-strike through.

Rosalyn Russell lambasted the role of the Haughey administration saying that in facilitating British government policy it has led to the drastic action by Dessie Ellis as the only option left open to him. In an appeal to the SDLP she said that as a matter of urgency at their party conference next month they should raise the issue and bring pressure to bear upon the Dublin government to avert another miscarriage of justice: "We appeal to them to oppose extradition and support the campaign for the release of Dessie Ellis."



• The damage caused at Newry checkpoint after the IRA's simultaneous bomb attacks on border checkpoints on Wednesday

# BORDER BOMB BLITZ

BRITISH political and military chiefs were left reeling after an early morning co-ordinated bomb attack which devastated two of the most heavily-fortified permanent British border posts at Coshquin in Derry and Cloughoe in Newry, leaving six British soldiers dead and over 17 soldiers injured, five of them seriously. Two RUC men also sustained injuries in the Newry blast.

The massive bomb explosions occurred within seconds of each other and almost 100 miles apart in the heart of the two border posts shortly after 4am on Wednesday, October 24th.

In what was clearly a very carefully co-ordinated military operation, IRA Volunteers commanded two houses owned by individuals involved in collaboration with the crown forces. The men were then forced to ferry the explosives to their targets.

A third bomb attack on a crown forces position took place at the main British army base on Gortin Road, Omagh, County Tyrone. The driver used in this operation was directly involved in collaboration and worked in Omagh Barracks. The device only partially exploded. There

were no injuries.

The heaviest loss of life was suffered at Coshquin checkpoint on the main Derry to Buncrana road where five soldiers lost their lives and five others sustained serious injury. The body found at the scene later on Wednesday was believed to be that of the man forced to ferry the bomb, a kitchen assistant in Fort George British army base in Derry. He had previously been warned personally that his continued collaboration made him a target for IRA attack.

Damage at the checkpoint was severe, with recently reinforced barriers and defences disintegrating with the force of the blast. Extensive damage was also caused to the main British army sleeping and accommodation block attached

to the checkpoint, where most of those who died were believed to have been.

In a statement on the bombings the IRA said that its active service units carried out the attacks at Coshquin and Cloughoe. It pointed out that those forced into ferrying the bombs to their targets were collaborators with the crown forces. (On many occasions in the past the IRA has warned those working directly for the occupation forces that they place themselves in the firing-line by doing so.) Referring to the two bombings the IRA said:

"This morning's military operation again devastates the British myth of containment. Until the British government ends its futile war in Ireland attacks such as this morning's will continue."

In an additional statement on the bombing the South Down Command, IRA, said that the man forced to ferry the bomb to Cloughoe checkpoint on the main Belfast to Dublin road was 'a garage proprietor from Rathfriland who was involved in carrying out service and maintenance work on

crown forces vehicles'.

In their statement on the Omagh bomb attack the Tyrone Brigade said:

"Our Volunteers forced a civilian who works as a mechanic for the British Ministry of Defence to transport an 800lb device to the Gortin Road base. Fortunately for those occupying the barracks, only part of the device detonated."

## BARRACKS TARGETED

In three other bomb attacks Volunteers of the Belfast and Fermanagh brigades targeted crown forces barracks at Oldpark, Mountpottinger and Lisnaskea.

The first of the attacks came at Mountpottinger Barracks in the Short Strand area of Belfast on Wednesday, October 17th, when a single device was lobbed at the base. On Friday, October 19th, two devices were thrown at Oldpark Barracks in North Belfast. There were no reports of crown forces injuries in either attack.

In Fermanagh, crown forces were alerted to the presence of a

single mortar device targeted on Lisnaskea Barracks. The device, which was discovered at 9.30pm on Saturday, October 20th, was defused by British bomb technicians.

## UFF MAN EXECUTED

A member of the UFF loyalist murder gang was shot dead by IRA Volunteers in Belfast on Tuesday morning, October 23rd. The man, Billy Aiken, a taxi-driver, had just delivered a fare to the Royal Hospital on Belfast's Falls Road when two Volunteers fired a number of shots from point-blank range, killing him instantly.

In their statement on the shooting the IRA said:

"Our Volunteers carried out the shooting of Billy Aiken. Aiken, a member of the UFF, who was originally from Belfast but who moved to Templepatrick, had served a prison sentence in the mid-80s for possession of a UDA arms cache. He had continued with his involvement in the UDA after his release and was using his taxi to monitor the movements of nationalists."

# Talks deadlock fully exposed

BY HILDA MAC THOMAS

DETAILS of the deadlock in the 'talks about talks' under the Hillsborough Agreement have emerged in two documents possibly leaked by the SDLP. The documents clearly show that Peter Brooke has given in to all the conditions imposed by the unionist parties before talks can move on to discuss the basic terms under which the Stormont parliament will be restored. They prove once again that the agreement is of no value whatsoever to nationalists and that it strengthens partition.

The documents, leaked to the *Irish Times*, date from July when Peter Brooke was forced to cancel a planned announcement to Westminster about the progress of the talks. One is the original draft of Brooke's announcement, the other is the SDLP's alternative.

In his draft, Brooke conceded to unionist demands that the Dublin government should not be involved until there is 'substantial agreement' between the Six-County parties, minus Sinn Féin. Because the UUP and DUP form an artificial majority within the talks, they will be able to impose

their will on the outcome. The SDLP wanted the Dublin government to be involved before substantial agreement was reached, but Brooke's draft showed he did not accept that request.

The second major disagreement was over the status of the Six-County parties in any eventual talks involving Dublin. The SDLP sought a simple North-South format involving the North's 'four main political parties' (once again minus Sinn Féin). In Brooke's draft, the talks would be 'between the Irish government, Her Majesty's government and the Northern Ireland parties, led by my-

self as secretary of state for Northern Ireland, representing the United Kingdom government'.

It is now obvious why neither Dublin nor the SDLP could agree to Brooke's draft. For the SDLP, the net result would have been to end up as one Brooke. This delegation would meet with Dublin after the fate and shape of the Six-County administration had been decided. For Dublin, it would have meant the abandonment of the 'right of inspection' which, it claims, was granted by Article Five of the Hillsborough Treaty.

## LOSING FACE

A major card would have been lost before negotiations even began and both the SDLP and the Dublin government would have lost face. The 'looking over one's shoulder' stance won the day over the 'bending over backward' school of thought.

Brooke's next step will be to try and reword his statement to bring it closer to the requirements of Dublin and the SDLP without alienating the unionists or abandoning his own government's stated unionist position.

The fact is that unionists have no intention of acceding to either of the SDLP's stated demands, for an Irish dimension and some form of institutionalised power-sharing. High on the unionist agenda was the scrapping, or at least the destabilising of the Hillsborough Agreement. This they have achieved, to a degree.

It is extremely likely that the unionist parties would have used the need to achieve 'substantial agreement' as an excuse to string out the talks (and therefore to keep Dublin at arms length) for a long time.

A lengthy post-mortem over another British failure, with participants and non-participants apportioning blame, is the most likely outcome of the present impasse.

# Censors challenged in London, Brussels and Belfast

**SPEAKING** in Brussels on the second anniversary of the British government's introduction of media restrictions on Sinn Féin, the party's president Gerry Adams urged the European Parliament to highlight what was a unique form of censorship among the 12 European Community governments. At a conference organised by the Flemish Committee of Support for Ireland, the West Belfast MP said that the British government was imposing censorship because it was afraid of debate. He continued:

"Two years ago this month the British government introduced new legislation designed to censor and silence political opposition to their presence in Ireland. These censorship laws prevent elected members of Sinn Féin from expressing the political opinion which they have been democratically mandated to express. But the ban is not simply aimed at Sinn Féin. It is an attack on the rights of tens of thousands of Irish people to hold and express a political opinion, and to have that opinion articulated by representatives of their own choosing."

"The issue of peace and justice in Ireland affects us all. The ban on Sinn Féin is an attempt to prevent informed discussion and to suppress the contribution of Irish republican opinion to this important debate. It is an attempt to silence, rather than answer, the argument

for peace based on freedom and justice. The British government is hypocritical about the lessons of Eastern Europe. While they laud the growth of democracy in Eastern Europe they continue to deny democracy and a democratic solution to the Irish people."

#### SINN FEIN PROTESTS

Meanwhile, in Belfast, a letter of protest against the broadcasting ban was handed in to Ulster Television by Belfast Sinn Féin Councillor Alex Maskey, during a picket of Havelock House on Friday, October 19th. The picket, which was attended by a number of Sinn Féin councillors, began shortly after 12 noon and was held for over an hour. At a similar picket outside the BBC's Broadcasting House, Maskey was prevented from presenting a

letter of protest when BBC officials refused to appoint anyone to accept the document at the door.

Speaking from the picket line, Maskey said that the ban had led to a growing wave of censorship against anyone who expressed opinions contrary to those of the British government and that he regretted the BBC's attitude in refusing to acknowledge a legitimate protest, which he described as indicative of their general attitude of compliance to the British government's ban. A recent investigation into the effects of the ban by the Glasgow University Media Group, has also identified the BBC 'in particular' as having 'opted for caution and compliance when faced with a choice.'

#### NUJ DAY OF ACTION

Speaking in Belfast as part of a Day of Action against censorship organised by the National Union of Journalists, NUJ vice-president, Chris Frost, said that the union's legal challenge against the broadcasting ban introduced by the then British Home Secretary Douglas Hurd in 1988 was expected to go before the European Court of Human Rights.

Addressing a meeting at Transport House, Frost went on to



say that the British government was 'chipping away' at the traditional freedoms of what were already among the most suppressed media in the Western world. Although the NUJ did not expect their House of Lords Appeal, which is due to be heard next month, against the ban, to be successful, Frost said that following a rejection by the Lords, the case would automatically be taken to the European Court which is likely to be more favourable to the journalists' challenge.

#### TIME TO KNOW

Launching a major campaign against censorship entitled 'Time to Know', journalists in London marked the 'Day of Action' with a demonstration, conference, film show and cabaret. Addressing the conference, Sinn Féin councillor and freelance journalist, Máirtín Ó Muilleoir said that the broadcasting restrictions were not introduced, as

the British government has claimed, to protect the rights of citizens but as a means of further curtailing civil liberties in Britain and to enable the British government to quell resistance to its dictatorial rule. Calling on journalists to do much more in resisting the imposition of censorship, Ó Muilleoir continued:

"The broadcasting restrictions have been used to confuse the issues, to spread disinformation and to strengthen the hand of those elements in the British establishment who believe in a military solution for the problems of the North of Ireland. Though they have succeeded in smothering the truth about Britain's role in the Six Counties it is obvious they have failed in their aim to break nationalist resistance. By their continued support for Sinn Féin the nationalists of the Six Counties are ensuring that Britain's role of administrating the only European police state is made public on an international scale."

# Defending the right to know

BY ART MAC EOIN

"SECTION 31 is our own homegrown version of what we like to condemn in South Africa, Chile or the Soviet Union." So said Dan Sullivan, vice-chairperson of the Irish Council for Civil Liberties, at a press conference in Dublin on Thursday, October 18th, organised by the NUJ's Right to Know Committee to give details of anti-censorship activities in Ireland and Britain.

Farrell Corcoran of Dublin City University's Communications Department said:

"The majority of people in this state have shown in survey after survey their opposition to Section 31. Recent international events have put freedom of information back on the agenda. In Ireland there has developed an insidious practice where even talking about censorship is itself censored. This has led to a spiral of silence becoming the mainstream."

The NUJ's Irish Council statement was read by Ronan Brady of the Right to Know Committee and called for a repeal of the 26 County state's Section 31 of the Broadcasting Act and the British Broadcasting Ban.

"Section 31 of the Irish government's Broadcasting Act and the broadcasting ban introduced by the British Home Secretary in 1988 are forms of political censorship which seriously infringe democracy. They are also insults to the intelligence of viewers and journalists."

"When elected representatives are denied the right to speak on television and radio, whole communities are silenced. Political debate is deformed and the effects of the censorship are felt in the print as

well as the broadcast media.

"We call on Ray Burke, Minister for Communications, and the British Home Secretary David Waddington to revoke these censorship measures."

#### SELF-CENSORSHIP

Senator Brendan Ryan said that the Section 31 mentality was epitomised by a recent RTE documentary "which quite clearly in its content dealt with the perception and the activities of two Roman Catholic



RONAN BRADY

priests, Fr Denis Faul and Fr Raymond Murray, in commenting on and campaigning against the misuse of law and power by various aspects of the British state in Northern Ireland. RTE introduced the programme as a profile of two priests. Quite clearly RTE felt quite inhibited about describing it simply as a programme on justice in Northern Ireland. This had nothing to do with the alleged intent of Section 31 but clearly demonstrated the extraordinary sensitivity and indeed almost self-censorship mentality that such orders impose."

Ann Cahill, chair of the NUJ's Irish Council, outlined the NUJ's position on censorship saying it has been opposed to Section 31 since its introduction and has now taken the issue to the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg.

Owen Ronayne, a broadcaster with RTE, explained Section 31's direct effects on journalists' work. The RTE authority "implements Section 31 over and above the limits of the law. RTE is scared of politicians. Their outlook is 'if we show that we are responsible, maybe we'll get something in return.' Working as a journalist is forced daily, he said, to ask people such as trade unionists whether they are members of certain political organisations and said that the majority of journalists in RTE were opposed to Section 31.

#### RECENT EXAMPLE

Larry O'Toole, chairperson of the Gateaux Workers' Strike Committee, explained how state censorship had prevented him from

presenting the views of his fellow workers.

He said that during the recent dispute at the Gateaux factory in Finglas he had been elected chairperson of the strike committee. He was interviewed on numerous occasions by press and broadcasting journalists to get the workers' point of view. His comments were carried in many media outlets.

But he went on to explain that he "initially experienced problems with RTE. I was interviewed for RTE Radio 2's 12noon news on one occasion and this was broadcast. Even the RTE reporters who were present on the picket-line expressed surprise when one pre-recorded interview was not carried. The same reporter came back to me the next day and told me that the reason I was not broadcast is because I am a member of Sinn Féin."

"I regard this decision by RTE management as self-censorship. The Section 31 order which affects RTE and other stations only concerns people acting as representatives or spokespersons for Sinn Féin. No mention is made of 'members' of Sinn Féin. The RTE guidelines do not mention members. Even the Supreme Court judgement by Justice O'Higgins, upholding the constitutionality of Section 31, clearly states that only persons acting as spokespersons for a named organisation should be banned."

"Censorship is corrosive of democratic debate. But self-censor-

ship, which denies ordinary Irish workers the right to hear the opinions of their own spokespersons is ten times worse. The Senior Counsel on the NUJ European Court of Human Rights case, Mary Robinson SC, agrees that RTE operates Section 31 to a degree far beyond what is intended."

O'Toole went on to explain his own frustration and the anger of his fellow workers "most of whom had not heard of Section 31" at the censorship of their elected spokesperson. He said that the censorship of the strike on radio and television had a follow-on effect into the print media.

#### GROSS INFRINGEMENT

Dan Sullivan of the Irish Council for Civil Liberties (ICCL) said that the ICCL oppose Section 31 because it is a gross infringement of the freedom of expression and of freedom of access to information. He said that Section 31 reflects a pathological view of the Irish body politic and that freedom of expression had "taken a bad beating here over the past few years."

"Section 31," he said, "is our own homegrown version of what we like to condemn in South Africa, Chile or the Soviet Union." And he went on to say that Section 31 and the British broadcasting ban had no place in a free society.

The Right to Know Committee also organised a lunchtime concert and rally outside Leinster House on Friday, October 19th, to protest at the continued use of political censorship in Ireland.

# ELECTING A NONENTITY



## —the stroke's the thing

**ARAS AN UACHTARAIN and Brian Lenihan could have been made for each other. Lenihan's bland personality could hardly be more suitable for an office, the prime duties of which seem to be shaking hands with people in top hats and improving one's golf swing. His meaningless but highly inflated brand of waffle seems entirely appropriate for someone who can't speak without somebody else's permission.**

Despite his title of Tánaiste which suggests that he is second-in-command of government, Lenihan is the absolute essence of a Fianna Fáil subordinate. That means that he has changed track often, abruptly and without explanation, rather as a civil servant does when a new government is elected. But he has always done so on someone else's orders.

### NOD & A WINK

When Jack Lynch dismissed Charles Haughey in the early '70s after the 'Arms' Trial, Lenihan carefully toed the anti-Haughey line. As Haughey's popularity within the party grew in the years which followed, he stayed out of the fray. Lynch's resignation in 1979 meant a contest between Haughey and George Colley for party leadership (which also meant premiership of the then Fianna Fáil government). Lenihan remained in the background, giving both sides a nod and a wink.

It is thought he voted for the loser. But, after Haughey's victory, Lenihan became, once again, a loyal hatchetman for the leader. Martin O'Donoghue was one of those who conspired with Des O'Malley against Haughey in 1983 and it was Brian Lenihan who was given the task of condemning O'Donoghue.

Brian Lenihan has been more loyal to the party line than any Eastern European party boss ever was. Ironically though his election to the presidency will bring problems for Fianna Fáil with the loss of his seat in Dublin West, Fianna Fáil is by no means certain to win the by-election which will bring memories of one famous 'stroke' that went wrong in 1982. On that occasion Charles Haughey tried to strengthen his position in Leinster House by giving the post of European Commissioner

to Dick Burke of Fine Gael, hoping that Fianna Fáil would win the resulting by-election — also in Dublin West. Fine Gael won the seat, and the Haughey government didn't last out the year.

Now the campaign has been dominated by a major row between Garret FitzGerald and Brian Lenihan over the circumstances which led to the first general election in 1982. The Fine Gael/Labour Coalition had been defeated on its budget and FitzGerald went to Aras an Uachtaráin to hand in his resignation to the president. It is now alleged that while he was there Haughey, Lenihan and Sylvester Barrett rang up 'their' man Paddy Hillery to ask him not to dissolve Leinster House so that they could try and win support for a minority Fianna Fáil government. In the absence of real issues the election campaign has taken on the viciousness of an old-style party faction fight.

The most drastic political U-turn with which Brian Lenihan was associated, occurred over the Hillsborough Agreement. In opposition, Fianna Fáil vigorously opposed this treaty and Lenihan was sent to the US in order to speak against it. He correctly told the US politicians that the agreement "copperfisted partition". Then, within 18 months, Brian Lenihan was in government as foreign affairs minister and was operating the Hillsborough Agreement.

### POMPOUS INFLATED PROMISES

Pompous inflated promises which he can never fulfil are part of his stock-in-trade. In 1980, he promised Ireland would be re-united within a decade — by Fianna Fáil, of course! Sometimes Brian's mouth gets him into severe trouble. When he tried to pass off the rising emigration figures some years ago, saying that "after all we can't all live on one small island", he was roundly criticised for his callous attitude towards emigrants. People queued up to remind him that this small island is not over — but under — populated and that every emigrant is a loss.

All told, Brian Lenihan would sink very comfortably into the plush arm-chairs of the former vice-regal lodge, leaving the problems of emigrants and the unemployed to others. On present form, he's almost certain to do so. If he doesn't receive the final and most important perk of his career, it will be one of the largest political upsets in recent Irish electoral history.

Just over four people in every ten believe the 26-County office of president should be done away with, but by 9pm on November 7th, voters will have chosen a new 26-County president. Either Brian Lenihan, Mary Robinson or — in the event of some freak accident — Austin Currie will become the seventh head of state since the adoption

## ROBINSON — glaring contradictions

**MARY ROBINSON is far and away the most contradictory candidate and, for that reason alone, her campaign is the most interesting. She seems to keep a foot in both the progressive and the most reactionary camps at the same time. Not surprisingly, this means that she loses her balance regularly.**

The most wobbly moment in her campaign so far occurred after the now celebrated interview with the Dublin music magazine *Hot Press* when she seemed to say that, as president, she would formally open a condom-shop in a Dublin record store.

A long, involved question about her attitude to contraceptives ended with a suggestion that she might open the shop. The first word of her answer was "Yes". Later it emerged that Mary, a highly-trained lawyer, says 'yes' to all questions, even when she means 'no'. It's a sort of habit with her — all it means is that she has understood the question.

Her ability to take conflicting stands is legendary. During the '70s, while she was a Labour Party senator, she joined the executive of the extremely right-wing Tricontinental Congress, a group of US-based cold warriors. Robinson later resigned from the Labour Party over that party's support for the Hillsborough Agreement. Her objection was that the agreement was an insult to loyalists. In a major shift, she now says she will back it with "conviction and integrity".

She was elected to the Seanad at the age of 24 in 1969 for Trinity College Dublin which has a large unionist bloc in its small electorate, and she has supported calls for the deletion of Articles Two and Three of the 1937 Constitution. She has written in favour of extradition and has avoided answering questions on Dessie Ellis' hunger-strike during this campaign.

### PRO-BRITISH

As well as being backed by the Labour Party, she has the support of the strongly pro-unionist Workers' Party. But, realising that openly pro-British political platform isn't going to win her a swathe of votes, she has downplayed this aspect of her political programme.

Side-by-side with her support for unionism, one of the most bigoted and reactionary political creeds in Europe, she has also backed a number of progressive political campaigns. The name of Mary Robinson is most closely associated with the various campaigns for women's rights in the 26 Counties and for the introduction of the rights to contraception and divorce. She is opposed to broadcasting censorship and is the counsel for the National Union of Journalists in its court case against Section 31. During her visit to Belfast, she stated that she would meet with Sinn Féin under certain circumstances



— something her right-wing associates have generally refused to do.

Her persuasive powers have helped win considerable rights for those suffering from economic and social discrimination in the 26 Counties. She has helped to win free legal aid and the right of people without property to sit on juries. She has led the legal attack on discrimination against gays and children born outside marriage.

Her resolute stand on these issues has helped to boost Robinson's poll ratings. The combined vote of the parties which back her stood at around 20% in the 1989 general election and the ratings of the Workers' Party have seriously flagged since then. Last week, 32% of those who had made up their minds on the election said they would vote for her while only 19% backed Austin Currie and 49% said they would give Brian Lenihan their support.

It is still far too early to make predictions but this obviously places her in a striking position of victory if she can secure enough Fine Gael transfers and if she can eat further into Lenihan's base.

### NO UNDERSTANDING

What lies behind this very strong showing is a growing dislike among voters for the conventional political machines which have dominated 26-County politics. In recent months, Fine Gael has seemed particularly rusty and many of Robinson's supporters come from the traditional base of Alan Dukes' party.

The possibility of a 'left' candidate winning on right-wing votes highlights the conundrum at the heart of Robinson's campaign. She has many, valid, progressive points to make. But like many others of her elite class background, she does not understand the single most important and most tragic fact about Irish society — that part of our country is still under occupation. This failure on her part means that a Robinson victory would be no real breakthrough for the dispossessed — whatever her propaganda may suggest.

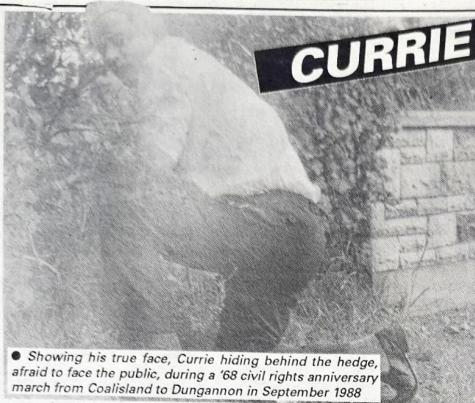
of the 1937 Constitution.

Under that Constitution, only those favoured by the major parties are allowed to take part in the election and presidents play a mainly figurehead role. They are not even permitted to speak publicly without the permission of the government of the day. All three candidates have promised to play an

"active" role if elected. But the 26-County Constitution expressly limits the actions a president can take in all but a few cases. No matter which candidate wins, a non-entity will have been elected.

Tom O'Dwyer profiles the three contestants for this fairly powerless but highly-paid job.

## CURRIE



● Showing his true face, Currie hiding behind the hedge, afraid to face the public, during a '68 civil rights anniversary march from Coalisland to Dungannon in September 1988

### — a doubtful blessing

ONLY the withdrawal of both Brian Lenihan and Mary Robinson before November 7th would secure victory for Austin Currie. Although Fine Gael secured around 30% support during the 1989 general election, it is now down to 24% but Currie is lagging 5% behind his own party. His campaign still has time to recover after a late start but it now seems most likely that he will come last. It is a major reverse for a man who was only recently welcomed as a Godsend by his party leader.

Ambition and the ability to alter his principles to suit the needs of the day have always been the Tyrone man's strongest traits and these are mixed in with an intense bitterness towards republicans of every variety. But these qualities have also taken him to many defeats. In his efforts to ingratiate himself with unionist opinion in the early 70s, he welcomed the formation of the UDR. As one of the leaders of the anti-internment rent-and-rates strike in the same period, he told people to spend the money that would have gone to the government. But once he was offered the post of housing minister in the failed Sunningdale Executive in 1974, he turned on those who refused to pay and levied charges on them while internment still continued. For Currie, the word 'principle' has a very fluid meaning.

During the latter half of the 70s, he sought agreement with the loyalists to set up a revived Stormont but was unsuccessful and, with the demise of Jim Prior's Constitutional Convention, he found himself out of work. While his rival John Hume was politically successful, Currie still had to find a secure political base. In 1979 he broke with the SDLP over its decision not to run against nationalist unity candidate Frank Maguire in Fermanagh/South Tyrone. He left the party and stood against Maguire but was ignominiously defeated.

Undaunted by this disaster, he tried to do the same thing during the 1981 hunger-strikes when the only effect of his

standing would have been to split the nationalist vote. Unfortunately for Currie, he failed to enter his nomination papers in time. He re-entered the SDLP but his political career remained in the doldrums.

#### BARGAIN CANDIDATE

Then came the 1989 general election in the 26 Counties and Alan Dukes offered the Tyrone man an opportunity to cut his ties with his old party and start again in Dublin West. It was a bargain from which both benefited. Dukes had a new headline-catcher and Currie won a seat fairly comfortably.

Fine Gael won back a number of the seats it had lost to the Progressive Democrats in the previous election and Dukes emerged from the campaign with a strengthened party. But his problems were only beginning. By moving to the right, Haughey's Fianna Fáil had begun to mop up Fine Gael's traditional heartland. Dukes' party started to fall in the public opinion polls and its leader suffered with it.

In order to stave off his critics, Dukes promised that he would provide them with a substantial candidate in the forthcoming presidential election but that promise returned to haunt him. He evidently believed he could persuade Garret Fitzgerald to run. He was unable to do so and Peter Barry turned him down as well. In the end he was forced to remind Currie of favours done and to twist the Tyrone man's arm in order to get a candidate of any sort.

Currie's Northern origin could have been a positive element in his campaign, had he been standing for almost any other party. He could have gained votes by boasting of his role during the Civil Rights period and could have relied on Section 31 to make sure that few were likely to find out how small that role really was. But Fine Gael's traditional pro-British tendencies mean that such a strategy could well antagonise the party's former supporters. He is forced to present his Tyrone background as a liability.

If, as now seems likely, Currie is clearly beaten into third place by Mary Robinson, Dukes is almost certain to be replaced as leader. It looks as if, once again, Austin Currie will prove to be a doubtful blessing.

# SINN FÉIN

## CAMPAIGNS FOR TYRONE SEAT

THE final run-up to the Torrent by-election in County Tyrone, which Sinn Féin is contesting, has begun with daily canvassing, the distribution of leaflets and the final touches being put to election machinery for polling day.

The by-election came about after former Sinn Féin councillor and IRA Volunteer Martin McCaughey, who was shot dead by the SAS on Tuesday, October 9th, at Lisnaskey, County Armagh, was debarred from Dungannon District Council for non-attendance of meetings.

In the Torrent Ward area of Dungannon District, where Francie Molloy is the Sinn Féin candidate, a systematic canvass is being carried out, which will take the campaign right up to polling day on Thursday, November 1st.

A 39-year-old father of four, Molloy is a full-time worker for Sinn Féin in Dungannon and Coalisland. He has been actively involved in politics for over 20 years. He was involved in the early Civil Rights campaign and held the position of chairperson for the Tyrone H-Block/Armagh Committee. Molloy served as director of elections for Owen Carron and the late Bobby Sands in their election as MPs for Fermanagh/South Tyrone, before being elected himself as a Sinn Féin councillor in Dungannon from 1985 to 1989.

Molloy's manifesto concentrates on full-time representation and a continuation of a constituency service for the Torrent Ward. Molloy has also put forward programmes in

relation to the development of Lough Neagh and the protection of the rights of the fishing community. He will be campaigning for proper leisure facilities for Coalisland to be included in the regeneration programme and also for the Council to support the local community in Donaghmore who have provided their own leisure facilities.

From the advice centre in Barrack Street, Coalisland, and the sub-office in Cappagh, Molloy has undertaken to deal with constituents' problems and queries. He is aware that the Torrent area has suffered greatly at the hands of the RUC/UDR and proposed the setting up of an independent committee to investigate and collate information on incidents of harassment and assault.

Molloy, on an assessment of the eligible vote and previous turnouts, estimates that Sinn Féin will need 3,000 votes to win the seat. It is imperative that people in the Torrent area know what is required to gain their vote. In the last local government elections thousands of nationalists were denied their right to vote because of stringent identification rules.

To cast your vote you will need one of the following:

- Driving licence (full or provisional); Irish or British passport;
- Social Services allowance book;
- Medical card (issued by central benefit branch);
- Marriage certificate (in certain circumstances).

You need only one of the above, but it must be current.



● Sinn Féin candidate Francie Molloy canvassing in the Torrent Ward area of Dungannon

#### Important notice

##### Postal voters in the 26 Counties

The deadline for inclusion on Special Voters' List for

future 26-County elections is Wednesday, October 31st. This list is for people who are disabled or who cannot attend polling stations on voting day for other rea-

sons. Papers which can be got from your local post office, have to be lodged with the relevant local government office in each city or county by that date.

# Back to Direct-Rule (1968-1972)

## UNIONIST PARTIES PART FOUR

BY HILDA Mac THOMAS

UNTIL THE 1960s, unionism had been trundling along, maintaining complete control of the Six Counties by combining repression of the Catholic minority, and a sectarian 'social contract' which kept working-class Protestants from mounting a serious challenge to the unionist leadership.

Apart from Edward Carson who was a British Tory, unionist leaders and Stormont Cabinet members represented Ulster's landlords and industrial bourgeoisie. The six Stormont premiers from 1921-72 were representative of the social composition of the unionist leadership. James Craig, a land-owner and shareholder in his family's distillery; John Andrews, head of the board of a linen mill, a railway company and Belfast Ropeworks; Basil Brooke, a land-owning lord from County Fermanagh; Terence O'Neill, a country squire, as was his successor James Chichester-Clark. As for the last in the line, Brian Faulkner, he was director of his family's linen firm.

The economic changes which affected Britain after the Second World War threatened the peripheral Six-County economy even more, as they threatened the unionist rulers' cosy arrangement. On one hand, welfare legislation had marginally improved the lot of the poorer people, making them less dependent on local patronage; on the other, traditional industries, which had been losing ground for years, were decaying, giving rise to unemployment. Just as unionists had to accept the extension of health and social security reforms to the Six Counties for fear of losing the support of working-class Protestants, they also had to accept inclusion in British post-war 'regional planning' efforts they had had neither the will nor the ability to attempt rationalising the North's economy when the first alarm bells had rung, before the war.

### O'NEILL THE LIBERAL?

When he died earlier this year, O'Neill was described as a 'moderate', a 'reformer' and a 'liberal', implying that he was a man who stood up to the bigots and tried to reform the state in the direction of greater justice for Catholics. The epithets are undeserved: he implemented some economic reforms designed by civil servants, but failed to sell them to working-class unionists for whom he felt nothing but class contempt. He turned down demands for a reform of the worst aspects of the sectarian state made by the NILP and trade unions in 1966, and turned down demands for civil rights two years later.

The reforms he rubber-stamped during his premiership did not live up to O'Neill's protestations of goodwill towards Catholics: measures to encourage foreign firms to come to

therefore threatened especially working-class loyalists whose economic situation was only marginally better than that of Catholics, especially in that time of recession.

### CRACKS

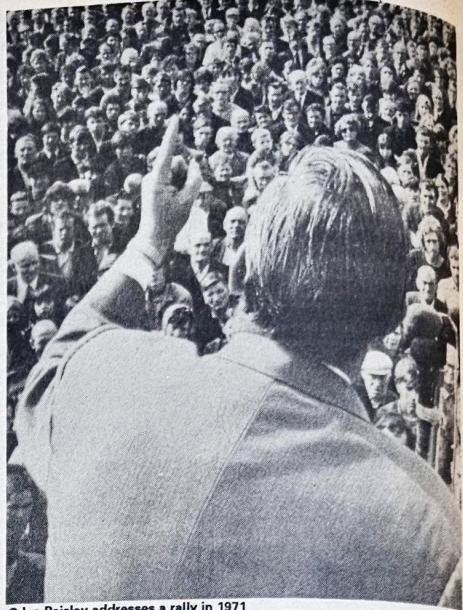
Ultra-loyalist politicians have always enjoyed more electoral success at times when the loyalist population felt threatened. Voting for ultras was seen as a way of putting pressure on weak political representatives. Loyalists felt under siege from all quarters in the mid-'60s. From the British government of Harold Wilson came occasional speeches about 'large-scale reforms of Northern Ireland'. And it was also from within the British Labour Party that some had launched a Campaign for Democracy in Ulster, which would gather support from up to 100 MPs for civil rights reforms. Led by Seán Lemass since 1959, the Dublin government had abandoned any attempt at economic protectionism, and in particular had lowered tariff barriers with Britain in 1960.

Lemass proposed a similar agreement to Basil Brooke, who declined, and extended the same offer to Brooke's successor, Terence O'Neill, with greater success. As early as 1964 Lemass had asked to meet O'Neill on the occasion of a visit to Belfast's Queen's University. O'Neill finally invited Lemass in January 1965. By the end of that year the Dublin government lifted the import levy against Northern Ireland. But many unionists outside Stormont, and a few within, including Harry West, a future leader of the Official Unionists, and Desmond Boal, an ally of Paisley, saw it differently: as a gesture of 'appeasement' towards the Catholic enemy. Working-class loyalists were seething, and Paisley expressed what they felt by demonstrating outside Stormont the day after Lemass' visit.

Ultra-loyalists continued to organ-



• TERENCE O'NEILL



• Ian Paisley addresses a rally in 1971

ise: in 1966 they formed the Ulster Constitution Defence Committee (UCDC), with Paisley at its head, one of scores of ad hoc pressure groups formed all over the Six Counties in those years. The UCDC had a 'potentially-armed' wing, the Ulster Protestant Volunteers (UPV), set up to provide shock troops for Paisley's demonstrations, and which officially welcomed 'B'-Specials. The UCDC and the UPV's constitutions had been drafted by barrister Desmond Boal, who was careful to include the words 'by all lawful means' when describing the methods of those groups.

Meanwhile, on Belfast's loyalist Shankill Road some were re-vamping the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF). The UVF embarked on sectarian assassinations, a man on the Falls Road in May 1966, three Catholic barmen in the Malvern Arms Pub in June. The people arrested for those actions had been active Paisley supporters for years, some involved in Ulster Protestant Action. Further links between loyalist paramilitaries and Paisley came to light three years later, when one of the loyalists charged in connection with the bombings of Castlereagh electricity station and the Silent Valley reservoir, carried out by the UVF and for which the IRA had been blamed, was found to be a close associate of Paisley in the Ulster Protestant Volunteers. Another of Paisley's colleagues blew himself up trying to plant a bomb in Donegal later in 1969. One of Paisley's lieutenants in 1968 to 1970 was John McKeague, who would rise to fame as a leading loyalist paramilitant, first in the Shankill Defence Association, then the Red Hand Commandos.

Each time Paisley would be careful to distance himself from these people and their actions, well aware that his conservative and largely rural base would reject this illegalism which urban working-class loyalists were more ready to espouse. Meanwhile, Paisley's own reputation was also growing among working-class and lower middle-class Protestants disillusioned with 'big house' unionism and for whom he 'spoke out': condemning ecumenism, demonstrating against government gestures towards Catholics, and soon counter-demonstrating against civil rights campaigners as in Dungannon in August 1968.

Meanwhile, cracks were beginning to appear in O'Neill's Cabinet. In

November 1968 Paisley went to meet Bill Craig, O'Neill's hardline Minister for Home Affairs, and asked him to ban a civil rights march in Armagh, his native city. Craig had restricted an earlier civil rights march in Derry on October 5th, and the attack on marchers by the RUC which had ensued had been televised around Ireland and Britain, causing much controversy. Craig refused to ban the Armagh march, but assured Paisley that the RUC would not oppose a counter-demonstration.

In the event the UVF counter-demonstration was banned, giving Paisley a chance at martyrdom, by putting him into a Crumlin Road jail cell for 24 hours. As for Craig, his criticism of O'Neill led to his sacking after O'Neill's famous speech "Ulster at the crossroads" in December 1968, in which O'Neill appealed to civil rights campaigners to suspend their actions, and attacked 'so-called loyalists' for advocating separation from Britain rather than change. The sacked Craig got a standing ovation at a meeting organised by Paisley that night.

The ranks of anti-O'Neill opposition were swelling. Already in September 1968 there had been a unionist backbenchers' rebellion against O'Neill, led by Desmond Boal. Four out of O'Neill's nine-person Cabinet had then refused to back their Prime Minister against the rebellion, including Harry West and Brian Faulkner — two future unionist leaders. West was sacked from his post as Minister for Agriculture a year later, in 1967, for profiteering from a land deal.

### FALLING FROM 'GRACE'

Meanwhile, under increasing pressure from the British government, O'Neill announced in November 1968 a package of reforms, which included the abolition of the infamous Derry Corporation, a point system for the allocation of houses and the end of company votes in local elections. But there was still no universal suffrage: this served only to encourage civil rights activists and enraged loyalists. In January 1969 a march organised from Belfast to Derry by People's Democracy, a left-wing student group, was ambushed by loyalists in Burntollet near Derry.

Another member of the Cabinet, Brian Faulkner, resigned later in January, using the excuse of O'Neill's

announcement that he was setting up a commission of enquiry headed by Lord Cameron into "the causes of the violence since the 5th October, 1968". Faulkner accused O'Neill of manoeuvring to bring in universal suffrage as a recommendation of the Cameron commission.

In February 1969 unionist back-benchers met in Portadown to plot O'Neill's removal; most backbenchers were now against their leader. O'Neill called an election for February. Official unionist candidates who supported O'Neill were challenged by anti-O'Neill unofficial unionist candidates, and hardline unionist candidates by pro-O'Neill unofficial unionist candidates, with a few Protestant Unionist candidates thrown in. Paisley stood against O'Neill himself as a Protestant Unionist. Faulkner was leading the Unionist Party's anti-O'Neill campaign. The unionist coalition of interests had broken down.

The election results were unclear, except that official candidates won back all their seats with the exception of two unofficial pro-O'Neill victories: a sign of the 'defence' of unionist voters towards their political leaders. Perhaps, O'Neill scraped home: Paisley would have to wait another year to walk into Stormont as an MP. On the nationalist side, the old Nationalist Party had lost ground; in particular John Hume took the Derry seat from Nationalist Party leader Eddie McAteer. Most anti-O'Neill unionist votes came from inner-city and border areas. The 35 returned unionist MPs elected O'Neill as their party leader by 23 votes with two abstentions and ten walking out.

Within two months O'Neill would resign. In the interval, he announced new legislation to implement the promised reforms, but rushed a new Public Order Bill through Stormont to curb demonstrations. The UVF, with UPV involvement, blew up a few installations, for which unionists blamed the IRA at the time, as well as O'Neill, indirectly, for his 'weakness' towards Catholics. On April 22nd O'Neill accepted universal suffrage. His cousin James Chichester-Clark resigned, officially in protest at the timing of the reform.

#### BRITISH TROOPS SENT

James Chichester-Clark was elected party leader and prime minister by 17 votes to 16 for Brian Faulkner (cousin O'Neill's vote got him in). The move was an attempt by the old Unionist Party to restore unity. Clark was an uncontroversial and popular figure in unionist circles, and his resignation in April had mildly impressed the hardliners. He would last less than two years.

During that time, Clark would try to keep the Unionist Party together by placating hardliners. First he freed Paisley who had returned to jail after dropping his appeal against the conviction for the illegal Armagh march; then he appointed Faulkner to his Cabinet, as well as two members of the Portadown rebellion, Basil Brooke's son John, and John Taylor. But in August, an Orange parade lit the fuse. The Apprentice Boys of Derry were threatening to swagger triumphantly through the nationalist city, civil rights campaigners asked for a ban, it was refused. Already in April, after the UVF explosions, an extra 500 British troops had been brought to the Six Counties. More troops were flown in and put on standby. The people in the Bogside and was repelled: the Battle of the Bogside had begun.

Rioting spread to other centres, including Belfast. Chichester-Clark mobilised the 'B-Specials' in an attempt to terrify Catholics into submission. Dublin premier Jack Lynch made his famous speech about "not

standing idly by", announced the setting up of field hospitals across the border, called for UN intervention, and for negotiations with Britain on the future of the North, "recognising that the re-unification of the national territory can provide the only permanent solution for the problem". He used the terms "national territory" as defined by the South's Constitution and in particular its Articles 2 and 3. Northern nationalists applauded, loyalists were enraged.

The next day, as 'B-Specials' were gathering near the Bogside, British troops moved in, called reluctantly by Clark. The Battle of the Bogside was over, but in Belfast loyalists had started burning Catholics out of their houses and shooting people. Barricades were erected on the Falls Road too. The British army intervened occasionally, but over the three summer months a total of 1,820 families had to flee their homes, 83% of them Catholics, some of the families for the second or third time in living memory. The IRA tried to organise the defence of Catholic areas. It had been inactive as a military force since the 1956-62 Border Campaign and was poorly armed, but after a short honeymoon period with the British army Catholics would join in large numbers as their only means of defence.

The fact that the RUC had not been able to control the situation, and that the 'B-Specials' had not been allowed to, was a severe blow to unionists; 'their' force could no longer be counted on to defend 'their' state. The arrival of British troops, far from being perceived as an 'allied landing', was seen by some as the harbinger of direct rule. Yet over the previous two to three years the British government had restrained its intervention to discreet political pressure, contrary to what some of Harold Wilson's earlier speeches suggested. The North had been insulated from British politics since 1921, and the British did not relish the prospect of its re-entry. But in 1969 the cost of non-intervention had become too great: increased destabilisation in the North, potential destabilisation in the South as a result. Military intervention was the only way, much as the Wilson government suspected it would not be so easy to disengage.

The advantage for Britain of insulating the North in 1921 was continuing control over Ireland with an economy of British lives, and internal politics free from the 'Irish question' which had dogged Westminster from 1886 to 1921. But in February 1971 the first British soldier to be killed in action in Ireland since 1921 would be shot by the IRA. Nineteen seventy saw a gradual realisation by Catholics that the British army was not defending them, it was defending the Northern state. The worst incident was the Lower Falls Curfew, during which not only did the British army raid every house, kill three civilians, and remove guns people had acquired for self-defence, but they also brought two unionist ministers on a triumphal tour of the subjugated area. The Curfew had been the first decision of the Stormont government after Reginald Maudling, the Home Secretary of the new British Tory government, had given the go-ahead for Catholic areas. In March he started asking for internment.



● UDA march in Belfast, 1972



● BRIAN FAULKNER

RUC, the disbandment of the 'B-Specials' and the establishment of a new force, the Ulster Defence Regiment, under the control of the British army. The RUC was given a new head, Sir Arthur Young, a London police chief.

By August 1970, Bill Craig and Ian Paisley, a Stormont MP since April after defeating the official unionist candidate in Bannside, were clamouring for the re-arming of the RUC, the re-introduction of the Specials, and internment. The Unionist Party's drift towards ultra-loyalism had started again. In September some hardline unionist constituency associations west of the Bann formed the West Ulster Unionist Council, chaired by Harry West. They too were calling for internment. In November 1970 the Belfast County Grand Orange Lodge passed a vote of no-confidence in the Stormont government. Clark was under pressure. In February 1971 he was asking British Prime Minister Edward Heath to give a greater role to the newly-formed UDR, and allow total curfew and mass raids of Catholic areas. In March he started asking for internment.

#### INTERMENT

The British, who would have preferred not to have to intervene in the first place, were even more reluctant to bring in internment, well aware of the effect it would have on Catholic support for the IRA. They refused. On March 20th Chichester-Clark resigned: he was an O'Neill unionist who, in an attempt to maintain some unionist unity, abandoned any idea of reform and started asking for the complete suppression of nationalist dissent. Brian Faulkner replaced him, with the support of 26 unionist MPs, against four for Bill Craig. Faulkner was nothing if not ambitious, and machiavellian. He kept the pressure on the British to introduce internment, well aware that the British would find it hard to get another Stormont prime minister if he too resigned. In fact the British probably calculated that if they did not give in to Faulkner they would have to suspend Stormont and introduce direct rule right away; one step further into

the quagmire. They gave in: Faulkner would have internment in the summer.

Meanwhile, Faulkner showed political skills exceptional for a unionist: after bringing Harry West back into his administration, he also appointed a NILP man, David Bleakley, Minister for Community Relations. This supreme hypocrisy was welcomed by Austin Currie of the SDLP. Faulkner also announced the setting-up of three parliamentary committees, two of whose chairs would be given to opposition MPs, with special salaries to boot. The SDLP could not contain itself: "Faulkner's best hour", Paddy Devlin enthused, "There have been changes in this community", said John Hume. But Faulkner proceeded with the organising of Orange marches in collaboration with the Black Preceptor of the Orange Order, as if the committees did not exist. Support for the IRA was growing. On July 15th the SDLP walked out of Stormont, in the fashion of the old Nationalist Party.

Internment was brought in on August 9th, 1971. Fierce rioting erupted in Catholic areas and resumed when news of beatings of the internees filtered through. Catholic areas in Derry and Belfast became no-go areas for the British army and RUC, and people started a rent and rate strike. The SDLP had to follow. As Catholics were queuing up to join the armed struggle, it was difficult not to recall that somehow in the '60s what they had been after was 'British rights for British citizens'. Now more Catholics than ever before felt that complete British disengagement and Irish re-unification might be the only long-term viable solution. But that left a major problem: that of the unionists.

The anti-internment campaign was gathering momentum. Faulkner's government started levying rent and rate debts from people's pay and social security cheques, and suspended those local councils which had refused to meet in protest against internment, just as unionists had done in 1922. In September Edward Heath announced that Stormont would be suspended, then denied he had said it. Unionists' worst fears were taking shape.

After British troops shot dead 14 unarmed civil rights demonstrators in Derry in January 1972, nationalist Ireland erupted. The British Embassy in Dublin was burned. In the United States, and in Europe, governments were beginning to ask questions: not just about Bloody Sunday in Derry, but about internment in a so-called 'Western democracy', and the torture of internees, for which the Dublin government had had to take a court case against Britain in Europe. The IRA campaign was escalating: by March 1972, 56 British soldiers had been killed. The Heath government precipitated the crisis; they had

Faulkner on March 22nd that they would transfer all 'security' powers to London. He resigned, along with his cabinet. Stormont was suspended a few days later. The British appointed William Whitelaw as Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, with a team of advisors and civil servants around him.

#### DIRECT-RULE

The unionist bloc was being broken up. In 1970 the Alliance Party had been set up, and soon some former O'Neill supporters joined it. The party was broadly unionist, but advocated equal rights for Catholics and participation of nationalist representatives in government. In September 1971 Paisley had founded his own party, the Democratic Unionist Party, with Desmond Boal, John McQuade and William Beattie. Sensing the immensity of a suspension of Stormont they began advocating full integration with Britain, for a time.

Meanwhile, in February 1972 Bill Craig launched the Ulster Vanguard Movement: an extreme right-wing loyalist umbrella group with paramilitary support. He organised a rally in March which attracted 60,000 loyalists. A similar number attended a rally outside Stormont for the last sitting of the parliament, but Faulkner curbed Craig's ambitions by allowing only MPs on the balcony: Craig was the only Vanguard representative there, and unionist leaders bickered and argued in front of the crowds. In the run-up to the suspension of Stormont, and in the year which followed it, loyalist paramilitary groups launched in earnest a campaign of terror on Catholics, by assassinating people picked at random in or near Catholic areas. Loyalists also erected their own barricades on the Shankill Road in protest at what they saw was British army tolerance of republican no-go areas.

A brief truce between the British army and the IRA was broken by the new Ulster Defence Association, with the British army lending a hand. There was a spate of loyalist assassinations of Catholics after the truce, including some sadistic killings.

In August barricades were dismantled during Operation Motorman. The British made their political move. At the end of September 1972 they invited Northern political parties to a conference in Darlington, to make suggestions for the future of the North. Unionists, the NILP and Alliance attended. The SDLP boycotted it but sent a paper advocating a Dublin-London 'condominium'. The British also announced they would hold a border poll, to find Northern voters' views on Irish re-unification — or to give the impression that there was something democratic about the Northern state. They also announced that local elections would be held by universal suffrage and proportional representation, in the spring of 1973. In October they published a Green Paper for consultation: it stated that there would be no change in the constitutional status of Northern Ireland without majority consent, but that 'minority' representatives should be given a share of executive power, and that the arrangement would need to be "acceptable to and accepted by" the Dublin government.

This has been the British strategy to this day. Because they needed Dublin to deliver to them on repression of republicans, the British recognised that they had to get their support for any new arrangement within the Six-County state. Loyalists were lost. Paramilitary groups were continuing their sectarian assassination campaign. In February 1973 the British finally decided to intern a few loyalists.

(Final part to follow in future issue)

## POWs' families victimised

IN AN ATTEMPT to suppress opposition to the NIO's failed prison policy of forced integration, relatives of republican remand prisoners in Crumlin Road Jail were assaulted and then charged by the RUC with 'jay-walking' during a peaceful white-line picket at the junction of the Whiterock and Falls Road on Saturday, October 13th.

One of the relatives charged, Sile McShane from St James, Belfast, on advice from her solicitor, has resolved not to pay any fines imposed on her by the courts in order to highlight the contradictions and political bias of the RUC in the handling of protests against forced integration.

Speaking after the picket and charges McShane said:

"When loyalists recently blocked off the Crumlin Road outside the prison in protest against the forced integration of republican and loyalist prisoners, the RUC did not interfere and, in actual fact, diverted traffic away from the area to facilitate the protesters.

"Yet when the families of republican prisoners held a white-line picket in the middle of the Falls Road that in no way interfered with traffic we were assaulted, verbally abused and then charged. We demand segregation now and neither threats nor charges from the RUC will prevent us from campaigning for this reasonable objective."

## MAGINNIS THREATS REBUKED



## RUC recruiters

IN THE latest in a series of attempts by the RUC in Lurgan to pressure members of the nationalist community into acting as informers, a young family man was targeted and approached by a man identifying himself as a member of the RUC at a local swimming pool.

Twenty-seven-year-old Paul Thompson feels his life has been put at risk following a series of recruitment attempts by the RUC. The first incident occurred at the Robert Street swimming pool which is in a predominantly Protestant area of Lurgan town. On September 28th a man approached Thompson in the changing-rooms of the swimming pool. Thompson continues:

"The man said he was an RUC officer and he wanted me to work for him. He told me the RUC wanted me to watch a number of people who lived in my area. I said I wanted nothing to do with it and left as soon as I could."

In the weeks following this incident the RUC made a series of phone calls to Thompson at his place of work. On each occasion the

caller asked Thompson to act as an informer. During one phone call Thompson was told to contact 'Uncle Peter'. Thompson refused and hung up the receiver. Recently a man posing as a sales representative called at Thompson's home. Although the Thompsons were absent from the house at the time of the call, a neighbour recognised the caller as a member of the CID. Commenting on his ordeal Thompson said:

"All I am asking is to be left alone. I am a married man with a young family, I work in a predominantly loyalist estate and I feel my

A GROUP of Tyrone victims of UDR and RUC harassment put their case to the Dublin Department of Foreign Affairs on Monday.

John Rush was shot and wounded by the UVF in collusion with the UDR. Noel Quinn was nearly killed by sectarian assassins two years ago. Austin O'Farrell suffers from multiple sclerosis and has been subjected to harassment on the roads from the UDR and the RUC. Michael Campbell was recently hospitalised following a beating by the UDR. Eamon Campbell has also been beaten by the UDR and had a knife put to his throat. The five men are pictured here with Patricia Campbell.

When they made official complaints about their treatment at the hands of the local UDR, members of the local division took sick leave, alleging that they were being smeared. Unionist MP Ken Maginnis threatened that legal action might be taken against the complainants. "We want to tell Ken Maginnis that we're not going to be intimidated by his threat that legal action could be taken against us if we complain about the UDR," said Patricia Campbell.

life is being put at risk by the RUC."

Local Sinn Féin Councillor Brian Curran has said that there has recently been a number of cases where the RUC have targeted individuals and tried to put pressure on them to act as informers.

"It's important that anyone who is approached by the RUC should avoid their methods of entrapment and contact Sinn Féin and their solicitor immediately. Publicising recruitment attempts by the RUC is often the only way of ending harassment."

This was also the message from Tyrone Sinn Féin's Francis Molloy after the party was contacted by Dungannon man John Sheridan who told how he was dragged from a shop in the town by a group of RUC men. They offered him money for information and threatened to shoot him if he did not co-operate.

## 'Just glad he was alive'

EILEEN BURNS, a mother of three children, incensed with rage but shaking with relief, hugged her son John (16) as she described how two RUC men dragged him off the street, threw him in the back of an armoured Land Rover, where they broke his arm, punched him in the face and stubbed out a cigarette on his cheek.

Last week John was hurrying home along Ardsley Road. As he came close to the Shamrock Club a Land Rover screeched to a halt and two RUC men jumped out. They slammed him against the side of the jeep and hauled him inside. As they held him down on the floor of the vehicle one viciously twisted his arm until he heard the crack of it breaking while the other stubbed out a cigarette on his cheek saying "this is what you get". One of the two also punched him on the cheek and called him a "Fenian bastard".

By this stage his mother was frantic, afraid to leave her home in case he came in and needed help but at the same time becoming anxious to get out into the area to start searching for him as he had never been so late out before. After nearly seven hours there was a hammering on the door and she was confronted by a smiling RUC man who said "we have your son". His answer to her

frantic inquiry about how he was, was arrogantly dismissed with the reply "well there was a bit of a scuffle". However, the RUC revealed their hand as to the reasoning behind their unprovoked assault on Burns by saying, as they were taking his mother to see him in Antrim Road Barracks, "we couldn't get the rest so we got him". They also said at this stage he was the ringleader of a group of rioters but later denied saying anything.

Burns was in agony as a result of his injuries and was repeatedly questioned in spite of the illegality of such actions because of his age. Around 3am he was taken to the Mater Hospital where his arm was temporarily bandaged. Following his eventual release the arm was X-rayed and found



John and Eileen Burns pictured after John was assaulted by two RUC men. Burns told AP/RN:

"I don't understand why they did it. Why do they ever do it? I'm just glad he came home safe and not dead."

# Dúshlán ar cinneadh Brooke

Tá ráite ag cóiste Glór na nGael larthar Bhéal Feirste go bhfuil siad ag tógáil cás cùirte in aghaidh stat-rúnaí Shasana, Peter Brooke mar gheall ar an cinneadh a rinne sé gan deontas an ghrúpa a thabhairt ar ais.

Cur Brooke i bhfig do Ghhlór na nGael, Dé Luain, nach raibh sé sásta athbreithiúnas a dhéanamh ar chás a'casúan, agus go raibh sé ar aigne aige airgead a shéanadh don grúpa ós rud é go raibh sé sásta gur thit siad isteach sna treoiríntí a d'fhogair Douglas Hurd i bpairímlint Shasana.

Cáineadh Brooke go láidir ag grúpái éagsúla, idir cheardchumann aighean phairtíte polaitíula, (an Alliance ina measc), Deir Gearóid Mac Ádaimh, teachta Bhéal Feirste Thiar:

"Masla ar Ghluaiseachta ná teangean agus ar mhuin-tí Bhéal Feirste Thiar atá sa chineadh seo de chuid rí-alas na Breataine. Cuireann sé béis arís ar an cothrom ná féinne atá a imirt ar náisiúntóirí na Sé Chontae."

Ar son an chóiste féin díurt an t-urabhráí Náirín Uí Cleirigh go raibh ríaltas Sasain ag iarráidh uirlis po-



laitíu a dhéanamh den Ghaeilge, agus iad ag iarráidh grúpái teangean a scoilt. Ag trácht ar an cás cùirte díurt sí: "Rinneamar ár geuid obair sna naiscoiléanna le blianta fada ar an bheagán, ré docháin a bhí sa deontáin nuaír a thaining sé, anois go bhfuil sé bainte dinn tá muid réidh le dhlúchú ag chuirteáil lenár gcearta a shláinú."

Is é an t-urabhráí Náirín Uí Cleirigh go raibh ríaltas Sasain ag iarráidh uirlis po-

# Dáil Uí Chadhain ó Thuaidh

An deireadh seachtaí seo chuaigh thart tháinig Dáil Uí Chadhain go Béal Feirste don chéad uair sa Seanmhúileann. Bhí drochfheastal air, b'fheidir trí dhúisín agus cuid acu siúd ag teacht is ag imeacht.

Tá sé díiligh do Ghaeilgeoirí gnuimhche i mBéal Feirste atá gnóthach agus a chuireann an cheist orthu féin i gcomáil sá a dtéann siad chugnú rud ar bith "Cád a thiofas as?"

Is móir an trua é mar, munabheadh ann ach Mairtin O' Cadhain mór-scribhneoir prótaí ar linne in

Eirinn, Gaeilgeoir is poblaichtoir duthrachtach a chomhdháil b'fhíú go mór is a chéanamh. An t-ómos is fearr do scribhneoir ná a shaothar a láimh is a phlé agus leis sin a chéanamh is mitheodh é a fhoilsíú is a choinneáil i gcló. Don Dáil seo cuireadh atácló ar Ghluaiseachta na Gaeilge, Ghluaiseach ar Stáit (Foilsí Feirste, £1) agus chuir Clódhanna Teoranta amach leabhar de phíosa ilghnéitheacha (idir chruiththeach agus eile) a scriobh O' Cadhain, ná a bhaian le O' Cadhain, agus a foilsioadh ar Feasta (O' Cadhain i bhFeasta — Sean O' Laighin (eag.), Clódhanna Teoranta 28).

Ba leor sin ar bhealach mar thoradh ar achar lá a bhí náin agus beantáin is an pé lein go maith agus beantáin

ag duine go bhfeiceadh ar a laghad cuid de solas an lae, i gcló!

Ba fhearr gnuimhche O' Cadhain agus níor mhrath le Dáil a chomhortha bheith ina ghráid staidéir amháin ach ina spriagadh chun ghníomh. As sin an teideal ar an lá "Athghabháil na h-Eireann, straitéis agus cur chuirge."

Lábhair Éamáin O' Ciosáin agus Aodhán Mac Póilín faoi "Mar atá faoi láthair" agus Gearóid O' Cairealláin agus Tomás Mac Siomáin faoi "An bhealach romhainn".

Cineadh a thaining as an Dáil ná tacailcocht a thabhairt go mórcheathas amháin, Teiliúis Gaeilge/Gaeltacht, agus feachtas a thogháil a tharraingeacháil a láin daoine isteach cionn is go mbéadach smaileach ag baint leis.

Tríod súille an chime

# Radharc isteach sa todhchaí



LEABHAR AN CHAPTAEIN: réaldata 1990 ag dul chugnáitíteanna nach ndeachaideadh éinne romhainn...

Agus an óair a rachaidh muid an babháise, a leithéidí, ná chugnáitíteanna nua na cínsíreachtí. Tá Star Trek fein, an clár finseálaiochta ag titim faoi na goinsíri. Is féidir gur leigh sibh faoi. Tá an t-áitíneach spóidíochta ag titim faoi na goinsíri. Is féidir gur leigh long-Fiontar ar áis go Talún thart faoin bhliain 2300, agus ar sriochint an tsean-fhóid amach aimseoidh said — i measc rudai eile — go bhfuil na Tiocfaidh i gceannas in Éirinn agus bua acu le 300 bhliana thar a sasanaigh. Deir foinsí sa BBC

agus in RTE go gcuirfidi said cosc ar an eágrán sin den tsraíteáil toisc go mbéadach sé "maslach". Spochadh Spok atá ann. Tá meon Clígnón ag RTE, ba mhaith leo do "clinging on" do na Sasanaigh chomh fhada agus b'fheidir.

Tá diomra orm fein ar ndóigh nach gcuairfar an t-eágrán seo, diomra ar tri fhéidir in éiríte. Sa chéad aití níl amhras ar bith orm go mbéidh aghaidh fhada ar Marcos O'Duibhnhra mura bhfeidir sé a dhaolag seachtaíntíil den chlár, agus chuirfeadh an radharc gruama sin deoma ar éinne. Sa dár aití b'fheidir é an fios dá mbéadach an Seisear Birmingham amach fós.

Agus sa triú aití, ba mhaith liom a fháil

amach tuairim Chaptain Kirk ar an teanga. Ba chóir go mbéadán an athbheochaint i gcríathar faoin 24ú Aois, nár chóir?

Ach, ach, ach, d'ámbaibh sí beo agus d'ámbaibh na Eireannach Gaeilge Saor ag caint na Gaeilge, an dtuigfeadh an BBC (nó RTEnglish fíú) cad a bhéid agus ag rá? Mura dtuigfí an caint, an gcoscfaí an clár? Ni dócha, ni dócha. Ach fán ansin noiméad... Maslach an focal a dírt sí. Féachann ár sean-chara Somhairle an Chorn Chroímeáil ar an Ghaeilge mar "masla".... B'fheidir gurbh é sin an tuige go mbéidh cosc ar an clár. Eirinn chan amháin Saor agach Gaeilch, amháin Gaelach agach Saor. Beann me up, Scottie, tú daonáin éigin anseo ag caint faoi Lieutenant O'Horo, 'se do bheatha abhaile. Téimis ar áis go Vulcan.

## GRAIFEOLAOCHT

Is cinnte gur léigh síbh faoin teist nua a bhéas á dhéanamh ar na raitísi a riún an Seisear Birmingham agus iad faoi cheist ag na péas. Graifeolaoch, saghas scrúdú ar an focal fein atá sa raitíea a tháth amach m'a rinne nó nach ndearna na fir na raitíea. Tá cíneal graifeolaochta éile sa saol, scrúdú ar an lámhscríbhinní fein agus déantar anáileas ar 'meón' an duine a scriobh na líntí tríd an stíl scriofa atá iontu. Chuala mór guthaír scrúdú mar seo éigin sna Blocanna tráth, ach mar a rinne, churtháigh sé barúil JT Barnum: 'Boitear ceann achan noiméad'!

Tugaimítear 'Ainri Mac Roibeáird' ar an címe seo, ar eagla clúimhleád, agus tharla go raibh sé ina shul sa seomra bá tráthnóna amháin nuair a tháinig na litreacha tríd an geata. Deasghnáth laethúil é seo. Ag a cheathair a' chloig achaun lá tagann na litreacha agus bionn an grúpa dóchasaich, gnáthach ag fanacht go foighneach ar an díleádach. Deireann cuid acu gur deacair é an 'faoi ghlás' a lionadh gan litir éigin a láimh. Sé an cleas is fearr ná a ligte go bhfuil tú ag

## Ceacht 13

Na hUimhreacha. An Clog (Numbers. The Clock):

1 : a haon	5 : a cúig	9 : a naoi
2 : a dó	6 : a sé	10 : a deich
3 : a trí	7 : a seacht	11 : a haon déag
4 : a ceathair	8 : a ocht	12 : a dó dhéag

Note: These are the forms of the numbers which are used in counting and in telling the time:

tá sé a haon a chlog, it is one o'clock  
leathuair tar éis a dó, half past two  
ceathruí tar éis a tri, a quarter past three  
ceathruí chun a sé, a quarter to six

ithim, I eat	an brífeasta, breakfast
tagaim, I come	an dinnéar, dinner
gach lá, every day	an suípár, supper
gach oíche, every night	an lón, lunch
gach maidin, every morning	an tae, tea

## Léigh :

1. Ithim an brífeasta ar a ocht a chlog.
2. Tagaim ar scoil ar a naoi a chlog.
3. Ithim an lón ar a haon a chlog.
4. Téim abhaile ar a trí a chlog.

## Freagair :

1. Cathain a itheann tú an brífeasta?
2. Cathain a thagann tú ar scoil?
3. Cathain a itheann tú an lón?
4. Cathain a théann tú abhaile?

## Cuir Gaeilge air seo :

1. Half past five ; a quarter to ten.
2. He comes to school at nine o'clock every morning.
3. I go home at ten o'clock every night.
4. Do you come here every day ?
5. I eat supper at seven o'clock every night.

Tógraí ó Progress in Irish le Máiread Ni Ghráda, folíseach ag The Educational Company

obair se seomra bia ag an am cui, agus ansin mura bhfaigheann tú litir is-féidir leat a shleamhnadh as an sít agus do chlú slá-náithe agat. Nil aon radharc chomh surach le duine ag teacht isteach ag fiosrú a litreacha agus an tablach folamh le pardáth bocht Hubbard. Ar an lá i gceist fuair "Ainri" litir, litir óna gráha is déanáil.

"Eau le Cologne" arsa fear eile nach bhfuair litir. "Is cintre go bhfuil si ngrá leat

"Do mheas?" arsa "Ainri". "Ba mhaith liom a bheith cintte de".

"Bhuel", arsa an fear eile, "taispeán an clúdach domh agus déanfaidh mé analís ar an scribhinn".

"Anailis?"

"Se. Tá staidéar déanta agam ar graphology. Is féidir liom meon duine a láimh as an sli a scriobhála ná litreacha"

Thug "Ainri" an clúdach do. Stan sé go géar air ar feadh tamall. "Tá bron orm" arsa sé deireadh, "Nil go leor agam anseo le aghaidh analís cintte. Is trua áfach, toisc go bhfuil stil, suímiúil aici"

Bhí an duan i mbéal "Ainri". "Hm. Agus cé mhéad ábhar eile a bhéadh de dhith agat le analís cui a dhéanamh?"

"O, cuid litreacha, b'fheidir... bhéadh cuid de dhith i dtreis is gurbh feidir liom pictiúir a thogháil as sráth abairt a úsáidtear go rialta..."

Thug "Ainri" beartán beag de litreacha don graifeolaoch le scrúdú le linn cead "faoi ghlás" eile, agus bhí sé ar a bharráicín le mí-foighne ag fanacht ar na torthai nuair a d'oscail an bardaigh na doirise aris.

"Bhuel" arsa sé leis an eolai. "Cáidé do thuirrim? an bhfuil si i ngrá lom nó nach?"

"Nil a fhios agam" arsa an fear eile leis,

"Nil mé ach ag tosú an cheird seo... ach, bhein mé an salt as na litreacha... is andeacair "faoi ghlás" a lionadh gan litir éigin a láimh."

— Le Eoghan Mac Cormaic (An Cheis Phada)

## Imeachtaí

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

NORTH DUBLIN  
RECLAIM THE SPIRIT OF  
EASTER 1916  
Meets 8pm every Thursday  
16 North Great George's Street  
DUBLIN

to organise a fitting celebration for  
next year's 75th anniversary of the  
1916 Rising  
Everybody welcome

WEEKEND EDUCATION  
SEMINAR  
Friday October 26th to Sunday  
October 28th  
CAVAN  
Cost £5/£10 waged  
Contact: Education Department  
01-726932/532763

1980 HUNGER-STRIKE  
ANNIVERSARY  
WHITE-LINE PICKET  
2pm to 3pm  
Saturday 27th October  
Falls Road  
BELFAST

1980 HUNGER-STRIKE  
ANNIVERSARY  
COMMITTEE  
Talk & Photo exhibition  
7pm Saturday 27th October  
Conway Mill  
BELFAST

1980 HUNGER-STRIKE  
ANNIVERSARY  
FUNCTION  
Featuring The Irish Brigade  
Saturday 27th October  
The Clubhouse  
Finglas  
DUBLIN

SEASON OF FILMS  
'Ireland — Myths and censorship'  
8pm Monday 29th October  
'The Irish Question'  
Haringey Irish Centre  
Pretoria Road (off White Hart Lane)  
Tottenham N17  
LONDON  
Táille £1 waged/50p concession  
Organised by Haringey IBRG

HALLOWEEN PARTY  
8pm-12pm Saturday 27th October  
Unity Club  
96 Dalston Lane  
LONDON E8  
to raise funds for 1991 International  
Women's Day  
Delegation to Belfast & Derry  
Táille £3.50/£2 concession  
Women only  
Organised by London Women and  
Ireland Group

PUBLIC MEETING  
'Stop the war in the Gulf'  
'No refuelling of US war-boats at  
Shannon'  
8pm Thursday 1st November  
Glenworth Hotel  
LIMERICK  
Local and national speakers

FIGHT RACISM/SMASH  
IMMIGRATION LAWS  
NATIONAL MARCH  
Saturday 3rd November  
MANCHESTER  
Contact: James Reid Ph: 2268660

OLD MYTHS — NEW VISIONS  
Conference on Women & Ireland  
Saturday 17th November  
Women's Centre  
Wesley House  
Holborn  
LONDON WC1  
Speakers: Diane Abbott MP,  
Nell McCafferty, Alice Mahon MP,  
Anne Speed, Margaret Ward  
Organised by Everywoman &  
Women's Time to Go!

## Mala Poist

The Editor  
58 Parnell Square  
Dublin 1



Seamus  
Twomey

A Chairde,

As your readers will know, Seamus Twomey died last year in Dublin. In the course of his life he made many friends. Due to the lifestyle forced upon him, and in particular his exile from Belfast, many of Seamus' friends may have found it difficult to keep in contact with him.

Some of us thought it would be a fitting testimonial to Seamus for his friends and comrades to join with the Twomey family in celebration of his life and his valuable contribution to the republican struggle. November 5th, his birthday, is a particularly suitable date and a get-together has been arranged for that night.

It is not possible to send a personal invitation to each of Seamus' friends. I would be obliged, therefore, if you would publish this letter as an invitation to anyone who should be invited. For details they should contact Joe Cahill, 44 Parnell

Square, Dublin, or myself at Connolly House, Andersonstown Road, Belfast. Go raibh maith agaibh.

Gerry Adams MP.

## Preparing for '91

A Chairde,

To commemorate the 75th anniversary of the 1916 Rising our committee are in the process of organising many events for what we wish to be a significant and fitting commemoration of the people, the ideas and the events surrounding 1916.

As music, singing and dancing have always been central aspects of our culture we wish to propose the formation of a group to undertake the task of placing these aspects of our culture in their proper context for this commemoration.

With this in mind we are issuing an open invitation to all musicians, singers and dancers who identify with the ideals of 1916 to come together and form this group.

How this group would organise itself and how it would try to achieve its task will be largely determined by those who respond to this letter. Our committee will provide whatever help it can into this group.

This interim committee see exciting possibilities provided the enthusiasm and resources can be harnessed. For example we believe that a commemoration album or single featuring some of Ireland's top artists would have a good cultural appeal. Concerts could be organised which would help mobilise for the national pageant and parade proposed by our committee for Dublin during Easter 1991.

To get things going we are taking the initiative of inviting all interested people to a meeting, upstairs in the Ha'penny Inn (Formerly Moran's), Wellington Quay, Dublin 2 (beside the Ha'penny Bridge), on Sunday, November 4th, at 4pm.

If you are interested but cannot attend please contact:

Seán Murphy,  
Dublin Resource Centre,  
6 Crow Street, Dublin 1.

or  
Cormac Breathnach,  
Tel: 530334.

or  
Ellis Moore,  
and we will ensure you are

kept informed of any future meetings or events that arise.

## Propaganda pushers

A Chairde,

It struck me as I listened to the distortion of the shooting of an active participant in the British campaign, by trying to suggest a similarity between the death of a willing combatant in the RUC and a perfectly ordinary man who was in a Catholic area coming home from the local shop. That there is the real bread and butter of the British propaganda effort, the nonsense

of November 4th, 1916.

Rafter was then followed to the awards podium by an actress who portrayed the wife of the late Giuseppe Conlon, a man who was falsely imprisoned with many others by the British for the crime of being Irish.

To cap it all the RTE producer, Michael Heaney, used his award speech to call for the release of Joseph Meleady, a working-class Dublin youth who languishes in jail for a crime he did not commit. He was accused of being in improper possession of

something society flaunts as a status symbol for the middle and upper classes, a car. Being working class means that Mr Meleady stays in jail longer than Patrick Gallagher who stole millions.

How utterly involved in providing the essential veneer of legitimacy the British so desperately need are some alleged 'journalists'. Individually too many members of the Republican Movement have suffered grievous personal hurt and humiliation at the hands of these propaganda pushers. Their calculatingly dishonest reporting still shocks even after 20 years of it.

Yet what is worse is the seeming reluctance of the leadership of the Republican Movement continually, specifically and publicly to condemn this dishonesty and complain to and about these individuals until there is a change brought about. The policy of distortion practised by these people and those who participate in it is without any doubt of more actual daily value to the British government than 100 new bases.

It's time the entire republican people and its leaders shook itself out of its self-inflicted inactivity and spoke back.

Ex POW, Dublin.

## Taking the biscuit

A Chairde,

The *Sunday Tribune* (October 14th) reported the Jacob's award to its News Editor, Cathal MacCoille, for his work on *Morning Ireland* for RTE. While receiving the award Mr MacCoille contrasted East Germany during the Berlin Wall era with the "freedoms" we enjoy here.

He was followed to the podium by Nell McCafferty who was banned from working on RTE for saying she supported the IRA.

Nell was followed by Mary Rafter from Today Tonight who produced a programme on the white collar criminal, Patrick Gallagher, which was also banned by RTE — though later, like McCafferty, it was "rehabilitated". Rafter made the point that investigative reporting is threatened by government action and that white collar crime in the South went unpunished.

Rafter was then followed to the awards podium by an actress who portrayed the wife of the late Giuseppe Conlon, a man who was falsely imprisoned with many others by the British for the crime of being Irish.

To cap it all the RTE producer, Michael Heaney, used his award speech to call for the release of Joseph Meleady, a working-class Dublin youth who languishes in jail for a crime he did not commit. He was accused of being in improper possession of

the means of achieving peace and stability in the current negotiations between the Irish and British governments?

If our political leaders really seek peace and stability, I suggest that they come down from their transcendental cloud and face the reality of their own formal and prolonged Forum deliberations signposting the way to wards permanent peace.

James T Kelly, Capt.

**Sinn Féin National Draw**  
Final Week (5) Function  
Saturday November 3rd  
Prize money £12,000 plus  
in  
**THE WEXFORD INN**  
WITH THE EVER POPULAR  
**IRISH BRIGADE**  
PLUS 'HOT ASHE'  
ALL WELCOME TAILLE £2.50

**National Draw**  
Week 3  
1st prize £500: Ann  
Shields, Fatima Park,  
Dundalk, No 0,641; 2nd  
prize £250: Bridie Mul-  
lany, Ballinlough, County  
Sligo, No 7,062; 3rd prize  
£150: Dominic Ferguson,  
Killybegs, County Done-  
gal, No 8,407; 4th prize  
£150: Joseph Keenan,  
Swanlinbar, County Ca-  
van, No 6,542; 5th prize  
£100: Mary Flaherty,  
Cloughjordan, County Tip-  
perary, No 9,883; 6th prize  
£100: Derry City, No 8,025;  
7th prize £50: Graham  
Groom, c/o Murray's Bar,  
Sligo, No 7,106; 8th prize  
£50: c/o Belfast Cultural  
Department, No 4,754.



# Fermanagh still waiting after 20 years

BY SILE NIC GEARAILT

THE BORDER COUNTY of Fermanagh, with a population which is 52.3% nationalist, provides a near perfect microcosm of the corrupt Six-County statelet. Recognition of this fact by the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association led in 1970 to the compilation of a report entitled *Fermanagh Facts* which highlighted discrimination and came as a shocking reminder for some and a shocking revelation to others that unionists and Orangemen who controlled the economic and political life of the county could discriminate so blatantly — and get away with it.

Twenty years on, civil rights campaigner Joe McVeigh, of the Community For Justice, has compiled a second report on the county of Fermanagh and entitled *How Long Must We Wait?* McVeigh, in his introduction to this excellent and timely publication, notes that what has basically changed in Fermanagh is the fact that it and the Six Counties are now ruled directly from Westminster. He adds:

"There is still discrimination in employment, and the bigotry of the B men has been replaced by the even more sinister bigotry of the UDR. Many citizens along the border suffer great inconvenience because of the cratering of roads by the British authorities supported by the authorities in Dublin. The people endure regular abuse and harassment at British army and RUC checkpoints as well as in their own homes."

"For most nationalists the experience of discrimination is worse than it was in 1970."

Concluding his introduction and setting out the main aims of the pamphlet McVeigh says:

"This pamphlet marks the 20th anniversary of *Fermanagh Facts* and sets out to show that:

- The situation regarding job discrimination in Fermanagh has not really changed. High unemployment (over 20%) among Catholics continues with mass emigration as a consequence;

• Job discrimination, deprivation and bigotry are linked to British colonial rule and the system of privilege which results from it."

## FAMILIAR PICTURE

On these issues the pamphlet succeeds in painting a picture which is depressingly familiar. Despite being in a 52%-plus majority, Fermanagh Catholic males suffer unemployment rates of 26.2% compared to male Protestant unemployment rates of 10.6%.

For those nationalists in employment, discrimination

works through keeping them in low-paid, unskilled or semi-skilled jobs, and by blocking them from promotion. Thus in the 12 major public employers in the county, 87% of the top positions are occupied by Protestants.

In many public and government departments, those of Agriculture and Environment included, there is no representation in the most senior grades for Catholics at all. Even the area of employment of school bus drivers provides glaring evidence of discrimination. In the overwhelmingly nationalist area of Erne West, of 28 bus drivers employed, 21 are Protestant.

## STRONG INDICTMENT

Turning to the question of deprivation, McVeigh delivers a strong indictment of British policy and slates the three main industrial development initiatives trumpeted by the British. He shows that in real terms the Industrial Development Board



● Fr JOE McVEIGH

(IDB), the Local Enterprise Development Unit (LEDU) and the International Fund for Ireland (IFI), have abysmally failed to end the massive deprivation of the country.

On the IDB McVeigh notes

that in six years the board has

reached only 47 jobs in the en-

tire county. As for the IFI, out of

a total of £51 million allocated

to the Six Counties for the year

1988/89, a figure of less than

£600,000 reached Fermanagh.

He concludes:

"The neglect of this area has affected the entire working class — Catholics and Protestants. However, the statistics show that Catholics have been more seriously affected. Were it not for the huge security 'industry' it is most likely that the Protestant community would be much worse off than they are at present."

sent. The availability of employment in the RUC and UDR is another way of distracting attention from the true situation. It also discourages the population from uniting to campaign for an end to unemployment and the twin evil, emigration."

McVeigh sums up the publication thus:

"Since after 20 years of direct rule from Westminster, nothing has changed, are not nationalists entitled to ask: 'How long more must we wait?' Indeed, the only conclusion is that nationalists have waited too long, and the campaign for democracy and justice must be stepped up."

● *How Long Must We Wait?* is published by the Community For Justice and is edited by Father Joe McVeigh, Garrison, County Fermanagh.

# Censorship myths dispelled

IN A detailed appraisal of the impact of the broadcasting restrictions on reporting the conflict in the Six Counties introduced by the British government in 1988, the Glasgow University Media Group dispels the myths behind the introduction of the ban, identifies the British government's propaganda use of the media prior to the ban, and outlines the impact of the legislation on Sinn Féin and media coverage of the conflict in the Six Counties.

The main argument used by the British government to account for the introduction of broadcasting restrictions on interviewing with anyone professing a republican perspective on the conflict in the Six Counties — primarily Sinn Féin but also republican supporters and sympathizers — was that television had provided the "oxygen of publicity" for "terrorism".

In stark contrast to the British government's claims, the study by the Glasgow Media Group shows that prior to the ban the British media had not only been hostile in interviewing Sinn Féin and restrictive in representing republican opinion but was a willing tool in the British government's propaganda war.

**OXYGEN OF PUBLICITY**  
In an analysis of the media coverage afforded to Sinn Féin in the year prior to the introduction of the ban, the study finds that Sinn Féin was not

only given minimal air time, with republicans only being allowed one-line answers, but also that interviews were both hostile and highly restrictive.

In the year before the ban the study shows that out of a total of 633 interviews by the BBC News on the Six Counties, there were only 17 formal interviews with Sinn Féin representatives. By contrast, MPs and ministers from the British Conservative Party were interviewed 121 times, including 50 interviews with the then Secretary of State, Tom King, who was interviewed more than anyone else in this period. The study continues:

"Far from Sinn Féin being given an 'easy platform', the framework of journalists' questions was overwhelmingly hostile. It ranged from 'How does it feel to be branded one of the guilty men, Mr Corrigan... You are very silent Mr Corrigan' (BBC 1, 6pm, November 9th, 1987) to 'Martin Galvin was just asking to be arrested... in what

discrediting the party as part of the campaign to defeat 'terrorism'. One of the objections of the broadcasters has been that they no longer have control over their part of the battle."

In its analysis of the media in the Six Counties, the study reveals coverage as "dominated by images of decontextualised violence" resulting in a news "that relays night after night a series of seemingly irrational and inexplicable acts of 'terrorism'". In the year before the ban, out of 93 republican appearances in the media, 84 were dealing with violence.

Quoting Philip Schlesinger

(a social researcher and author of books on political conflict and the media) the Media Group concludes:

"There can be little doubt that the one-dimensional coverage reflects, at least in part, the effective long-term strategy of attrition waged by the British state in its psychological warfare campaign."

## THE BAN

Given the history of complicity of the British media with the political interests of the British government, and the obvious manipulation of the type

of coverage given to republicans, why did the British government find it suddenly necessary to introduce censorship on an official, legislative footing? In their analysis the Glasgow Media Group suggests that the

British government's criminalisation policy could not be sustained in the face of images of Sinn Féin as elected representatives representing a constituency on routine local issues such as health cuts or community politics.

"The Sinn Féin presence in local broadcasting had the potential of portraying Sinn Féin as a legal, legitimate political party."

In the year immediately following the ban Sinn Féin representatives were only interviewed on six issues, the number of Sinn Féin appearances in the British media on these issues was 34, a drop of more than 63% on the previous year. There is now a long list of people who are not members of Sinn Féin but whose political opinions are opposed to that of the British government's who have been affected by the ban.

They include Brighton Labour Councillor Richard Stanton, American author Margie Bernard, Bernadette McAliskey and Errol Smalley, uncle of one of the Guildford Four. In the words of the Glasgow Media Group, "it is now impossible to make serious in-depth, factual programmes on Ireland". The Group concludes:

"The problem for the British government in banning Sinn Féin from the airwaves is a democratic one. No matter how much the government dislikes Sinn Féin, they remain a legal political party for which over 80,000 people voted, in secret ballots, in the last general election."

## ANTI-EXTRADITION ACTIVITIES

**WHITE-LINE PICKETS/LEAFLETING**  
5-6pm every Friday  
Fairview foot-bridge  
DUBLIN

6-7pm every Friday  
Finglas Dual Carriageway  
Janelle Shopping Centre  
DUBLIN

2-3pm every Saturday  
Falls Road/Whiterock Road  
Junction  
BELFAST

11am every Saturday  
Fianna Fáil offices  
Grand Parade  
CORK

5-6pm every night  
Roundabout at Fassagh Avenue  
or Broom Bridge  
CABRA

5-6pm every Friday  
Junction Dorset Street/  
Lr Drumcondra Road  
DUBLIN

5pm to 6pm every Tuesday  
O'Connell Bridge  
DUBLIN

**CORK ANTI-EXTRADITION GROUP**  
meets 8pm every Thursday  
The Grand Circle  
Emmet Place  
CORK

**THURSDAY 25th OCTOBER**  
7.30pm Public Meeting  
'Don't let Dessie Die'  
Community Centre  
Whiterock Leisure Centre  
BELFAST

**FRIDAY 26th OCTOBER**  
PICKET  
4.30pm-6.30pm  
Irish Embassy  
17 Grosvenor Place  
LONDON  
Organised by the IBRG

**MARCH**  
8.30pm Ballyconnell  
COUNTY CAVAN

**FUNCTION**  
Music by Bodhrán  
Friday 26th October  
Molly Malones  
Little Green Street  
DUBLIN  
Táille £2.50  
Organised by Dublin  
Anti-Extradition Committee

**24-HOUR FAST & VIGIL**  
in support of Dessie Ellis  
Starts 7pm Sinn Féin Ellis  
Turf Lodge  
BELFAST

**TORCHLIGHT PROCESSION & RALLY**  
7pm at Shops, Norglen Gardens  
BELFAST

**SATURDAY 27th OCTOBER**  
PUBLIC MEETING  
3pm The Mall  
TRALEE  
County Kerry  
Prominent speakers  
All welcome

**SUNDAY 28th OCTOBER**  
MARCH & RALLY  
2pm The Felon's Club  
New Lodge Road  
March to Ardoyne  
BELFAST  
Prominent speakers

**MEETING**  
2.30pm to 5pm WFTA Hall  
FINGLAS  
Dublin  
(continued on page 14)

# JAIL TRIBUTES TO FALLEN VOLUNTEERS

**The following tributes to IRA Volunteers Dessie Grew and Martin McCaughey, killed by crown forces while on active service in County Tyrone, were read to POWs in C-Wing, Crumlin Road Jail, during a ceremony to coincide with the two men's funerals last week.**

**DESSIE GREW** was an immensely popular character in his native Armagh and the surrounding area of East Tyrone. His life was one of sacrifice and suffering for the attainment of a 32-County socialist republic. At the age of 37 he paid the ultimate sacrifice when he laid down his life for that goal. The fact that he left precise instructions concerning his funeral indicates to us the strength with which he faced that possibility.

Dessie served more than 12 years in jail during his involvement in the war since 1970. Despite his years in jail, he returned again and again to the struggle for independence. He was always to the forefront of that struggle in Armagh. He was jailed several times in the '70s and was involved with the IRA before the split in the Republican Movement.

On his release from Portlaoise

Prison in 1988 following ten years of imprisonment, he immediately reported back for active service and has been constantly active ever since. At 37 life should have been more comfortable for him. He acquired neither home, family or possessions as a direct result of his involvement with the struggle. He epitomised the selfless aspect of an IRA Volunteer in a campaign which



● VOL DESSIE GREW

has already lasted two decades. Dessie's popularity spanned the political divides of the nationalist population of Armagh. It was impossible not to like the man, such was his charisma, or to admire his endurance and single-mindedness in the face of daily and perpetual harassment, brutality and the threat of further imprisonment or death. His contribution to the resistance will be sorely missed. But more so his massive character and personality will be irreplaceable to those who knew him. Among the warriors of Ireland may you rest in peace Dessie.

I HAVE BEEN asked to say a few words about Martin McCaughey who was assassinated by British crown forces along with his comrade Dessie Grew. I find it very hard to put into a few lines what could be said of Martin as there was so much that was good about him. He was a credit to the Republican Movement, everything he did. Martin was not one to sit back, he was always to the forefront whether it was army operations or Sinn Féin activities. Although he was still a young man, he gained much respect and this was clearly shown when he was selected to fight the local elections. Martin took this duty seriously. But he was first and foremost a soldier, and his first love was the army. His own words a few weeks ago when attending a friend's wedding were that he "loved the 'RA'".

He had recently been engaged and in conversation a good friend and comrade told him that his fiancee would be devastated if anything were to happen to him, as she



● VOL MARTIN McCAUGHEY had experienced a great loss before when going out with Volunteer Seamus Woods who was killed at Pomeroy.

Martin knew only too well the dangers of his involvement with the IRA, having lost so many of his friends not too far from where he was killed at Loughgall. If anything this made him more determined to rid his country of the British forces. He showed this determination on many occasions, not least in a shoot-out with the SAS in Cappagh this year where two British soldiers were killed and he himself wounded.

Martin demonstrated all that was good in a good republican — his infectious personality, his love of life but most of all his immense courage. He will be fondly remembered by all his comrades in Tyrone. And for many of us here in Crumlin Road to have known him was a rare privilege. We will never forget him or his comrade Dessie Grew. May they rest in peace.

## ANTI-EXTRADITION ACTIVITIES

(continued from page 13)

### SUNDAY 28TH OCTOBER

#### MARCH & RALLY

3pm Main Street

BLESSINGTON

County Wicklow

Speakers: Sam Ellis, Cllr Paddy Wright

#### PICKET

3pm to 5pm Portlaoise Prison

COUNTY LAOIS

Bus arranged. Contact Marc Lee at 726932/726100

#### RALLY

Assemble 7.30pm Bobby Sands Memorial Twinbrook BELFAST

### THURSDAY NOVEMBER 8

Support the hunger-strike Release Dessie Ellis Public Meeting

8pm

Camelot Hotel

Malahide Road

DUBLIN

### SATURDAY 3rd NOVEMBER

ANTI-EXTRADITION MARCH

8.30pm

BALLINAMORE

County Leitrim

#### 24-HOUR FAST

Starts 7pm Main Street

BLESSINGTON

County Wicklow

#### RALLY

3pm Swords

COUNTY DUBLIN

### SATURDAY 10th NOVEMBER

NATIONAL MARCH

2pm St Stephen's Green

DUBLIN

Prominent speakers

### SUNDAY 11th NOVEMBER

#### PICKET

Attorney-General's House

GREYSTONES

County Wicklow



● Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams addresses a public meeting in Tallaght, Dublin

# Communities hear Sinn Féin

GERRY ADAMS travelled from coast to coast last week to speak at Sinn Féin public meetings in Sligo on Wednesday, October 17th, and in Tallaght the following evening. The meetings are part of the current series being addressed by Adams and Martin McGuinness around the country in which people are invited to come along and hear just what Sinn Féin is all about.

"We are living in a society of haves and have nots, where independent surveys show that over a third of the population live in poverty, where there is massive unemployment and where whole localities are devastated by the scourge of emigration," said Sinn Féin's national chairperson and local election candidate for Sligo Corporation, Seán MacManus, at the well-attended Sligo

meeting in the Silver Swan Hotel, which was chaired by Joe Burns. MacManus was speaking about successive Dublin administrations' lack of commitment to implementing the aims of the 1916 Proclamation and the Democratic Programme of the First Dáil. He specifically drew attention to the urgent need for local authority housing in Sligo:

"Currently there are almost

300 families on Sligo Corporation's waiting list for houses. In March of this year it was announced that enough money had been sanctioned by the Department of the Environment to build 26 houses; 26 houses only, despite the fact that 101 houses had been sanctioned some time previously but never built and those are nowhere near enough." He told the meeting that now in October "not even one sod was turned on the site of these houses". He promised that "this is one issue which we intend to pursue with utmost vigour in the coming months".

At both meetings Gerry Adams reiterated Sinn Féin's position that: "Decades of failed British initiatives are the clearest evidence that there is no British solution to the conflict in Ireland. The onus is,

therefore, on those who claim to be Irish nationalists to shift their strategy towards one based on the achievement of national self-determination and democracy.

"The British government must be brought to talk which reflect an Irish and not a British agenda. In addition, all of the political forces in Ireland must sit down at the conference table, without preconditions of any kind, and together map out the sort of Ireland which will meet the different needs and fears of all the people of Ireland."

### TALLAGHT

Over 200 people attended a meeting the following evening in the Killarney Community Centre in Tallaght. Angela Quinn chaired the proceedings, explaining that the purpose of the meeting was to give people the opportunity both to listen to what Sinn Féin have to say and also discuss the national question and the economic and social issues which affect them.

Local representative and Dublin South West election candidate Seán Crowe explained how Tallaght Sinn Féin has tried "to articulate the needs and the aspirations of the communities we come from and in doing so improve the quality of life of people living there. We have highlighted over the years the lack of basic amenities like shops, the need for a proper transport system, a dole office where people wouldn't have to queue in all weathers for their benefit. We protested against the location of a toxic dump long before the 'greening' of the establishment parties".

"Tallaght was built and planned by bureaucrats who would never have to live here." He criticised the failure to build the oft-promised Tallaght Regional Technical College, which a report confirmed "would open up opportunities currently



● SEAN CROWE



● SEAN MacMANUS denied to young working-class people".

"Sinn Féin has attempted to involve people in campaigns over the years to bring about a realisation that they have the means, that they have the power to bring about real change. That's what Sinn Féin's about," he said.

Local Sinn Féin representative Tony Flannery said that "there is still a lot of work to be done as republicans. We must not only believe in what we are doing but be proud of it and be proud to be a member or supporter of Sinn Féin and the Republican Movement in general. This will bring success at a much faster rate. If we speak out on republican issues it will help to counteract the revisionism that is being thrown at us from every angle." Michael Kee, currently facing extradition proceedings, also addressed the meeting, asking everybody present to do whatever they could to help prevent Dessie Ellis' extradition to Britain and to support him in his hunger-strike.





# THE FLYING COLUMN

## A PARA'S helping hand

A former colour sergeant in the Paras who served six tours of occupation in the Six Counties during his 20-year army career was jailed last week after admitting to pushing a woman who was threatening suicide off a railway bridge.

Ieuan Bullivant, a Malvinas veteran who is now a security guard, lost his rag when his train had been delayed for 40 minutes because of the woman, who was threatening to jump off the bridge onto the tracks at Lincoln City Station. Police officers were still trying to coax the distraught woman down when the former Para stormed up to her, told her "either jump or get down", and then helpfully shoved her off the bridge.

Lorraine Briggs suffered a broken neck, broken ankles and a fractured knee. Bullivant went back down to Platform 6, picked up his bags and remained waiting for his train.

He admitted causing grievous bodily harm but Timothy Spencer, defending, explained that his client had acted in this manner because he thought the woman was a man.

"If he had appreciated it was a woman he would never have gone near her. But the old colour sergeant came out. He thought here was a man dithering who wanted to get on with it," said Spencer.

"He thought it was a young man who would land on the floor, pick himself up and get on with his life."

According to Bullivant: "I thought the bloke would land on his feet and then leg it. I thought he was being stupid. I was annoyed because nobody seemed to be doing anything. I've been jumping out of aeroplanes all my life. I thought I was doing the bloody right thing." He neglected to mention how many times he had landed on his head.

As you would no doubt have guessed, Bullivant received glowing references from the army. The judge, despite the court being told that it was doubtful the woman would ever fully recover, only sentenced him to 15 months' imprisonment.

DESSIE ELLIS supporters who picketed the British Embassy in Dublin last Friday evening were treated to a comprehensive demonstration of how not to lower a national flag.

As anyone familiar with the handling of a country's flag will know, it should never be allowed to touch the ground when being lowered and it should always be neatly folded when it has been removed from the flagpole.

The official who emerged to take down the Brit embassy flag had his own modus operandi, however. He dumped it on the ground and left it lying there for a few minutes while he fiddled with the wires on the pole, before picking it up, crumpling it into a ball and taking it away.

And this, friends, is quite close to the recommended republican instructions for handling the Butcher's Apron. It's just a pity yer man had no matches.

THE LATEST TARGET of media hysteria over the IRA in Britain is an alarm clock.

The £12.59p timepiece, which has been targeted by the *News of the World* as "the sickest Christmas gift of the year", is shaped to resemble a bomb, with sticks of dynamite attached to a ticking clock.

This harmless item, designed for the Christmas market, will, we are told "be on sale at a time when the IRA could be carrying out a bombing campaign".

Just one small point for discerning 'terrorism experts' in the British media:

One easily-spotted difference between this clock and an IRA bomb is that the clock is clearly labelled, Made in Taiwan.

THIRTY UDR soldiers have gone on sick leave in Dungannon in protest at what they say is a concerted campaign of malicious complaints against them by members of Sinn Féin.

Isn't that shocking?

What possible reason could any republican have to complain about the UDR?

Answers to this office please in thesis form, 20,000 words or less.

IT SEEMS that the rebellious George Washington has finally been extradited to Britain to face charges of treason, sedition, high crimes and misdemeanours.

In a historical dramatisation which started in London last week, actors play the central characters but real legal eagles are prosecuting, defending and adjudicating on the case.

We don't give the colonial paramilitary leader much of a chance however, as one of the judges is the infamous Lord Bridge, he who sentenced the Birmingham Six to life imprisonment 16 years ago.

All we have to say on the matter is that there should be no extradition to British justice on politically-related charges.

## THE FINAL FRONTIER

"When was the last time you did something you've never done before?" reads one of the latest recruitment ads for Brits' Territorial Army.

The ad promises: "We'll stretch you physically. We'll sharpen your mind. We'll build your confidence."

Funnily enough though, it doesn't say anything about dying, surely something which is entirely possible and which no potential recruits have done before.

## NEWRY MURAL COMPETITION

In order to combat unsightly graffiti in Newry, the town's Sinn Féin Councillor Brendan Curran, has called on young people to direct their wall-painting energies away from vandalism and to enter the party's Mural Painting Competition as part of ongoing plans to celebrate next year's 75th anniversary of the Easter Rising. The only rules are to keep it topical, colourful and in a prominent place. Details of prizes and the identity of the guest judge will be announced later.

Nineteen-ninety-one marks not only the 75th anniversary of 1916 but also the tenth anniversary of the H-Block Hunger-Strikes and the 20th anniversary of the introduction of internment, so there is no shortage of subject matter.

According to Curran: "The painting of a mural adds to an estate. If it is well done, it is a visual manifestation of Newry's long and proud republican tradition. It also gives British crown forces, their overlords and apologists in Ireland, a clear and unmistakable message..."



FIANNA FAIL minister, Pádraig Flynn, speaking on public transport at a recent meeting in Trinity College, was asked when was the last time he had been on a bus.

Flynn apparently replied that only yesterday he had travelled on Brian Lenihan's presidential campaign coach.

"That's not a bus," said his questioner, quick as a shot. "That's an ambulance."

## RTE SELF-CENSORSHIP EXPOSED

Conor Cruise O'Brien, architect of Section 31 as we know it, has agreed that RTE interprets its restrictions too stringently. He disagreed with the station's Head of News, Joe Mulholland, who has said that his interpretation is that all members of Sinn Féin are prohibited, even if they are speaking on other matters, a reference to the recent banning of Gateaux shop steward Larry O'Toole from the airwaves because he is a Sinn Féin member.

The Cruiser said: "If a person who happens to be a member of Sinn Féin is speaking on another subject in a bona fide capacity it is my view that they would not be covered by Section 31. RTE has adopted its own guidelines regarding the operation of the act which I believe are more restrictive than they need be."

He claimed that RTE are deliberately interpreting the act this way to "discredit" and "undermine" Section 31 by making it look "more unreasonable than it is".

But on the *Mailbag* programme, RTE's Assistant Head of News, Rory O'Connor, repeated the nonsense that all Sinn Féin members are covered by the ban.

TWO SECURITY GUARDS at a new 'anti-terrorist' cop shop in Glasgow have been sacked after police by chance found out that they had criminal records.

The hi-tech station at Aikenhead Road, due to open this week, "is to be a 'safe house' for suspected terrorists detained under the PTA", according to the Glasgow *Sunday Mail*.

The area manager for Phoenix Security commented: "We covered the site until the police were ready to take it over. It is impossible to get the right people for the job because of the low wages that it offers."

## Dúirt Siad

*The PTA must be abolished. It's completely ineffective and is used only to frighten and intimidate the Irish community in Britain. It has rarely been responsible for catching anyone. IRA activists seem to be caught mainly by flukes, by chance, certainly not through the PTA. — Paul Hill, a year after his release, in an interview with the *Irish News*, Saturday, October 20th.*

*Look at what happened to the Winchester Three, look at how the tabloids reacted to the arrest of those men at Stonehenge. The media in Britain are used as an extension of the state. — Paul Hill.*

*Look at the Guinness trial as a case in point. The judge told Sir Jack Lyons, a multi-millionaire, that he would not send him to prison because he was too ill... Then look at Giuseppe Conlon. He was a very ill man and his illness was obvious to everyone. But they sent him to prison and Giuseppe Conlon died in prison because he was poor and because he was Irish. Paddy Hackett went into prison minus an arm and a leg and spent 15 years there, often in terrible pain. — Paul Hill.*

*Together with graffiti like 'Semtex Ozone Friendly' and street names like 'RPG Avenue', the experiences I've just described bring it home to you very forcibly that the place you are in is not normal. The longer you spend there the more you feel you're in a war zone. — RTE reporter Tom Kelly on the Ballymurphy experience in the *Sunday Press*, October 21st.*

*This is a community that desperately wants to express itself and can't find a way to do it. Republicanism is a part of that. Sinn Féin is a part of that. The people of West Belfast need to express the pain they have felt. They need their scream to be heard. — Twinbrook GP Dr Gerry Lundy to Tom Kelly.*

*Most importantly, Mr Hurd may have discovered that there are some situations — the Middle East and Northern Ireland are two which come instantly to mind — where the political situation is not one where there are two sides to the argument which can easily be resolved by men of goodwill. — Editorial in *The Mail on Sunday* on former Six-County Direct-Ruler Douglas Hurd's disastrous visit to Palestine.*

*In our opinion what Michael Collins did and what the IRA are now doing was wrong and unjustifiable. The killing and mutilation that took place by the IRA during the War of Independence was wrong, the rebellion of 1916 and the terrible toll on innocent life which it involved was wrong. So too is the IRA campaign of today absolutely and unequivocally wrong. — *Unequivocal Sunday Tribune* editorial, October 21st.*