

AN  
UNCENSORED  
REVIEW

IRELAND'S BIGGEST SELLING  
POLITICAL WEEKLY



# PHOBLACHT

## Republican News

Sraith Nua Iml 12 Uimhir 34 30 Lúnasa Thursday, 30th August, 1990 (Britain 40p) Price 35p

# No British justice - no extradition

AS THE PEOPLE of Ireland shared in the joy of the release of Belfastman Brian Keenan after his four years in captivity, it was announced early on Wednesday that the case of the six men held as political hostages by the British government for the past 15 years, was to be referred to the Court of Appeal, for the third time.

The Birmingham Six have now been given some degree of hope that their original convictions will be quashed and that they may at long last walk free. Devon and Cornwall police

who had been conducting an investigation into the men's convictions at the request of the West Midlands Police chief constable, following representations made to the British Home Secretary by

lawyers for the Six, have 'found' discrepancies in the confession of one of the men — Richard McKenna.

The message being conveyed by the British police is that new

technology has led to the uncovering of new information. But the British authorities have known, all through the history of this glaring injustice, that the Birmingham Six are all innocent. The men were tortured and beaten to force false confessions from them. They were eventually framed by the police and a massive cover-up was implemented. Sufficient evidence of this frame-up has been uncovered for the British government to order the release of the Birmingham Six without the case having to go to the Appeal Court.

### OPPORTUNE MOMENT

The British have picked an opportune moment from their own point of view to release this information with the Gulf crisis dominating the news in Britain.

This latest development is the result of sustained campaigning by supporters of the Six over the 15 years. Reacting to the decision, a spokesperson for the London Birmingham Six Committee said: "We are rather surprised that after their shredding operation in the mid-'70s, the West Midlands police have anything left around."

In 1988 the British courts refused an appeal by the Six against their convictions for the Birmingham pub bombings in 1974.

This latest news deepens the current crisis of confidence in the British judicial and legal system.

The Dublin government cannot claim any kudos if the Birmingham Six are eventually released. The fact that they remained so inactive for so long over the injustice suffered by the Six demonstrates their scant regard for the rights of Irish people and their subservient relationship to the British. They have claimed that they made repeated representations to the British govern-

ment over the men's case, but when this proved to be pointless they did nothing else. They even refused to raise the case at the human rights convention in Copenhagen.

### END EXTRADITION

This week's announcement must increase the pressure on the Dublin government and the Fianna Fáil party in particular, to cease their operation of political extradition to Britain and the Six Counties. Their implementation of the extradition policy has helped to give a veneer of respectability to British justice as applied to Irish people, when all the other indicators pointed in the opposite direction.

Now they intend to hand over Dublin man Dessie Ellis to the tender mercies of the same system of injustices that locked away the Birmingham Six, the Guildford Four, the Winchester Three, the Maguires, and all the other innocent Irish people convicted by Britain's racist media; convictions which were merely rubber stamped by their anti-Irish courts.

The Birmingham Six, like all the other miscarriages of justice against Irish people in Britain, are a symptom of Britain's war in Ireland. In their prosecution of this war the British state has fine-tuned its legal system to fit in with its counter-insurgency strategy. In simple terms this means that any Irish person on a political type charge before a British court is not going to receive a fair trial.

Only an all-out concerted effort by all those genuinely concerned about justice can stop the shameful practice of extradition. Irish people must now unite behind the campaign to release Dessie Ellis and the other possible extradites.



• Brian Keenan on his arrival home in Dublin Airport on Saturday, August 25th

# RUC man injured in gun attack



**BELFAST BRIGADE**, Oglach na hEireann, have said that one of their ASUs carried out the gun attack on Oldpark Barracks on Thursday evening, August 23rd.

The operation commenced at shortly before 10.30pm when a number of Volunteers in a command-deered vehicle drove into position adjacent to the front of the barracks.

In their statement the IRA said:

"Twenty shots were fired at the base and one RUC man sustained gunshot wounds to the shoulder. We have had it confirmed both

from civilians who saw an ambulance speed from the base after the shooting and from a second source that one RUC man was indeed injured."

## HOAX BOMBS

Belfast Brigade also said that their Volunteers placed 40 hoax devices at strategic locations throughout the city on Thursday. The de-

vices caused widespread disruption throughout the day as British public relations officers were trumpeting the Belfast is Buzzing campaign.

## BOMBS UNCOVERED

Two separate devices were discovered and made safe by British bomb technicians on Thursday at Brookeborough in Fermanagh and Castlewellan in County Down.

The Fermanagh device, a one-and-a-half pound booby-trap, was discovered under the car of a UDR

man. The device at Castlewellan, a 70lb landmine, was discovered when British troops spotted a command wire and sealed off the entire area.

## CONTRACTORS UNDER FIRE

The Tyrone Brigade of the IRA have said that their Volunteers carried out a gun attack on contractors carrying out repair work at Pomeroy Barracks on Thursday evening, August 23rd.

In their statement the IRA said:

"Three of our Volunteers armed with AK47 assault rifles penetrated heavy security around the village of Pomeroy to launch an attack upon contractors who, despite previous warnings, were engaged in refurbishment work at the crown forces base in the centre of the village. Firing from positions in the Diamond, our Volunteers directed 70 shots at the workers. We repeat again that anyone engaged in such work for the British army can expect

to suffer the consequences of their actions and need only inform that that they have desisted from such work should they wish to avoid further attack."

In the same statement the Tyrone Brigade drew attention to the fact that the RUC had made an arms seizure several months ago at a hotel complex in the Mid-Ulster close to it. The statement added:

"We view this cover-up as sinister and challenge the RUC to explain their reasons for withholding the information from the public."

## GRENADE ATTACK

The IRA in Belfast have said that their Volunteers lobbed a single impact grenade at a crown forces armoured vehicle in the Unity Flats area of West Belfast on Tuesday evening, August 28th.

The device scored a direct hit on the windscreen of the vehicle but failed to detonate.

## OPINION

### WELCOME HOME BRIAN

BRIAN KEENAN'S sisters are right. The welcome home for their brother is huge, warm and genuine. It's so deep that no-one even begrimed Gerry Collins his bit of reflected glory after the state jet touched down at Dublin Airport. Ireland breathed a sigh of relief when it saw the Belfastman finally step off the aircraft. Nobody minded if anyone else also got into the picture.

But the things which secured his release and particularly the small green document which kept him alive for four-and-a-half years, need to be talked about. For over 400 people in Iraq and Kuwait, that Irish passport is assuming a very great importance.

The document signifies Irish citizenship. It may have been issued by a Dublin government which only represents part of Ireland and which has abandoned many of its citizens, but it is also issued by a neutral state which aspires to something more than we now have. And anyway, the citizenship it testifies to is a deeply political matter.

Councillors Frank Millar and Sammy Wilson of Belfast know that. Millar condemned "lukewarm Protestants" who have the gall to support Irish unity. He told Keenan: "We don't want you". Wilson, who has often been feted in Dublin, made claims about 'dirty deals' to gain the release.

For both of these men, holding an Irish passport is a "mistake" — even if it saves your life. But, at least, they're no more than they claim. They are the bigoted camp-followers of a long military campaign against Irish citizens and Irish citizenship and they are happy to be known as such.

For some years, Irish citizenship and Irish neutrality have also been under heavy attack from another quarter — from those who are charged with defending it. At a symbolic level, the passport has been changed to the colour of an EC wine label, but politically the changes have been more serious.

Successive governments have dragged the 26-County state further and further into an alignment with the European powers, ever closer to a military pact which would place Irish people on the same side as the colonists. Right now, US planes are being allowed to refuel at Shannon on their way to George Bush's war-maching in the Gulf.

In the Lebanon, in Iraq, in Iran, and throughout the rest of the Third World, Irish people have been welcome — unlike the NATO/EC powers which have devastated these economies. But if a Dublin government drags this state any further into the imperialist camp, that welcome will certainly be withdrawn.

Brian Keenan was freed because, in the last couple of years, Shi'ite militants in Beirut and the Iranian government were persuaded that Ireland is neutral. Now Charlie Haughey has stated that Irish neutrality has nothing to do with the Gulf crisis.

Welcome home Brian. Your passport and your freedom mean a lot more than might seem at first glance.

## AN ARBITRARY AND OUTRAGEOUS DECISION

### Glór na nGael

### funds axed

THIS WEEK 140 families in Belfast have found out that their children have no schools to go to. Twenty teachers have also found out that they are no longer in employment, and the Irish speaking community has been informed in no uncertain manner that they are non-persons.

These hard facts which will outrage many and cause widespread concern, all came in the form of a letter dropped through the door of Teach O Donnchú, headquarters of the West Belfast Committee of Glór na nGael, the Irish language organisation which has, since its foundation, done sterling work for the Irish language.

The letter addressed to Níall Ó Cleirigh, chairperson of the group, from the Northern Ireland Office, bluntly stated that as and from September 1st, 1990, government funding, on which the organisation is totally dependent will cease. Twenty teachers employed by Glór na nGael, in various pre-schools throughout Belfast, were also simultaneously receiving letters telling them that their current employment has ended and that they should report to the Department of Economic Development for interviews with a view to placing them on alternative schemes.

The reason given by the NIO for their scandalous and abrupt decision was that the funding was being withdrawn in keeping with the 1989 policy statement of Douglas Hurd whereby funds would be denied to or withdrawn from groups where "community groups or persons prominent in the direction or management of community groups with paramilitary links (whatever they may be) and all to do with emasculating the language movement in this city.

Once again it proves that in spite of high-sounding statements about the integrity of 'both traditions', the British view has not altered since the days of Queen Elizabeth the first."

The Belfast branch of Glór na nGael was first funded in 1984 and since then has carried out work of the highest quality which earned it no less than four prizes in national competitions and



recognition across Ireland as a group singularly dedicated to preserving and reviving the rich cultural tradition shared by all the people of this island.

Such was Glór na nGael's commitment to ensuring that the Irish language should not be seen or treated as the preserve of any section of the community or of any individual political grouping that it led Rosalind Pritchard, of the University of Ulster, to comment that Glór na nGael was "one body which attempts to promote the Irish language as the cultural heritage of all sections of the Northern community. The Belfast branch has been resolutely pursued a policy of linguistic eugenics".

## POWERLESS

Despite all the work and all the evidence the NIO decision has been made and like others before them Glór na nGael are faced with a situation where there is not only no appeal but no way in which they can even establish why and how the decision was made. Hurd's 1985 policy statement has, as predicted at the time, delivered into the hands of the faceless mandarins, bigots and racists of the NIO a weapon to be used in a totally arbitrary fashion against which the powerless have no defence.

Now the workers of Glór na nGael and those dependent on them will join the disappointed ranks of Twinbrook Tenants' and Residents' Association, the Mac Art Centre and Conway Mill centre. But as others, especially Conway Education centre, have shown, it may for a time put us down but most certainly will not put us out.

## STUNNED

Reacting to the decision a stunned Níall Ó Cleirigh said: "Most of our work is

# TRUE BORDER GRIT

"WHERE are your shovels?" was how one local councillor regaled Special Branch detectives, who, along with their uniformed colleagues, had been spying on the hard work of about 50 men, women and children, as they successfully completed vital re-surfacing work on a border crossing between counties Tyrone and Monaghan last Sunday.

The crossing had been initially re-opened the previous Wednesday, thus reducing the number of closed roads between the two counties to eleven. Even the local parish priest in Clogher, County Tyrone, Father Dawson, had strongly advised people to support the road-opening campaign at the previous evening's Mass. This was clear evidence of how widely supported the road-opening campaign is within the border community.

Indeed, it would have been relatively easy last Sunday for anybody unfamiliar with the Monaghan/Tyrone border area to find McMeel's, known locally as Butt's Crossing, the site of last week's road re-opening efforts, on the main route from Ennyley in County Monaghan to Clogher in County Tyrone. An eye on the sky would have led anybody to the spot. In a typical example of cross-border collaboration, a British army helicopter hovered over-



● (Above and top) Opening Butt's Crossing on Sunday last

head on the Northern side of Britain's artificial border, while a 26-County army chopper kept a close eye on proceedings from the Southern side. A further group of British troops turned up just as the work was nearing completion, but because of the large crowd present, they kept their distance and had to content themselves with taking photographs from afar.

Such intrusive surveillance is commonplace for the local people who continue to defy Britain's attempts to close the roads which are such vital thoroughfares for purposes of work, leisure and pure convenience. Up until the opening of Butt's Crossing last week the only through road in the area had been via the fortified McAnespie bridge checkpoint at Aughnacloy. Aidan McAnespie was killed by a British soldier as he walked past the checkpoint on his way to a GAA

match. Locals forced to use the infamous Aughnacloy checkpoint in the absence of an alternative route face harassment and delays of up to two-and-a-half hours on their way to work.

#### SPEEDY RE-OPENING

The speedy re-opening of an alternative crossing was therefore a necessity. The opening of this particular crossing was, however, something of a major achievement for the South Tyrone/North Monaghan Community Association. The road had been last closed by the British three months ago. On that occasion they had placed eight massive concrete-filled metal bollards across the road.

Late in the evening of Wednesday, August 15th, in a typical display of ingenuity by the community association, a piece of heavy earth-moving machinery was secretly brought in on a low-

loading vehicle and in a two-hour operation, which was completed without the knowledge of "security forces" on either side of the border, four of these massive bollards were pushed aside and a passage through was re-fashoned. This must have been a severe blow to the morale of the British as it is the first time that bollards of this size have been moved. Up to this point the border-busters have had no option but to circumvent these obstacles. This was the fifth occasion that the road has been re-opened since the present sustained campaign began.

On Sunday last, a lorryload of surfacing material arrived at the crossing. It was unloaded and the stones were spread by two tractors and more than 50 people provided dozens of shovels and willing pairs of hands to level out the new road. A cheerful visiting nun from the US was also present.

The community association chairperson, Jimmy McKenna, criticised local leaders for not associating themselves with the campaign, in particular SDLP Dungannon District Councillor Vincent Currie's condemnation of the campaign as a "Sinn Féin front". McKenna said that: "The plight of communities living along the border has been consistently ignored by the SDLP and Fianna Fáil. Allegations such as these are only an excuse for doing nothing to help us. I'll say this again — We need as many people out as possible and we will accept help from anybody who doesn't mind a bit of hard work."

When work was completed Jimmy McKenna thanked everybody for turning up in such numbers and encouraged them all to come out again "whenever the word goes out that there is another road-opening". He promised that there would be another one within the week.

In a statement the workers asked: "Does the welfare of a millionaire Fianna Fáil supporter take precedence over jobs in Finglas? The answer is certainly 'yes' judging by today's special sitting of the Dáil and Seanad. Mr Goodman's problems are being attended to with an unseemly haste while Gateaux workers have been left to suffer for 13 long weeks on strike and to endure the threats of a callous management."

"Gateaux workers, their families, thousands of people in Finglas and tens of thousands of people all over this country believe that the government should move immediately to save the jobs at the Gateaux plant."

#### DETERMINED

"We demand emergency action by the minister for labour. The Gateaux management should be forced to re-open through whatever pressure is necessary on the management and especially on the parent company, Allied Lyons. If the government fails in this we demand direct state intervention to save the jobs by creating a state company which would continue production and utilise the skills of the workers."

It emerged during the week that the Gateaux company had put six delivery vans on the road in the Dublin area which were loading up with imported goods in a car-park in the Ratoole area.

The workers, however, are now more determined than ever not to allow imported goods to replace production at the Finglas plant, and the boycott of Gateaux as well as Lyons products is meeting with growing success.

## GATEAUX WORKERS MAINTAIN THE FIGHT

"ON A PEACEFUL PICKET at the Lyons plant in Golden Bridge, the gardai beat us to the side of the road, but they will not beat us off the streets." These words of Gateaux Strike Committee Chairperson Larry O'Toole were greeted with enthusiastic applause by over 1,000 people who turned out to show solidarity with the striking Gateaux workers at a march through O'Connell Street and a rally at the GPO in Dublin on Saturday, August 25th.

The large crowd heard Bakers' Union general secretary, Pat Sharley, detail the history of the strike at the Finglas factory to date:

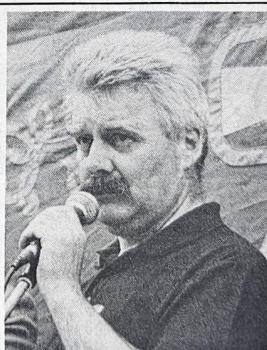
"The company ignored all the rules of negotiation. All through this dispute they have continued to change the question. They sacked bakers and tried to get non-bakers to do bakers' work. What has happened is that a multinational company has decided that a little place in Finglas just didn't matter and they could let it go. Only the workforce of this city and this country can stop it. We will fight on until this matter is resolved."

Tommy Finn who has worked in Gateaux for over 40 years said: "I was never on strike in my life. In the past 12 weeks I have met the most wonderful people. They have come along to help us out with collections and done the equivalent of a day's work." He thanked all those people who have supported the strikers in their struggle. "The gardai hurled us off the streets in Inchicore, but Butler is mistaken if he thinks that the gardai will deter us," he added.

Musicians Francis Black and Pat Good appeared on the platform and treated the crowd to a rendition of the working-class ballads *Ordinary Man* and *Where is our James Connolly*.

Joe Higgins of the Gateaux Workers' Support Group said that the "spirit of William Martin Murphy still stalks this city. The employers are trying to crush the union and close the factory. They have already tried it on the *Irish Press* newspaper and Waterford Glass. Finglas is an area which is already blighted with unemployment. I have a message for Allied Lyons in Britain — if they think that they can import goods to replace those produced at Finglas we say 'no you will not pass'."

Jimmy Kelly, senior convener of the Wa-



● LARRY O'TOOLE

terford Glass workers, pledged the solidarity of the Waterford workers with the struggle of their fellow workers from Gateaux. "We know the forces that are ranged against you," he said. "They show the solidarity that should be shown within the trade union movement." He said that when people sit down to work out another Programme for 'National' Recovery the people of Finglas have to be included.

The Gateaux strikers have maintained their picket on the Lyons factory at Golden Bridge and on Tuesday they mounted a mass picket on Leinster House where a special joint session of the Dáil and Seanad had met to discuss the plight of beef tycoon Larry Goodman.

# BOUNDARY REVIEW PROMPTS CALL FOR RESTRUCTURED COUNCIL

CALL FOR A  
NATIONALIST  
COUNCIL

NEWS that a Boundaries Commissioner is to be appointed to review electoral wards in the Six Counties has prompted a renewed call for a nationalist council to be established in Belfast.

Senior community activists have already met to discuss the basic principles of a new local government body which would operate independent of Belfast City Council. The group intends to present the Boundaries Commissioner with "an irrefutable case" for a nationalist body which would "end forever discrimination against the Catholic rate-payers of Belfast".

A Department of the Environment spokesperson confirmed that a letter had been sent to all the councils in the Six Counties informing them that the next boundaries review, scheduled for 1992, was being brought forward two years, although the actual commissioner has not yet been appointed.

In Belfast it is expected that nationalist politicians will combine with community and tenants' groups in North and West Belfast, the Markets, Lower Ormeau Road, and Short Strand to draw up two proposals for the commissioner. One will be arguing for an independent nationalist council operating on a canton system with responsibility for a number of activities currently under the direction of the City Council. The second proposal will be putting the case for a West Belfast Council, stretching from Unity Flats to Twinbrook.

#### DISPARITY OF REPRESENTATION

Sinn Féin leader on Belfast City Council, Alex Maskey, has said that Sinn Féin will also be making a submission to the commissioner on the disparity of representation on Belfast City Council for nationalists. He continued:

"Belfast Corporation and Belfast City Council have operated as mini-Stormonts.



• Sinn Féin councillors Alex Maskey and Sean Keenan at a meeting of Belfast City Council

While nationalists are treated as second-class citizens by the unionist junta at City Hall, their rates are spent with great extravagance. It's a classic case of taxation without representation. Any attempt to democratise the structure would be welcome, although the willingness of the British to concede to such a process, given their history of connivance in the bigoted rule of the council, remains in doubt."

Responding to the calls for the inclusion of Twinbrook and Poleglass within the Belfast boundary, local Sinn Féin Councillor Michael Ferguson said he would be submitting a proposal to the commissioner as soon as appointed. Ferguson said that the submission would outline the history of sectarian discrimination endured by his constituents and would call for the inclusion of Poleglass and

Twinbrook within the Belfast boundary.

#### POLEGLOSS

Poleglass and Twinbrook, which presently fall within the jurisdiction of Lisburn District Council, are the only two nationalist estates in the Lisburn borough. Orchestrating a concerted campaign of sectarian discrimination, the notoriously bigoted unionist-controlled Lisburn Council, has sought not only to deny housing, services and funding to people living in the two nationalist communities but also to virtually disenfranchise the nationalist electorate. Outlining some of the reasons behind the proposal Ferguson said:

"In the early 70s the British government identified the projected housing need of West Belfast as 8,000 new houses to be built as part of a new Poleglass estate. Despite con-

tinuing overcrowding, bad housing conditions and homelessness which years of sectarian discrimination has forced nationalists to endure, the British government allowed unionist opposition in Lisburn to block the Poleglass development. Eighteen years later only a quarter of the original number of homes have been built and over 3,500 families in Greater West Belfast are presently waiting for homes.

"In almost 20 years, since nationalist families fleeing from the pogroms in the inner city, first moved into Twinbrook, Lisburn Borough Council has refused to spend a penny on leisure facilities for this area. There are 4,500 people living in Poleglass and Twinbrook, with a high percentage of children under five years old, yet the only play facility in the whole area consists of four swings on a patch of land. In contrast, only last year, Lisburn Council spent thousands of pounds floodlighting all weather pitches in Lisburn town, not to mention the thousands of pounds it squandered on a floral effigy of King Billy.

"Twenty years after the civil rights movement, elected representatives from the nationalist communities of Twinbrook and Poleglass continue not only to be denied the right to speak in the council chambers on behalf of their constituents, but have also been physically attacked and seriously injured.

"In the light of these and many other experiences, the inclusion of Twinbrook and Poleglass into the West Belfast boundary would be one step towards challenging the policy of deprivation, disenfranchisement, and the years of sectarian discrimination imposed by Lisburn District Council on local people. It would also create a stronger nationalist forum within Belfast to oppose discrimination and allow a more democratic representation for nationalists within the city."

# Lurgan man threatened with death

A 28-year-old father of two has revealed how he has been the target of constant crown forces harassment over the past few weeks.

Nigel MacNally from Lurgan first became the victim of harassment when he was returning from Long Kesh three weeks ago. The

minibus he was driving broke down in Armagh and RUC men from Lurgan arrived at the scene. One of them said "I will get you shot, you've broken down in the right place". The young man had been unaware that he was in a loyalist area until the RUC man made this remark, leaving him fearing for his life.

The same RUC men followed MacNally for three miles along the Moira to Lurgan road on Tuesday, August 21st. They stopped the minibus and detained him for 20 minutes. As he waited for them to allow him to go, the RUC suddenly got into their jeep and reversed back up the road.

#### UNMARKED CAR

An unmarked car carrying three men wearing civilian clothes came from behind the RUC vehicle towards him. MacNally, thinking that he was going to be shot because of the earlier threats, ran from the scene and jumped over a hedge.

into a nearby garden. The 'gunmen' ran after him. One caught MacNally, but after a short struggle he managed to get away. MacNally managed to reach the house and kicked at the door. Obviously afraid of a witness to whatever they intended to do to MacNally, the men hastily left.

Speaking after the incident local Sinn Féin councillor for the area, Brendan Curran, said:

"Although there is the possibility that this was an assassination attempt on MacNally it would appear more likely that it was an attempt by the crown forces to frighten the young man to act as an informer. A recent spate of incidents in which three people have been pressurised by the RUC and plainclothes operatives into supplying information in the Lurgan area, would lend weight to that conclusion."



• NIGEL MacNALLY

# UDR set up attack

A YOUNG Cappagh man has lodged a formal complaint and has sought legal advice after catching a UDR man planting a bullet in his pocket whilst he was being detained at a checkpoint close to his home on Wednesday, August 22nd, by a joint UDR/British army patrol.

Sinn Féin spokesperson Francie Molloy who arrived at the scene said that his chance arrival had prevented John Quinn from being set-up. Molloy said that when he asked the British army officer in charge why Quinn was being held for so long, he was told Quinn was under arrest. On his release at the scene Quinn then pointed to a member of the patrol and said that he had tried to plant a bullet in his pocket. The bullet had since been taken back and put into the UDR man's own pocket. Molloy then asked: "If this young man had handled the bullet,

or if he had been allowed to go, only to be stopped later, how would he have been able to account for it?

"This is yet another sinister development, and is a reminder of similar attempts in the early '70s."

#### DEATH THREATS

A complaint has also been made on behalf of another Cappagh man who is said to have received death threats from the UDR.

Father Joe McVeigh, on making the complaint, has expressed concern for the young man who, he said, "has been told that it would be

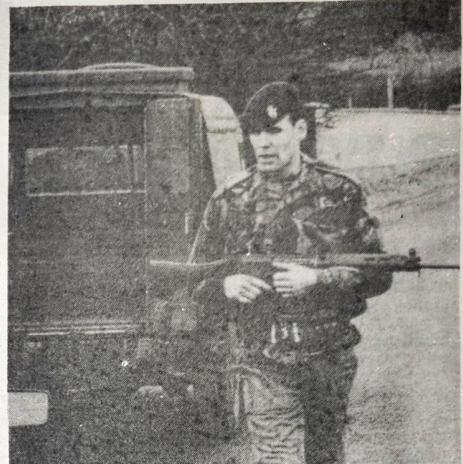


• FRANCIE MOLLOY

easy to shoot him as he slept, as the location of his bedroom was known to the soldiers".

Concern has also been raised for the young man's elderly parents whose home has been raided constantly by RUC and UDR patrols. The Fermanagh priest also said that members of the patrols have constantly used abusive language and made sectarian remarks about religious pictures in their home. He said:

"Their behaviour is very vicious. It's an appalling situation that UDR members are able to use such in-



timidating tactics. They are creating a lot of fear and resentment in this part of Tyrone."

#### HARASSMENT CAMPAIGN

Speaking after the incidents Sinn Féin representative for the Mid-Ulster area, Barry McElduff, said:

"Once again we have examples of an intensifying campaign of harassment by crown forces against

nationalists in the Tyrone area and I would urge people to come forward and make official complaints against the RUC, British army and the UDR in order to put an end to it.

"I would also like to advise all nationalists to be very alert when your car or person is being searched by the crown forces, and to check your possessions afterwards and never handle any items such as bullets that may have been planted."

## TYRONE DESECRATION

THE GRAVE of Vol Eugene Kelly who was killed by the SAS in Loughgall on May 8th, 1987, was desecrated last weekend by British soldiers.

Sinn Féin councillor for the Omagh district and chairperson of the Tyrone National Graves Association, Patsy McMahon, describing the incident as a cruel violation of a family's sorrow, said: "It represents an attempt by the British forces to maximise the distress on the part of Eugene Kelly's family."

"Consistently in this conflict the British side have shockingly invaded people's grief. They show no respect for the dead in their pursuit of absolute domination."



I nDÍL CHUIMHNE OF  
ÓGLACH EOGHÁN Ó CEALLAIGH

VOL. EUGENE KELLY  
KILLED IN ACTION  
AT LOUGHGALL  
8TH MAY 1987  
AGED 25 YEARS  
R. I. P.

• Desecrated grave of Vol Eugene Kelly

## RUC/FBI informer attempt

THE RUC, with active co-operation of the FBI, have attempted to blackmail a young Tyrone man into becoming an informer.

In a front page story in their latest issue, *The Irish Voice*, a newspaper published in New York, uncovered the disturbing facts and highlighted the plight of Kevin Corrigan and how he and other young Irish people are vulnerable because they do not have visas.

Kevin Corrigan, a 28-year-old

married man from Tyrone and his wife Eithna, have been in New York for 15 months. They have a two-month-old son. Their visas ran out some time ago but they were hoping to get work permits. On August 20th, two FBI men arrived at their flat and asked for Kevin. After telling Kevin that they knew his visa

had run out, they offered him immunity to stay if he became an informer. Kevin refused. The pressure to agree to watch other Irish people in New York and inform on them continued for 20 minutes before the FBI men left.

#### HANDCUFFED

Two days later, on August 22nd, Kevin Corrigan was arrested by the FBI at his workplace and taken handcuffed into a car. He was driven a short distance before the car stopped and the FBI got out. To Kevin's horror, an RUC Branchman whom he recognised as an interrogator from Gough Barracks in Armagh got into the car. The Branchman, known as Alex, made the same approach to Kevin; he could stay in the US if he identified people from photographs the RUC man would give him and watch them.

Kevin Corrigan refused to answer the Branchman, and sat looking straight ahead. Finally, he was told to get out of the car.

Kevin Corrigan has sought legal advice on the matter. Like hundreds of others in the area he comes from in Tyrone, he has been arrested and interrogated in Gough Barracks. He has never been charged with anything.

## IRIS

the republican magazine

THE LATEST edition of *IRIS* (Number 14), the republican magazine, is out now.

This issue features the ongoing campaign by local communities along Britain's artificial border to open crossings shut by the occupying army.

The war news since the last is-

sue is covered, with articles also on revisionism, the historical background to William of Orange and the Battle of the Boyne, and a first-hand account of the Palestinian Intifada and Israeli oppression by a Palestinian writer.

A lecture delivered in West Belfast by distinguished artist and activist Robert Ballagh on politics and art is included and much more.

*IRIS* is priced at a very reasonable £1.50 and is available from all the usual outlets.



## Where there's a will...

THE Irish in Britain Representation Group has praised the achievement of the council in the London borough of Haringey for increasing the representation of ethnic minorities in their workforce.

Ethnic minorities (Caribbeans, Africans, Asians, Irish, Greek Cypriots, Turkish Cypriots) make up an estimated 40% of the total population of the London borough of Haringey. In 1985 Haringey Council decided to set a target level of 40% ethnic minority representation in their workforce. Starting from the low figure of 21.10% in December 1985, Haringey increased their ethnic minority representation to 39.13% by December 1989, despite rate capping and other public service cutbacks under the Thatcher government.

In a statement welcoming the news, IBRG spokesperson Patrick Reynolds said:

"The success of Haringey and other London boroughs in raising the representation of minority communities show that employers with the right political will can achieve equal opportunities. Haringey figures were achieved within four years. These achievements expose the total failure of the British administration in the North of Ireland over 20 long years of achieving any change whatsoever in the North of Ireland workforce. Despite the double emigration of Catholics compared with Protestants, they are still two-and-a-half times more likely to be unemployed."

"The British maintenance of a division of labour, based on supposed racial characteristics of the two communities, is geared towards the political control of both communities, and the upkeep of the British colonial policies in Ireland."

Commenting on the success of Haringey and other London boroughs in raising the representation of minority communities, Sinn Féin spokesperson on economic affairs, Mitchel McLaughlin, said:

"The essential ingredient of Haringey's success is the existence of the political will to effect real and meaningful change. The refusal of the British government to adopt the proposal of its own Standing Advisory Commission on Human Rights of reducing the current gross imbalance in employment — between Catholic and Protestant males (2½ to 1 to 1½ to 1) — over a five-year period shows that the political will to effect real change does not exist."

### QUESTIONS TO BE ANSWERED

"Those who claim to be genuinely concerned about discrimination in the North of Ireland must persist in demanding from the British government the answers to two very simple questions:

What change will the revised discrimination law have?"

How long will it take for that change to take place?"



• MITCHEL McLAUGHLIN

# Dublin VEC reneges on Clondalkin school deal

BY LIAM O COILEAIN

CONTROVERSY has arisen in North Clondalkin, only days before the new school term, concerning a promise made by the Dublin County Vocational Education Committee (VEC) that temporary premises in the area would be made available for pupils and teachers of St Kevin's Community College.

Prefabs were to be erected on the site of the new school on the Fonthill Road by the start of September, pending the building of a permanent building on the site as promised by the 26-County minister for education, Mary O'Rourke, in February. The people of North Clondalkin were originally promised a post-primary school in their area as far back as 1986.

These commitments were only wrung out of the minister and VEC after months of determined campaigning by the Parents' Committee last winter. The teachers even came out on an official one-day strike in December in support of the parents' demands. The VEC has now told the committee that due to administrative difficulties there will be a few weeks' delay, as the prefabs have not yet been erected. A journalist was told by a VEC official that it will take a couple of weeks to secure delivery of the prefabs and up to ten weeks to erect them, which would leave the pupils stranded until at least November.

Since Collinstown College in Neilston became full, 270 pupils from St Kevin's had to be bussed to a leased premises in Llan, which was a highly unsatisfactory situation for pupils, teachers and parents alike. At a school board of management meeting on Wednesday, August 29th, with parents represented, VEC officials insisted that in the interim the pupils would be bussed to Deans-

temporary school which the VEC are ordering. The VEC have expressed their plan to spend £250,000 on a large precast building. The parents' representatives are wary of this type of prefab as they fear that in the future a couple of permanent rooms might be added to it and this would be presented to them as their finished school. The parents' committee want ordinary prefabs like they had on the Llan site which can be easily removed when future building work starts.

### LEFT STRANDED

The parents' representatives expressed their extreme reluctance to travel to Deansrath because they were originally offered that school in 1986 as an alternative to building a local school. They refused then because of its distance from North Clondalkin. They are suspicious now that their children may be left stranded in Deansrath, which is two bus journeys away.

The parents' representatives on the board also expressed reservations about the type of

### UNACCEPTABLE

This year there are an extra 100 pupils for the school without a home. The VEC insists that the pupils go to Deansrath, and it will provide buses. The parents' committee hope to convince parents at a public meeting tonight, Thursday 30th, in St Bernadette's Primary School in Quarryvale, that Deansrath is totally unacceptable.



• November 1989 protest for educational facilities in Clondalkin — despite promises, building work has not started

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# An idiocy without a past

## Examining revisionism at Greaves school

BY TOM O'DWYER

**THE Desmond Greaves** Summer School this year went a long way towards explaining the current vogue for anti-nationalist revisionism in Ireland when Dr Declan Kiberd of UCD placed it in its international cultural context.

Kiberd argued that neo-colonial countries often encounter similar forms of historical amnesia. He laid the blame for this development in Ireland on an intellectual inferiority-complex towards the colonist's culture.

Important contributions were also made by Professor Donal McCartney of UCD, Dr Flann Campbell, Tony Coughlan and Tony Moriarty. But that of Kiberd, who is now to be appointed English professor at Galway University, was so important that AP/RN is reporting as much as possible of it.

Kiberd opened the school on Friday by noting that "this year, neither of the socialist parties which claim to further the policies of James Connolly was represented at the commemoration of the 1916 Rising". He felt that this reflected the vision of the world in George Orwell's 1984 where parties could reach into the past and say that events never happened.

He explained how this forgetfulness had come to pass:

"For decades, conservative nationalists had encouraged people to become drunk on remembrance. Endless references by mainline political leaders to their own part in the independence struggle conveniently distracted the public from the single failure of those leaders to implement economic justice or to change society in any fundamental way."

Connolly wrote in 1913 that, in Ireland, the worship of the past is often engaged in simply as an escape from the mediocrity of the present. "There are reasons why Connolly might have accepted such forgetfulness," he added.



• CONOR CRUISE O'BRIEN

Kiberd believes modern revisionism is a knee-jerk response to the more traditional presentation of the 1916 leaders as "plaster saints" and he recalled the 1966 celebrations of the 50th anniversary of the Rising when the socialist radicalism of Connolly was downplayed in favour of a conservative version of history. This was, in his eyes, only another version of revisionism and he suggested that these two "distorted versions of history, sponsored by self-interested sections of the native middle class... feed off one another politically".

For Kiberd, anti-nationalist revisionism gained credibility during the early '70s when large numbers of civilians were killed in the Six Counties due to IRA mistakes "and also when the average life-expectancy of a Derry IRA Volunteer was about four months".

The writings of Conor Cruise O'Brien and the Jesuit historian Fr Shaw were the signal for a right-wing journalistic deluge.

"These people, some of them former exponents of violence, brought all their unpurged aggression to bear on any intellectual suspected of being 'soft on terrorism' so that a kind of inverse McCarthyism has reigned in intellectual Ireland in the last 15 years. People such as myself who wouldn't know one end of a gun from another, were ritually denounced for the crime of nationalism by persons, some of whom in the past, had sanctioned the slaughter of English cleaning



• The radicalism of the 1916 leaders is now being downplayed in favour of a conservative version of Irish history

ladies.

"You could build an entire career now in the chattering classes on the newly-fashionable obsessions: the Irish at the Somme, Redmond as a decent skin, the manic mentality of the 1916 rebels — this was very popular."

### CLASS INTERESTS

UCD historian Ronan Fanning played a similar role in attacking the historical works of Michael Farrell, "the most formidable intellect thrown up by the Northern crisis". Fanning condemned Farrell for "writing the history of the Orange State and of the RUC under the pressure of a contemporary crisis with a preordained activist line to push". Kiberd points out that "Fanning, like his revisionist colleagues, never entertained the suggestion that his own writing might represent the interests of a particular class — the Southern bourgeoisie which desperately wanted to keep all this trouble out".

Farrell, whose writings have unmasked the sectarianism at the heart of the Six-County state, was barred from the Northern Ireland Public Record Office, a vital source of information for any historian.

"There was a very strange and ominous silence from professional historians here in the South at this attack on their profession's integrity, a silence that seems to me to

have implied consent.

"The Penal Laws, we were told, were 'exercises in irony', inapplicable in many parts of the country because of the lack of a police force or a proper system of jails into which to throw miscreants."

In Kiberd's view, the tide of anti-nationalist revisionism was beginning to turn. He noted that establishment historical accounts like that of Roy Foster, were changing somewhat. Foster referred to the Famine as a "demographic holocaust". Historian Joe Lee's recent work on modern Ireland blamed Irish economic failure on cap-in-hand attitudes derived from the abandonment of the Irish language.

### PARALLELS

But Kiberd's main thesis was that revisionism of this sort is common in post-colonial societies. He drew parallels from the writings of Colombian author Gabriel Garcia Marquez, Indian writer Salman Rushdie and the Palestinian intellectual Edward Said.

In Garcia Marquez's great work *One Hundred Years of Solitude*, the town of Macondo is the victim of an appalling massacre committed by officials of a US banana company. After that, a sickness begins to infect the town. Marquez wrote:

"When the sick person became used to his state... the recollection of his childhood became erased from his memory. Then the name and the notion of things and finally the identity of people and even their awareness of their own being until people sank into a kind of idiocy that had no past."

Everything in Macondo begins to fail after this point. "Nothing could be sold in a town that was sinking irrevocably into a quicksand of forgetfulness." Labour agitation is also unsuccessful. Progress is denied. Kiberd adds that revisionism, such as the present fashion in Irish intellectual circles "whereby the history of a colonised people is stolen and taken from them" is the subject of Marquez's work.

Explaining the nub of his argu-

ment, Kiberd quoted Said, a leading member of the PLO, who wrote that "the First and the Third World now confront each other around the politics of blame. Some ex-colonies are looking for a return to some mythical source — a pre-invasion identity, however mythical that may be. Others are plunging headlong into modernity... but that most people, being balanced, would seemingly try to reconcile the two."

Said, according to Kiberd, argued that colonialism did bring certain benefits such as a centralised state structure. But the central question remained "how do you reconcile those obvious benefits of modernity with the idea of fidelity to certain traditional values?"

Both Said and Rushdie were "skeptical idealists". They were suspicious of the "idea that you could return to some mythical source" and "even more critical of the shallow cosmopolitanism which, all too often, fills the vacuum that's left. This cosmopolitanism is really just a thin cloak for Eurocentric values".

### SOURCE OF PROBLEMS

Kiberd believes that Western intellectuals have moved in the opposite direction, withdrawing from support of national liberation struggles. Conflicts and struggles in colonies and former colonies are seen as products of a "self-inflicted wound" — that the source of their problems lies among the colonised rather than in their colonisation.

Pointing to the Irish educational syllabus which includes secondary work of English intellectuals which do not reflect the experiences of Irish people, Kiberd finds such self-blame in our own view of ourselves:

"This is the kind of mentality that ends up worrying about the Single European Act and 'What will the Europeans think of us if we don't ratify it?'"

The full text of Declan Kiberd's speech and that of the other participants is to be published by the Greaves Summer School. It will make important reading.



• Declan Kiberd speaks at the Desmond Greaves Summer School

## Partition and the UN

# BRITAIN INDICTED

THE UNITED NATIONS is the highest forum for disputes on international law, such as that between the Dublin government and Westminster over the Six Counties. Articles Two and Three of the 1937 Constitution assert the Irish people's right to unity, something denied by British law. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, on which the UN is based, also makes it a perfect place to discuss Britain's oppressive role. But, for the last two decades, Dublin governments have failed to challenge Britain in front of the world body.

Richard Harvey is a delegate to the UN from the International Association of Democratic Lawyers (IADL). Earlier this year he delivered a hard-hitting paper to the IADL's 13th Congress in Barcelona where he argued that the UN must investigate the situation in the Six Counties. In one sense, his submission is a searing criticism of successive Dublin governments which have abysmally failed to honour their constitutional commitments.

Only once — when the British troops were first introduced in 1969 — has Dublin even tried to gain support for Northern nationalists at the UN. Twenty-one years ago this month, its external affairs minister, Paddy Hillary, called for an urgent meeting of the United Nations Security Council "in connection with the Six Counties of Northern Ireland".

In tragically prophetic language, his government informed the president of the Security Council that the British troops which were then coming onto the streets of the Six Counties "would not be acceptable or likely to restore peaceful conditions, and certainly not in the long term".

Since then, the only legal defenders of Irish national rights have been those such as the International Association of Democratic Lawyers. Harvey's paper, which is dedicated to civil rights lawyers Pat Finucane and Séan MacBride, shows how "the problem in the Six Counties is rooted in the partition of Ireland in 1920, which was then and remains today a flagrant denial of the right of the Irish people to self-determination".

He argues that "the resolution of this problem is the responsibility of the international community". The appropriate United Nations organs should give it urgent consideration.

### WORTH REMEMBERING

Paddy Hillary's comments at the Security Council in 1969 are worth remembering, if only because they contain an implicit contradiction of every action of his government on the subject and of each successive administration in the intervening years:

"Partition was accomplished by the British government as a concession to an intransigent minority within the Irish nation. Ireland was divided as a result of an Act of the British Parliament in 1920, for which not one Irish vote, either North or South was

cast."

Of course, even at this time, Hillary did not contemplate any decisive action by his government. The Fianna Fail cabinet under Jack Lynch had called for a UN peace-keeping force to be sent to the Six Counties. Failing that, it advocated the formation of a joint British/Irish force. In other words, Hillary was merely seeking to dampen down the conflict, not to root out its cause.

But the importance of these words was that a distinct voice of protest against British rule could be heard from an Irish UN representative. However weak and trembling that voice might have sounded, it set down a marker. It made a point which has never been gainsaid. That point may not have been repeated in the years that followed, but it has not been withdrawn either.

Hillary disputed the allegation by the British UN representative that the UN Charter prohibited such an investigation under an article ruling out interference "within the domestic jurisdiction".

He pointed out that the Six Counties "are an integral part of the island of Ireland and an important part of a country which throughout history has been universally regarded as one unit". He reminded the UN that "the claim of the Irish nation to control the totality of Ireland has been asserted over centuries by successive generations of Irish men and women".

Here Hillary added a phrase which has particular importance in the context of the Hillsborough Agreement — this assertion of nationhood "is one which no spokesperson for the Irish nation could ever renounce". After the Hillsborough Treaty, which was lodged with the UN, British government representatives claimed that the agreement meant that the Dublin government had totally abandoned its legal claim over the Six Counties.

Although Hillsborough made it much more difficult for any Dublin government to openly stand for Irish unity, Harvey points out that it cannot be taken as accepting British legal claims to the territory. This view was proved correct in March of this year when the Dublin Supreme Court ruled that Article Two of the 1937 Constitution was more than just an aspiration or a wish for unity — it was a "claim of right" with the full weight of law.

Hillary's Security Council speech also referred to the UN Declaration on Colonial Independence which states that "any attempt aimed at the



● Paddy Hillary — 26-County external affairs minister at the time of the deployment of British troops to the Six Counties

partial or total disruption of the national unity and the territorial integrity of a country is incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations".

### NO INVESTIGATION

By recording the full detail of Hillary's contribution, Harvey emphasises the wishes of the majority of Irish people on the issue. Despite these wishes, and despite numerous discussions by the UN Commission on Human Rights on British rule in Ireland, the Security Council and the General Assembly have yet to conduct any investigation relating to the

question of the Six Counties". The right to self-determination is now a matter of international law, binding on all states and emphasised again and again in treaty after treaty declaration after declaration. Both the London and the Dublin governments have signed their names to such declarations and are bound by such laws.

In 1982 the British foreign secretary even boasted to the General Assembly, which contains dozens of former British colonies, that "the achievements of the British in de-colonisation since the last war have been our expression and application



● PAT FINUCANE

# The case of the Åland Islands



United Nations General Assembly

of the principle that we have long supported in other parts of the world". With his tongue shoved deep into his cheek, he added that his government believed self-determination was "not just a principle, but a fundamental right".

He did not bother to mention that the leaders of many of these countries were hunted down by the British in very much the same way as the IRA is now. Instead Sir Francis Pym alleged that "thanks to our recognition of this right in regard to our own dependencies, nearly 50 members of this assembly have taken their places here".

#### NOT PEACEFUL

Noting British colonial wars in Palestine, Malaya, Kenya, Cyprus, and the Cameroons, Brunei, Guyana and Aden, Harvey notes dryly:

"The people of former British colonies do not all remember their path to independence as being peaceful."

UN declarations since Hillary's brief but eventful career as an anti-colonial spokesperson have given later governments even more right to raise complaints against British rule. The Friendly Relations Declaration (1970) means that Dublin governments could have called on all other member states to help it in campaigning for Britain to withdraw. It has not done that.

Nor has it availed of the 1976 Human Rights Covenants. Under

these treaties, it could have forced the British to give regular reports to the UN Secretary-General on its steps to grant self-determination to the Irish people as a whole and on its treatment of Irish citizens.

Although Harvey, an international legal representative, refrains from openly criticising the Dublin government, his document implies a most searing indictment.

Jack Lynch, Liam Cosgrave, Garret Fitzgerald and Charles Haughey could all have challenged the British government in front of the world. Even if they only concentrated on the known links between British forces and loyalist murder gangs, that could have embarrassed the British government into reducing its involvement and saved hundreds of lives. But the Dublin political leaders chose not to do so.

#### BROKEN PROMISES

This was in spite of the fact that, in the last 20 years, Britain broke all the promises it made in 1969. Its representative told the Security Council that "British troops would be withdrawn when order was restored, that the greater part of the civil rights demands were accepted and that reform was under way".

Harvey responds: "Not only do the British troops remain in armed occupation of the Six Counties 20 years later, but the demand for domestic civil rights has grown into a demand for internationally recogni-

nised human rights while all attempts at 'reform' have only served to make obvious the root cause of the the problem: the partition of Ireland."

The international civil rights lawyer believes that the stand taken by Britain in maintaining its colonial hold on the Six Counties is becoming an international threat to peace and stability. The huge sums spent North and South on defending Britain's border have meant enormous economic problems.

More seriously still, the wide-ranging emergency powers which both governments have taken onto themselves, have severely reduced democratic liberties and these laws have the habit of spreading to other countries. "Police-state powers" like the shoot-to-kill policies, Diplock courts, censorship and the British governments' derogation from Article 15 of the European Convention on Human Rights "have not only failed in their avowed purpose of halting the conflict but, on the contrary, the injustices created by those laws have fuelled still greater support for disaffection and dissidence".

Increasingly during recent years, the Dublin government has relied more and more on such powers but they have also begun to be internationalised. The classic example of this is the case of the Gibraltar killings. But courts in the US, France, West Germany, the Netherlands and Belgium have been asked to rule on



extradition cases and these legal systems have been under considerable pressure from the British government to underwrite its own biased legal system by granting the extraditions.

#### COMMITMENT

In accepting Harvey's paper, the International Association of Democratic Lawyers committed itself to campaigning for Irish reunification and to do all in its power to raise this issue in the United Nations. It called on the British government to withdraw its British-based troops, set a firm date for their withdrawal and to disarm and disband the UDR.

It also called on international economic institutions to assist with the creation of a secure economic future for the unified island and committed itself to continuing its role in monitoring human rights violations in the Six Counties. It will also combat the tendency to abandon the political exception in extradition cases.

"In particular," it concludes, "IADL must continue to demand a full and thorough investigation and report on the circumstances surrounding the assassination of Pat Finucane... and to call for the prosecution of all those involved in the instigation, planning and execution of that act of barbarity."

**THE KEY legal points of Harvey's document are underlined in another from Maître Alain Fenet of the Université de Picardie in France which was issued in 1987. Fenet points to the case of the Åland Islands which are situated between Finland and Sweden. The islands were settled by Swedish people during the Swedish colonisation of the Baltic lands in the 17th Century.**

Both countries claimed these islands as their own and the League of Nations decided the issue around the same time as Ireland was partitioned. In 1921, the predecessor of the United Nations ruled that the islands should belong to Finland in spite of the fact that the inhabitants were Swedish speakers who voted overwhelmingly for Swedish citizenship. The League's investigation team added that:

"The separation of a minority from a state of which it formed a part and its incorporation into another state cannot be envisaged except as an extreme and exceptional solution, when that state has neither the wish nor the power to decide on or to apply just and effective guarantees" of basic rights.

The principle behind this decision, says Fenet, was that minorities did not have the right to

secede from the nation. The claim behind Britain's partition of Ireland directly contradicted this international legal precedent. There was even less justification for Britain's claim to the loyalist Six-County state than there was for Sweden's to the Åland Islands.

#### LEGAL POINTS

Fenet notes that the legal practice of the United Nations follows this procedure totally. "The right of peoples to self-determination respects the established entities" — the national units which pre-existed colonialism.

In the case of Ireland, it is not necessary to show that there was an Irish nation before the advent of the British

colonists. In order for this principle to work, Fenet points out that it is only necessary to show that Britain treated the island as a unit during the period of British rule. From the time of Grattan's Parliament until that of Gladstone's Home Rule Bills, this was the case.

#### NO JUSTIFICATION

He argues that the state Britain claims in the North of Ireland "is characterised by an extraordinary lack of unity". The British government "cannot exercise the right of self-determination there". As with Hong Kong, Gibraltar and the Malvinas, Britain cannot justify its continued hold on foreign territory.

The Hillsborough Agreement

does not change this situation, according to Fenet: "For tactical reasons, the Irish government accepted the peculiar British notion of self-determination. It did so in the hope that Ulster Catholics might benefit from this." But Britain's failure to set up a state structure acceptable to nationalists shows that its claims do not measure up to international law.

He notes that, through Hillsborough, the 26-County government has made "a major concession on the right of peoples to self-determination" and adds:

"The future will say through the workings of the accord, if this price should have been paid and if the Irish government is not following an illusion."

# Russell commemorated in Dublin

OVER 80 people turned out in Dublin on Sunday last to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the death in 1940 of IRA Chief-of-Staff Seán Russell. Led by a Fianna Éireann colour party and the Volunteer Tom Smith Band, the march made its way from the Five Lamps, through the North Strand area, passing Russell's former home.

At the Russell monument in Fairview Park, Jack Crowe of Sinn Féin's Comhairle Limistéar Atha Cliath, chaired the proceedings. He gave a brief history of the life and career of Seán Russell before calling for a minute's silence as the Fianna lowered their flags.

Pearse McLaughlin from Howth, an old comrade of Russell's from the 1930s, laid a wreath on behalf of the Republican Movement. He then addressed the crowd saying that he was proud and honoured to have served under Seán Russell. He added that he was glad also to have lived to see the greatest generation of Irish people and added that today's Irish Republican Army could not be defeated. He then recited a poem by Terence MacSwiney.

Dublin historian Noel Hughes then read out the names of the 18 republicans who were shot dead, hanged or allowed to die in jail under the Fianna Fáil regime between 1936 and 1943.

## HISTORICAL REVISIONISM

The main oration was delivered by Sinn Féin's National Director of Publicity, Rita O'Hare. She said that

it was important in the current climate of historical revisionism that republicans should mark such anniversaries.

"The story of Seán Russell, like others, has suffered from this revisionist mentality. He is someone who has been misrepresented and whose memory has been distorted," she said.

"Next year marks the 75th anniversary of the 1916 Rising. The Dublin government will not be staging any public events to mark this historic date. However, that anniversary will not go unmarked and the ordinary people will be given the opportunity to commemorate it."

"Next year is also the tenth anniversary of the death on hunger strike of ten young men in the H-Blocks of Long Kesh in 1981. Through their sacrifice they showed the rest of the country and the world the type of people who are engaged in this struggle. You can be sure that there will be no feature pieces or centrepieces about that event in the *Irish Times*. You can be sure that if papers such as the *Irish Independent* even bother to mention the anniversary of the hunger-



● Pearse McLaughlin, a comrade of Sean Russell from the '30s, speaks at the Sean Russell Commemoration in Dublin on Sunday last

strike, it will be to vilify the memory or those who took part. Republicans can ensure that these events are properly commemorated. We should ensure, through our work in various organisations within the community, that this message gets over to the ordinary people. This renders the revisionist media irrelevant."

LINKING STRUGGLES

She mentioned that there were

some of the striking workers from Gateaux present at the ceremonies and welcomed them. "It may seem to take a big stretch of the imagination to link the memory of Seán Russell with a strike in 1990, but partition has an obvious and direct effect on the economic backwardness of the 26 County-state."

"Russell was someone who believed in the maxim that 'England's difficulty is Ireland's opportunity'. England's present difficulty is that it is attempting to stabilise a crum-

bling sectarian state. It has attempted various solutions to achieve this, all based on the maintenance of partition." She said that the current speculation surrounding the 'Brooke initiative' would be as doomed to failure as all the other British solutions unless it recognised the Irish people's right to national self-determination.

The ceremony ended with the Vol Tom Smith band's playing of *Amhrán na bhFiann*.

# West Tyrone Volunteers remembered

THE ANNUAL West Tyrone commemoration was held on Sunday, August 26th, in Strabane town. Headed by the Strabane Martyrs Memorial Band, who also provided the colour party, over 1,000 people marched along the traditional route from the Ballycolman estate through the town centre to Strabane Cemetery, where the ceremony was held at the Republican Plot.

The proceedings were chaired by ex-POW, Tommy Brogan, who welcomed all those present and called on local Sinn Féin Councillor Ivan Barr to read the 1916 Proclamation. Following the reading of the West Tyrone roll of honour by Aodhan Harkin of the local National Graves Association,

wreaths were laid on behalf of the West Tyrone Brigade, IRA, and Sinn Féin Comhairle Ceantair, followed by floral tributes from the families and close friends of fallen Volunteers.

OUR FAMILY  
After observing a minute's si-



lence, Tommy Brogan introduced the main speaker, Belfast Sinn Féin Councillor Lily Fitzsimmons. Paying tribute to the fallen Volunteers of West Tyrone, she described the deep sense of loss and bereavement which accompanies the death of all Volunteers. She continued:

"Not only were they our Volunteers, they were our relatives, our friends and neighbours. Throughout the years we opened our doors to them, our homes were their homes, they were our family. Many here today have fought alongside the people we honour here today. We share their beliefs, their

the simple right of our people to self-determination."

Describing "every repressive measure" the British government has thrown at us, the West Belfast councillor said that despite all their tactics the British have failed because "we will not apologise for or deviate from our struggle and our right to national independence". She concluded:

"When we leave here today we gain strength and determination from the solidarity of republicans, from the men and women who died for our sovereign right to a united independent Ireland."

"We can make the Republic that our people and our Volunteers dream of, a practical one. We can make it a reality. We all have our part to play in this final phase of the struggle. The British think they can wear us down, we know better. We have the motivation and we have the strategy and we will construct a real epitaph to our fallen Volunteers."

# REMEMBERING THE PAST Economic sabotage

BY PETER O'ROURKE

DURING the summer of 1920, at the height of the Tan War, with no quick and easy method of crushing republican resistance, the British forces, in an attempt to subdue the Irish people and regain control of the country, resorted to a policy of sabotaging the economy.

By late August 1920, the British difficulties in administering Ireland had increased dramatically. The landslide vic-

toys by Sinn Féin candidates at the local elections in June, the effectiveness of the IRA's campaign, and the establish-

ment of Dáil Eireann of republican courts and a republican police force in June, meant that republicans were effectively in control of huge areas of the country.

In addition to its policy of official

'reprisals' against the nationalist population

(the burning and looting of homes

and shops and the murder of republi-

cans) the Dublin Castle authorities be-

gan the systematic destruction of the

economic and industrial life of the coun-

## CREAMERIES TARGETED

The creameries were the main target for 'reprisal' by the crown forces. Stocks were destroyed, machinery wrecked, property looted, factories burned to the ground, personnel intimidated, beaten and killed and trading seriously disrupt-

ed. During April 1920 and again in July

creameries in a number of counties had

been wrecked but in August the destruc-

tion of co-operative creameries, mills and bacon factories by the Black and Tans, auxiliaries and RIC, was intensified. Two were burned down on August 6th, one on the tenth and others on the 16th and 17th.

On August 22nd one of the largest creameries in Ireland, at Knocking in County Limerick, was destroyed by bombs which were thrown into the engine room by members of the RIC. The creamery owned by Sir Thomas Cleeves, a loyalist, which employed over 50 people, was the trading centre for all the farms of the district and the distributing centre for the towns.

Most of the creameries destroyed were workers co-operatives. The co-operative agricultural movement, which flourished throughout the country during the previous decades, was the life work of Sir Horace Plunkett and involved people of all parties and of all persuasions.

The Irish author, George Russell (AE) writing in the *Irish Homestead* con-

demned the attacks while Plunkett demanded an investigation but to little effect. All protests to the British authorities proved useless.

## DEVASTATION CONTINUED

The devastation continued during the following months until over 100 co-operative centres of employment had been destroyed.

Although large numbers of people suffered great hardships as a result of these attacks, it strengthened their resolve to support the IRA's military campaign and the republican government in their efforts to defeat the British forces of occupation in Ireland.

By August 31st, 1920, 70 years ago this week, the British campaign of terror in Ireland had intensified dramatically with almost daily attacks on economic and industrial centres throughout the country.



● LILY FITZSIMMONS

Following the oration, the crowd marched back to Inishfree Gardens where the local community were entertained by the bands, who played a number of ballads before closing the day's events with a rendition of *Amhrán na bhFiann*.

## LEIRMHEAS

## Glór an Phréamhaí

LE PADRAIG O SNOADAIGH

IS MAITH is fiú £5 a chaitheamh ar Cobbett in Ireland: A Warning to England. Cé nach bhfuil an réamhrá ag George Spater iomlán go leor le h-eolas an chúlra a thabhairt dúnán tá dóthain anseo a mhealadh an lítheáin a dul ag cíuáit a thuilleadh.

Bhain Cobbett leis an traidisiún 'préamhrach' i bpóilíteachta na Sasana, duine ó chúlra bocht a bhain clú amach mar iriseoir is mar feiseir ar ball, duine a dhiol go daor fosta sna tionscaíosaigh as na tuairimí ríciúil a nocht sé.

Rinne sé camachairt in Eirinn (Láigeán agus Mumhan don chuid is mó) sa bhliain 1834 agus bhi ar intinn aige leabhar a scriobh as a bhfaca sé. Níor mhair lena chur i giorrach a churtaigh Denis Knight i measc a chuid scribhinní san Political Register ach go háirithe sa chaoi is gur féidir a rá anois gur thocail sé an leabhar as ar fhág Cobbett.

Chuir a bhfaca sé fearg agus allacht air agus níor spárlá sé na polaitiúirí is na tionscaí talún is na polaistíte, ba chúis le droch-staid aon phobail.

Go minic bhraitheá gur William Thompson bhi ag scriobh — cearta an duine, feargarthach an uasáime, teideal an tairgeora do lúach a chuid taigíochta agus ariail.

## NIOS MEASA AS

Dob fhuth leis dílithe ná leasaithe nó córais a d'fhág an duine deardóil gan dinit. Dob fhuth leis Mathús mar shampla, an duine sin a chuisigh sé as cur i gcoiméine a parish planning application to build houses for the village poor, on the grounds that this would encourage the married couples to produce children". Ba ghairín leis na Poor Laws a chealaigh fir is mna ó chéile is a d'fhág iad ar aon dealaithe óna gpoiblí leanai. Chuir sé go láidir in eadain na fimeantacht a mhíagh liobrálachas in éineacht na scíobháithe Dubháin sna Indiacha Thiar is a d'fhan dall ar na boicht in Eirinn a bhi níos measa as ó thaobh bith de, titíochta is, é ideá ní mar a bhitheáil na scíobháithe céanna.



## BALLRAIOCHT SHINN FÉIN

Sinn Féin

Is é bunaidhinn Shinn Féin aistíarraingt na Breataine ó na Sé Chontae, athaontú ár dtíre agus bunadh poblaicht soisialach daon-

lathach.

Más mian leat bheith i do bhall de Sinn Féin, no tuilleadh eolas a fháil faoi Sinn Féin nó ar gníomhartha agus polasaithe, Líon an fórm thios agus seol é chuig Sinn Féin, 44 Cearnog Pharnell, Baile Átha Cliath 1. Ainm...

Seoladh...

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TULLEIGH LOGOS O Tíortha: 141 Ballyboden Road, Athlone, Co. Westmeath, Ireland. Tel: 090 71119 (Fax: 090 71166)

Ceisteanna polaitiúla curtha  
faoi bhráid O hEochaídh

Agus é ag oscailt Ceardlann na Coille go hoifigiúil a Domhnach, Lunasa 19, cuireadh ceisteanna polaitiúla rí-achanta an lae inniu faoi bhráid príomh aire na 26 Contae, Cathal O hEochaídh.

Sa grangraf tá Roibeárd O hEartáin ag taispeáint an gréas nua atá aige do T-Léine ag tacu leis an éileamh ar son Teiffsí na Gaeltachta. Níl freagra a bith ag O hEochaídh. Agus é ag fágáint an aonad nua i Daingean Uí Chúise, Contae Chiarraí, bhrónn Roibeárd cártá Poist air ag cur in iúl dó nach geobhfaidh an Baile Átha Cliathach Dessie Ellis a chuid ceartáid daonna má dántar eiseachadh air chuirg córas dli na Breataine.

Tá T-Léinte/Geansaithe, £6/£11 (postas san áireamh), le mana Teiffsí na Gaeltachta ar fáil ó Cló Ceilteach, Ceardlann na Coille, An Daingean, Contae Chiarraí.

## Ceacht 5

Foghlaim :

dúch, ink  
caic, chalk  
rothar, a bicycle  
cart, a car

ortáise, an orange  
pingin, a penny  
airgead, money  
punt, a pound

tá leabhar agam, I have a book  
tá leabhar agat, you have a book  
tá leabhar aige, he has a book  
tá leabhar aici, she has a book  
tá leabhar againn, we have a book  
tá leabhar agaibh, you have a book  
tá leabhar aeu, they have a book

Tá leabhar ag Brian, Brian has a book.  
Nil leabhar ag Nora, Nora has not a book.  
An bhfuil leabhar agat? Have you a book?  
Cad tá agat? What have you (got)?

There is no Irish word for a or an:  
leabhar, a book; oráiste, an orange.

## Léigh :

1. Tá peann ag Nora, agus tá dúch aici.
2. Tá caic ag Brian, ach nil peann luaidh aige.
3. Tá rothar ag Maire, ach nil cart aici.
4. Tá airgead ag Séan agus ag Pól, ach nil punt acu.

## Freagair :

1. Cad tá ag Nora? 2. Cad tá ag Brian?
3. Cad tá ag Maire? 4. Cad tá ag Séan agus ag Pól?

## Cuir Gaeilge air seo :

1. I have a pen. 2. You have chalk. 3. He has a car.
4. She has a bicycle but she has not a car.
5. We have money but we have not a pound.
6. They have a pound. 7. The teacher has chalk.
8. What have you got? I have a penny.

# Join Sinn Féin

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

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

Name.....

Address.....

Tel.....



## IRELAND ISN'T NEUTRAL

"THERE IS a firm belief among Irish people that we are a neutral country," said Carol Fox of Irish CND at a public meeting on the crisis in the Gulf in Powers Hotel on Monday, August 27th. "It's a pity that people don't realise how much our neutrality has been compromised by successive Irish governments." She also pointed out that US troop planes are being serviced and fuelled at Shannon Airport, hardly the actions of a neutral Irish state.

The meeting, which placed particular emphasis on the 26-County state's compromised position as a neutral state, was chaired by Grattan Healy, who warned, as did most of the speakers, that Iraq actually doesn't see Ireland as a neutral country but as a belligerent na-

tion. "It's a bit like justice," he commented. "Not only does neutrality have to be done but it has to be seen to be done."

Tony Coughlan of Amárach Ireland 2000 pointed to how Iraq had released citizens of countries such as Norway, Finland, Sweden and Austria because these countries are seen as neutral and advised that Dublin should put the safety of its own people and its own interests first rather than taking part in some EC-oriented consensus which effectively gives the lie to Irish claims of neutrality.

### CALL FOR HELP

Michael Hogg, whose wife Deirdre, a doctor with PARC in Baghdad, is trapped because of the current situation in the Gulf, spoke of his fears for the safety of his wife. He urged the Dublin government to adhere strictly to the UN guidelines and to do everything in its power to secure exit visas for Irish passport-holders. He wanted direct contact at the highest possible level, at least foreign affairs but

preferably at head of state level, between Dublin and Iraq. He also called for telephone helplines and counselling for relatives of those trapped and the setting up of relatives' support group.

Carol Fox described the present crisis situation in the Gulf as a testimony to greed, not just in terms of oil but the entire arms trade, saying that a lot of people were now lining their pockets as a result of the prospect of large-scale conflict. She warned of the danger of a new consensus in the wake of this crisis against disarmament, citing the dangers posed by 'madmen', when in reality the smart thing to do would be to clamp down on the international arms trade.

Fox spoke of the irony that many states, if war does happen, will end up locking down the barrels of their own guns, as Western powers supplied Iraq with much of its hardware during the Iran/Iraq war. No less than 59 German companies are presently under investigation for illegal arms trading with Iraq. The lack of any kind of strong

view constitutes an "attack on the legitimacy of the democratic struggle itself"; and finally, we believe that a perspective for democracy in Ireland that rules out socialism as an immediate aim is in danger of failing to realise even its democratic aspirations; Owen, however, has constructed a Chinese wall between the struggle for democracy and the struggle for socialism. De Valera summed it up thus: "Labour must wait."

Dominic Carroll, Socialist Workers' Movement, 54 Capwell Road, Cork.

PS Owen is mistaken when he claims that the Socialist Workers' Party "were kicked out of the ANC for their anti-apartheid". The SWP, and our supporters in South Africa, whilst supporting the ANC's struggle against apartheid, have never been members of that organisation.

### Bullying small nations

A Chairde,

It gives me great pleasure to see that the British and United States have bitten off more than they can chew (with regard to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait).

They have no right to use the United Nations as a loophole to wage war on the Iraqi people. The United Nations is there to make peace. What's going on between Iraq and Kuwait is an internal dispute which can be resolved within their own Arab framework.

If they, the British and United States, are so concerned with the Kuwaiti people's liberty, why have they not done the same to the Israeli? To implement resolution 242 of the United Nations Security Council: demanding Israeli withdrawal from the Palestinian territories of the West Bank, Gaza and East Jerusalem. These territories were annexed 23 years ago, or the withdrawal of all British troops from their occupation of Irish territory.

There are but two examples of the British and United States stand on liberty for nations. However, I do not believe in the Iraqi acquisition of Kuwait territory by force. The British and the United States have been bul-

lying small nations for centuries, nations who can only defend themselves and not wage war against them because of their size and strength. The British and the United States use their size and strength to keep these nations down. But now Thatcher and Bush have bitten off more than they can chew where Iraq is concerned.

This war is not about the Kuwaiti people's liberty, it's about power, control, greed, who controls the world economy and most of all, oil. The British, the United States and the Iraqis don't care about peoples or nations' liberty.

As I said the situation could be resolved within an Arab framework. The British and United States should stick to the peacekeeping force with the task of implementing peacefully resolution 660 of the United Nations Security Council which refers to the Iraq move into Kuwait.

Remember one thing, "England's difficulty is our opportunity" — PH Pearse.

Roger,  
Rialto,  
Dublin 8.

### Sponsored run A Chairde,

On August 11th republican prisoners in Long Kesh, Maghaberry and Joe Doherty in New York took part in a sponsored run as our contribution towards Irish language medium education in the Six Counties. We would now like to take this opportunity to thank our families, friends and language activists throughout Ireland and abroad who helped raise sponsorships for us. The money raised will, we hope, make a significant contribution to lessening the financial difficulties experienced by those involved in Irish medium primary education.

At this stage it is important that the sponsorship money is collected as soon as possible and forwarded to either: Bairbre de Brún, 147 Andersonstown Road, Belfast BT 11 9BW. Phone 301719, or Marcos Mac Ruairí 64b Racecourse Road, Shantallow. Phone 359747.



Public meeting on the Gulf crisis in Powers Hotel on Monday

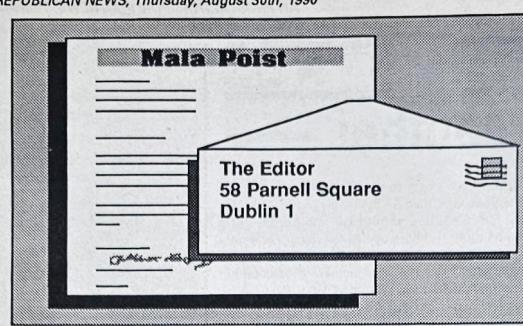
international response to the gassing of the Iranians and the Kurds was cited by herself, and indeed most of the other speakers, as an example of the hypocrisy which surrounds much of the West's posturing on this present crisis; the lack of response to the US invasions of Panama and Grenada and Israel's occupation of the Golan Heights also being mentioned.

### DOUBLE STANDARDS

Patricia McKenna, an organiser of the successful Alternative EC Summit, criticised the double standards being used in condemnations of the whole hostage situation, remarking on how the British army in the Six Counties have long used the public as a shield against attack, building their bases beside

primary schools and suchlike. Colm Ó Caomhánaigh, foreign affairs spokesperson for the Green Party, said that the UN should take direct control of the forces now assembled in the Gulf, as individual governments such as Britain and the US have at present too much power, making it too easy for them to provoke a conflict. He wryly commented that Kuwait must be the first country ever to pay for its own invasion, referring to the vast sums donated to Iraq during its war with Iran.

A resolution was approved by the meeting to be handed in to Leinster House for the Dáil's two special sittings on Tuesday 28th and Wednesday 29th August, urging a policy of positive neutrality by the Dublin government and strict adherence to UN guidelines.



### Sexist language

A Chairde,

On behalf of the Shantallow Sinn Féin Women's Department I would like to ask Cormac a question. In the final frame of his cartoon in *An Phoblacht* on Thursday, August 16th, did the character inadvertently say "manning" when he meant "staffing"? We hope so. As I am sure Cormac would be the first to agree women make an invaluable contribution to both the successful operation of Sinn Féin advice centres throughout Ireland and to the wider Republican Movement.

Betty Broily,  
Women's Department,  
Shantallow Sinn Féin,  
Droic.

### CORMAC REPLIES.

Sisters and comrades,

A slight confusion seems to have arisen about my work. There are those who appear to believe that the little characters who appear on the back page of *AP/RN* are me, that they speak with my voice. Not true. They are semi-fictional creations. When one of them uses a "sexist" phrase I am merely reflecting the usage that I occasionally hear around me from men.

Fortunately many of my friends are members of the Republican Movement so it is seldom that I have to hear such talk.

Many's a time I have come across comrades waiting at the side of the road for the "green person" to appear on the traffic lights. Often have I assisted

them at Christmas to build a "snow person".

Nonetheless it is true that even the most dedicated Sinn Féin worker will occasionally lapse into reactionary usage. I am glad to say that such lapses are exceedingly rare. But I feel I would be failing in my duty if I failed to record these rare, but appalling, defects.

Cormac.

### Democratic struggle

A Chairde,

Benny Bennett is entitled to his view on the prospects for socialism in Ireland, even if he doesn't think it's on the agenda at the moment. But he's wrong to suggest that Trotskyists "refuse to recognise the validity of the democratic struggle" because of our rejection of "stagism" (*AP/RN* August 9th). Quite the opposite is true.

We've always supported struggles for democracy, whilst arguing against the limiting of such struggles to democratic goals, and against those who want to put off the struggle for socialism to another day.

In this, we stand in good company. Owen doesn't believe it, but Lenin did repudiate stagism in Russia way back in 1917. His *April Theses* argued that though the revolution had toppled the Tsar and brought a degree of democracy to the country it could be pushed further still, to the overthrow of capitalism and the creation of a workers' state. Furthermore, Lenin

assisted that to hold up the revolution could pave the way for counter-revolution.

Trotsky too held the same view, having developed the theory of permanent revolution ten years earlier. In the '20s, he further elaborated his ideas to make them relevant for democratic struggles in the colonised countries. Stalin, in contrast, forced socialists in China, Spain and elsewhere to hold back any struggles threatening to overthrow capitalism. 'Democracy first' was his credo. In China, loyal communists followed the line only to be murdered in their hundreds of thousands by their nationalist allies, the KMT. And still there was no democracy. It was the same sorry story in Spain. Three years of democratic struggle and sabotage of socialist struggles by the Stalinists ended in no socialism and no democracy either.

Of course, we're very much in favour of a struggle for democratic rights. In Ireland, that entails the smashing of the Orange state. Where we part company with Owen is in our view that nothing short of workers' revolution can do the job. Our perspective therefore differs with him on three main points. We look to the working class to smash the two states on this island; Owen favours a combination of armed struggle and "democratic struggles" kept on a tight leash; we think that the national struggle can grow over into a struggle for socialism; Owen thinks this impossible, and worse, to advocate such a

view constitutes an "attack on the legitimacy of the democratic struggle itself"; and finally, we believe that a perspective for democracy in Ireland that rules out socialism as an immediate aim is in danger of failing to realise even its democratic aspirations; Owen, however, has constructed a Chinese wall between the struggle for democracy and the struggle for socialism. De Valera summed it up thus: "Labour must wait."

Dominic Carroll,

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• Desmond Greaves, pictured in 1966/67

## Remembering Greaves

BY TOM O'DWYER

DESMOND GREAVES was a dedicated, accurate historian who opened up parts of our past to us — parts omitted in conventional, academic accounts. He was also an activist and his life was dedicated to the struggle against partition. The Connolly Association in Britain became, under his leadership, a political backbone for the Irish community in Britain and its newspaper, the *Irish Democrat* was, for many years, a lone voice for Irish freedom.

Tony Coughlan, his loyal friend, has written an obituary essay which has been published by the Irish Labour

History Society. It is a faithful account of Greaves' life. It is impossible to underestimate the influence of Greaves' two great works, his biographies of James Connolly and Liam Mellows.

These were more than

mere accounts of the lives in question. Greaves was a Marxist and he set himself the task of explaining the overall political and economic questions which dominated the period of his subjects' lives. In doing so, he explained the reasoned socialist republicanism of Connolly and Mellows, showing how it was based on principles which were impossible to refute. That made him an unflinching opponent of those who are now revising history with a unionist bias.

### IMMENSELY POWERFUL

Far and away Greaves' most important contribution to politics was his emphasis on the democratic aspects of the struggle. He was the first to clearly advocate a campaign for civil rights in the Six Counties and his ideas were immensely powerful among the original leaders of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association.

Desmond Greaves was an extraordinary figure, but he was no god. Like all the rest of us, he made mistakes. It would be wrong for any reviewer to ignore the two most important of these.

Coughlan's essay reminds us that in 1968, Greaves "was a strong critic" of Peoples' Democracy, the student-based group which marched to Derry and was ambushed at Burntollet Bridge. He believed the PD march was provocative and that it prevented the growth of support for civil rights in the unionist community.

These matters apart, Desmond Greaves remains one of the most important writers about Ireland in the last quarter century. He deserves a faithful memoir and this is it.

C. Desmond Greaves, 1913-1988: An Obituary Essay by

Anthony Coughlan, published by Irish Labour History Studies.

Price £1



lieved that this would merely give the bigots time to organise against the growing tide of protest. It was necessary to keep up the morale of those who were coming onto the streets for the first time.

### WRONG

Everything which happened in the months after the Burntollet march showed that Greaves was wrong. Had there been any substantial civil rights feeling in the loyalist areas it would have made itself known, whether or not PD marched.

Greaves' view of the death of Storny is even more remarkable. He saw it as a setback rather than a milestone on the road to freedom. Once again he was over-estimating the likelihood of progressive politics from the loyalist community.

These matters apart, Desmond Greaves remains one of the most important writers about Ireland in the last quarter century. He deserves a faithful memoir and this is it.

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## Imeachtaí

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

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

WHITE-LINE PICKET  
'Justice for all'  
6-7pm every Friday  
Finglas Dual Carrigaway  
Janelle Shopping Centre  
DUBLIN

WHITE LINE PICKET  
'SEGREGATION IN  
CRUMLIN ROAD JAIL'  
5-6pm every Saturday  
Glenshane Road  
MAGHERA  
County Derry  
Organised by the  
County Derry Relatives Action  
Committee

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

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

WHITE-LINE PICKET  
in support of segregation in  
Crumlin Road Jail  
1.30pm Saturday 1st September  
Assemble Lower Falls  
Sinn Féin Centre  
BELFAST  
please show your support

COLE/COLLEY  
COMMEMORATION  
Assemble 2.30pm Sunday 2nd  
September  
Beaumont House  
March to Yellow Road  
DUBLIN

PUBLIC MEETING  
'Stop the Programme for National  
Recovery'  
8pm Thursday 6th September  
Connolly Hall  
CORK  
Speakers: Des Dorwin, Ber Stone  
and John Hurley

JOHN O'ROURKE  
COMMEMORATION  
Assemble 2.30pm  
Sunday 9th September  
Shrine of John O'Rourke  
Moat Road, Riost  
DUNHILL  
County Waterford  
3.30pm at grave of John O'Rourke  
Ballygunner Graveyard]

LIAM LYNCH COMMEMORATION  
3pm Sunday 9th September  
The Memorial  
Knockmealdown Mountains  
COUNTY TIPPERARY  
Oration: Gerry Adams MP

PUBLIC MEETING  
'Don't extradite Dossie Ellis to  
British injustice'  
8pm Wednesday 3rd October  
ATGWU Hall  
Middle Abbey Street  
DUBLIN  
Speaker: Fr Dennis Carroll



mand of a radio.

Hard to name a favourite, in such a deeply personal book. Most appealing perhaps is Ann Zell's ability and determination to get to the core of herself through these poems, mapping her world within and without with great honesty and tenderness.

Literary critics would have lots more to say in praise of *Banshee in the Office*. All I can add is "Thanks, Ann", and at £1, it has got to be the best value-for-money book of poems of 1990.

Orders to Ann Zell, c/o Falls Women's Centre, Mulholland Terrace, 149 Falls Road, Belfast 12.

I WAS MAKING my way through the jam-packed programme of events of the West Belfast Festival earlier this month, and going from play to folk session, from photographic exhibitions to paintings and sculptures, in awe and wonderment: West Belfast had done it again. And among the many talents which shone through the festival I met that of a woman who on her day off helped the Falls Women's Centre with their craft sale, and also sold, matter-of-fact, her own book of poems, for £1: *Banshee in the Office* — "proceeds donated to the Falls Women's Centre!"

Born and raised in the USA, Ann Zell moved to West Belfast ten years ago and West Belfast made her its own. She works with the area's biggest employer, the Royal Victoria Hospital, as a medical secretary. She has a daughter. She loves spending holidays cycling in Donegal. These are the threads that form the fabric of Ann Zell's poems.

"Some mornings wind off the mountain blows me into work down the escalator" How many women working in the RVI must have felt exactly like that as they descended into the "traumatic corridors" for another day's work?

### MOVING WORDS

Ann's parents are evoked in moving words. *Claiming* recalls her father's last years, spent confined to a wheelchair, no longer "upright and square" but "as fragile as the tinkeroy man we made from knobs and

clips". *Ann's parents* are evoked in moving words. *Claiming* recalls her father's last years, spent confined to a wheelchair, no longer "upright and square" but "as fragile as the tinkeroy man we made from knobs and

# Bush's war gets bogged down

**THE FIRST CASUALTIES** in George Bush's Oil War against Iraq occurred on Wednesday when a US aircraft crashed and burst into flames. It was an extraordinary echo of another US military disaster.

During the Iranian hostage crisis ten years ago, Jimmy Carter had a US military force airlifted into Iran's Tabbas Desert from which to launch a rescue attempt on the US Embassy in Tehran where the hostages were being held. But the operation backfired when two helicopters crashed into each other in mid-air. The rescue attempt was then aborted.

Memories of that sort are beginning to take the gloss off the war-machine which Bush is building up in the Middle East. The most pro-imperialist commentators are warning that the longer the delay before the shooting begins, the greater are the difficulties that the US president will face.

These difficulties fall into three categories; military, economic and political. The economic ones are by far the most serious. The US economy is now teetering on the brink of

a serious recession. The longer Bush's expensive display of power goes on, the more likely will be a major economic crisis. The military problems will also grow if the operation is of a long duration. US soldiers are, by and large, not trained for or used to desert warfare. The longer they are forced to wait in boiling dug-outs, the less effective they will become and disasters like that of the Tabbas Desert will be all the more likely.

## RAISED VOICES

On the political front, voices are now being raised against this military escapade. Senator Bob Kerrey, a Vietnam War veteran, has asked why US troops "should die for cheap oil". Robert Dornan, a member of the president's Republican Party, has stated: "It is only a matter of time before Republicans ask why

American boys are fighting to defend one monarchy and restore another."

Adding to Bush's problems, his war juggernaut was slowed down temporarily on Tuesday when Iraqi President Saddam Hussein promised that some Western women and children might be able to leave his country.

Reports of a large corn harvest in Iraq posed yet more problems for the US president. It now seems that his initial belief that Iraq could be starved into submission was highly overoptimistic. Normally, native grown corn would feed the country for up to two months but with the rationing plans now in place, the country could feed itself until the end of the year. It looks as if Bush's illegal food blockade will not succeed.

## AVERTING WAR

Saddam's foreign minister Tariq Aziz is due to meet the UN secretary-general today in what may turn out to be the last chance to avert



● Jordanian children carry packets of dried milk collected by local charities for distribution in Iraq

open war. Javier Pérez de Cuellar's decision to have talks with Aziz in the Jordanian capital Amman is backed by Cuba and Yemen, both of which are now on the UN Security Council. Although the US is playing down the significance of de Cuellar's mission, there are hopes that the Peruvian diplomat will be able to begin a process of negotiations.

The PLO and Jordan are also pursuing peace from another direction. Their joint peace plan, which is now being put forward by King Hussein of Jordan in a tour of Middle Eastern capitals, is based on turning Kuwait into a 'free zone' holding a close relationship with Iraq along the lines of that between Monaco and France which controls many aspects of Monaco's economic life.

The PLO/Jordanian proposals would mean the return of the Sabah dynasty to the throne of Kuwait but they would also make the Emir into a constitutional monarch, subject to a democratically-elected parliament. These moves would also require the withdrawal of the Iraqi forces from Kuwait and that of the foreign forces from Saudi Arabian territory.

There are reports that Baghdad has given this peace plan its support. Even if these moves do not bear fruit, they are likely to delay the onset of hostilities. That, in itself, gives time for other suggested peace formulas and will make it all

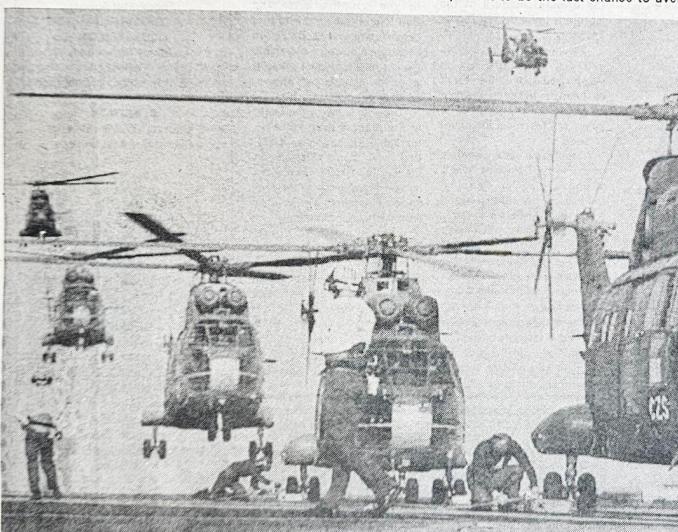
the more difficult for the US to implement its first option: war.

## POLITICAL AMMUNITION

But Saddam Hussein has provided the invaders of the Arab lands with considerable political ammunition as well. His decision to refuse foreign nationals in Iraq and Kuwait the right to leave, effectively threatens the lives of these civilians and puts them in the firing line — a decision criticised by Libyan leader Muammar Ghadafi. It has lost the Iraqi considerable support in other countries.

Per head of population, Ireland has more hostages in Iraq/Kuwait than any other country and the vast bulk of these people are hospital workers. It seems that even if they were given the right to leave, some of these people would remain. But the vast majority are hoping against hope that they will be able to go. The Iraqi government has no right to hold them against their will.

Their future and that of peace in the Middle East now hang by a thin thread. It would take only one mistake to cut it entirely. Every hint of encouragement for the US war effort threatens to do that. The Dublin government will bear a heavy responsibility if it allows its involvement with the EC and with Western interests to prejudice Iraq against these people. The decision to allow US aircraft to refuel at Shannon goes a long way towards this. It must be reversed immediately.



● Puma helicopters leave for the Gulf

# Irish/Welsh solidarity

**THE CAUSE** of Irish self-determination was successfully publicised at the national Eisteddfod of Wales by the South Wales branch of Mudiad Milwyr Mas — Troops Out Movement.

The Eisteddfod is an annual Celtic festival celebrating Welsh culture and language. For many years South Wales Mudiad Milwyr Mas has been campaigning to be allowed to have a stand at the Eisteddfod. This year it was held from August 4-11th in the Rhymney

Valley, a former stronghold of coal-mining in South Wales, and Mudiad Milwyr Mas was given a positive response by the festival organisers and visitors alike.

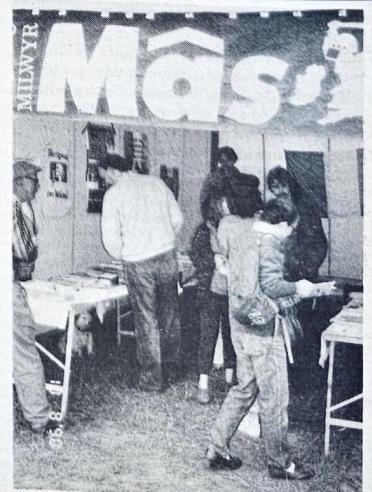
The Eisteddfod visitors took a keen interest in the aims of Mudiad Milwyr Mas (Britain out of Ireland, self-

determination for Ireland) and the information available on the stand. Many people who looked in at the stand had a talk with the Mudiad Milwyr Mas members there, seeking clarification of the issues and improving their knowledge of what is going on. Welsh people recognised a common interest, with their desire for freedom from oppression by the Westminster government. A T-shirt produced by Mudiad Milwyr Mas, which expresses this theme ('the same oppressor, the same aim — freedom'), was extremely popular.

There were also visitors to the stand from other countries including Ireland, France, Netherlands, Sweden, Norway, Spain, Germany, Libya, Scotland, America and England. It was notable in talking to visitors from continental Europe how

much better informed they were about Ireland, and this underlined the extent to which censorship and propaganda has distorted reporting in the mass media in Wales, Scotland and England.

Mudiad Milwyr Mas also sold APRN; every copy that could be obtained sold straight away, and unfortunately demand exceeded supply. Another success was a Welsh translation of Sinn Féin's *Scenario for Peace*. Also, over £400 worth of books and publications were sold. The plastic bullet that was on display shocked many people who had not realised what a dangerous and offensive weapon it is. In all, this proved to be Mudiad Milwyr Mas's greatest success in Wales so far, and plans are already being made for the 1991 Eisteddfod.



● The Mudiad Milwyr Mas stand at this year's Eisteddfod

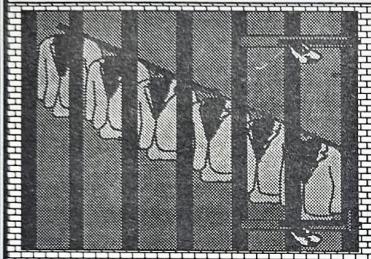




# THE FLYING COLUMN

NOW THAT it seems the Birmingham Six are at last entering the final phase of their 16-year ordeal, the Dublin government will no doubt try to share the celebratory lime-light. If recent statements by the six men condemning Dublin's inactivity are any indication, however, it will take more than a few suits to retrieve the situation for Charlie Haughey.

Any move forward in their case has been achieved by those relatives, lawyers, friends and campaigners who have battled away for so long. The Birmingham Six will know who is deserving of their gratitude and successive 26-County governments will be well down the list, to their eternal shame.



## EGGSTRA, EGGSTRA

An advert currently running on British television demonstrating the freshness of Tesco supermarkets' produce, features Dudley Moore scampering around a forest in France in search of free-range chickens, calling: "Chuckey, chuckey chuckey!"

If I might be so bold as to make a small suggestion, perhaps Britain's anti-terrorist supreme, Commander George Cleverly Coleman, should adopt similar tactics in Britain. Given his track record he certainly couldn't do any worse. They even gave him another title to help him in his role, he is now Britain's National Anti-terrorist Chief.

"Sure that man is well used to running around like a headless chicken," a source close to the heart of the Republican Movement told the *Flying Column*.

Tiofaidh, tiofaidh, George.

## BRIGADIER LOSES HIS COOLER

A faulty fridge and a can of fly spray have been blamed for a three-hour security alert after an explosion at the home of a retired British army officer on Monday, August 27th.

Thirty neighbours were evacuated from their homes to



a nearby pub during the alert which followed the blast as police and bomb disposal 'experts' sifted through Brigadier Brian Harding's kitchen in South Moreton, Oxfordshire. The refrigerator had apparently gone on fire, causing the can of fly spray to explode.

Harding, who has served in the Six Counties, retired in 1988.

And a suspicious package containing a baby's nappy, a hat and some food, was destroyed in a controlled explosion outside a Chinese restaurant in Darlington called Bomb Bomb.

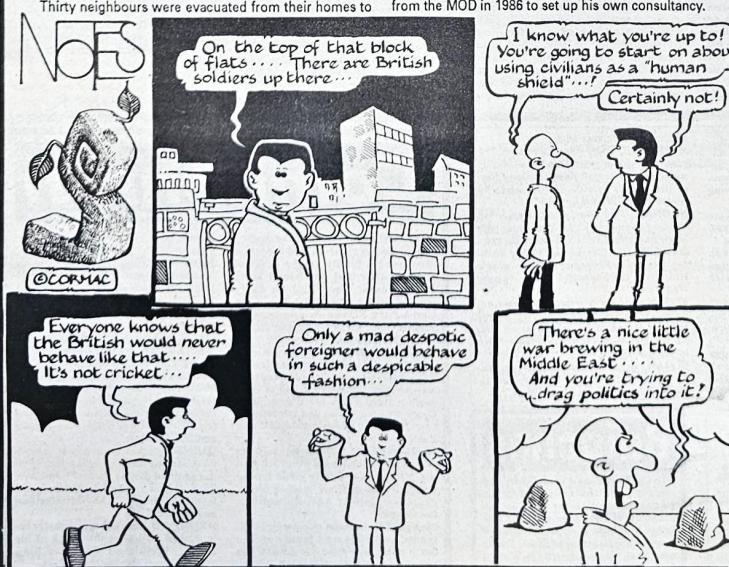
THE RADIANCE of the bride and the sartorial elegance of the groom at the wedding last week of Monica Broily and Gerry Tuite in Dublin, inspired certain republicans to rise to the occasion. In particular, one Rose Dugdale who is completely uninterested in fashion stunned the gathering by appearing in a stylish flared dress and high-heeled shoes.

Another republican Kerrymwoman of Australian extraction sported an equally à-la-mode pair of billowing silk trousers, borrowed for the occasion, but the effect was somewhat marred when she got up to dance at the reception and the same trousers almost fell around her ankles. Little things like that can make or break a night.

A FORMER director of ammunitions procurement for the British Ministry of Defence was due to appear at Bow Street Magistrates' Court yesterday, Wednesday, August 29th.

Gordon Foxley, of Henley-on-Thames, is alleged to have paid £10,000 to an assistant director in return for awarding a £40 million arms contract to a German company.

Foxley, formerly a Grade Six civil servant, had retired from the MOD in 1986 to set up his own consultancy.



THIS commemorative mural was painted by young people in a Ballybrack housing estate on Dublin's southside.

Unfortunately, the spirit of revisionism is strong among the powers-that-be in Dún Laoghaire Corporation and the mural was promptly sand-blasted. But not before it was captured on film.

CHRIS RYDER'S book (now in paperback), *The RUC — a force under fire*, contains the following pearl of wisdom: "One police analyst has likened their [the RUC's] role to that of a public toilet: no one likes toilets intruding all over the place but when people want either a toilet or a policeman, they want one in a hurry."

Follow this logic and the RUC's true role in life can be divined.

IN JUNE this column told of an extensive drug probe among members of the Black Watch regiment based at Ballykinlar, County Down. Five members of the regiment had gone AWOL because of the major investigation by military police into drug abuse, fleeing to Scotland.

The probe, which began when one doped squaddie was arrested and promptly squealed on his cronies, is ongoing and could involve up to 30 soldiers.

Four of the deserters from this, the Queen Mother's favourite regiment (she is its colonel-in-chief), have now been recaptured. An army spokesperson says that they are not under arrest but are being watched. A decision on the men's fate is pending from the Six-County GOC. A large number of men are still confined to their Ballykinlar Barracks.

## Dúirt Siad

I should like to deliver the following message to the British establishment: Ever since our arrest you have gloat at the prospect of having the Germans do your anti-Irish dirty work for you — free of charge! It gives me tremendous pleasure, therefore, to inform you that it will not be so much a case of two Irish republicans being put on 'trial' here, but rather Britain's corrupt, brutal and totally illegal occupation of north-east Ireland.

We shall learn the true facts behind the events ensuing from the imposition of a ruthless [British] military machine upon a section of the Irish civilian population.

We shall hear of the murders, the tortures, the collusion with loyalist death-squads, the cover-ups and all the other sordid activities inherent in British misrule in Ireland. — Gerry McGough at the start of his and Gerry Hanratty's trial in Düsseldorf, West Germany, earlier this month.

OOO

There is a certain irony in the fact that Irish republicans should be appearing before a German court on charges relating to the possession of a couple of 'war weapons' and alleged attacks on the British military. It is ironic considering that in 1916 the governing powers of a then united Germany sent a ship loaded with 20,000 'war weapons' to Irish republican insurgents for use against the British military — how times change! — Gerry McGough.

OOO

Mum, get the pan on. — Brian Keenan in Damascus following his release.

OOO

It's an understatement to say I am delighted to be home. It's where the heart is, you know. It's been a long, long, God-awful long day. It's been a long four-and-a-half years. Sometimes it seems like four-and-a-half lifetimes. — Brian Keenan at Dublin Airport on Saturday last.