

IRIS



ISSN 0790-7869

**SPECIAL
BUMPER
EDITION
80 PAGES**

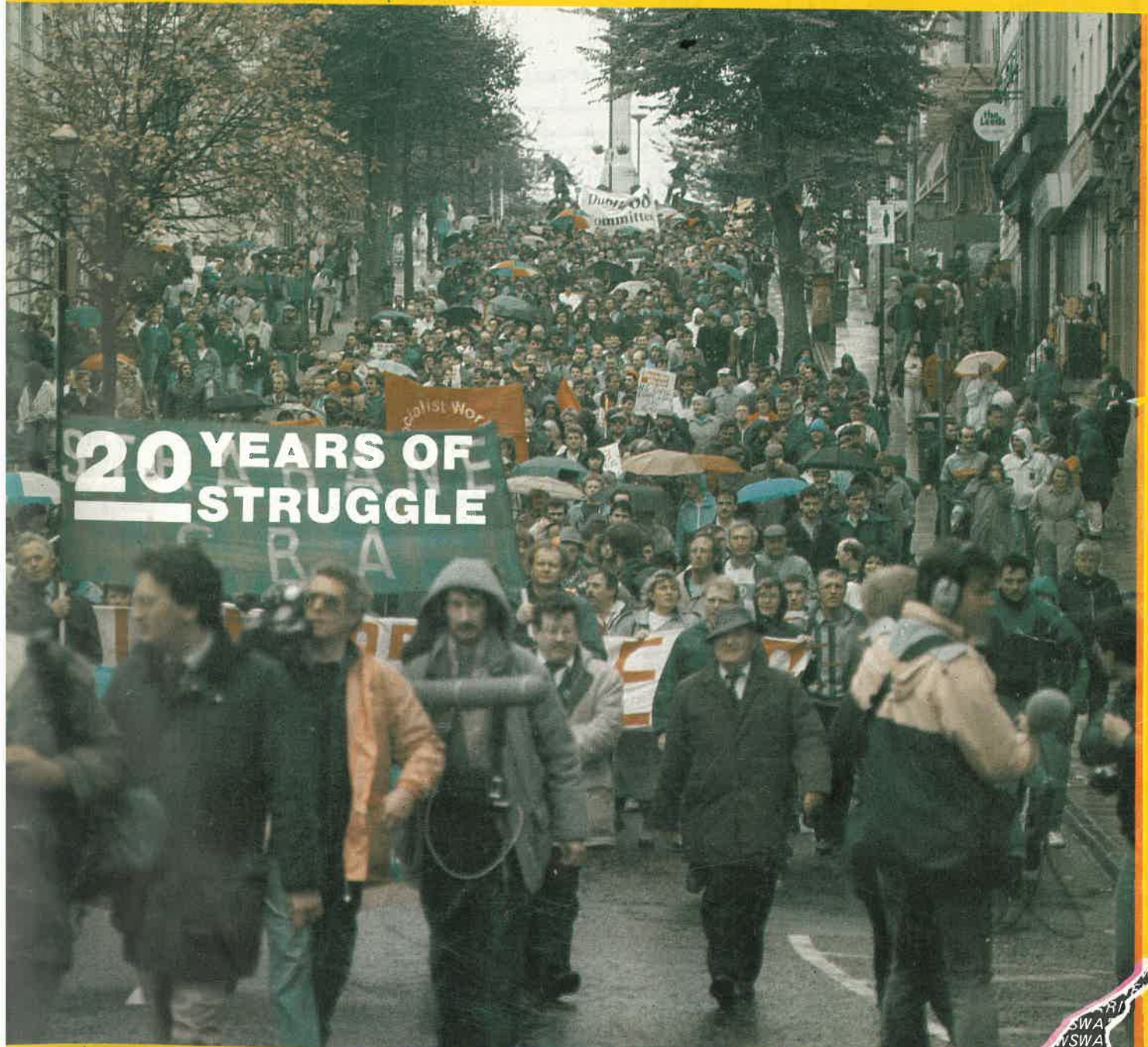
Price

£2.00

THE REPUBLICAN MAGAZINE

NOVEMBER 1988

NUMBER 12



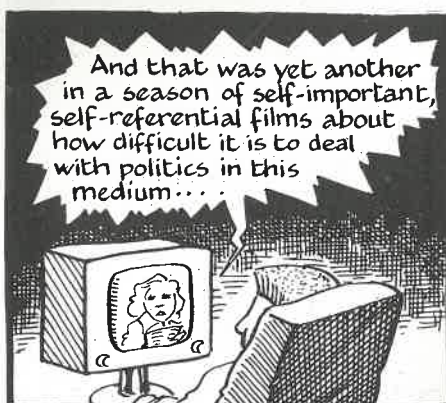
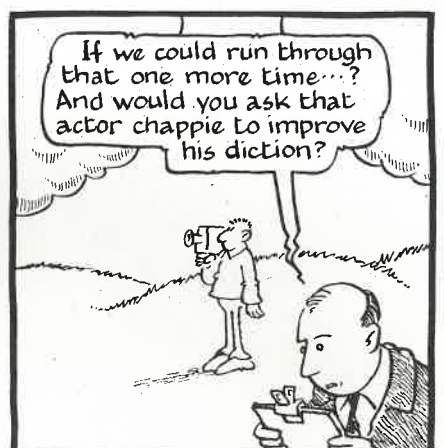
INSIDE: CIVIL RIGHTS: LOOKING BACK
An interview with Anthony Coughlan
1968 - A YEAR OF STRUGGLE
A chronology of events in the Six Counties during that year
JOBS FOR ALL: A LONG WAY TO GO
- the reality behind British government proposals

Extensive coverage of
IRA operations between
October 1987 and
October 1988.

Pen portraits of 16 Vol-
unteers who died in that
period



A FLARE IN THE TROUSERS



Contents

| | |
|---|----|
| VIEWPOINT | 2 |
| 1968-88 – No going back | |
| FEATURES | |
| Civil Rights – Looking back | 4 |
| <i>An interview with Anthony Coughlan</i> | |
| '68 – A year of struggle | 9 |
| <i>By Fergus O'Hare and Geraldine Holland</i> | |
| Jobs for all – A long way to go | 15 |
| <i>The reality behind British government proposals</i> | |
| Culture.... is it | 34 |
| <i>By Maire Nic hAnnaidh</i> | |
| Gabbin' Gaunchin' an' Praper talkin' | 25 |
| <i>Le 'One beyond the Pale'</i> | |
| Irish Protestants and Irish nationalism | 32 |
| <i>An open letter from an Irish Protestant</i> | |
| THE ARMED STRUGGLE | |
| War News | 37 |
| <i>Extensive coverage of IRA operations carried out in the last year</i> | |
| A week in March | 50 |
| <i>A look back at the events surrounding the funerals of Volunteers Mairead Farrell, Dan McCann and Sean Savage</i> | |
| FALLEN COMRADES | 57 |
| <i>A tribute to 16 IRA Volunteers who have died during the past 12 months</i> | |
| FOREIGN AFFAIRS | |
| Puerto Rico and the struggle for Independence | 64 |
| <i>By Martin Guevara</i> | |
| SHORT STORIES | 22 |
| Dawn Raids | |
| <i>A short story by Pauline Younger</i> | |
| BOOK REVIEWS | 68 |
| Liam Mellows and the Irish Revolution | |
| <i>– Reviewed by Tom Hartley</i> | |
| No Time For Love | |
| <i>– Reviewed by Frank Whitney</i> | |
| The People of Ireland | |
| <i>– Reviewed by Fergus O'Hare</i> | |
| Walking along the border | |
| <i>– Reviewed by Gerry Adams</i> | |
| Beyond the Rhetoric: Politics, the Economy and Social Policy in Northern Ireland | |
| <i>– Reviewed by Eileen Duffy</i> | |
| Disillusioned Decades, Ireland 1966-87 | |
| <i>– Reviewed by Des Wilson</i> | |
| Almost at the End | |
| <i>– Reviewed by Danny Morrison</i> | |
| POETRY | |
| I Would Like | 73 |
| <i>By Yevgeny Yevtushenko</i> | |
| On watching a Greek tragedy on television | 75 |
| <i>By Jane Plunkett</i> | |

CIVIL RIGHTS '68 A YEAR OF STRUGGLE



SEE PAGE 9



A week in March

SEE PAGE 50

COVER PHOTO

A MARCH in Derry on October 8th 1988 to commemorate the 20th anniversary of the Civil Rights march from Duke Street in 1968. The march was organised by the Derry '68 Committee.

'68 Committees have been formed throughout the country to organise events and produce information about the struggle over the last 20 years.

All correspondence should be addressed to:
The Editor, Iris, 51/55 Falls Road, Belfast.
or 58 Parnell Square, Dublin 1.

VIEWPOINT



● Derry march and rally on October 6th, to commemorate 20 years of struggle

1968-88—NO GOING BACK

IN THE LIGHT of recent British government restrictions on the media and curbs on electoral representation it is clear that northern nationalists enjoy less rights today than they did in 1968 when the issues of gerrymandering, housing and the Special Powers Act sparked off the original Civil Rights protest movement. People in the 26 Counties have also felt British rule impinge on their rights with Garda abuses and the erosion of the civil law as well as the economic effects of partition.

As articles in this *Iris* show the reaction of the unionist government at Stormont to the peaceful demand for reforms was the countdown to increasing repression. That repression reached a crescendo in August 1969 when the RUC in Derry suffered defeat at the hands of the Bogside youth and were replaced there by the British army. The RUC then went on to lead loyalist mobs into nationalist ghettos in Belfast where thousands of people were burnt out of their homes and several civilians shot dead.

Regardless of the particular circumstances when the British army came into here or there — for example, they didn't move into 100% nationalist

Crossmaglen to save the locals from loyalist mobs! — the most important single consideration in their deployment was the preservation of the Six-County state and the protection of British interests. They came in to restore British order to the crumbling unionist state whose forces and supporters were out of control on a course of self-destruction.

Against the background of snatch-squads, CS gas and curfews that strategic interest became clear very quickly to working-class nationalists. When the Stormont government further embarrassed Westminster and dragged its feet in implementing even the most cosmetic of reforms London simply imposed direct rule — the system of imperialist government which the North has known for the past 16 years.

British strategy is quite simple. A foothold in, rather than a withdrawal from the North, is the best guarantee it has of maintaining an Irish political and economic system acceptable to British (and other) interests. For centuries its all-Ireland garrison was based on the planters. That unwieldy system eventually gave way to partition, but partition was based on sectarian triumphalism which meant the nationalists remained second-class.

1968 changed all that.

VIEWPOINT



● 1988 march to commemorate the Duke Street Civil Rights march and 20 years of struggle afterwards

Nationalists were no longer prepared to remain second-class and gained the psychological self-esteem necessary to rise up and sustain their struggle for not only civil rights but for their full national rights. That is why first the loyalists and then Britain began killing people in an effort to intimidate and cow them.

British rule in the North is an affront to civil rights, Irish democracy and international law. Unfortunately, whilst Irish republicans will always remain indomitable, the cumulative effects of partition in the 26 Counties and the difference in ultimate objectives between Dublin governments and their SDLP allies on the one hand, and republicans on the other, have not surprisingly made it easier for Britain to sustain its rule.

Throughout 1988 Sinn Fein, in talks with the SDLP, challenged that party's analysis and lack of analysis on the nature of British rule. The details of the exchanges will be published shortly in a special Sinn Fein Publicity Department pamphlet. Sinn Fein's case is that the British are not neutral and that their presence in the North feeds loyalist intransigence. The SDLP argues that in the Hillsborough Treaty the British government has stated in Article 1 that it will legislate for Irish reunification if a majority wanting a united Ireland emerges in the North. This, the SDLP claims, proves that the British have no self-interest. The republican case is that the British could afford Article 1 because it will never be put to the

test, given the artificial majority position of the loyalists. Ironically, the Sinn Fein contention was confirmed by direct-ruler Tom King himself, who said on BBC TV on October 16th that it would be "quite wrong to say that the British government is neutral on the future of Northern Ireland... I support the Union strongly, I do not think that situation will change".

Twenty years after the launch of the Civil Rights Movement the struggle continues and at great cost. Many more allies at home and abroad have to be won over to it. Ways and means of broadening out support without compromising the existing methods of struggle have to be examined and the increasing confidence of our challenges to the SDLP and Fianna Fail, amongst others, has to be maintained.

The struggle has forced the pace of politics (and reform), forced the SDLP and Dublin government to confront some of their contradictions, particularly their widely off-the-mark assertions about the benignity of British rule post-Hillsborough 1985.

In 1988, more than ever, the raw repressiveness of British imperialism is being exposed: state executions; South African-style media restrictions on the freedom of the press; censorship of Sinn Fein elected representatives and of the party; making it incriminating to exercise one's right to silence; compulsory oaths for election candidates, etc.

IN 1968 THE REPRESSION WAS BAD.

IN 1988 IT IS WORSE.

But in 1968 we threw off our chains and our thoughts were free. Twenty years later we now have a movement seasoned in struggle.

We know that there can be no accommodation with the British should they attempt to maintain a foothold through a devolved administration.

WE MARCH ON

FROM THE STREETS OF 1968

TO THE STREETS OF A FREE IRELAND.

CIVIL RIGHTS

LOOKING

BACK

An interview with Anthony Coughlan, founder member of the Connolly Association, Civil Rights activist, Irish Sovereignty Movement and author of several books including Fooled Again?

When and why did you join the Civil Rights campaign?

I was not directly involved in the campaign, as I lived and worked in Dublin at the time. Such indirect connection as I had arose from the fact that in the late sixties I was assistant-secretary of the Dublin Wolfe Tone Society – the secretary being the late John Tozer – and edited its occasional bulletin *Tuairisc*.

The Wolfe Tone Societies were formed in 1963 to commemorate the bicentenary of Tone's birth. There were societies in Dublin, Belfast and Cork. They sought to bring together people of labour and repub-

lican background to discuss and encourage anti-imperialist political activity.

The meetings which led to the establishment of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA) on January 29th 1967 resulted from the coming together of the Belfast Wolfe Tone Society, whose key members were Fred Heatley, Jack Bennett, Liam Burke and Alec Foster, and some local trade unionists – principally Betty Sinclair, Noel Harris and Brian Graham, acting in their personal capacities. This development was naturally welcomed by the society's members in the South and by nationally-

minded people generally. Its potential was discussed in *Tuairisc*, which used to be circulated to opinion-leaders in labour, trade union and republican circles.

I took part in the Coalisland-Dungannon march in August 1968 and was present in Duke Street, Derry, on October 5th, when the RUC's assault on the Civil Rights demonstration brought the movement to world attention. But this involvement was no more than that of an interested visitor from the South showing solidarity.

Before then, when working in England from 1958 to 1961, I had been active in the Connolly Association, which pioneered the effort to expose the injustices of the unionist regime in British labour and trade union circles in that country. The CA is the oldest political organisation of the Irish community in Britain. It believed that the lack of civil liberties and democracy in the Six Counties could become the Achilles heel of unionism. In the period I was involved with it, it covered the 1958 Mallon and Talbot trial, won considerable support among Labour MPs in the House of Commons for the release of republican internees in the aftermath of the 1956-62 IRA Border Campaign and held a series of marches across England to draw attention to Britain's responsibility for her Northern Ireland 'political slum'.

These marchers walked behind a banner of a map of Ireland, with the

slogan "Ireland One Country" written across it. They were modest enough affairs — a couple of dozen Irish men and women giving up part of their annual holidays to try to show what the British government was permitting Brookeborough and Co. to get up to in the Six Counties. Even though they were met by indifference and ridicule rather than brickbats, these can truthfully be said to have been the first Irish civil rights marches. I took part in them, including one 250-mile twelve-day trudge from Liverpool to London via Manchester and Birmingham, with anti-unionist meetings being held in each town along the way. One was younger then! That was how my interest in democracy in the Six Counties started.

What has the campaign achieved?

It achieved such basic democratic rights as one-man-one-vote (sic) and an end to the property franchise in Six-County and local elections, as well as an end to gerrymandering and the introduction of majority-rule in Derry, Fermanagh and other local councils. It led to reforms in housing allocation. It exposed the abuses of the B-Specials and the Special Powers Act and various forms of discrimination against nationalists which unionist governments had carried out with impunity since 1921.

Politically, it exposed unionism before world opinion and internal British public opinion in quite a new way, winning international sympathy for Northern nationalists — part of the political majority in Ireland who had been turned by partition into a permanent minority under the rule of their political opponents. It showed that unionist control in the North could not exist unless bolstered by a political-administrative apparatus which was rooted in religious sectarianism and bigotry. British governments had sustained that system for 50 years. The Civil Rights Movement led to a squeeze on the unionist-Stormont regime from the popular movement in the North and from a British government which realised that public opinion in Britain and internationally would no longer tolerate what had been going on.



What has not been achieved and why?

Despite some improvements, discrimination against Catholics is still widespread, especially in relation to jobs. Hence the current relevance of the MacBride Principles. In key civil liberties areas the abuses of the direct rule administration in London have replaced the abuses of the unionist government — and the former are much harder to remove.

The Special Powers Act has gone, but its most draconic provisions are reincarnated in the Emergency Provisions Act. Instead of the B-Specials there is now the UDR. As well, there is a whole new apparatus of repression — Diplock Courts, Prevention of Terrorism Act etc. Some of these are of course the result of new circumstances which have come about since 1969.

Politically, I believe the main failure was the inability of the movement for democracy and civil rights either to win over or to neutralise a section of the Protestant population in relation to Catholic/nationalist demands. At least some of those responsible for initiating the Civil Rights campaign hoped that its political effect would be to divide unionism between "moderates" and "extremists", winning some of the former to the nationalist side on civil rights issues, isolating the

Orange-Paisleyite element and so opening up the possibility of influencing over time at least a section of erstwhile unionist opinion to adopt a more positive attitude towards a United Ireland. This would not have happened immediately of course, but with the apparatus of government-supported sectarianism destroyed, unionism, which was sustained by it, was finished. The challenge was to see if one quarter or so of the Protestants could be won over or neutralised, initially on civil rights, later on other issues pointing in an all-Ireland direction. If that could have been done it would have given a majority within the North for Irish unity, achieved peacefully or in a way which it would have been hard for Britain to block, no matter how much it desired to.

For a while it seemed as if the Civil Rights campaign might bring it off. Unionism did divide between O'Neillites and Paisleyites, with Paisley out on a limb. Now of course Paisley dominates the unionist stage — though as a backbencher at Westminster instead of prime minister at Stormont, that stage being nowadays more modest. Certainly for republicans who were involved, civil rights were never seen as ends in themselves. They were seen as remedying real abuses which

oppressed people, while simultaneously opening up a way to shatter Ulster unionism, which had been a monolith for 50 years, and advancing the possibility for the triumph of democracy for the whole of Ireland.

Looking back I think that "democratic rights" might have been a more accurate term than "civil rights", which was of course fashionable at the time because of the American Civil Rights Movement. For the fundamental wrong is the denial of their democratic rights to nationalists – both the political majority in Ireland as a whole and the political minority within the North. This derives from the British-imposed partition itself and must continue as long as partition remains.

Why did the campaign happen?

There was bound to be an explosion sometime, when the people decided to tolerate the intolerable no longer and found a way to act. In the 1960s a new generation in the Catholic community found the old Nationalist Party leadership no longer adequate. After the 1956 Border Campaign was over republicans began to get involved in mass political agitation against the different political manifestations of British rule and neo-colonialism in Ireland. For England too in the 1960s the Orange card was no longer as serviceable as it had been in the past. England has always looked on Ireland as a whole, not just the North, seeking to maximise her influence or control on the whole island and not just part of it.

As the 26 Counties grew more prosperous during the Sixties, with British firms investing there more and more, and as London and Dublin sought EEC membership together – the Common Market being the principal political goal of the British Government from 1959 to 1972 – good relations with the South became relatively more important for London. Hence Captain O'Neill was, so to speak, given his orders by his English political masters to clean up the unionist act and cultivate better relations with Sean Lemass. Another factor was that in Britain itself the work of the Connolly Association and the Cam-



● Terence O'Neill (left) at the meeting with Sean Lemass (right) in 1965

paign for Democracy in Ulster had significantly discredited support for unionism in labour circles. This reduced the room for manoeuvre of the British government. They could no longer run the Six Counties in the old way.

Why did the North explode politically in 1968 rather than some other year? My own view is that it was a real tragedy that the Civil Rights Movement did not get off the ground in 1964 or 1965, when conditions for it looked promising. For a time there seemed to be a chance it might do. In May 1965 the Belfast Trades Council, a mainly Protestant working-class body, held a conference to discuss organising a campaign on civil rights, gerrymandering and the Special Powers Act and to demand an enquiry into the working of the Government of Ireland Act 1920, which expressed Britain's responsibility. The republicans were at this conference and were well received. But nothing came of it because of foot-dragging by the Northern Ireland Labour Party. If the movement for civil rights had got going then rather than three years later, it would have been under the auspices of the largely Protestant Trades Council.

Some of the mistakes of the 1968-69 movement might have been avoided and a trade union-sponsored campaign

might have had more success in neutralising or winning-over some grassroots Protestant opinion. In retrospect I think those lost three years from 1965 to 1968 were crucial. They gave Paisleyism quite a new momentum, especially the events associated with the commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the Easter Rising in 1966. In that period the impatience of republicans understandably increased.

Perhaps if Civil Rights had got going earlier the gains might have been greater, especially on the political side. One cannot be sure of course; these are might-have-beens. The real scandal though was the failure at all times of the British parliament and government, which had over-riding responsibility and authority, to insist on basic rights and democracy, without the people of the Six Counties having to go through hell in order to obtain quite modest gains.

What do you think was the most important event of the Campaign?

I would say the mass demonstration organised by the Citizens' Action Committee in Derry on November 16th 1968, when 15,000 Derry people, including at least some Protestants, showed what disciplined mass action and competent leadership could achieve. It was a tremendous political and moral victory, coming only six weeks after the Duke Street events. Unionist Home Minister Craig had banned any civil rights demonstration within the Walls of Derry.

There had been thorough preparation by the huge crowd which gathered outside the walls. The Citizens' Action Committee explained their tactics in several pre-march meetings. When the march, which was illegal, reached the line of RUC men, negotiations began. The committee were determined to give the police no excuse which would have enabled the authorities to call on the troops and turn the whole thing into a riot. The RUC could do nothing in face of a disciplined 15,000 people. The CAC insisted on a token contingent being allowed through the police cordon to enter the city while the rest of the crowd



filtered through to the walls to hold their meeting.

The sheer magnitude and discipline of this demonstration convinced the unionist diehards at Stormont and their London masters that this really was a movement with a difference.

The gerrymandered Derry Corporation was abolished the week after and O'Neill announced his reform programme on November 22th.

Of course this success was easier in Derry than it would have been in Belfast. There were no Paisleyite mobs in the background. There were also better Catholic-Protestants relations in Derry after the joint fight they had made against losing a university, two railway stations and a cross-channel ferry as a result of unionist discrimination against the city in the previous few years.

Did the Civil Rights campaign go too far, too fast?

I think it is undoubted that the tactics of the People's Democracy — who were mainly young and inexperienced students without any organisation structure — contributed to raising the sectarian temperature, especially in the months after the Derry demonstration referred to, which ultimately drove the Civil Rights Movement back to the ghetto. This was not their intention of course, but it was the inevitable

consequence of their action in the context of the time.

I would like to emphasise that the People's Democracy of the late 1960s — unlike the organisation which bears this name today — had no formal membership or organisation. It was based on what they called "mass democracy", where anyone could come along to take part in a meeting and where decisions taken at the beginning could be reversed by another vote at the end, when the composition of those attending had significantly altered. With the enthusiasm and bravery but the political inexperience of students, PD went in for "propaganda by the deed" instead of the disciplined mass action. It was ideologically opposed to the kind of stewarding which headed off politically damaging riots in Derry and Armagh and which necessitated good preparation beforehand. Also some of the leading PD spokespersons put forward socialist demands, which might be desirable in themselves but were unachievable in the Six Counties context, thus causing divisions among those who could otherwise unite on what was achievable.

Paisley and his colourful sidekick Major Bunting were out to provoke of course, so as to discredit the Civil Rights Movement, and took full advantage of the opportunities which were offered. I think the most accur-



● IAN PAISLEY

ate and dispassionate account of a controversial period is to be found in the Cameron Report, *Disturbances in Northern Ireland* (1969). It describes each incident of those exciting months in detail. After O'Neill announced his reform programme on November 22nd, the NICRA and the Derry Citizens' Action Committee called a halt on marches over the Christmas period, with the aim of lowering the temperature and testing O'Neill's capacity to deliver. This was politically sensible if there was to be any attempt to keep some good will in the Protestant community and to counter the effects of Paisley's fantasy about the whole Civil Rights Movement being an IRA plot.

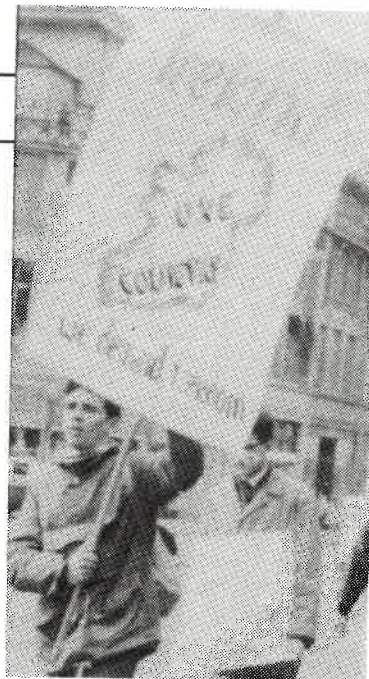
It was in these circumstances that

the People's Democracy, after a series of meetings at which decisions taken at earlier, larger meetings were reversed by later and smaller ones, decided to hold the Belfast-Derry march beginning on New Year's Day 1969, which was assaulted by the Paisleyites at Burntolllet Bridge. No one can withhold admiration from the bravery and determination of the young people marching but the political effects were very unfortunate. I would personally agree with the judgement of the Cameron Commission, which received evidence from all the key participants, including the PDs:

"For moderates this march had a disastrous effect. It polarized the extreme element in the communities in each place it entered. It lost sympathy for the Civil Rights Movement and led to serious rioting in Maghera and Londonderry. It divided the Civil Rights Movement..." (Cameron, p. 47)

This was followed by the People's Democracy march in Newry on January 11th, 1969, whose organisation was chaotic and which ended in a riot, while the police stood by smiling as British and international TV cameras filmed some of the marchers burning police tenders. This further damaged the image of the Civil Rights Movement both internationally and, more importantly, in the eyes of the Northern Protestant population. The sectarian temperature soared and Paisley and the Orangemen were in their element. From then on it was downhill all the way, in my view, until the events of August 1969, the attempted pogrom in Belfast and the Battle of Bogside. It was then back to the ghetto with a vengeance.

Of course the prime responsibility for it all lay with Westminster and the British government. They were desperately anxious to shore up their local unionist puppets instead of legislating for the civil rights demands over their heads, which they could have done at any time in Westminster through a Bill of Rights. They resisted to the utmost every call for that. One must also recognise that it would have taken extraordinary discipline, a much more unified leadership, and remarkable good luck for the complex and many-



● A Connolly Association march in England in 1963

sided civil rights activity to avoid raising sectarian passions in the circumstances. Which is why, as I said above, the real tragedy may have been the failure to get Civil Rights off the ground a few years earlier, before Paisley had had time to fill up the sectarian tinder.

What has been the effect of the Civil Rights Campaign on today?

I would say the most important general effect is that civil rights and the political victories it gained gave new confidence to the Northern Catholic community after 50 years of 'croppies-lie-down' rule from Stormont and Westminster. There could be no going back to a situation where unionist political-Protestantism would abuse and discriminate against Catholics again. That is still true. There can be no going back to that.

The Civil Rights Movement also destroyed the instrument — a unionist majority government at Stormont — through which Britain had ruled the Six Counties and kept it securely within the United Kingdom since 1920. In 1971 Britain replaced that instrument with the instrument of so-called "direct rule" Under the Hillsborough Agreement they would in turn like to replace that means of holding on to the North with the new instrument of an SDLP-Paisley-unionist coalition, which would share whatever power and perks the British might decide to dole out on the basis of continued membership of the UK.

More generally, I think that demo-

crats in the North today can learn political and organisational lessons from both the successes and failures of the Civil Rights campaign. In my opinion the principal such lessons are the following:

- The political potential of disciplined, well-organised mass action;
- The fact that this can only come about when large bodies of people are moved by a widely-shared sense of grievance or injustice which unites them;
- The fact that the potential of mass action can only be realised when there is a competent political leadership capable of formulating and expressing these demands which unite and move people to activity and which at the same time have the potential of carrying people further, once initial victories are gained and popular morale and political consciousness are raised thereby;
- The need to win allies and support for the "underdog" cause by means of that disciplined mass action, competent political leadership and good public relations.

Today just as in 1968, Irish democrats who want their country united and independent — because they are weaker than the British government which is the main obstacle in the way — must either compromise or find allies. It seems to me that today, just as then, the relevant such allies are

- a. Organised political opinion within Britain itself, primarily in Labour and trade union circles, which is sympathetic or potentially so to the cause of democracy in Ireland;
- b. International public opinion;
- c. Those among the Protestant and unionist population who may be coming to realise that they are the dupes of history, mere pawns in English government policy to keep a territorial hold on Ireland, regarded with ill-disguised contempt by their political masters in London, and who have the potential of glimpsing the political power and self-respect they would gain if they were to move towards their nationalist fellow-countrymen in a joint struggle for democracy throughout the whole of our island.

CIVIL RIGHTS

'68

A
YEAR
OF
STRUGGLEBY FERGUS
O'HARE &
GERALDINE
HOLLAND

1988 marks the 20th anniversary of the launching of the current, longest and most sustained phase in the struggle for Irish freedom. What began 20 years ago as a campaign to reform the Six-County statelet has progressed inevitably, given the irreformable nature of that statelet, into a struggle to end partition and reunite the country. No other phase of our long freedom struggle has seen such a sustained effort over so long a period as has been seen in the 20 years since 1968.

There can be little doubt that a major factor in maintaining this struggle has been the courage and determination shown by the people of the nationalist ghettos in the North who have borne the brunt of the struggle. But courage and determination are not unique to this generation or to this phase of our struggle. Why is it then that this phase of the struggle has gone on for the length of time and at the level of resistance that it has done? And more importantly, how can we ensure that this struggle will reach a successful conclusion. There are many lessons to be learnt from the last 20 years and to help initiate a discussion around these events we will take a brief look at the major happenings of 1968 and the

background to them.

There were many factors which came together to produce the upsurge which occurred in 1968. There were international factors such as the struggle of the Vietnamese people to win their freedom and the international campaign which was built up around the struggle demanding that US troops be withdrawn. There was the struggle for civil rights for black people in the USA and events such as the Paris uprising of that year. All of these played some part in creating a consciousness among people here, particularly young people, of the power of mass protests and demonstrations.

There were economic factors. The decline of the traditional industries in the North such as textiles, engineering and shipbuilding, and the introduction of new multinational firms from outside such as Du Pont, Ferenka, etc, led to the raising of hopes among nationalist workers that the patterns of discrimination that had existed in the old unionist-controlled industries might change. When these hopes were not realized nationalist resentment was fuelled.

There were social factors such as the existence for the first time of a fairly large numbers of middle-class Catholics, who had benefitted from the availability of free education, and who

wished to stake a claim for themselves in the Northern statelet. They saw their opportunities to advance within the North being thwarted by the continuation of discrimination.

There were political factors such as the raising of nationalists' hopes for a better deal by the talk of reforms from the new 'liberal' unionist prime minister at Stormont Terence O'Neill. But when his much talked of reforms failed to materialise once again nationalists felt justifiably aggrieved.

But while all of these factors played an important role in creating the circumstances which made the events of 1968 possible it must be remembered also that for several years prior to '68 the grievances of the nationalist community had been exposed and explained not only in the North of Ireland but in the 26 Counties and further afield. For more than four years organisations such as the Campaign for Social Justice and the Campaign for Democracy in Ulster had been highlighting injustices against the nationalist community in the North. Such work helped to put pressure on the unionists to bring in reforms, to heighten nationalist awareness of their own lack of basic rights, and to create international sympathy when the Civil Rights campaign took to the streets in August 1968.

FEBRUARY

Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA) held its first AGM.

APRIL

Friday, April 12th

Captain William Long, acting for William Craig, Minister of Home Affairs banned all processions in the city of Armagh for one month. Both the traditional Easter parade, along a predominantly nationalist route, and a demonstration planned by Paisley's Ulster Protestant Volunteers, were prohibited.

In a statement the Armagh Commemoration Committee said:

"It is the democratic right of a people to honour their dead. This being so, the committee feel that it would be an insult to the dead of Ireland if they allowed themselves to be intimidated by the introduction of the Special Powers Act, which is alien to any democracy."

Sunday, April 14th

Republican commemorations were held in Armagh in defiance of a Stormont ban.

Saturday, April 20th

NICRA held a rally in Armagh to protest at Craig's ban on Republican Clubs. Among the speakers at the meeting were, Eddie McAteer MP, leader of the Nationalist Party and Austin Currie MP. The Loughgall Division of the Ulster Protestant Volunteers protested at the flying of the Tricolour.

MAY

Monday, May 20th

Shortly after an address to the Woodvale Unionist Association, Terence O'Neill stepped from the Craven Street Hall and found himself faced with placards saying, "O'Neill must go". A crowd of 500, among them Ian Paisley, thronged the streets off the Shankill Road. As the RUC escorted O'Neill to his car he was pelted with flour, stones and eggs in the most hostile reception of his premiership to date.

Wednesday, May 30th

Labour MPs at Westminster held a meeting with British Home Secretary Jim Callaghan on the need for reform in the Six Counties.

Led by Paul Rose MP, vice-president of the Campaign for Democracy in Ulster, the MPs stressed the vital importance of action soon as there were always those, "prepared to take unconstitutional action."

The deputation was concerned that the electoral laws, religious discrimination, the economic plight of

large areas, the unemployment level and the continued existence of the Special Powers Act in the Six Counties, made it impossible for Britain to sign the European Declaration of Human Rights.



● Six-County unionist prime minister, Terence O'Neill, finds something to laugh at in 1968

JUNE

Saturday, June 15th

Bailiffs arrived to evict the Goodfellow family from 11 Kinnard Park, Caledon, County Tyrone, where they had been 'squatting' for eight months, having been unable to acquire accommodation from the sectarian Dungannon Rural Council. With RUC assistance, bailiffs broke a window and door and dragged the family out, among them a relative, Mrs Geraldine Gildernew, who was clutching an infant child.

The house next to the Goodfellows had been allocated to a 19-year-old unmarried girl, Emily Beattie. NICRA stated: "when the house next door to the one from which a family of five has been evicted is occupied by an unmarried girl of 19, we can only conclude that the principles which Dungannon Rural Council makes are neither those of Christian charity, nor the plain humanity of the Declaration of Human Rights."

Wednesday, June 19th

In Stormont Austin Currie MP raised the question of unfair housing allocation by Dungannon Rural Council and stated that Emily Beattie was not a priority tenant but had "political pull" because of her position as secretary to the solicitor to the council in



● Duke Street, October 5th

Armagh. Mr John Taylor MP strongly defended the action of the council and the speaker ordered Austin Currie to leave the House. After throwing his notes at Mr Taylor, Austin Currie left.

Thursday, June 20th

Austin Currie and others took possession of Emily Beattie's house at Caledon. They were evicted three and a half hours later Currie said:

"We made this protest because the house had been allocated to a 19-year-old unmarried girl while there are 269 applicants for housing in the council area and only 12 houses under construction..."

JULY

Friday, June 21st

At the Nationalist Party Conference, Austin Currie proposed that if justice could not be achieved through normal channels then they should resort to a policy of non-violent civil disobedience. Nationalist Party leader Eddie McAteer warned of the national urge to "take up the pikes" and the "entrapped" minority need expect no help from abroad, nor from their own countrymen.

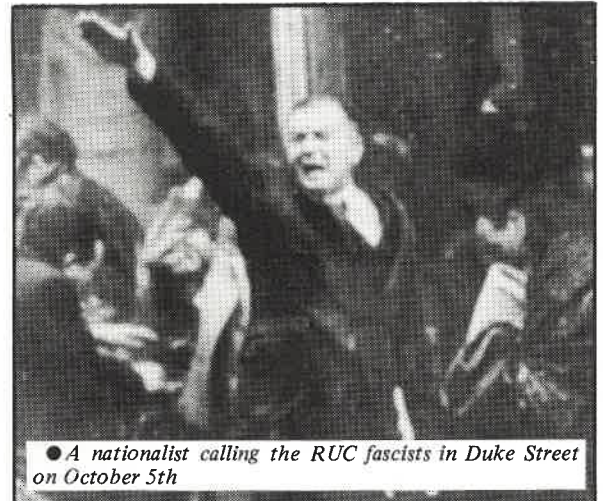
Wednesday, July 3rd

In Derry, the extension to Craigavon Bridge was opened by Mayor William Beatty. 150 members of the Derry Housing Action Group protested and staged a sit-down on the bridge.

In a statement they warned that unless something was done immediately to provide decent homes for people in need there would be serious repercussions. "A situation is brewing in Derry which will make the Caledon affair look like a tiff at a tea party." 17 demonstrators were arrested.

Sunday, July 22nd

At the Derry Connolly Commemoration Gerry Fitt



● A nationalist calling the RUC fascists in Duke Street on October 5th

told the meeting that they, "could not have democracy in the North while they had unionism." They "could not even have British democracy while they had a unionist government at Stormont.

"The ordinary people of the North can change the system... Let Terence O'Neill charge me with going outside of constitutional methods. If constitutional methods do not bring democracy to the North, then I am prepared to go outside constitutional methods.

"There are people prepared to accept Terence O'Neill, because he walks over you with bedroom slippers, while others would walk over you with hobnailed boots. I am not prepared to let anyone walk over me in any circumstances."

Eamonr McCann of the Derry Housing Action Group called for a conference of all radical political movements in Ireland to discuss the steps which could be taken towards an all-Ireland socialist party. In Derry, he said, they should take their politics out on to the streets and he urged the extension of actions such as road blocking demonstrations.

AUGUST

Wednesday, August 7th

Two members of the Derry Housing Action Group who had taken part in the sit-down protest at Craighavon Bridge were sent to prison.

Thursday, August 22nd

The Society of Labour Lawyers, under Lord Gifford, sent a document to the main political parties in the Six Counties criticising ward boundaries in urban council areas of Fermanagh, Dungannon and Armagh and raising the question of discriminatory practices in the allocation of houses in Derry, Belfast, Omagh, Dungannon and Armagh. The Society also reported on discrimination against Catholics in employment.

Saturday, August 24th

Upwards of 2,500 protesters took part in a Civil Rights march from Coalisland to Dungannon. The organisers, the Dungannon-based Campaign for Social Justice appealed for support saying, *"any doubts about the absolute necessity for such a gesture have been dispelled by the arrogance of the unionists' reply to the Labour Lawyers... after the fair words and promises of reform, the true force of unrepentant and unchanging bigotry is heard once more."*

Paisley's Ulster Protestant Volunteers held a counter-demonstration and the RUC promptly barred the Civil Rights march from the centre of Dungannon. Some protestors tried to get through the RUC cordon but were batoned.

SEPTEMBER

Monday, September 2nd

NICRA announced its intention to hold a Civil Rights march in Derry, on October 5th, to protest against the housing situation in the city, gerrymandering, unemployment and for the right of free speech and assembly.

OCTOBER

Tuesday, October 1st

The Derry Apprentice Boys gave notice of an 'annual' parade to be held on October 5th covering the same route as the proposed NICRA march.

Thursday, October 3rd

William Craig banned both the Civil Rights march and the Apprentice Boys parade due to take place in Derry on October 5th. The decision caused shockwaves of indignation throughout the nationalist community. Eddie McAteer MP said he had also believed that the march would be banned but did not know what 'excuse' would be used until he had learned that there was to be an Apprentice Boys parade on the same day.



● Duke Street, October 5th



● Duke Street, October 5th

He said: *"it did not require one to be very astute about Northern Ireland politics to see that this was the 'long shadow'."*

Friday, October 4th

Urged by the Derry groups and the Belfast Young Socialists NICRA announced their decision to defy the ban.

Saturday, October 5th

William Craig drafted in a massive force of RUC to Derry, including the RUC reserve force and two water-cannons.

He announced that Derry would not be another Armagh — where republicans had successfully defied his ban at Easter.

About 2,000 Civil Rights protesters were led by Eddie McAteer MP and Gerry Fitt MP. Three Westminster MPs were also present. At Duke Street the marchers were met with a solid wall of RUC who baton-charged them. As the marchers about-turned in the narrow street they were met with a second line of baton-wielding RUC. Caught between two lines of RUC they were beaten savagely and hosed with water-cannon.

Scattered fighting broke out throughout the city as marchers defended themselves against the RUC. In the Bogside barricades were put up that night and petrol bombs used for the first time in Derry. As the march had been well covered by television, viewers all over Ireland and the world saw the RUC smashing up a peaceful demonstration. A wave of anger swept through the frustrated nationalist community.

Sunday, October 6th

Total casualties from the march numbered 96 people who were treated in Altnagelvin Hospital. A group of students held a protest march to the home of Craig who described them as *"silly bloody fools"*. In a press conference in Belfast Craig said the Civil Rights Movement were involved with the IRA and denied that the RUC had been brutal.

In New York city, upwards of 7,000 people gathered in Gaelic Park to protest at police brutality in Derry.

Wednesday, October 9th

In Derry Ivan Cooper was elected chairperson of Derry Citizens Action Committee with John Hume as vice-chair. A decision was taken to hold a sit-down protest in the city on October 19th.

In Belfast Queens University students marched to the City Hall in protest against RUC brutality in Derry and for civil rights. They staged a three hour sit-down protest in Linenhall Street, following which a meeting was held at Queens where a group called Peoples Democracy (PD) was formed. They had six aims: one man, one vote; a fair drawing of electoral boundaries; freedom of speech and assembly; repeal of the Special Powers Act and a fair allocation of jobs and housing.

At Stormont Paisley, accompanied by his wife

Eileen, met with Minister for Home Affairs William Craig. Afterwards Paisley said, *"The Ulster people have expressed their point of view. No surrender. No comment."*

Tuesday, October 15th

The Nationalist Party withdrew as the official opposition in Stormont.

Wednesday, October 16th

Students held a peaceful march, 1,500 strong, to the City Hall, Belfast.

Saturday, October 19th

Members of the Derry Citizens Action Committee held a sit-down protest at the Diamond, Derry.

Monday, October 21st

At Westminster Harold Wilson said that he had previously paid tribute to Terence O'Neill but that there must be reforms.

"I do not think anyone in this House is satisfied with what has been done and in particular the feeling that he (O'Neill) is being blackmailed by thugs who are putting pressure on him is something this House cannot accept."

Thursday, October 24th

The Peoples Democracy took over parliament buildings at Stormont and held a nine-hour sit-in.

Saturday, October 24th

Civil Rights marchers were attacked by Protestant extremists as they passed through Magheramason on the way from Strabane to Derry.

Wednesday, October 30th

26-County premier Jack Lynch saw Wilson in London to protest about events in Derry. He stated that partition was the cause of the unrest.

NOVEMBER

Saturday, November 2nd

In Derry members of the Citizens Action Committee staged a large march. In Belfast Major Ronald Bunting, Commandant of the Loyalist Citizens of Ulster, staged a sit-in at the Halls of Residence of Queens University.

Monday, November 4th

Harold Wilson summoned Terence O'Neill, William Craig and Brian Faulkner to Downing Street and demanded that they introduce reforms urgently.

Wednesday, November 13th

Craig made an order banning all non-customary parades in Derry for one month.

Saturday, November 16th

15,000 people marched in Derry.

Sunday, November 17th

The Nationalist Party at a conference in Dungannon decided unanimously to embark on a policy of non-violent civil disobedience. The party issued a seven-point programme of reforms which they wanted carried out immediately by the Stormont government.



●The infamous B Specials

Eddie McAteer said: *"I do not think that we have asked for any concessions from the unionist government but rather have demanded the minimum of what we are rightly entitled to."*

Austin Currie stated that the civil disobedience campaign *"would be treated like a guerrilla campaign."*

He would not disclose what immediate steps would be taken as he believed that an element of surprise should exist in the type and manner of the tactics adopted. He indicated that civil disobedience could involve support for meetings and marches, squatting, non-payment of rents and rates, and the token occupation of certain public buildings.

Friday, November 22nd

O'Neill announced a five-point reform programme which proposed a points system for housing, the appointment of an ombudsman, the abolition of the

company vote, a review of the Special Powers Act and the abolition of the Derry Corporation and its replacement by a nominated commission. The measure fell short of one man, one vote but outraged loyalists nevertheless.

Saturday, November 30th

A Civil Rights march was to have been held in Armagh. At 1am on the morning of the demonstration Paisley, Major Bunting and their supporters arrived in the city, setting up barricades and carrying sticks and pipes with sharpened ends. The RUC seized two revolvers and 220 other home-made weapons. The Civil Rights march, 5,000 strong, was stopped by the RUC, who capitulated to the loyalist mob, and was prevented from going through the town. Paisley's supporters were hostile to the press and photographers and paraded around the Mall shouting, *"No Pope here,"* and, *"Craig in"*.

DECEMBER

Monday, December 2nd

Speaking at the Ulster Hall Craig said the Civil Rights Movement was bogus and remarked that in the 26 Counties a Roman Catholic majority led to a lesser standard of democracy. He was given a standing ovation.

Monday, December 9th

Terence O'Neill broadcast a speech starting with the words, *"Ulster stands at the crossroads."* He appealed to loyalists to accept policies of reform and that a swift end be brought to civil disorder and agitation. Leaders of NICRA responded by calling for a period *"of truce"* without marches or demonstrations.

Tuesday, December 10th

In a speech Craig challenged Terence O'Neill saying that financial pressure from Westminster was *"black-mail"* which a strong unionist party would not tolerate.

Wednesday, December 11th

O'Neill sacked William Craig.

Thursday, December 12th

At Westminster Harold Wilson said, *"we do not feel there is any justification for the prolonged postponement of one man: one vote."*

Friday, December 20th

Peoples Democracy announced its plans for a four-day march from Belfast to Derry starting on January 1st. The idea for the march was modelled on the Selma-Montgomery march in Alabama in 1963 which had exposed the racist thuggery of the US deep South and forced the US government into major reforms.

Tuesday, December 31st

Major Ronald Bunting issued a statement asking all who valued their heritage to take every possible action within the law, *"to hinder and harass the so-called Civil Rights marchers."*

JOBS FOR ALL

— A LONG WAY TO GO

— the reality behind
British government proposals

PETER VIGGERS, the British Industry Minister for the Six Counties, prior to his departure for the US on a business promotion tour was quoted by the *Belfast Telegraph*, October 11th, 1988, as saying "I think with the tough legislation we are in the process of introducing, MacBride has become somewhat irrelevant."

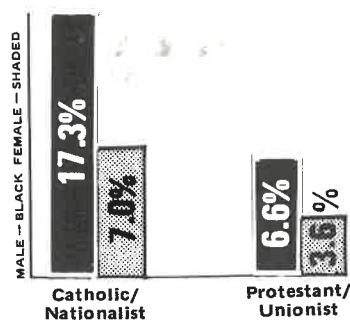
Eamonn McGrory reviews the 20 year campaign by the British government to keep job discrimination off the political agenda and examines some of the key proposals in the British government White Paper upon which the 'tough legislation' will be based.

FOR the thousands of young nationalists who entered the job-market after leaving second or third level education in the summer of 1971 there was at least one certainty. They were twice as likely to be unemployed as their unionist counterparts.

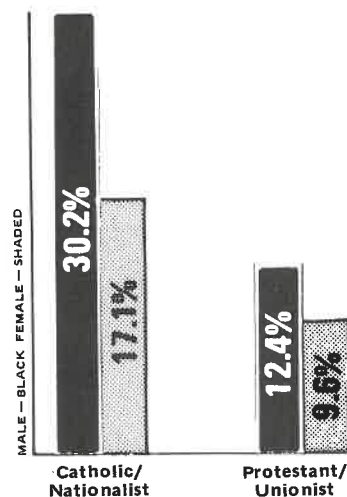
Seventeen years on they are now in their mid to late '30s and experience the even more depressing certainty of being two and a half times more likely to be unemployed than their aforesaid counterparts.

In the intervening years — arguably the most important of their economically active lives — the opportunities to develop skills, to demonstrate ability and to achieve employment commensurate with those skills and ability were denied them. The social and economic pattern of their adult lives and the degree of self-fulfilment which accompanies that was pre-determined by a system of structural sectarian discrimination in employment. That system pre-dates partition and has been an integral part of the Six-County state since its foundation.

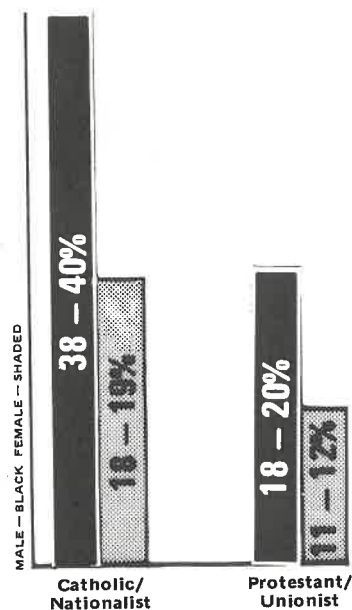
1971: Unemployment rate



1981: Unemployment rate



1985: Unemployment rate*



* Estimate figures by Bob Rowthorn, *Fortnight* magazine

It was copper-fastened by the unionist regime throughout the life of Stormont and has been maintained by the British government since direct colonial rule was resumed by Westminster in 1972.

Today the British government — like Fagan in the musical *Oliver* — is 'reviewing the situation'. And like 'Fagan' its review is both begrudged and the product of political pressure which has been brought to bear on it.

The most immediate conclusions of that review will not manifest themselves — in the form of legislation — until the beginning of 1989 at the earliest.

Young nationalists entering the job-market in the summer of 1989 can, however, console themselves with the British government promise that the effectiveness of the new legislation will be 'reviewed five years after its enactment'.

On the basis of the experience to date, such a review would take three years. The original British government report into discrimination — the Van Straubenzee Report — was submitted in 1973 and led to the Fair Employment Act of 1976. The current review was enunciated in the Department of Economic Development's (DED) document *Future Strategy Options — A Consultative Paper* in 1986 and, as has been stated, will culminate in legislation in 1989. It is reasonable, therefore, not to expect the conclusions to a review of that legislation, due to begin five years after enactment, before 1997. By that time this year's school leavers will be 25. The school leavers of 1971 will be well into middle-age and the civil rights campaign to end discrimination will be almost 30 years old.

A short survey of the history of the British government's record to date on the issue of discrimination and an examination of the measures proposed for the new legislation would indicate that such a review will indeed be necessary.

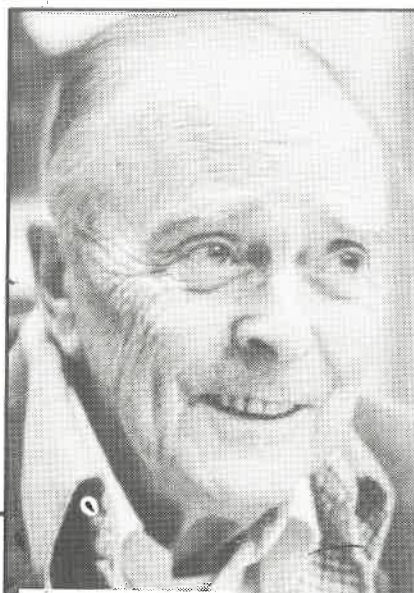
The British government has never demonstrated the political will to effectively tackle discrimination and provide equality of opportunity in

employment in the Six Counties. Implicit in that is that its political interest in maintaining the loyalty of the unionist population of the Six Counties, as the basis for sustaining the British presence, is incompatible with taking such a course. To realise the eradication of discrimination and the provision of equality of opportunity is to fundamentally change the social and economic structure of the Six-County state with potential political consequences over which the British government might not be able to exert control and which, on balance, would run contrary to the chief British government interest — its ability to stay. Hence, in the wake of partition Westminster ignored the systematic refinement and entrenchment of patterns of employment which existed even prior to that imposition.

The political pressure exerted by the Civil Rights campaign after 1968, around discrimination and other issues, forced the British government to take the issue of discrimination on board International disapproval of the existence of such an apparent anachronism in Western Europe in the latter part of the 20th century played no small part in that.

In hindsight, it is obvious that from the outset the British government's response was entirely political.

It had to be seen to be doing something. But its political interest in maintaining unionist loyalty dictated that its actions produced only the perception of movement in nationalist minds while carefully avoiding the significant positive effect which would



adversely affect unionist loyalty. *The Van Straubenzee Report* (1973) and the Fair Employment Act (1976) accomplished that.

Significantly the British government chose to ignore the proven effective affirmative action proposals of the former. "Affirmative action" stated the *Van Straubenzee Report*, involves "...deliberate programmes under which equality of opportunity may be achieved. It sets out consciously and systematically to create this equality. It acknowledges that, in this way, employment proportions, by and large, will automatically reflect the denominational ratios in the community as a whole."

The Fair Employment Act and the activities of its enforcement agency the Fair Employment Agency (FEA) at one fell swoop removed discrimination from the political agenda while the patterns of discrimination in employment remained relatively undisturbed. In one aspect — unemployment — the patterns actually skewed towards nationalists. Between 1971 and 1981 the unemployment ratios between nationalists/unionists rose from 2:1 to 2½:1.

Overall the British government's political interest was satisfied; for a time.

The sheer length of the struggle in Ireland will always mean that short term political expedients will come back to haunt the British government. One can immediately think of the Birmingham Six and Stalker. The Guildford Four and various dirty tricks' operations are waiting in the wings for their cue.

Discrimination in employment falls firmly into that category. And more acutely than could ever have been foreseen.

CAPTAIN John MacBride was executed by the British government as an Irish 'rebel' in 1916. His son, Sean, was to become renowned internationally as the winner of both the Lenin and Nobel Peace Prizes.

By the mid-eighties the campaign which bore his name, the MacBride

Principles campaign, had put discrimination in employment back on the political agenda again. Even the Standing Advisory Commission on Human Rights (SACHR) – a British government-appointed body – which is imbued through and through with a unionist ethos testifies to that.

The history of that ongoing campaign has been well recorded. Millions of pounds of taxpayers' money has and is being spent to counter the correct perception of continuing discrimination in the Six Counties which the campaign has created in the United States. A select group of Catholic unionists has been foremost in the British government's political counter-offensive – Paddy Devlin, James Eccles, Rory Galway, John Cushnahan and Sister Genevieve (principal of St Louise's Comprehensive College in West Belfast). In tandem the SDLP leader John Hume was writing to state legislators and otherwise lobbying against the adoption of the MacBride legislation. The British government's response has again been 'predictably' purely political and aimed once more at getting the issue off the political agenda. The at times protracted nature of the British legislative process clearly suits a strategy which is aimed at out-lasting the momentum of the MacBride Principles.

One thing is clear though. If the MacBride Principles campaign dies – if its momentum stops and with it the consequent political pressure which it has brought to bear on the British government, discrimination as a live issue will disappear from the political agenda. The British government would be relieved of the political pressure. The broad active nationalist interest which the campaign has enforced will evaporate. Dublin government and SDLP interest will be subsumed by their attention to a regurgitated Stormont in which SDLP participation is incompatible with discrimination as a live issue.

In a statement to the media at the launch of Sinn Fein's policy document *Setting the Criteria – Tackling Discrimination* Mitchel McLaughlin made a salient point. He said:

"On April 17th, 1985, Mr Peter Elliot, Assistant Director of British



● Gerry Adams and Mitchel McLaughlin at the press launch of Sinn Fein's document *Setting the Criteria – Tackling Discrimination*

Consulates in North America stated: "The Fair Employment Act of 1976 outlaws discrimination and provides legally enforceable remedies against discriminatory practices or individual acts of discrimination. The MacBride Principles are superfluous and unnecessary". In contrast, by September 1986 the official British government position on the existence of the problem had changed. In its document Future Strategy Options the Department of Economic Development stated "...the message of equality of opportunity in employment does not appear to be making a significant impact in relation to any dimension".

"As our document states, most objective observers acknowledge that, by and large, the MacBride Principles campaign has been responsible for putting discrimination in employment back on the political agenda and has provoked the British government into the public admission that the problem persists despite more than a decade of legislation supposedly aimed at countering discrimination."

The DED's document of September 1986 was the first public salvo in Britain's political fightback. Its obvious target was the effect of the MacBride Principles campaign in the United States and the fall-out which that campaign was having in Ireland and Britain.

In March '87 came SACHR's interim report on *Religious and Political Discrimination and Equality of Opportunity in Northern Ireland*. In September '87 the DED published its

Guide to Effective Practice with Thatcher's personal endorsement, to coincide with a visit by direct-ruler Tom King to the United States. There it was dismissed as a "glossy magazine" unenforceable by law.

In October '87 SACHR published its full report.

In March 1988 we had the British government's outline proposals for new legislation and finally, at this juncture, in May 1988 *Fair Employment in Northern Ireland – A White Paper* was published.

IN 1968 the Civil Rights campaign brought blatant discrimination in employment to national and international attention. In 1988 – twenty years on – we have a White Paper which according to the British Industry Minister Peter Viggers will produce "tough legislation" which will cause "MacBride (to) become somewhat irrelevant".

Is there any substance to Viggers claim or is it as hollow as Peter Elliot's, three short years ago, when, in denying the existence of discrimination he claimed "the MacBride Principles are superfluous and unnecessary"?

Here we examine some of the major elements of the White Paper. In synopsis the stated overall objective of the British government and the means for its achievement is "to have equality of opportunity in employment for all sections of the community" by ensuring that job appointments are made

solely on "merit" but in the "context of an overall programme of affirmative action".

The Fair Employment Agency (FEA) will become the Fair Employment Commission (FEC) incorporating the former's personnel and all its existing powers except those in relation to individual complaints which will be dealt with by a newly-created specialist section of the Industrial Tribunal.

The starting point is the 'merit principle' for appointments which by design also applies the brakes on any significant movement towards redressing the imbalance in the workforce caused by discrimination.

In its policy document Sinn Fein states that "the British government's deliberate use of the 'merit principle' as the sole criterion for employment can only be interpreted as deliberately insulting. Implicit in that criterion is the suggestion that the victims of discrimination are

"1. Unemployed because they are incapable of working (i.e. they have no work ethic).

"2. Unskilled because they are incapable of learning a skill.

"3. Excluded from higher grades and earnings because they are incompetent.

"It implies that it is the victims of discrimination who are the problem not the system of discrimination".

The insertion and centrality of the 'merit principle' has no ethical motivation. It is an insult. It is a deliberate barrier to progress. It has no premise in the anti-discrimination legislation of Britain itself, or the USA or Canada.

It should be removed. That it will not be is an indication of the British government's lack of political will to tackle the issues of discrimination and equality of opportunity.

AFFIRMATIVE action measures are acknowledged by anti-discrimination specialists as having a key role in redressing the imbalance in a workforce caused by discrimination or the denial of equality of opportunity.

To have any potential to effect positive change the scope and detail

of affirmative action legally permissible must be clearly spelt out in legislation. It must have the force of law.

The White Paper indicates that the scope and detail of affirmative action will be spelt out in a new 'Code of Practice' only and not in the 'primary' legislation.

A new Code of Practice drafted by the DED will be issued in tandem with the coming into effect of the new act. The remit of the FEC will include any subsequent revision of the Code of Practice.

To date the various codes or guides for employers have been used by the British government as a device for ducking the issue of categorically stating in law the exact scope and detail of legally permissible affirmative action.

A code of practice is merely an interpretation of the law with which the Court of Appeal or the High Court, to which employers or the FEC may ultimately have to bring a contested decision, need not necessarily agree. Hence the caustic US description of the current code, *Guide to Effective Practice*, as a "glossy magazine" unenforceable by law.

SACHR member Christopher McCrudden, a specialist in anti-discrimination law, expressed his concern about this in an article in the *Irish Times* of March 8th, 1988. In addressing his reservations to the British government's intention to include the permissible affirmative action measures in the Code of Practice rather than in the 'primary legislation' he stated:

"The status of the code will be that of a mere interpretation of the legislation... It would not bind the ordinary courts to which the FEC would be subject. The courts would be free to depart from the code or decide it was beyond the powers of the FEC in important respects."

It is imperative therefore that if the FEC is to avoid getting bogged down in challenge after challenge by recalcitrant employers in the courts that the scope and detail of legally permissible affirmative action is codified in the 'primary' legislation and not simply in the Code of Practice.

One glaring example of the cont-

radictions which will inevitably arise and be subject to continuous challenge if that advice is not taken already exists in the differing attitudes of the White Paper itself and the current code, *Guide to Effective Practice*, in relation to "goals and timetables".

Goals and timetables is an effective flexible concept for redressing an imbalance in a workforce whereby an employer sets, or is set, a goal (or target) which aims to redress an imbalance within a pre-determined time — a timetable.

Should the goal fail to be reached within the requisite time employment practices are re-examined to determine legitimate cause, revised where necessary and a subsequent goal and timetable set. The White Paper confers legality on the use of goals and timetables both for applications and appointments. The current code recommends that their use be restricted to application only.

For best positive effect the use of goals and timetables must be codified in the primary legislation not just for application and appointments but for promotions also.

However, the British government's attitude to goals and timetables so far would indicate that this is unlikely. Goals and timetables were first mooted in the Van Straubenzee Report of 1973. The measure was not included in the Fair Employment Act of 1976. It failed even to get mentioned in the DED's *Future Strategy Options* of 1986 and, as stated, was recommended for applications only in the current code. The White Paper indicates that the measure will be included in the new code only and not in the primary legislation thus making a direction to an employer to implement the measure susceptible to a challenge in court.

The dilution of goals and timetables to this extremely tenuous form is nevertheless arguably one of the strongest affirmative action measures which the White Paper proposes. It inspires little cause for optimism vis-à-vis its potential positive effect.

Sinn Fein policy advocates :

● *The exercise of preferential treatment between equally qualified candidates in favour of the under-repres-*

ented group where there is gross under-representation.

Preferential treatment between equally qualified candidates — the 'tie-break' as it is referred to — will not be included in either the 'primary' legislation or the Code.

SACHR did consider this affirmative action measure in its report of 1987 but dismissed it at that time while deferring it for re-consideration in three years.

AFTER 20 years of stagnation in the discriminatory patterns and practices of employment this should be a live issue actively under consideration vis-à-vis its implementation as opposed to the ethics of the measure. SACHR's deferment of consideration of the measure would indicate that the considerations are again political and not ethical.

Monitoring and registration monitoring has been lauded as one of the major proposals of the White Paper.

All public sector employers and all private sector employees with a workforce in excess of 25 employees (to be extended to include all employers with ten employees plus after two years) will be legally obliged to monitor the composition of their workforce annually and to submit the results to the FEC in a prescribed form.

Failure to submit the results of monitoring or to update them annually will be a criminal offence as will any falsification of returns.

Employers will be legally obliged to register with the FEC and having done so will be entitled to a "Certificate of Co-operation" which they will continue to hold unless proven to be in contravention of their legal obligation under the act. Holders of the

Certificate will be entitled to tender for and carry out government contracts. Failure to comply in these regards will be met with fines.

The legal obligation to monitor and to update annually will be a welcome advance in informing us on an ongoing basis of the detail of what we already know more generally

- If the FEC has the resources to assess the accuracy of the results. For instance it would take ten years to assess the accuracy of the returns for one year only of the current 3,000 signatories of the existing Declaration of Intent and Principle at the rate of 15 per week.

- While the British government has allocated additional funding and personnel to the FEA no projection is given on what resources are required to make the monitoring programmes an accurate means of diagnosis.

- If, having identified an illegitimate imbalance in a workforce, remedy in the form of affirmative action and enforcement is available.

- If monitoring returns are made available to the public in order to sustain the momentum for change.

CONTRACT compliance has been trumpeted by the British government as a major mechanism for enforcement in terms of both inducement to employers to comply with their legal obligations and as a sanction for non-compliance.

The White Paper states that the British government's aim "is to use the force of public expenditure on goods and services and the availability of Government grants." to that end.

The Sinn Fein policy document states that:

- "Sinn Fein agrees that contract compliance can be...effective... However, it is the detail of what employers are required to comply with which

ascertains the potential effectiveness of that measure."

In this case, initially, employers must fulfill their statutory obligations in relation to monitoring and registration and subsequently to any directions issued by the FEC. These of course may be subject to challenge either in and new Tribunal or the Court of Appeal.

Apart from the fact that the FEC may end up spending more time in the Tribunal and the Court of Appeal than on investigations and issuing directions the narrowness of the scope of contracts and grants earmarked for use as an inducement/sanction will seriously limit the positive potential of contract compliance from the outset.

Having correctly identified public expenditure as a means of leverage the White Paper then excludes large chunks of it from such use.

- Only 'significant' contracts will be involved. No criteria are given.

- While the policy will be adopted by all government departments only a limited number of public bodies will employ it. It will not, for instance, apply to the goods and services contracts of local government. The percentage of public expenditure thus excluded from the contract compliance policy is not stated.

- The policy will apply only to "main contractors". Sub-contractors are excluded subject to review.

- Further limitation would be imposed to the above: "occasional exceptions may be necessary on the grounds of security or public interest or where the work or goods could not otherwise be served without disproportionate expense."

- Only "grants linked to the creation or maintenance of employment" have been positively identified for inclusion in the policy.

On the information available, three paragraphs in all, the contract compliance policy advocated in the White Paper appears to be less extensive in coverage than what already exists, and that has proved ineffective.

One would be forgiven for concluding that another attempt was being made to perpetrate a con on US obser-

vers through the use of the language of anti-discrimination measures, with which the White Paper is choc-a-bloc, without producing the substance.

THE most important question of all, that of timetables, is not addressed in the White Paper. It is not addressed in any of the related British government reports or proposals. It has not been addressed in any statement or speech by any of the British government spokespersons on the issue.

In its policy document *Selling the Criteria - Tackling Discrimination 1987* Sinn Fein issued a challenge to the British government. "On the basis of its proposals the British government must be challenged to answer the following:

- When does it estimate that discrimination will be eradicated?
- When does it estimate that equality of opportunity will be realised?"

McCrudden in his article in the *Irish Times*, March 7th 1988, did likewise. "Will the proposed legislation within a reasonable time reduce the structural inequality and institutional discrimination which presently afflicts Catholics in Northern Ireland?"

SACHR too, albeit in a more restricted fashion put the question of timescales to the British government. In a modest proposal, pertaining to unemployment ratios only, SACHR's 1987 report proposed that the British government should adopt the goal and timetable of reducing the current unemployment ratio of 2½:1 between the two communities to one of 1½:1 within five years. No reply was the answer.

The British government's lack of response on the question of timescales is an insight into the confidence it finds in the effectiveness of its own proposals. The proof of the pudding is in the eating. The Sinn Fein policy document states:

"The ultimate criterion of any proposals is the actual effect of their implementation - they must lead to an end to sectarian discrimination in employment within tangible time-scales."

THE MACBRIDE PRINCIPLES

- Increasing the representation of individuals from under-represented religious groups in the work-force including managerial, supervisory, administrative, clerical and technical jobs.
- Adequate security for the protection of minority employees both at the workplace and while travelling to and from work.
- The banning of provocative religious or political emblems from the workplace.
- All job openings should be publicly advertised and special recruitment efforts should be made to attract applicants from under-represented religious groups.
- Lay-offs, recalls, and termination procedures should not, in practice, favour particular religious groups.
- The abolition of job reservation, apprenticeship restrictions, and differential employment criteria, which discriminate on the basis of religious or ethnic origin.
- The development of training programmes that will prepare substantial numbers of current minority employees for skilled jobs, including expansion of existing programmes to train, upgrade, and improve the skills of minority employees.
- The establishment of procedures to assess, identify, and actively recruit minority employees with potential for further advancement.
- Appointment of a senior management staff member to oversee the company's affirmative action efforts and the setting up of a timetable to carry out affirmative action principles.

December 21st 1984.

● The MacBride Principles which have been described by a British minister, Peter Elliot, as "superfluous and unnecessary", have in fact put discrimination in employment back on the political agenda again

The British government's criteria, it appears, is still merely a political recipe for getting the issue off the agenda again. Its silent message for the school-leavers of 1989 appears to be "Tough!"

This, however, need not necessarily be so. In conjunction with the political effects of the MacBride Principles campaign there is sufficient political muscle in Ireland and Britain to shift the British government on this issue.

Discrimination is not simply a Catholic issue nor is it the property of

any political party. It is a campaign which all socialists and democrats can, should and must support. It will never go away until it is eradicated. But, if it is once more put into hibernation it will only be because those who have the political power and influence to rouse support nationally and internationally in support of equality either lacked the political will to do so or decided that the pursuit of equality rather ran contrary to other political interests.



● BURNTOLLET, 1969

CHRONOLOGY

1968 – Civil Rights Movement campaigns on, among other issues, job discrimination
 1973 – Northern Ireland Constitution Act prohibits direct discrimination by public sector bodies
 1973 – The Van Straubenzee Report
 1976 – Fair Employment Act
 1977 – Fair Employment Agency established
 1984 – MacBride Principles campaign takes off
 1986 – *Equality of Opportunity – Future Strategy Options* published by the Department of Economic Development
 1987
 September – *Religious Equality of Opportunity – Guide to Effective Practice* new voluntary code published by the Department of Economic Development
 October – *Report on Fair Employment* by Standing Advisory Commission on Human Rights (SACHR) published in tandem with SACHR-initiated Policy Studies Institute study of the extent of inequality of opportunity in the Six-Counties
 1988
 March – *Religious Equality of Opportunity in Employment*: British government outline proposals for new legislation published
 May – *Fair Employment in Northern Ireland* British government White Paper which will form basis of new legislation published
 October – Twentieth anniversary of Civil Rights Movement demonstration in Derry
 Projection
 Autumn 1988/Spring 1989 Enactment of new legislation on Fair Employment
 1993/1994 Review of new legislation to begin
 1996/1997 Review (on the basis of previous experience) completed

THE BASIC FACTS OF DISCRIMINATION

THE PUBLIC debate on the issue has forced the British government to acknowledge and reiterate the basic facts:

1. Discrimination and inequality of opportunity in employment on the grounds of religious belief and/or political opinion does exist:
2. Its effects are both qualitative and quantitative on the Catholic/nationalist population:
3. The rate of unemployment for Catholics/nationalists has varied between double and two-and-a-half times that of the Protestant/unionist population:
4. The former suffer more long-term unemployment:
5. They are over-represented in semi-skilled and unskilled occupations and in industries which are more susceptible to the effects of economic recession and recurrent high unemployment:
6. They have a major problem in gaining access to the higher grades and earnings of, for example, supervisory and managerial positions:
7. That pattern applies to both public and private sector employment:
8. It obtains throughout the Six Counties – even in areas of relatively high employment. This structural inequality is shown by the disparity between the mainly Catholic rural west and the mainly Protestant industrial east, and again by the high rate of Catholic unemployment in those areas where they are a minority and industry is located: (See Table below)

| District | Male | | Female | |
|------------------|----------|------------|----------|------------|
| | Catholic | Protestant | Catholic | Protestant |
| Antrim | 24.5 | 10.5 | 20.4 | 9.6 |
| Ards | 21.2 | 9.8 | 12.0 | 9.8 |
| Armagh | 28.8 | 10.2 | 15.9 | 9.5 |
| Ballymena | 22.1 | 11.1 | 14.0 | 9.0 |
| Ballymoney | 22.1 | 16.4 | 13.7 | 9.1 |
| Banbridge | 30.0 | 11.0 | 18.9 | 9.8 |
| Belfast | 23.1 | 15.6 | 18.3 | 14.1 |
| Carrickfergus | 31.4 | 22.7 | 8.9 | 10.6 |
| Castlereagh | 20.5 | 9.2 | 6.9 | 16.4 |
| Coleraine | 8.6 | 16.4 | 13.9 | 10.1 |
| Cookstown | 27.5 | 14.4 | 26.6 | 12.6 |
| Craigavon | 43.3 | 11.0 | 19.5 | 9.6 |
| Down | 30.4 | 8.9 | 11.6 | 9.0 |
| Dungannon | 19.7 | 12.7 | 24.0 | 11.6 |
| Fermanagh | 36.7 | 11.1 | 17.1 | 9.6 |
| Larne | 30.1 | 13.1 | 13.7 | 10.9 |
| Limavady | 34.0 | 14.3 | 16.2 | 11.4 |
| Lisburn | 36.7 | 8.8 | 15.8 | 9.6 |
| Derry | 22.1 | 14.4 | 17.6 | 10.1 |
| Magherafelt | 35.8 | 16.5 | 17.5 | 11.0 |
| Moyle | 31.9 | 21.0 | 16.2 | 15.1 |
| Newry and Mourne | 31.1 | 14.8 | 20.0 | 12.0 |
| Newtownabbey | 35.5 | 11.8 | 11.5 | 8.9 |
| North Down | 18.1 | 7.1 | 9.2 | 7.0 |
| Omagh | 11.1 | 10.9 | 15.6 | 9.4 |
| Strabane | 27.2 | 21.9 | 20.4 | 13.6 |
| Strabane | 39.0 | | | |

Source: 1981 Population Census, unpublished data.

Note: The true figures for Catholic unemployment rates may actually be higher; the 1981 census was boycotted by many nationalists in protest at the British government's 'criminalisation' policy.

9. It persists despite an annual turnover of 100,000 jobs in the Six-County workforce (representing some 20% of that workforce) and despite a progressive convergence of educational attainment between the two communities.

DAWN RAIDS

BY PAULINE YOUNGER

THE view out of the window shows the block of the flats opposite, the same as this block. Sickly blue, red and yellow front doors and panelling, the colours of refurbishment. Flats that should never have been there in the first place, all tarted up. Flats that when first built intruded into the existing landscape of back-to-backs. The stage of so much of Derry's recent history.

Rossville is a monument of the present. There blocks of reinforced concrete store memories, harsh, black and white, young people resisting, bonfires, barricades, the smell of CS gas. Street protests, contemporary rituals, Bogside battles, which stop for tea and then resume. Bloody Sunday and occupation. The walls scarred like the people, with scores of bullet holes. Fourteen people died around these flats one January day almost 17 years ago. Now young people, not then born, march in memory of that day. A day they do not remember themselves, though one which is part of their identity.

Last night it snowed, yet the white camouflage cannot cover up history or muffle the sound of those pervading boots as they disturb us from our sleep. The monument down by the shops is draped in white, but the gable end still reads: 'Free Derry'. The 14 saplings groan under the weight of snow on their branches. Like the people whose lives they represent, their survival too will be short-lived. A petty act by troops at night will tear them from the ground — for now, they fight to survive the harsh weather. The wind has blown the snow into small drifts in the corners of the stairs and landings. The soldiers trample through





it. When daylight dominates, it will be as if they were never there, save for their footprints in the snow and the yellow frozen piss that defiled the outside of our homes.

For now, darkness controls. The snow gives a false sense of brightness and quiet. It is so early not even Dazzy the milkman has left on his morning rounds. By coming now in the half-light, they hope to avoid our gaze and anger. There was a time when the women would come out with binlids to greet them, binlids and whistles, music of resistance. The Housing Executive have replaced all metal bins with rubber ones, and people grow weary. But their visit does not go unnoticed, we are all awake and watch from behind net curtains.

They move in groups and take position at the top of the stairwell. On each landing, crouching down behind intermittent pillars, they adopt heroic postures, running from one to another to pose again, as if under attack, playing at being soldiers in the bush. There is no undergrowth here. This is no jungle or circus as the community murals would have us believe, painted by outsiders to liven up the place a bit. No monkeys or performing clowns inhabit these corridors. These are people's homes, probably little different from their own back in Bradford, Glasgow or Cardiff. Though there, maybe, they get to sleep in — no early morn-in intruders for them. They aim their guns, at whom? They are the only ones to walk the corridor's at this hour. An absurd show of strength. The thudding of the boots is now accompanied by the banging of front doors. Those that don't get opened voluntarily get kicked in. The rules are basic.

We all wait anxiously, in case the next door will be our own. The thud comes, the voices now clearly distinguished.

Throwing on clothes quickly. To be dressed is to be less vulnerable.

Opening the door, a stream of armed men rush in and down the stairs. The carpet, only hoovered yesterday, is now covered with muddy footprints. It is only the beginning of the intrusion.

They look quickly through all the rooms, make a head-count and assemble in the small overcrowded sitting-room, filled by the three-piece suite and soldiers. The one in charge reads out the search warrants and then makes a gesture, allowing his soldiers to be searched before they search your home. One of them sits down in an armchair to re-tie his bootlace, making himself at home.

I was alone and now in my flat are nine British soldiers — eight men and a woman. She hovers over me, a large, over-weight Glaswegian girl, smelling of stale cigarettes and sweet perfume, already made up at this early hour, even lipstick. Most of the soldiers are under 25, scarcely old enough to be out of school let alone to carry guns. They appear to enjoy this early morning fun. I am kept in one room, unable to supervise what they are doing in the bedroom, I hear them joke as they tip the contents of drawers on the floor, commenting on my underwear, guessing the bra size, laughing.

No shelf, cupboard, no box of Cornflakes goes unchecked, the place is now a tip. So much for the housework.



Through the thin partition dividing me from my neighbours, I hear their young child crying. Even the baby's cot is not sacred from these prying intruders.

FOR so many families, this is a routine, normal. Children growing up, waking up to dawn raids, arriving at school already tired, having been up half the night, leaving home not knowing who'll be there on their return. For some families, the number of raids reach into their hundreds.

Down in the square, the Land Rovers gather. A young man is being dragged across the waste ground, his shirt hanging out at the back, his laces still untied, hands shoved behind his back. He struggles uselessly against his escorts, his walk is awkward. They throw him into the Saracen, one can hear the noise of his stiff body against the cold steel, the back doors slam shut, he is gone from view. The convoy leaves, tyres shriek, doors bang as if in panic, then silence the destination unknown, perhaps the Strand Road Barr-

acks or Castlereagh.

Soon the walkways and stairwells will be busy, people going to sign on or collect the bru. Women scrub the concrete patch outside their front door. People gather in groups and talk about the early morning events. Who was lifted, whose home was wrecked, how bad the damage is, what they said to the Brits, they said back... this and that.

A young man has disappeared, perhaps for seven days, perhaps for life. He is likely to be beaten, tortured and humiliated and abused before the day is out. Understandably, life continues. This event is only strange to the outside, for most it's just another day.

Perhaps he will be one more person to fill the gaols, maybe his family won't get raided so often now. But they will still be up early preparing for the long trip to the 'Crum' or the Kesh with their food parcel, letters and news. A weekly event, hard to keep it up, to be optimistic, more difficult still to afford everything they need, a sentence in itself.

So begins another day...

Culture

..... IS IT!

BY MAIRE Nic hANNAIDH

On August 9th 1504 the Battle of Knocktoe near Galway, took place between Ulick Burke of Clanricard and the Earl of Kildare. Both armies contained Irish soldiers in their rank. After the defeat of Clanricard, Lord Gormanston, a noble of the pale and one of Kildare's officers remarked:



"We have for the most part killed our enemies and if we were able to do the like with the Irish men that are with us, it were a good deed."

At first glance this incident has little to offer by way of insights into cultural development in Ireland today. However a closer look at those involved illustrates prevailing attitudes which are still important in cultural debate.

Clanricard was a 'degenerate' Englishman. He became 'more Irish than the Irish themselves. So strong was Gaelic culture that it absorbed 'new arrivals' with little difficulty. However, from the beginning, the English crown felt alarm at

"Colonial privilege is not solely economic. To observe the life of the coloniser and the colonised is to discover rapidly that the daily life of the colonised, his objective subjugation, are not merely economic. Even the poorest coloniser thought himself to be and actually was superior to the colonised. This too was part of colonial privilege."

— Albert Memmi

this process of degeneracy. Through the Statutes of Kilkenny (1366), England banned cultural assimilation by the colonists ranging from child-rearing to the use of the language and Gaelic place names. The choice of the term degenerate (one which has reverted to a lower type), to describe the assimilation, is a clear statement of the contempt of the English crown for Gaelic culture.

Former Queens University historian, J.C. Beckett, writes that the Statutes, "were a desperate attempt to check the decay of the colony and to preserve it from being completely submerged." Beckett implies it was simply a question of cultural co-existence. However, it may be more accurate to analyse this as part of England's strategy for conquest. Assimilation threatened its control in Ireland. In fact socialist his-

Culture

torian, T.A. Jackson, argues that although the crown had little power to enforce the Statutes, they represented a "Hymn of Hate by the Pale" against the 'middle nation', that is the 'degenerate' English and partly Anglicised Irish.

So Clanricard represented more than just an enemy resisting the expansion of the control of the Pale, he represented a significant set-back in the cultural conquest. Gormanston on the other hand identified the Irish as his natural enemy regardless of how loyal they might appear. For him they could not be trusted and were expendable once their usefulness in furthering English interests had ended. Kildare, however, secure in his position as a powerful feudal landlord and deputy to Henry II in Ireland could afford to be magnanimous towards the Gaelic culture. He could use the language, encouraged Gaelic learning and art and mixed freely with the Gaelic chieftains and could indulge this precisely because men like Gormanston were there to use force when paternalism failed in the maintenance of stability.

"The Anglo-Norman invasion", Sean Cronin writes, "met an Irish speaking people with an ancient civilisation. Ireland was a cultural but not a political unit." Indeed culture has played a significant role in expressing resistance to English domination.

For the purpose of conquest, Ireland was treated as a unit precisely because it had a distinctly different social life which was incompatible with the English view of the world and their plans for Ireland. The Knocktoe incident clearly shows that both cultures were not considered to be equal and that England gained economic and political control of Ireland through cultural dominance supported by military might. Not to recognise this as Richard Mearney said recently in *The Irish Times*, "amounts to a tacit apology" for the "historical sins of British colonialism and Unionism".

So the Irish cultural landscape is one of resistance and domination. It must be either loyal or rebellious, collaborationist or resisting, unionist

or nationalist, regardless of whatever further divisions may exist inside the culture itself. The African revolutionary, Amilcar Cabral, in analysing the war of liberation in Guinea-Bissau against the Portuguese said:

"Whatever the conditions of subjugation of a people to foreign domination and the influence of economic, political and social factors in the exercise of this domination, it is generally within the cultural factors that we find the germ of challenge which leads to the structuring and development of the liberation movement."

Why does Cabral identify the cultural struggle as the origin of resistance to foreign domination? Indeed, what is meant by culture?

It is clear that the Gaelic culture which the English encountered was not just the dancing, sport, music, or language, but a whole way of life, which they aimed to outlaw. Culture is the real concrete way in which people

live their lives on a daily basis and by which they can be distinguished from other groups. This definition has been restated by Gerry Adams in his book *Politics of Irish Freedom* when he wrote that, "Culture involves every aspect of our lives and is not restricted to the artistic expressions which mankind has developed. Culture is the ideas and attitudes of the people, it is our response to the environment in which we live."

Culture

The term cultural is not neutral. To discuss a culture means to make a judgement about its value to society.

For example, 'high' culture, ie, painting, ballet, classical music, is often seen as a civilising force in society and is supported by public funds made



● It is clear that the Gaelic culture which the English encountered was not just the dancing, sport, music or language, but a whole way of life

available through the Arts Council. 'Popular' culture, often held to be the opposite high culture, is a term which refers to the culture of those who are divorced from the exercise of power and is a wider term than 'working class' culture, since it includes social categories such as women. It therefore contains an implied criticism of the existing social order. The terms mass/folk/youth culture are further subdivisions of the dominant culture and each one expresses a certain attitude towards it. High culture is favoured, folk culture marginal, and youth culture temporary.

None of these seriously challenge existing social organisation. They are merely variations of it. Only when a minority culture becomes a threat to stability does it become oppositional and warrant the response of state force. A function of the state, therefore, is to decide whether or not a minority culture can be contained within the cultural diversity of the state.

Pop culture is a case in point. Every adult generation sees the latest fashion and music as undermining of the social order. But the state does not react always with force. Amidst accusations of co-optation and commercialisation, each new trend is absorbed. However, this absorption is not a simple or inevitable process — one day a culture is a potential threat and the next it is part of normal life. If this were the case there would be no cultural conflict and no need for the state to intervene.

The Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci attributed the term hegemony to this world view of the state. "Hegemony" he wrote, "... is characterised by the combination of force and consent, which balance each other reciprocally, without force predominating excessively over consent. Indeed the attempt is always made to ensure that force will appear to be based on the consent of the majority...".

Hegemony he urged is not a fixed thing but could be challenged, won or lost and is maintained through constantly shifting alliances. It is not just a set of conscious ideas and actions but also includes the unconscious understandings of the world. It is based on

the unquestioned automatic wisdom of a society, its "common sense" or "traditional conception of the world". For Gramsci, the state had successfully established its own common sense and he was concerned to know how this was done so that socialists could understand why people continued to consent to their own oppression, be they the British working class supporting the Conservatives or Irish people, the British presence. He maintained that socialists could help to establish a new culture through developing and 'socialising' a critical knowledge of old beliefs and by using them as the basis for action.

Culture

CULTURAL imperialism in Ireland has developed historically and primarily through Britain's interference in Ireland. It has been the major and most direct influence here and the process of Europeanisation has followed in its slipstream. This 'synthetic Europeanism', to be marked by the removal of restrictions at European borders in 1992, is the threat to Ireland.

It is supported and described by Richard Kearney, lecturer in philosophy in UCD, in a series of articles in the *Irish Times* December 1987, where he welcomes the development of, "... a transnational political forum in Europe (which) is providing Ireland with the possibility of a major debate on the socio-economic future of our island... in terms removed from civil war ideologies and shibboleths of the Ireland-England conflict." Indeed, elsewhere in the articles, he states, in relation to culture, "nationalist ideology... would continue to play a vital role in our cultural and historical memory — as well as in related areas like indigenous music, dialects, crafts and sports. (Would any Irish man want to disown cyclists such as Roche and Kelly or footballers

such as Best, Brady and Willie John MacBride)."

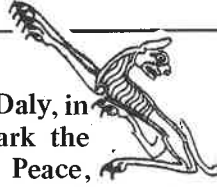
An analysis of imperialist culture in Ireland must take account of how it has affected everyone, unionist, British and nationalist. Memmi argues that, *Colonisation materially kills the colonised. It must be added that it kills him spiritually. Colonisation distorts relationships, destroys or petrifies institutions and corrupts... the colonised and the coloniser.*" If a cultural resistance strategy seeks support amongst those other than the colonised, then it needs to be clear about the effects of imperialism on all those involved.

The Algerian writer Franz Fanon, in analysing the war against the French indicates certain characteristics of colonisation and liberation which are equally relevant to Ireland. This analysis begins to clarify the role of the state, the colonist and the colonised at, amongst others, the cultural level.

Prior to the final period when the colonised are prepared to fight all forms of exploitation, Fanon identifies the period of assimilation and cultural nationalism. Of course, these different periods 'overlap' in history and, in different phases, emphasise different aspects of colonialism.

In the first period, characterised by assimilation, the colonised will mimic the culture of the coloniser. This can be seen through loss of language and custom as a result of repression and economic necessity or social advancement — hence the learning of English for economic reasons and for social status.

The second stage is characterised by the rise of cultural nationalism, whereby the culture of the colonised is held to be superior to the degrading culture of the coloniser. Within an anti-imperialist struggle, cultural nationalism has an important role to play in raising the confidence of a people. By making people aware of independent civilisation which preceded conquest, it can raise a vision of an independent future which challenges the image of imperialism as the natural order of things. In this context, it is possible to understand



nationalist references to the Brehon Laws as a progressive legal code, or the Irish monastic influence on European learning.

During this period, Fanon argues, the state will strengthen its appeal for assimilation, integration and a sense of community. Education for Mutual Understanding and interdenominational services for reconciliation are current examples of this in Ireland.

In this period, the battle for 'hearts and minds' intensifies with the state being forced to make, or appear to make, certain concessions to the minority, in order to head off a full-blown national liberation struggle. It is during this time that Cabral's 'germ of challenge' can be clearly seen.

In the Six Counties, it is illustrated by the demand for an end to nationalist alienation, which has been the result of their exclusion from the exercise of power and of having been subjected to economic deprivation and cultural illegality for generations. Nationalists have responded to this by erecting their own cultural network, which has at times co-existed with the structure of the state and, at other times, which resulted in open conflict.

In the 26 Counties, it can be seen in the unease felt at the apparent relentless march of 'Western Europeanism' as evidenced in the SEA and its failure to provide the promised 'national' prosperity in exchange for the absorption of Ireland into Europe. The establishment of Gaelscoileanna both in middle class and, more recently, in working class districts, indicates an increasing demand for the retention of a specifically Irish identity. Of course, resistance to this European world, Kearney dismisses as "a self-obsessive quest for a lost national essence".

The state responds by denying that the control and exercise of power is at the heart of the challenge and seeks instead to manage the ensuing cultural conflict.

BISHOP Cahal Daly, in an address to mark the World Day of Peace, January 3rd 1988, illustrated the state's thinking when he asserted the historical and moral equality of the nationalist and unionist traditions.

"No constitutional or institutional arrangements for Northern Ireland could be morally justified or could effectively operate, which failed to do justice to both traditions and failed to give institutional expression to both cultures and identities."

Dialogue, he maintained, is the only legitimate method of changing the power relations and if either 'tradition' *"does not believe that this is possible then it has ceased to believe in itself or in the democratic process."*

There is nothing new in this. The Hillsborough Agreement, signed in November 1985, argued that the recognition of the rights of the other tradition to pursue their aspirations by peaceful and constitutional means is a *"condition of genuine reconciliation"*. Earlier, the Dublin Forum Report declared its aim to encourage an environment wherein,

"The two traditions would find themselves on a basis of equality" within a climate which would allow "all those living on the island of Ireland to share the common aspects of their identity" further allowing "the emergence of normal political life".

Whether it is argued that reconciliation creates the environment (Daly) or that the environment creates reconciliation (Hillsborough and the Forum Report), the aim is to establish 'normal political life' within the Six Counties through a process of winning the nationalist community away from their tactic support for the IRA, to 'dialogue' and the 'democratic process', whilst persuading the unionists to undo the wrongs of the past by agreeing to a fairer distribution of resources.

The second part of the process is to encourage the climate of good neigh-

bourliness with the 26 Counties and Britain. On the surface, this approach appears to be reasonable and civilised. However, on closer examination, the flaws begin to appear, along with the realisation that this solution is not unique to Ireland. What is being drawn upon is a model of cultural development known as multiculturalism.

In this, culture is not seen as the visible worldview of a particular group, but rather as a gloss on a lifestyle common to all civilised people, which is, in fact, the ideology of the ruling group in that society. In this case, it appears that there is no essential difference between Jamaican culture or Punjabi culture or Irish culture. They are all just ways of viewing and expressing a certain central reality. So, for example, we all have to eat, so we eat roti or nan or soda bread. We all need to enjoy ourselves, we just all do it differently. How food or entertainment is produced and distributed is not considered to be the problem. Multiculturalism sees the problem arising when value judgements are made about other cultures in relation to civilised life, which could end in cultural conflict.

Therefore, it is the ignorance upon which the value judgement rests which is the root of the problem and requires a change in attitude, rather than power.

Multicultural analysis maintains that, initially, cultural conflict is based on ignorance which breeds fear, hatred, bigotry and violence. Knowledge, therefore, is the key to ending this. The individual is responsible if, in the face of the opportunities offered, hostile attitudes and ignorance are allowed to continue. Secondly, all cultural expression is equally valid and enriches the life of the society. The loss of a culture is a loss to the world in general. Thirdly, it is the responsibility of the host community to be tolerant and to make room in the life of the nation for the incoming culture. Finally, it is the responsibility of the incoming culture to be patient whilst the process of adjustment on the part of the host community is completed. It is the role of the state to facilitate this adjustment



● Irish soldiers in 1521 as seen by the German artist Albrecht Durer

by helping potentially opposing cultures to get to know each other, through education, the churches and the media.

However, experience has shown that encouragement frequently is not enough and legal protection of the minority may be necessary in the form of Bills of Human Rights or Race Relations legislation. This may arise as a result of the 'host community's' unwillingness to share national resources, especially in times of recession. In this case, the state appears to be just and progressive, whilst trying to educate the two communities which are characterised on the one hand, as backward and insular, and, on the other, as intolerant and in some cases, racist.

During the period of adjustment in order to maintain social stability the state will make calls for tolerance, reconciliation, patience and generosity. At the same time, it will offer the minority a stake in the status quo by arranging access, regardless of how

tenuous, to the benefits to be gained from the existing social order. The success of this strategy depends on how thoroughly the host community identifies with it and how quickly and successfully significant numbers of the minority can be integrated, indeed how quickly state-sponsored ways of 'living together' can be established and accepted as normal.

In recent years for example, we have seen the development of the strategy of fair employment — to the point of full debate in the British parliament — to make religious discrimination illegal. But the question of fair employment is not argued in relation to positive action. Apportioning employment to reflect the composition of society, ie, 40% Catholic and 60% Protestant, is the way chosen to redress the inequality.

So, in this model, all of the difficulties arise out of the very existence of the minority community. If they did not exist there would be no need for

more houses, hospitals, schools. In the end this community is seen as a numbers problem. Captain Terence O'Neill hoped that Catholics would start having smaller families and behave rather like good Protestants, if there was a fairer distribution of opportunity. In Britain, race relations legislation exists alongside immigration laws. In Germany, the periodic expulsion of foreign workers exists alongside the right to be educated in the mother tongue thus facilitating the return of children of migrant workers to the mother country when a work contract has ended.

So the state, whilst appearing supportive, aims to control instability to some extent by controlling numbers.

The element missing from the multicultural model is power. Even the state is not seen to have the power in its own interests but rather, through the democratic process, on behalf of the people. Racism and discrimination are



● Racist cartoon portrayals of Irish people was and is a method of the British coloniser to attempt to assert their 'superiority'

not seen to be embedded within the very structures of the state. So, attempts on the part of the minority to redress their position of powerlessness in any way other than through helping others to get to know them or by appeals for recognition, is considered to be anti-social, intolerant behaviour and, in its extreme form, the work of agitators and criminals preying on the frustrations and alienation of their own people.

If this behaviour persists and threatens the state itself, it will be met by force. For example, under the Hillsborough Agreement, it is perfectly possible to have the Irish language, dancing and other forms of artistic expression funded by the state. Other non-nationalists could be encouraged to participate through cross community activities. When these cease to be just the nationalist gloss on 'normal life', ie, the British presence in Ireland, and become a rallying point for demanding an end to this state of aff-

airs, then they are denounced as sectarian. Culture, it is claimed, has been hijacked for political purposes and public funds such as ACE grants are withdrawn.

The apparently reasonable approach of multiculturalism hides the power and strategy of the state which encourages cultural expression that is not a threat and attempts to destroy that which is.

Culture



A major problem when applying multiculturalism to Ireland arises in trying to identify the crucial category of the 'host' community. In the context of the Six Counties or in Ireland as a whole, the un-

ionists are treated as the host community, yet they are, for the purposes of the theory, 'incoming'. The nationalists are an artificial minority in the Six Counties but a host community taking Ireland as a whole.

Leinster House and the nationalist community, as the host culture in Ireland, are constantly being asked to accommodate the unionist identity. The unionists are prevailed upon as the host community in the North to make room for the legitimate aspirations of the nationalists. The nationalist in the North, treated as incoming community, are encouraged, through calls to reconciliation, to be patient whilst changes gradually take place.

The problem over how to define each group arises because of the existence of a colonialist minority which claims the right to govern because of its allegiance to the imperial power. Because of this, there is no common

interest at the centre of social life. The relationship between a host and incoming culture is then distorted by the struggle to maintain the normality of the British presence as the common interest at the centre of Irish life.

It is not surprising therefore, that John McMichael called his pamphlet *Common Sense*. He was referring not only to this but to the 'natural' rejection of political violence in favour of dialogue. Power sharing could replace alienation by establishing a 'national' interest to which everyone could give support. *Common Sense* had another meaning which was the need to establish this solution as the automatic response to the situation which would make all opposition abnormal in the mind of the general public. McMichael's document was acceptable to the establishment because it was received as the UDA accepting the multicultural solution so favoured by 'constitutional' parties.

Culture

Multiculturalism is employed therefore, as a strategy in opposition to the developing 'germ of challenge', which is visible in the demands and actions of those who see that cultural freedom can be achieved only through the breaking of the colonial relationship. Equality of the cultural value and development can only be achieved after the relations of exploitation have been ended.

In discussing the central role of culture, Liam Mellows argued that the Irish revolution had, "a threefold aspect. It is intellectual, it is political, it is economic. Of the intellectual aspect it is sufficient to say that Ireland to be free must be Irish, must be free from the domination of alien thought as from alien armies."

However, the exact nature of an independent Irish culture has been difficult for nationalists to define, though it has always been recognised as central to the establishment and defence of an independent Ireland. This has arisen

partly because of the linking of Irish culture to a traditional world and partly because of the development of culture has been almost synonymous with the difficult task of re-establishing Irish as the first language.

In order to show that imperialism is not the natural state of affairs in Ireland and to show that an independent culture is possible, cultural nationalism has frequently raised a vision of culture belonging to pre-conquest Ireland. Cultural nationalism as a weapon against British imperialism developed at the end of the last century. It extolled the virtues of a pre-British Ireland and, in doing so, a pre-industrial Ireland. This has often been interpreted as a rejection of the modern world, rather than the relations of production or social relations which accompanied industrialisation. At a time when both traditionalists and socialists all over Europe were attacking the factory system as distorting human potential, a rejection of industry in Ireland was both this and an attempt to stop the extension and development of new forms of British control through 'modernisation'.

However, for many, both supporters and opponents, the idea of an independent culture became associated with a rejection of the benefits of the modern world. A rejection of modern Britain meant replacement by a romantic, pre-British Ireland, traditional, unchanging and pure. Since this was unrealistic, it became a myth, irrelevant to the daily life, bread and butter issues of the poor of Ireland. This approach to cultural development also fails to make a positive statement about the way people live their lives now.

To say that culture can exist only in the past or the future is to condemn people to a cultureless existence now. It offers no explanation of the range of current cultural activities of the society and the nationalist community in particular. Cultural struggle is seen as the actions of an enlightened few. This is self-defeating, if the aim is to involve people and to encourage cultural activity which will help to transform society. Indeed, it makes

culture itself marginal to this process and relegates it to post independence.

Most people would not, however, subscribe to this extreme analysis and would probably concede that a form of culture does currently exist but it is neither correct nor desirable.

Once again however, culture belongs to the few and operates in much the same way as high culture, that is, as a civilising force in society. The cultural struggle integral to the new Ireland therefore mirrors and repeats the present power relations inherent in dominant culture.

If, however, culture is the visible organisation of a particular world view, culture is not brought in from the outside to change peoples' lives. Like the economic and political structures, it contains within it the contradictions of society and, therefore, the seeds of transformation. This is based on a critical awareness of present beliefs and actions which is the foundation of a realistic future.

People are at the centre of the process.

Culture

Ideas about who and what a nation or people are do not simply exist in mid-air. They are concretised in language whose words are not devoid of content or value. It encapsulates the history of human conflict. If that were the case there would be no need to insist on the difference between 'terrorist' and 'freedom fighter', chairperson/man, coloured/black. Words and language convey a continuous interpretation and recreation of society. To study ideology, therefore, is partly to study language.

So, to simply replace one set of words with another is no guarantee that traditional ideas will change but it does begin the challenge by forcing a re-examination of how the world has been labelled.

The conflict between England and Ireland has been fought out also in the realm of language and the battle to re-



establish Gaeilge as the first language, fundamental to cultural resistance.

However, language and culture have often been treated almost synonymously, with the result that the language has suffered from the same accusations of anti-modernism and irrelevancy. It has been seen as a thing of the past, the interest of the academic or a small group of enthusiasts. Where it has been seen as a Gaelic gloss on the existing social relations, it is relegated to an optional extra within the nationalist culture, interesting but not essential. But if the cultural struggle, as part of the process of liberation, enables the Irish people to define themselves outside of the categories of the coloniser and to rename their world, then language is a crucial factor.

It is possible to argue that the form of English used in Ireland is a sufficient expression of the history of colonialism and resistance in Ireland. It does not provide a comprehensive history, since access to the Gaeilge heritage is blocked. Neither does it offer a way of transforming the colonial categories since the use of the language embodies a colonial victory. If language contains the elements of an understanding of the world then the continued use of English as the first or official language in Ireland permits only a view of the world formed in imperialism.

Language and culture are not simply rallying points for anti-imperialists,

having no permanent place in the future of an independent Ireland. The alternative is to put a question mark over the nature of liberation. If it means a cosmetic change in the exercise of economic and political power only, then for a large number of people who already live on the margins of social life it is irrelevant, eg women, children, Gaelgeoiri. If there is no fundamental cultural transformation which takes account of their lives now and offers them a way of living in the centre of social life in the future, a liberation struggle is meaningless. It may be more beneficial for them to try to extend their possibilities in the present situation rather than, after a long and difficult struggle, to find themselves once again relegated to the margins.

Similarly, if in the end Irish is only nationalist, then it continues to be refracted through the prism of colonialism. National liberation and cultural transformation should place nationalism within the history of the development of an independent state, rather than to become its dominant ideology. Fanon, in assessing the results of the Algerian struggle for independence stated:

"If nationalism is not made explicit, if it is not enriched and deepened by a very rapid transformation into a consciousness of social and political needs it leads up a blind alley" ■



GABBIN'

IS iomaí uair a chluintear go bhfuil an Ghaeilge marbh, nach mór, agus nach mbaineann sí le gné ar bith de shaol mhuintir na Galltachta, ach insíonn na firicí scéal eile ar fad. Níor mhaith liom (san alt seo) dul isteach i scéal na h-athbheochana go dáiríre, is é mo ghnó anseo ná súil éadrom a chaith-eamh ar ghnéithe éagsúla den Ghaeilge agus den Bhéarla mar a labhraítear in Éirinn iad lena shonrú cé chomh ceangailte agus atá ár modh cainte lenár bhfréamacha Gaeil, atá dár liom chomh beo agus a bhí said riamh.

Éist mar shampla le Bleá Cliathach ag rá: *"ders tirty three tings dare."* Dearfadh Gall nach raibh ann ach 'Paddy' nach bhfuil in ann Béarla a labhairt i gceart. Ach is eol do Ghael gurbh é atá ann ná a sheanchanúint féin ag briseadh amach tríd an Bhéarla (a bhrúigh an Gall ar a shinsir). Níl an rud céanna ann ar ndóigh i gCúige Uladh mar gheall ar dhifríochtaí beaga a bhí sna canúinti éagsúla sular bhrúigh an Béarla isteach orainn. Tá an difir sin soiléir má éistimid leis an difir idir Bleá Cliathach agus Béal Feirsteach ag rá 'chríochnaigh sé'.

Tá brí an tséimhithe agus an



GAUNCHIN' AN' PRAPER TALKIN'

LE 'ONE BEYOND THE PALE'

uraithe cailte, nach mór ar Éireann-aigh nach bhfuil ach fíorbheagán Gaeilge acu ach níl sé cailte ar bith i modh cainte na ndaoine mar is léir ó na píosaí seo a leanas: "An'all" in ionad "and all", nó "talkin" in ionad "talking". Is amhlaidh an scéal i dtaobh an tséimhithe de, mar shampla Béal Feirsteach ag rá "morr", "brorr" agus "farr" in ionad "mother", "brother" agus "father".

Tá na mílte de rudaí beaga ann a thaispeánann iarsmaí fuaimeanna theanga ár sinsear, is leor áfach, tagairt a dhéanamh do cúpla rud leis an tsoc a chruthú "muncle" agus "manty" in áit "my uncle" agus "my aunty". Ach tá focail ann a tháinig díreach isteach sa Bhéarla ónár dteanga dhúchais, is beagán Bearlóir a mbeadh sé ar eolas aige gur Gaeilge atá a labhairt aige nuair a deireann sé "thons smashin", ach da n-éistfidís le Gaeilgeoir ag rá "is maith sin" d'aithneoidís láithreach é. Agus arís nuair a smaoinítear ar an fhocal "gaunch" is furasta a rá go dtáinig sé ó "ag caint", agus ar ndóigh nuair atá caint idir cumainn againn smaoinímís ar "gob", ní fada a rachfá i mBéal Feirste go gcluiféa duine ag bagairt "skelp in the gob" ar dhuine, is é atá sa bhagairt sin ná mo dhuine ag rá go dtabharfaidh sé "sceilp sa ghob" don té atá ag cur isteach air.

DÁ mbeadh eolas dá laghad ag páistí an lae inniu ar ár dteanga féin ní ligfidís do mhúinteoirí 'Béarla na banríona' achasán a chaitheamh leo as "winds", "packet" agus "aff" a rá in ionad "window", "pocket" agus "off", deirfidís leo "coinnigh tú féin gréim ar dopraper English" tá mé féin sásta an difear idir o agus ó a choinneáil beo.

Leis an méid sin inár meon nach damanta go mór smaoinemh go bhfuil lucht an oideachais anois ag iarraidh conamar ar bith den Ghaeilge atá tágtha sa státchoras oideachais ó thuaidh, a bhrú amach ar fad. Nár chóir do mhúinteoirí Éireannacha a bheith ag argóint go dian leis an údarás. Ach tá an chuma ar an scéal go bhfuil said sásta ligint do rialtas na 'Breataine' dul coiscéim níos faide ina iarrachtaí chun an Ghaeilge a bhrú faoi chois fad. Níl léamh ar bith eile ar an scéal nó tá rialtas na 'Breataine' anois ag rá nach mbeidh an Ghaeilge ann fiú i liosta na dteangacha a bheidh ar fáil sa 'core curriculum' nua.

Beidh ár geuid páistí i bhfad níos boichte de thairbhe. Tá saibhreas ann inár n-oidhreacht fiú ar bhealaí beaga, agus is í an teanga ceann de na rudaí is

tábhachtaí inár n-oidhreacht. Is í an eochair a osclaíonn an doras a sheasann idir sinn féin agus saol ár sinsear an saol sin a mhúnláigh an timpeallacht ina mairimid, agus tá rianta den mhúnlú sin gach áit inár dtimpeall.

Is cuimhin liom féin nuair nach raibh ach fíorbheagán Gaeilge agam agus mé ag dul an aichearra idir barr agus bun Bhaile Andarsain Bhéal Feirste bhí fhois agam gur ag dul tríd "Gartree Place" a bhí mé, ach níor smaoinigh mé ariamh gur "garr tri" a bhí i gceist. Agus i mo sheasamh ansin ar an Cheann Ard ag amharc anuas ar an cheantar ní samoineoinn a choíche go raibh baint idir "kenard Avenue" agus an "Ceann Ard" a raibh me i mo sheasamh air.

Is féidir tuiscint i bhfad níos doimhne bheith againn ar ár dtír féin agus ar ár dtimpeallacht féin ach ár dteanga dhúcháis a athghabháil, agus is beag an difir, dár liom, más í Gaeilge an Gaeltacht, an Galltacht nó an Jailteacht atá a labhairt againn fad agus atá sí beo.

Smaoinímís ar sin an céad uair eile atá duine "gaunchin" nó "gabbin aff" fá daoine nach bhfuil Gaeilge ar bith acu, ta sí againn-ne ar fad, a bheag nó a mhór, athghabhaímís í le chéile, tá go leor "galore" inár n-éadan ■

IRISH PROTESTANTS AND IRISH NATIONALISM

An open letter to IRIS
from an Irish Protestant
on Irish identity and
the ethos of Irish
nationalism

(Wolfe Tone is one of the most often quoted, and misquoted Republicans.

His words are worth recalling:

"To subvert the tyranny of our execrable government, to break the connection with England, the never-failing source of all our political evils, and to assert the independence of my country — these were my objects. To unite the whole people of Ireland, to abolish the memory of all past dissensions and to substitute the common name of Irishman in place of the denominations of Protestant, Catholic and Dissenter — these were my means."

The politicians who call themselves 'constitutional nationalists' and who reproach the Republican Movement for what they argue is the polarising or divisive effect of IRA actions would do well to examine their conscience on Tone's objects and means. In particular, their use of and reliance on the Irish Catholic hierarchy for support in their attempts to put down republican resistance has ensured that Irish nationalism is seen by many Protestants as having a Catholic ethos. 'Bunreacht na hEireann' is the Constitution of a Catholic state. The Irish Republic remains to be built. It will not be built without the contribution of people like the author of the following letter. — Ed.)

TOWARDS the end of last year three of us, a Northern Catholic, a Southern Anglican and a Northern Protestant talked with a member of Sinn Fein.

Three points particularly impressed us: his emphasis on the basis of the Northern Ireland problem being in the relationship between the British and Irish nations; and his emphasis on ideology; and the fact that he personally did not hate England. He went on to say something like this, that we would tackle the problem with the Holy Spirit and they would do it with ideology.

In trying to understand better what ideology is, I have been helped by Sean Cronin's book, *Irish Nationalism — A History of its Roots and Ideology*, and have come to appreciate it as a force in history which by looking at all the realities of a situation can bring about a desired objective, sometimes against seemingly impossible odds, and in a struggle lasting probably for several generations can retain the initiative.

One great need of our age is to achieve a fusion between this force and that other great force in history, the Holy Spirit. Christianity needs ideology to enable it to speak to the world in a way that is fully relevant to today's realities and needs, while ideology needs Christianity to complete it. Other-

wise it remains restrictive (a word used about it by Cronin), divisive and, in Marx's phrase, "false consciousness". It is complete in that it fails to take account of all the realities — notably spiritual realities, like God and the possibility of radical change in human motivation through the Holy Spirit. By failing to take account of spiritual realities it presents a distortion of reality.

All ideology has to do with struggle but I would not agree with Marx that it is necessarily always class struggle. The most fundamental struggle of all is that between good and evil. All injustice is due to evil but everything is not always clear-cut. Many struggles are between individuals and groups whose



●“The traditional republican view that following British withdrawal the Protestants would willingly accept to become Irish is unrealistic, given the contempt for all things Catholic and Gaelic that has been bred into us”.

interests differ but who in their natures are mixtures of good and evil. What I am searching for at the deepest level is an ideology that unites us, without it, it will be impossible to bring about the integration of my own people in the Irish nation.

For myself, the heart of ideology is to love England enough to speak the truth to England, to the nation and people I find most difficult. I have been inhibited from this by the deep-seated hatred of England I share with all my community. Once our eyes are opened we know this is the deepest thing in us, deeper than hatred of Catholics, and it is because of the way we have been used as a garrison in the interests of England. The resentment more and more of us now feel is at least partly due to the half-conscious recognition of this. The heart of ideology for England is the relationship with Ireland, especially the ‘unfinished bus-

ness’ of that relationship. I assume that for the Republican Movement that means principally the evils resulting from partition, the unjust society we maintain at England’s behest because of our brainwashed and blinkered view of where our real interests lie.

Our group has come to believe that there is another large area of ‘unfinished business’ which has scarcely been looked at by anyone, the relationship between England and the Protestant section of the Irish nation, and which if it were looked at and tackled by England might go a long way towards dealing with the unjust society. (It is only in accepting our place in a complete Irish nation that there can be any future for us; we are alienated from Britain which regards us as not British, and from the incomplete state in the South which in general now insists we are British and, therefore, nothing to do with them). The Republican Mo-

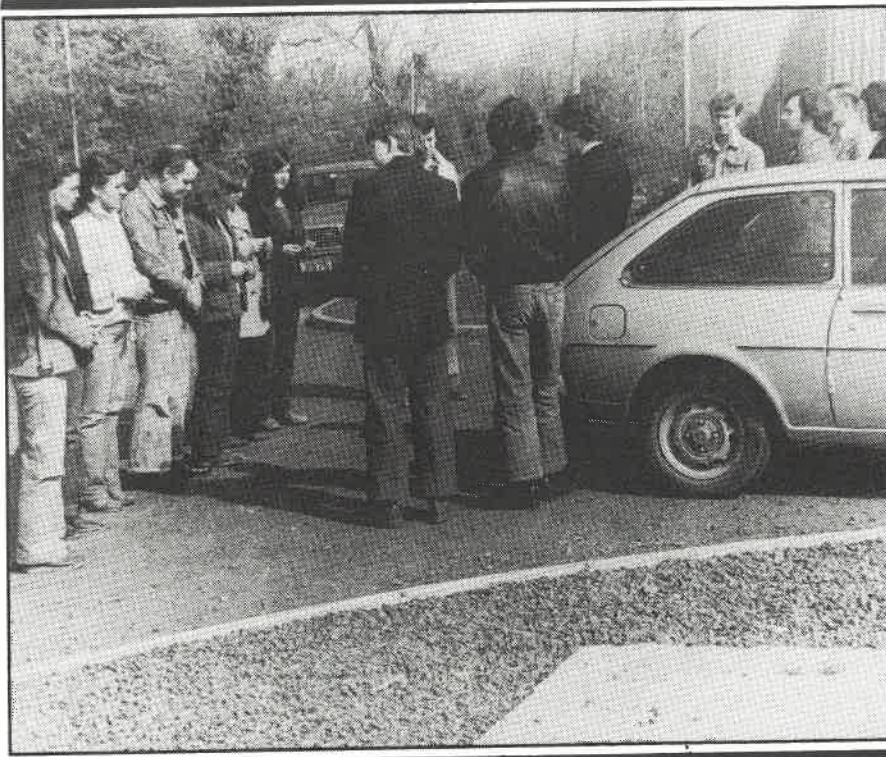
vement has not given this aspect of the relationship the attention it requires and, therefore, like us it is affected by ‘false consciousness’.

Protestants have been put in the front line by the ‘Ulsterisation of the conflict’, as cynical a piece of ‘divide and rule’ policy as any in history and one which makes it abundantly clear that Northern Ireland is a colonial territory. But we Protestants must face the element of mutual exploitation in this relationship. They use us but we blackmail them. Each has it in their power to liberate the other. We could be liberated to find our rightful place in Ireland. England could be liberated to take on a world destiny of creative leadership based on restoring for the sins of its imperialist past.

The traditional republican view that following British withdrawal the Protestants would willingly accept to become Irish is unrealistic, given the contempt for all things Catholic and Gaelic that has been bred into us as well as the increasing polarisation. But an honest look at the relationship by official Britain, accompanied by a revocation of the guarantee and a commitment to withdrawal, might help to set in motion the liberation of the garrison of which W.S. Armour wrote in the 1930s.

ONE other thing our friend said was very significant, which was that he could not understand what my difficulty was in being Irish. For my part, I could not understand him not understanding me.

For our community, some of them now recognise our bogus British identity as a thing of the past; the great obstacle to considering the positive alternative of an Irish identity and nationality is that the Irish nation is perceived as a Catholic one, not only by Protestants but by Catholics also. The gut feeling of the average Catholic is that his nation is Catholic and if, theoretically, he believes something else, this is what comes out at un-



● A decade of the rosary being said outside Long Kesh during the 1981 Hunger-Strike

guarded moments. The Irish nation was alive and well with Owen Roe O' Neill and Sarsfield, long before Wolfe Tone. I imagine the Presbyterian defection after things went wrong in 1798 was at least due to the realisation that Catholic Ireland had awakened and that there would eventually be as independent Ireland, but not the one they had fought for.

All the later developments of Irish nationalism took place without us and we can feel no emotional involvement with it. There was some minority participation by the Anglo-Irish community but very minimal participation indeed by the Scots-Irish community; so that it is not surprising that a nation has developed with an ethos very different from that of the nation Wolfe Tone had in mind, had all three population groups participated fully. What strikes many Northern Protestants still, including unionists, about the United Irishmen is how Protestant they were, people like us with their feet firmly on the ground. The romanticism of Young Ireland, the pagan mythology of Yeats and the mysticism of Pearse are all alien to us. We need, in humility, to try to understand and respect these things but we should not necessarily have to take them on board.

Personally, I want to be Irish as I am, but feel that Catholics do not allow me to. They expect us to move a bit of the way towards being 'Catholic', or at least something different from what we are. Until recently, I saw the obstacle as the perceived Catholic nation but it is not Catholic belief or even the power of the bishops that is the obstacle so much as what I would call the Catholic community, which identifies its total ethos as the criterion of Irishness. Until this begins to be understood in the Catholic community, we will not get anywhere. (There are some interesting comments related to this in a piece by Jennifer Johnston in the January issue of the Belfast review *Fortnight*. Also, I find myself in large agreement with various comments on identity by Dr Christopher McGimpsey, the unionist politician).

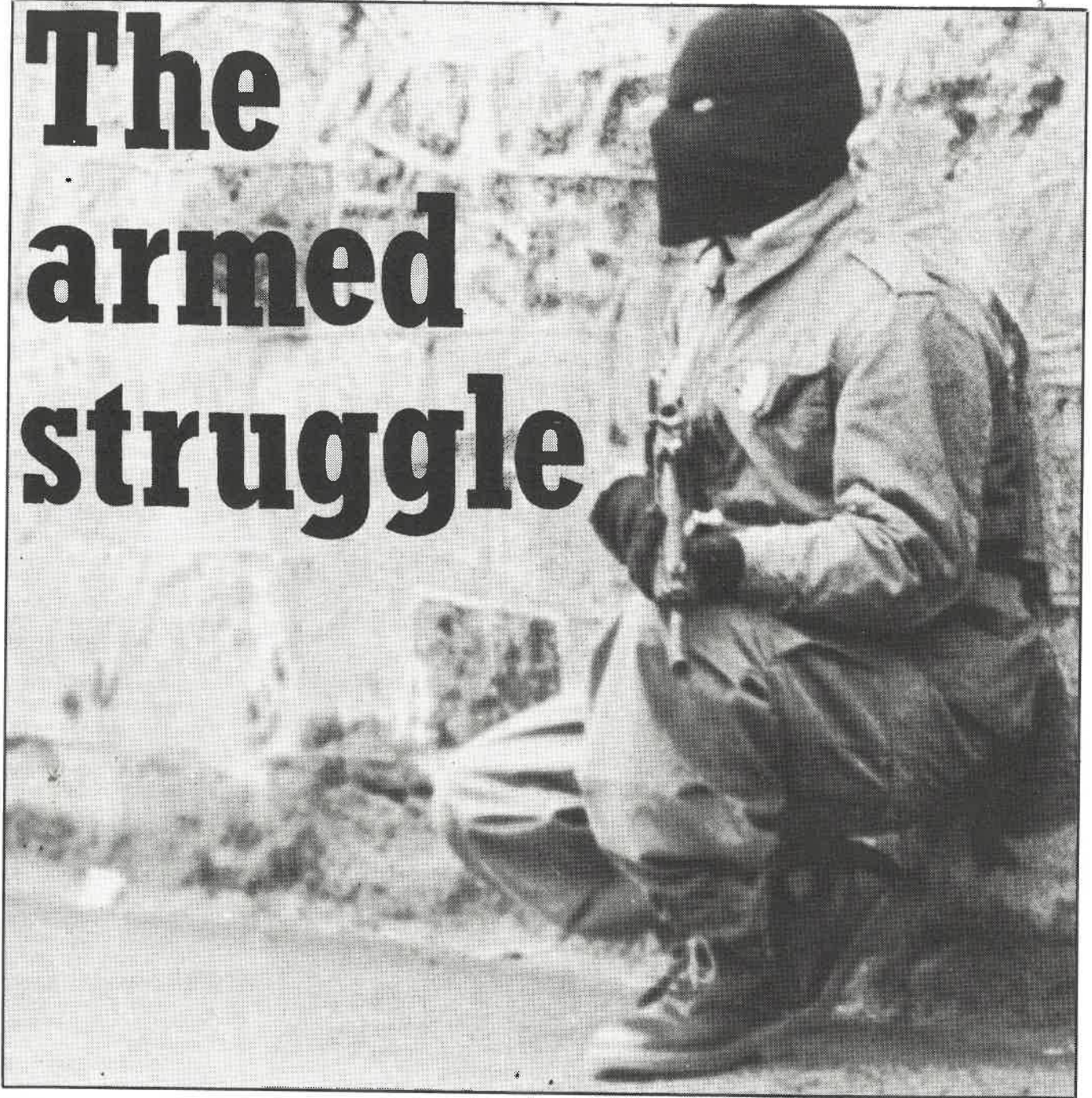
Then I have to say that I see the Republican Movement of today as a Catholic movement, with negligible Protestant input, and consisting of people, practising Catholics or not, who are governed by the total ethos of a community which considers us less than fully Irish. Its ideology has failed in that, at least since the 1860s, it has concentrated on the needs of the Catholic community and ignored the Northern Protestants, a community in Tone's

view just as Irish and which has suffered perhaps as much, though in a different way, from the misrule of England. (W.S. Armour repeatedly likened the terrible treatment of Catholic Ireland to killing the body, as in the Biblical metaphor, while preserving their souls intact, but implied that what was done to the Protestants was killing the soul). These views have been strengthened by reading Cronin's book, as at so many points the Catholic traditionalist strand in Irish nationalism and republicanism reasserts itself.

All of us in Ireland must get back to Tone in accepting that there still really are three communities in Ireland, not just two. 'Catholic, Protestant and Dissenter' has a fine archaic ring in the speech of present-day republicans when the next sentence may refer to Catholic and Protestant. Tone's three categories of Irishmen now correspond to Gaelic-Irish, Anglo-Irish and Scots-Irish, the latter two groups being Irish people who feel some affinity to either Scotland or England — in the case of the Scots-Irish the affinity seems to be unrelated to origin of religious denomination and class may be the principle determinant. I often feel we are looked on as 'non-people' by most people in the South and certainly we are looked on with contempt by the intellectual-anesthetic element. But then many Northern Catholics also feel they are 'non-people' in the South. Perhaps potentially we are the best allies each other could have in approaching both England and the South.

In conclusion, we are a community which has never had a first-class identity of any kind. In the late eighteenth century, we saw ourselves as Irish but it was a second-class identity. Later, in spite of hating England so much, we accepted a British identity and as the Empire grew in prestige felt we had something to be proud of, not realising then that it was bogus. Now, from time to time, Southern politicians assure us we can exchange a second-class British for a first-class Irish identity but we can only see a choice between two second-class identities. Nevertheless, it may not be too far away, maybe just around the corner, waiting for the time when we all understand each other better, subject of course also to our sorting out our relationship with England.

The armed struggle



RECENT MONTHS have demonstrated to the British government, if such demonstration was required, the determination of the men and women soldiers of Oglaiġ na hEireann to carry this, the final phase of the war of national liberation, through to a successful conclusion. Before the decision is taken to withdraw British armed

might from Ireland, there will be no peace.

In carrying the struggle to the enemy, the IRA Volunteers have paid a heavy price. 15 Volunteers have been killed in action since last October. Despite these losses, their comrades continue to press and harry the enemy, in Ireland, Britain and Europe.

OCTOBER

1st — THE month began on a lively note with a grenade attack on the RUC in Pomeroy, County Tyrone. One RUC man was injured when an impact grenade was hurled through the rear window of a patrol car. The device failed to explode.

In Belfast on the same night, IRA Volunteers attacked a crown forces base on the Antrim Road in the north of the city. The base was raked with gunfire but no hits were claimed.

2nd — On the following evening, Volunteers of the Belfast Brigade were forced to abandon a 600lb car-bomb several miles from the city after it failed to detonate close to its designated target.

3rd — Volunteers of the South Armagh Brigade launched ten mortars at the heavily-fortified British army hilltop fort at Glassdrummond. The base was damaged in the attack.

11th — An IRA unit opened fire on a British army outpost at Broadway in West Belfast. 12 shots were fired, but no hits were claimed.

14th — Two active service units of the Belfast Brigade launched a simultaneous attack on two RUC bases in West Belfast. The operation took place in mid-morning when two rockets were fired from shoulder-held launchers at each base. The rockets failed to detonate.

15th — The RUC had a lucky escape in Belfast when a 500lb bomb placed outside Queen Street Barracks was defused by British army engineers. The device was packed into five metal drums and carefully placed in a commandeered van, which was then driven through a permanent security barrier in Queen Street. The firing set was primed by an IRA Volunteer shortly before the van reached the barrier. A warning was given and the area was sealed off.

In a statement issued after the attack, the Belfast Brigade pointed out that despite re-



● British soldiers scattering after an anti-personnel mine was detonated on the Springfield Road, October 27th

peated warnings "the RUC refused to clear the area adequately".

21st — IRA Volunteers in the Turf Lodge area of Belfast punished a 16-year-old youth, Francis Finnegan, after he admitted being the driver of a car which deliberately rammied another vehicle twice, injuring a woman and child. Immediately after this incident, which occurred on Monday, October 12th, the Belfast Brigade in a statement warned:

"Those involved in organising and perpetrating these acts are known to the community and the IRA. It must be remembered that the role of these thugs, fostered by the RUC, is to undermine our struggle by demoralising the community from which we derive out support."

Finnegan was tied to a lamp-post at the Turf Lodge shops, painted and covered with feathers.

Later that day in Derry, IRA Volunteers opened fire with automatic rifles on a mobile British army patrol.

23rd — In a well-planned operation, Volunteers of the Belfast Brigade placed a 100lb bomb in the High Court.

At around 9am an armed Volunteer held up security staff at the rear of the building. A hoax bomb labelled "There you are" was placed on a table, while a rucksack containing a 100lb bomb was secreted in the building. Crown forces personnel in the building had a narrow escape when the detonator failed to set off

the device.

26th — The managing director of Farran's Construction, the company involved in a £7.5 million contract at Hollywood Barracks in North Down, Denis McClure, came under gun attack from IRA Volunteers near The Cutts, Dunmurry, on the outskirts of Belfast. McClure escaped injury.

Later that day in West Belfast one British soldier was injured when a British army Saracen was hit by an impact grenade. The newly-developed IRA weapon was thrown by a Volunteer of the Belfast Brigade as the vehicle approached the Henry Taggart British army/RUC Barracks in the Springfield Road. The device penetrated the armour of the vehicle, injuring one of its occupants.

27th — IRA Volunteers in Belfast continued to hound the crown forces, this time by planting several small bombs in Mackies factory in West Belfast. As British soldiers and RUC personnel crowded the area, sealing off streets around the factory and defusing two of the bombs, an IRA active service unit detonated an anti-personnel mine, blasting one soldier across the road. One bomb in the factory had earlier exploded, causing some damage.

28th — Tragedy struck in Derry when two brave Irish soldiers, Volunteer Paddy Derry and Volunteer Eddie McSheffrey were killed when a bomb which they were transporting exploded prematurely.

Their deaths cast a shadow over all IRA operations and were a sad reminder of the risks faced by all republican soldiers in the liberation struggle.

29th — In a series of attacks, Volunteers of the Belfast Brigade continued to keep pressure on crown force personnel. Between 4pm and 5pm, an impact grenade was fired from a shoulder-held launcher at North Howard Street Barracks and another grenade was fired at a sangar outside the Henry Taggart base in Ballymurphy and ten shots were also fired at the fort. Two grenades launched at the Springfield Road RUC Barracks failed to detonate.

Armour-piercing rounds were fired at British army observation posts on top of Templar House Flats, on the New Lodge Road, Broadway Towers and the Whiterock Fort on the Springfield Road. A British soldier was wounded in the first attack.

31st — One RUC man was seriously injured and two others received slight wounds during a bomb attack in Strabane, County Tyrone. The ambush happened in Castle Street when a bomb, hidden behind a hoarding, exploded as a foot patrol passed.

NOVEMBER

2nd — IRA Volunteers again attacked Springfield Road RUC Barracks in West Belfast. A shoulder-launched grenade caused

some damage to the base. Several shots were fired at an observation post attached to the barracks.

Later that night, a grenade was thrown at an RUC Land Rover in North Queen Street, North Belfast. The device struck the side of the vehicle and exploded, lifting it several feet into the air. Four RUC personnel in the vehicle were injured.

4th — In a statement the IRA welcomed the withdrawal of Farran's Construction from its building contract with the British government at Palace Barracks, the notorious British army interrogation centre of the 1970s. Farran's withdrew from their contract after IRA Volunteers opened fire on their managing director. Concluding its statement the IRA warned other contractors engaged in military contracts against this collaboration.

5th — At about 8pm, another grenade attack was launched in Belfast, this time in the Twinbrook Estate. The device was hurled at a passing RUC Land Rover but, although it exploded, it failed to cause any damage.

8th — In one of the blackest moments of the war in recent years, a bomb exploded in Enniskillen, killing eleven people who were waiting for a Remembrance Day ceremony to begin. On the following day the IRA issued a statement.

"The Irish Republican Army admits responsibility for planting the bomb in Enniskillen yesterday which exploded with such catastrophic consequences. We deeply regret what occurred.

"GHQ has now established that one of our units placed a remote-controlled bomb in St Michael's aimed at catching crown forces personnel on patrol in connection with the Remembrance Day service but not during it. The bomb blew up without being triggered by our radio signal.

"There has been an ongoing battle for supremacy between the IRA and British army electronic engineers over the use of remote-control bombs. In the past, some of our landmines have been triggered by the British army scann-

ing high frequencies and other devices have been jammed and neutralised. On each occasion we overcame the problem and recently believed that we were in advance of British counter-measures.

"In the present climate nothing we can say in explanation can be given the attention which the truth deserves, nor will it compensate the feelings of the injured or bereaved."

9th — IRA Volunteers in North Belfast attacked Old Park RUC Barracks. Shortly before noon, seven shots were fired from a high-velocity rifle and a grenade was also launched at the barracks.

IRA Volunteers in Twinbrook, West Belfast, shot and wounded a local gang leader who was a key person in organising armed crime in the Twinbrook/Poleglass area. Edward 'Snail' Hale's associates were warned in a statement by the Belfast Brigade, which claimed the attack.

10th — Two impact grenades were thrown at a British army/RUC mobile patrol travelling along Kennedy Way in West Belfast. One grenade hit a Land Rover, but both failed to explode.

18th — The IRA repudiated RUC claims that the Enniskillen bomb was detonated by a timing mechanism and not by a radio-controlled device. 11 days after the Enniskillen tragedy and in order to milk it of every drop of propaganda possible, the RUC presented the British army's chief technical officer in the North, who claimed that the bomb had both a timing device and a radio trigger. In a statement the IRA pointed out that "the RUC, as expected, are being deliberately selective in the forensic evidence they have produced."

19th — IRA Volunteers in Belfast threw an impact grenade at RUC Land Rovers in the Duncairn Gardens area of North Belfast. The grenade hit its target but failed to detonate.

21st — The IRA in County Tyrone placed three bombs in the Kildress Inn, Cookstown, at 7.30pm. A warning was given and the area was evacuated before the bombs exploded, destroying the premises.

The East Tyrone Brigade said that the Kildress Inn was targeted because of its policy of serving members of the crown forces.

23rd — In Belfast a grenade was launched at an observation post adjoining the New Bransley British army barracks in Ballymurphy. The device exploded causing some damage.

25th — Over 25 bomb alerts in Belfast caused massive confusion amongst crown forces personnel during the evening. Most of the bombs were hoaxes directed against RUC and British army bases, including the RUC's Knock headquarters. A small device exploded on a bus left on the Donagall Pass. No-one was injured. The operation paralysed the city centre and led to most barracks being sealed off.

Ten shots were fired at British army personnel on Broadway Tower and several more were fired at North Howard Street Barracks. An impact grenade was thrown at an RUC patrol on the Andersonstown Road.

27th — The rail connection between Dublin and Belfast was severed yet again when a 10lb bomb exploded on the line at Finaghy Halt. The bomb, placed there by IRA Volunteers, exploded just after a goods train had passed.

28th — Despite a massive cross-border security operation being in progress, Volunteers of the South Armagh Brigade launched a mortar attack on a temporary British army checkpoint, injuring two British soldiers, one very seriously.

With a heavy military presence in the area the Volunteers drove a tractor and trailer to within several hundred yards of the checkpoint. Concealed beneath bales of hay, three mortars lay primed and ready for action. All three fired and detonated as the Volunteers withdrew to safety.

DECEMBER

1st — A 500lb bomb in a car parked outside York Road Barracks detonated but failed to explode. A

20-minute warning had been given.

Following the nationwide search conducted jointly by Free State and British crown forces, during which 50,000 homes in the 26 Counties were ransacked by armed gardai, and following statements by Dublin Justice Minister Gerry Collins that the 'security' of the 26-County state was threatened by the IRA, the leadership of the Republican Movement issued a statement reaffirming General Army Order No.8. This order prohibits IRA actions against Free State armed forces. The statement also pointed out that Britain is more active in the 26 Counties than republicans directly connected with the struggle in the North. In denying Collins' conspiracy theory, the statement also said:

"Every weapon possessed by the IRA has a defensive as well as an offensive use. Nationalists in the North have had 66 years to make up their minds about how far a Dublin government will physically protect them come a crisis. Is there someone in government in Dublin guaranteeing the nationalist community of the North such protection?"

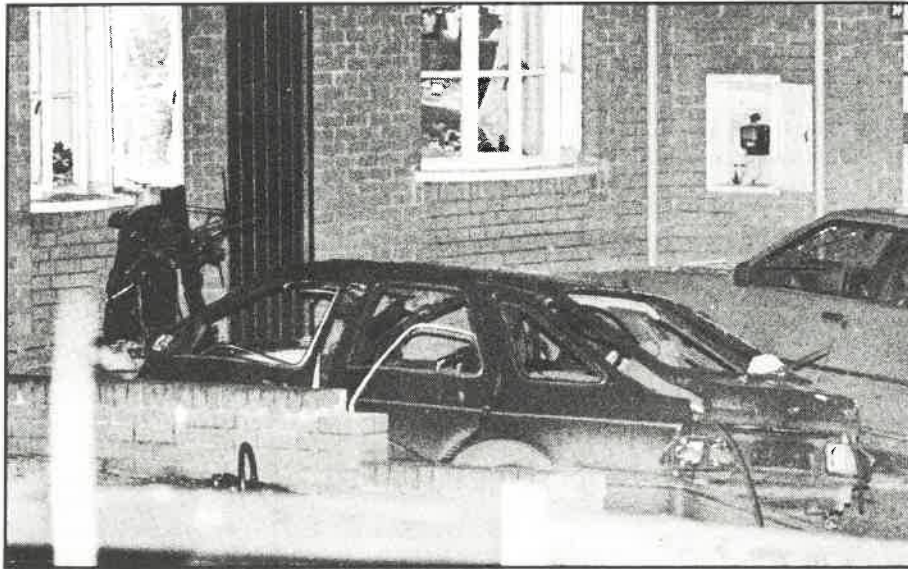
3rd — Volunteers launched a single mortar bomb into the Fort Jericho base after securing the area around Monagh Drive. The bomb exploded inside the barracks.

Earlier that day another active service unit put a 100lb bomb in a car showrooms at Lanark Way in West Belfast. A warning was given and the bomb was eventually defused.

5th — A Volunteer, using a high-velocity weapon, fired six shots at a British army engineer working on the Broadway Tower observation post.

In North Belfast IRA Volunteers launched a gun and grenade attack on an RUC mobile patrol travelling along the Crumlin Road. As the patrol drew level with the Ardoyne Shops one Volunteer launched a grenade from a shoulder-held launcher and a second threw an impact grenade, while another Volunteer opened fire with a high-velocity rifle.

In Fermanagh, IRA Volunteers launched a grenade attack



● The remains of UFF Commander John McMichael's car after an IRA bomb exploded and killed him on December 22nd

against Irvinestown RUC Barracks. The grenade landed inside the base but failed to detonate.

10th — Volunteers of the Derry Brigade launched another morale-bruising attack on the RUC in the city centre area. IRA Volunteers took up positions in Bank Place, close to the city walls where a similar attack was launched ten weeks previously.

The Volunteers waited until 9.30pm when an enemy mobile patrol appeared. The patrol was allowed to pass within yards of the IRA unit before an impact grenade was hurled at one of the armoured Land Rovers. The high-explosive

grenade ripped through the vehicle, seriously injuring two RUC personnel and shattering crown forces morale in the city.

12th — IRA Volunteers launched two grenades at an RUC mobile patrol in the Brackaville area of Coalisland, County Tyrone. Both devices failed to detonate.

In Belfast the IRA carried out three punishment shootings against local youths who persisted in stealing cars and 'joy-riding'.

15th — In Clogher, County Tyrone, IRA Volunteers threw an impact grenade at an RUC mobile patrol. The grenade hit the vehicle but failed to detonate.

17th — A 200lb car-bomb, planted by members of the IRA's Belfast Brigade, shattered the false security of the exclusive Cadogan Park area of South Belfast. Volunteers parked a commandeered vehicle outside the home of Diplock Judge Donald Murray and issued a 25-minute warning to a local newspaper. The bomb exploded wrecking the judge's house and causing widespread damage to adjoining buildings.

In a statement the IRA said the attack was in direct retaliation for the widespread raids being conducted in nationalist working-class areas by crown forces.

19th — IRA Volunteers in Derry threw four grenades at a

joint RUC/British army mobile patrol travelling along the Strand Road. One Land Rover was damaged in the attack.

21st — The IRA in Derry carried out a punishment shooting on a 20-year-old man in the Bogside. Crown forces personnel searching the area afterwards came under fire from an IRA unit. Two British soldiers were injured when Volunteers hurled two grenades.

22nd — The Belfast Brigade, Oglai na hEireann, struck a blow in defence of the nationalist people when one of its units executed John McMichael, commanding officer of the UFF (the UDA's flag of convenience).

After months of good intelligence work, two ASUs entered the predominantly loyalist Lisburn area and planted a 5lb device under McMichael's car. Shortly after 8pm, McMichael triggered the device by entering the car.

In a statement issued after the attack the IRA said his execution was "a pre-emptive strike against the UFF which was planning to bomb Dublin and other towns in the 26 Counties in the coming weeks".

28th — In Derry the IRA warned nationalists to be vigilant against possible loyalist attack. The statement came after loyalist gunmen took over a house in the Waterside area of the city on December 23rd. The RUC denied that any such incident occurred, which served as a further warning to nationalists.

JANUARY

4th — Volunteers of the Belfast Brigade claimed a hit inside Woodbourne RUC/British army Barracks. After observing the movements of crown forces personnel within the base, a pattern was established concerning British soldiers entering and leaving an observation post. As one soldier left the post, a Volunteer using a high-velocity rifle fired a single shot, hitting the soldier, who fell to the ground.



● The car-bomb which exploded outside the home of Judge Donald Murray on December 17th

5th - In Derry, IRA Volunteers fired several shots at an under-cover British army unit occupying the roof-space of a flat in the Creggan Estate.

6th - Four impact grenades were thrown at a large enemy mobile patrol by Belfast IRA Volunteers. The attack took place at the Monagh Bypass, causing substantial damage.

A short time later Volunteers launched a similar attack in the Grosvenor Road area of the city. Two grenades hit enemy vehicles, but only the detonators exploded.

9th - The massive security surrounding Belfast city centre was breached by the IRA when Volunteers planted a 500lb car-bomb at Belfast Law Courts in Chichester Street. A 20-minute warning was given and the bomb exploded at 7.30pm, severely damaging the court buildings.

12th - Volunteer of the West Tyrone Brigade immobilised an RUC Land Rover with an impact grenade. The vehicle was part of a mobile patrol which came under attack while travelling along Abercorn Square, in Strabane.

13th - At 10.30am, British soldiers engaged in a search of the City Cemetery, close to the Ballymurphy Estate, came under gun attack from Volunteers. Twelve shots were fired.

The Belfast Brigade issued a statement warning nationalists of the presence of under-cover British army units in the Oldpark area of North Belfast. People were asked to be vigilant.

15th - Volunteers of the East Tyrone Brigade shot and fatally wounded a UDR soldier - the first enemy soldier to be killed in 1988. The soldier was shot as he sat in his car at around 8pm. Afterwards the East Tyrone Brigade issued a statement in which they acknowledged the fact that three men had come forward in recent months to publicly announce their resignation from the UDR.

17th - The vehicle of a UDR soldier was riddled with bullets during an IRA gun attack in Dunloy, County Antrim. Volunteers ambushed the soldier at around 9pm on the Galdonagh Road.

19th - Anthony McKiernan



● Severe damage was caused to Belfast Law Courts in an IRA bomb on January 9th

was shot dead by the IRA in Belfast after his informing activities were uncovered by IRA Intelligence. McKiernan, a Volunteer between 1971 and 1987, was dismissed for misconduct. He had been 'handled' by RUC Special Branch officers and had supplied information leading to arms finds, as well as details of command structures within the Belfast Brigade.

In a detailed statement issued after the shooting the IRA said:

"The ultimate responsibility for this death must rest with those who recruited him. Also to share part of the blame are those who call on people to become informers."

20th - A British army foot patrol had a narrow escape when an anti-personnel mine was set off as the patrol passed the junction of Beechmount Avenue and Clowney Street in West Belfast.

Meanwhile in Derry, Volunteers lobbed an impact gren-

ade and fired a volley of shots at an enemy patrol in the Carnhill area of the city.

23rd - An RUC man was injured when shots were fired and two impact grenades were thrown at an RUC mobile patrol travelling along the Culmore Road.

25th - IRA Volunteers launched a devastating attack from a derelict building in Mulholland Terrace, on the Falls Road in West Belfast. Two impact grenades were lobbed from an upstairs window at a passing RUC mobile patrol. One grenade exploded just in front of a Land Rover and another made a direct hit on the vehicle, immobilising it. Two RUC personnel inside the heavily-armoured vehicle were seriously injured and one died later in hospital.

26th - Within hours of the attack on the Falls Road, Volunteers of the Belfast Brigade struck another blow against the enemy. A commandeered car, packed with 500lbs

of explosives, was driven to within yards of the RUC barracks in Dunmurry. A 40-minute warning was given and the bomb exploded, destroying the perimeter wall and causing extensive structural damage to the entire base. Several commercial and residential properties were also damaged in the attack.

Responding to hypocritical comments of local politicians and the RUC, the IRA issued a statement.

"Whilst the Irish Republican Army will take steps to minimise disruption to civilians and damage caused to civilian property, British army and RUC bases are of central importance to the implementation of British rule. The Irish Republican Army cannot therefore relinquish its right to attack them."

30th - In Belfast, a Twinbrook man was shot by the IRA for the brutal rape of a local woman ten days previously.

FEBRUARY

4th - Four Volunteers of the Derry Brigade fired approximately 70 high-velocity shots at a joint British army/RUC checkpoint on the Foyle Bridge.

10th - Two British soldiers were injured during a grenade attack on an observation post at North Howard Street in West Belfast. Volunteers hit the target from close range with three grenades using improvised launchers. Despite a massive follow-up search the



● Flames still raging after a car-bomb attack on Dunmurry RUC Barracks on January 26th



● The Land-Rover in which two British soldiers were killed in a IRA attack on February 25th

Volunteers evaded capture.

13th – Four grenades were launched at Woodbourne Barracks by Volunteers of the Belfast Brigade. All of the devices hit the target.

Also in Belfast, Volunteers using high-powered rifles, fired twelve shots at the British army observation post on Broadway Tower.

Meanwhile in Omagh, County Tyrone, Volunteers lobbed an impact grenade at a Land Rover as it travelled along Brookmount Road.

15th – A UDR corporal was shot dead by IRA Volunteers in Kilkeel, County Down. Volunteers of the South Down Command, Oglagh na hEireann, carried out the attack.

18th – An active service unit of the East Tyrone Brigade hurled an impact grenade at an RUC mobile patrol travelling down William Street in Dungannon, County Tyrone. Several RUC men were treated for shock after the attack.

19th – The IRA struck again in County Tyrone, this time in Coalisland. At around 10pm, IRA Volunteers positioned in the town's Main Street targetted a heavily-armoured RUC car. One grenade was thrown, badly damaging the vehicle and injuring at least two RUC personnel, one seriously.

23rd – In Belfast, IRA Volun-

teers launched a grenade attack on a British army mobile patrol at the junction of New Bransley Drive and the Springfield Road. The grenade hit the target but failed to detonate.

Although the IRA issued a statement revealing the location of the device, crown forces personnel refused to remove it. The IRA was then forced to seal off the area and at midnight, Volunteers retrieved and neutralised the grenade.

24th – Two UDR soldiers were killed and two others were seriously injured during an IRA bomb attack in Belfast city centre. Two active service units were involved in the operation. The first secured the area around the Castle Court building site, while the second, made up of IRA engineers, ran a command wire across waste ground to a 250lb mine placed behind a hoarding adjacent to the North Street/Royal Avenue security gate.

A number of enemy patrols passed the area but, because of the presence of civilians, the device was not detonated. Shortly after 11pm a UDR mobile patrol stopped at the gates and the mine was detonated. One of the Land Rovers was ripped apart by the explosion, and hurled across the road. Two soldiers were

killed and two more were seriously injured.

A second device, consisting of 20lb of high explosives packed into a gas cylinder, was primed to explode as enemy forces combed the area. It failed to detonate.

26th – Two mortars were launched by IRA Volunteers at North Howard Street British army base, in Belfast. Both exploded in mid-air over the base at around 8.15pm.

28th – Two members of the RUC were injured when IRA Volunteers threw two impact grenades at an enemy mobile patrol in Strabane, County Tyrone. Both devices exploded.

29th – At 9.15am, two members of a joint RUC/British army patrol were injured when an anti-personnel mine containing 7lbs of sharpnel exploded as the patrol passed through South Link, Andersonstown, West Belfast.

Later in East Belfast, two nail bombs were hurled at Mountpottinger Barracks in the Short Strand. One exploded causing minor damage.

The Irish Republican Army lost two of its bravest Volunteers when a bomb which was being transported prematurely exploded. The explosion occurred on one of the raids in South Armagh most feared by enemy forces, killing Volunteers Brendan Burns and Brendan Moley, South Armagh Brigade, Oglagh na hEireann.

MARCH

3rd – Volunteers of the South Armagh Brigade secured a large area around the Glassdrummond British army post and, under the noses of the British soldiers cooped up within the post, fired a volley of shots in honour of their fallen comrades, Volunteers Brendan Moley and Brendan Burns.

At the same time in Belfast, the IRA launched attacks on two enemy barracks. Two ASUs attacked Musgrave Street RUC Barracks, situated in the heart of Belfast. Volunteers fired a rocket-propelled gren-

ade at a sentry post in the base and raked it with automatic gunfire.

A nail-bomb thrown at North Queen Street Barracks exploded against a wall of the base.

6th – Three IRA Volunteers on active service in Britain's Spanish colony, Gibraltar, were executed by the SAS. Despite early reports that Mairead Farrell, Dan McCann and Sean Savage died in a gun battle, the IRA issued a statement that the three were unarmed at the time of their deaths.

The statement concluded: "The British public should know what its government refuses to admit – that it is at war with the Irish Republican Army in order to maintain its occupation of Ireland. Its rules of war include the execution of unarmed Volunteers, so let us hear no more hypocrisy of the British government acting within the law."

7th – Volunteers of the Belfast Brigade fired twelve high-velocity shots at 5.30pm and further dozen shots at 8.30pm, at Fort Jericho British army base on the Springfield Road.

Volunteers detonated a 10lb anti-personnel mine in Corry's Timber Yard, further down the Springfield Road, at 9.30pm. The yard was occupied by crown force personnel at the time.

8th – At 3pm, five high-velocity shots were fired at a British army patrol in the same timber yard.

Later that day RUC personnel firing plastic bullets at youths were forced to retreat when Volunteers opened fire on them.

At 9pm Belfast Brigade Volunteers armed with G3 rifles opened fire on a RUC DMSU mobile patrol at the Poleglass Roundabout. 20 shots were fired as the patrol passed.

14th – Volunteer Kevin McCracken was shot by a British soldier at Norglen Crescent, West Belfast, as he prepared to launch an attack on enemy forces who were intimidating those who wished to pay their respects to, and comfort the family of, Volunteer Sean Savage. After being shot, he was left lying mortally wounded for a full 15 minutes before

local people could ring for an ambulance. He died on his way to hospital.

16th – Volunteer Caoimhin Mac Bradaigh, Belfast Brigade, Oglagh na hEireann, was killed in Milltown Cemetery along with two other nationalist youths, Thomas McErlean and John Murray. The three were among hundreds who ran to the defense of mourners during the loyalist gun and grenade attack on the graveside ceremonies of the Gibraltar Three.

17th – A British army foot patrol came under blast bomb attack when IRA Volunteers launched an attack in Kinnaird Street, off the Antrim Road.

19th – During the funeral of Volunteer Caoimhin Mac Bradaigh, mourners apprehended two undercover British soldiers who drove at speed into the funeral cortege. When challenged by Sinn Fein stewards, both soldiers produced weapons and their car was driven along the footpath, skirting a protective row of Black Taxis and finally reversing in front of the hearse. At this point the car was surrounded by mourners who feared a repeat of the Milltown attack. Both soldiers were taken from the car and their weapons were removed. Volunteers of the Belfast Brigade arrived on the scene and removed the soldiers from the scene. When their identities were confirmed, they were executed.

A blast bomb was lobbed at Girdwood Barracks in North Belfast. The bomb exploded against portacabins inside the base.

In Fermanagh, IRA Volunteers shot two civilians, Gillian Johnston and her finance Stanley Leggett in an ambush intended for a UDR soldier. Gillian Johnston was killed in this badly-planned operation. The IRA issued an apology to the Johnston family.

21st – An RUC man was killed by an IRA sniper in the Creggan Estate, Derry. The RUC member killed was part of an enemy unit involved in a stop-and-search operation in the nationalist estate. He had been a member of the RUC since 1982.

28th – Volunteers in Coalisland, County Tyrone, lobbed

two blast bombs at the RUC Barracks.

30th – Four members of an enemy foot patrol were injured when IRA Volunteers detonated a mine in Coalisland, County Tyrone. Three British soldiers and an RUC man were injured by the blast which occurred as they passed a derelict factory wall on King's Row.

APRIL

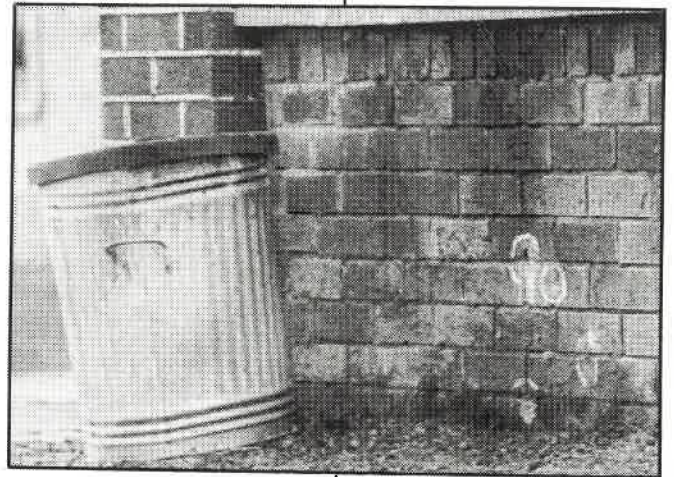
3rd – British forces had a lucky escape in Derry on Easter Sunday when the presence of civilians prevented IRA Volunteers from detonating a mine. Volunteers of the Derry Brigade had planted a 5lb bomb close to the cemetery at a point where enemy forces usually gather to monitor republicans attending the Easter Commemoration.

An IRA statement issued after the incident noted: "A British soldier who was standing on the mine discovered it and raced out onto the road where he was knocked down by a jeep. The Volunteers disarmed the bomb and withdrew from the scene."

6th – A British soldier was killed when a booby-trap device exploded under his car when he switched on the ignition. The UDR man's movement had been monitored by Volunteers in County Fermanagh. When he parked the car at Tirroroe, near Derrylin, they moved in and planted the device. The soldier was killed instantly in the explosion.

Later that day, IRA Volunteers of the South Down Command threw four high-explosive impact grenades at an RUC mobile patrol on the Armagh Road in Newry. One grenade scored a direct hit on a Land Rover, hitting the rear of the vehicle.

7th – Crown forces in the village of Clougher, County Tyrone, were rocked by almost simultaneous IRA attacks on its RUC and UDR bases. Two IRA active service units sealed



● Scene of the April 26th execution of British soldier on the Aneeter Road, County Tyrone

off the village before Volunteers opened fire on a UDR major leaving the UDR base, seriously injuring him. At the same time Volunteers, using high-velocity weapons opened fire on a RUC man leaving the RUC barracks, injuring one of them. The attacks were described as "contained and intensive" in an IRA statement issued afterwards.

Shortly after 9pm two impact grenades were hurled at an RUC mobile patrol by Volunteers of the Derry Brigade, as the patrol drove through Laburnum Terrace in the Bogside. Two RUC personnel were hospitalised and two others were slightly injured in the attack.

12th – IRA Volunteers detonated an anti-personnel mine as an RUC mobile patrol passed.

15th – In Belfast IRA Volunteers had to disarm a 65lb

device after it was discovered by the enemy. The device had been placed near to the Jamaica Inn in Ardoyne, North Belfast.

IRA Volunteers struck again in Derry's Bishop Street. Four impact grenades were thrown at an RUC mobile patrol but they failed to detonate.

Two West Belfast men, John Killyleagh and Dan Scroft were painted and feathered by the IRA. Both men were part of a gang which, despite warnings, has persisted in 'joy-riding' and other anti-social activities.

18th – Volunteers of the East Tyrone Brigade, Oglagh na hEireann, placed a booby-trap device under the car of a civilian who worked for the crown forces. The device exploded at 7.30am at Ballyronan, injuring the man.

Later that day, a joint



● Belfast wall slogan, RUC you may beware the impact grenade is everywhere, which appeared after the attack on an RUC mobile patrol on Springfield Avenue on April 18th

RUC/British army patrol came under attack in Dungannon, County Tyrone. Two members of the patrol were rushed to hospital after the 5lb mine was detonated by remote control.

IRA Volunteers launched a daring bomb and gun attack less than 100 yards from Springfield Road RUC Barracks in West Belfast. Two impact grenades were thrown at a passing mobile patrol and one exploded. Six high-velocity shots were also fired.

19th - Two impact grenades were thrown at an enemy mobile patrol in Duncairn Gardens, North Belfast.

In Strabane, County Tyrone, British soldiers narrowly escaped injury when an anti-personnel exploded as they drove by. The device, which had been planted in a hedge at Mount Carmel View, was detonated by Volunteers as the enemy patrol drove along the Ballycolman Road.

21st - IRA Volunteers shot and wounded a civilian working on the roof of the High Court building in Chichester Street, in Belfast. The building was badly damaged in an IRA bomb attack earlier this year.

After the attack renovation work on Strabane RUC Barracks and Derry Courthouse stopped.

23rd - An enemy mobile patrol came under attack from IRA Volunteers on the Crumlin Road in North Belfast. Two impact grenades were thrown.

26th - Two British soldiers were killed in separate attacks in County Tyrone. An active service unit ambushed and killed a UDR soldier on the Aneeter Road near Moortown.

Later that day, one British soldier was killed and two others were injured in a carefully-planned IRA attack in the republican village of Carrickmore. As the British army foot patrol was walking along the Dumnakilly Road, Volunteers overlooking the position detonated a bomb by remote control.

MAY

1st - The IRA began the month of May with a morale-shattering blow to the

British armed forces serving in West Germany by launching a double attack on its personnel.

Three British soldiers were killed and three others were seriously injured when IRA Volunteers launched separate gun and bomb attacks in Roermond, and 30 miles away in Nieuw Bergen both in Holland. In the first attack, Volunteers opened fire on a vehicle carrying three British soldiers, killing one and wounding three others. Less than 30 minutes later, two more soldiers were killed and another seriously wounded when a booby-trap bomb destroyed their vehicle in a car park in Nieuw Bergen.

After the attacks the IRA issued a stern warning to the British government:

"We have a simple message for Mrs Thatcher: disengage from Ireland and there will be peace. If not, there will be no safe haven for your military personnel and you will regularly be at airports awaiting your dead."

Volunteers of the West Tyrone Brigade abandoned a 20lb device after they discovered an undercover British army unit setting up an ambush. The mine was abandoned in the Castleberg area of County Tyrone and crown forces were made aware of its exact location.

4th - Building workers carrying out repairs on enemy installations came under fire from IRA Volunteers in Coalisland, County Tyrone. An IRA unit took up positions close to Coalisland RUC Barracks and a Volunteer lobbed an impact grenade over the perimeter fence. The device exploded inside the base.

6th - Volunteer Hugh Hehir, of Clare Hill, Ennis, County Clare, was killed on active service in his native county. He was shot and mortally wounded when he and his comrade were confronted by armed members of the Garda Task Force.

The IRA claimed the booby-trap bomb found under the car of a British army officer at a base in Bielefeld, West Germany. The device, which had failed to detonate, was discovered on May 3rd.

8th - Volunteers of the Derry Brigade drove a van containing 2,000lbs of explosives to RUC Headquarters on the city's Strand Road. The van was parked beside the barracks and a warning was given. The device failed to detonate.

11th - Craigavon RUC Barracks came under grenade attack once again when, at shortly after 9.20am, IRA Volunteers lobbed impact grenades over the perimeter fence. One device exploded. Simultaneously, another Volunteer raked the base with automatic gunfire.

13th - Volunteers of the Belfast Brigade detonated an anti-personnel mine which had been placed behind a wall close to North Howard Street British army base. The mine was connected by command wire to an observation point and, as an enemy foot patrol passed the wall, it was detonated. Two British soldiers were seriously wounded in the attack.

In Cookstown, County Tyrone, Conway Snooker Ltd. was extensively damaged when several devices exploded on the premises. The devices had been placed on the premises. The company had been warned on several occasions about

supplying equipment to crown forces.

15th - After the loyalist attack on the Avenue Bar in Belfast in which two people were killed and many more were seriously wounded the IRA issued the following statement.

"The Irish Republican Army would like to take this opportunity to reiterate our position on the sectarian attacks manipulated by British influence and carried out by loyalist murder gangs.

"While we will not allow ourselves to become involved in sectarian attacks, we do reserve the right to execute those responsible for either organising these or actively carrying them out.

"It is in the British interest that this war is projected to the world as sectarian and thus justify their presence on this island. We will not contribute to this pretence but will not stand idly by and allow our community to be slaughtered. We will act accordingly against those carrying out these attacks. The fight for freedom and the right of self-determination will continue."

16th - The IRA in County Tyrone dealt a devastating blow to the enemy in an attack at Bantry, near Dungannon. A UDR soldier was critically injured when a booby-trap bomb, concealed in a creamery can, exploded on his farm. The explosion embarrassed the enemy because large numbers of British soldiers and RUC had carried out a 13-hour search on the farm immediately prior to the attack. The search was called off and the area declared safe!

19th - Enemy morale was shattered by an IRA bomb attack on the establishment's



● On the right is the RUC recruiting stand at the Balmoral Show, Belfast, after the IRA successfully breached 'security' to launch an attack on May 19th

"jewel in the crown" during which seven RUC members, including an inspector, were wounded.

An RUC incident centre and recruiting stand at the Balmoral Show in Belfast were the targets of an IRA attack. The show, used as a massive publicity stunt by the crown forces, was literally crawling with 'security' - which was breached by IRA Volunteers.

'Security' had been increased on the day of the attack because of the presence at the show of Lord Chief Justice Lowry. Despite this, a seven pound explosive device was placed under the temporary incident centre room, directly under the spot where the inspector's desk was.

After the explosion, the RUC attempted to cover up the attack, claiming it was caused by a faulty gas cylinder. 21st - Volunteers of the South Armagh Brigade planted a massive 1,400lb bomb at the roadside near Glassdrummond. The device was discovered by British crown forces but, in a follow-up search, a British soldier was killed when an anti-personnel device exploded under his feet in a field close to the border.

A 19lb pressure-plate device was placed in the field adjacent to the Castleblayney Road as the enemy search was in progress. The soldier, a member of the Royal Pioneer Corps dog unit, and his dog detonated the device, killing both.

At approximately 11pm, an RUC man in an unmarked car came under attack from Volunteers of the South Down Command armed with grenades. The attack occurred on the main promenade in Newcastle, County Down. Three Volunteers, covered by a fourth, launched the attack. All the grenades detonated, seriously injuring the RUC man.

22nd - Volunteers of the East Tyrone Brigade threw two impact grenades at an RUC mobile patrol in Cookstown. Both devices failed to detonate.

In Belfast, IRA Volunteers using two G3 automatic rifles fired a total of 15 shots at the occupants of two unmarked RUC vehicles inside North Queen Street Barracks.

Volunteers of the Derry Brigade booby-trapped the car of an RUC man seriously injuring him when it detonated. On the following day the East Tyrone Brigade acknowledged



● The remains of the British army van in which six soldiers were killed on June 15th

the receipt of notification of the resignation of a UDR soldier from Dungannon.

24th - Five RUC members were injured, two seriously, in a bomb attack in Ligonel, North Belfast. The attack was carried out by Volunteers of the Belfast Brigade.

In Cookstown, County Tyrone, the main UDR base in the town came under mortar attack. IRA Volunteers launched four mortar bombs at the base. Three landed inside the base but only one exploded.

28th - Cookstown UDR base was the target, once again, of an IRA mortar attack, injuring seven UDR soldiers.

Volunteers of the East Tyrone Brigade had noticed a red vehicle opposite the base on a regular basis. A similar car was commandeered and, having fitted it with a launching pad and a single mortar tube, and then parked it opposite the base.

At 7pm the mortar was launched causing serious damage inside the beleaguered base.

30th - An RUC member was injured when two impact grenades were hurled into Mountpottinger RUC Barracks in the Short Strand Road of East Belfast.

JUNE

1st - Belfast Brigade, Oglaiha na hEireann launched into June with a bomb attack on the first day of the month. Volunteers placed a 20lb bomb in a derelict shop on Beechmount Avenue and detonated it by command wire as a joint RUC/British army foot patrol passed. Two members of the patrol were seriously injured.

3rd - Volunteers of the West Tyrone Brigade took action against a leading UDR/UFF member operating in the Omagh/Castlederg area.

An IRA unit took up positions outside the home of Lance Corporal Michael Darcy in Castlederg and, when he arrived in his car, a Volunteer stepped forward and shot him dead.

After the attack the IRA issued a statement pointing out Darcy's UFF involvement and in particular his responsibility for a specific sectarian killing in the area, the shooting dead of Dermott Hackett in Drumquin. The statement continued, "His UDR/UFF accomplices will be held responsible for their crimes against the nationalist people of West Tyrone and will not go unpunished."

6th - Another UDR soldier narrowly escaped injury in the village of Kilkeel, County Down, when a booby-trap device under his car failed to explode. The device was planted by Volunteers of the South Down Command.

14th - IRA Volunteers of the South Derry Command raked Castledawson Barracks with automatic gunfire and lobbed an impact grenade into the base. The grenade failed to explode.

15th - In Belfast, Volunteers opened fire on British army units who were raid-

ing houses in Fort Street off the Springfield Road. The enemy forces had saturated the area when a single high-velocity shot rang out, hitting a British soldier.

Also in Belfast, IRA Volunteers executed Robert Seymour a senior member of the UVF. The attack happened at 12.45pm after Volunteers travelled into the heart of the loyalist Woodstock Road area of East Belfast. Two Volunteers walked into a video shop, positively identified Seymour and shot him three times. He died instantly.

Later that evening, six British soldiers were killed when their vehicle, which had been identified by IRA Volunteers, exploded in Lisburn town centre. A 7lb booby-trap device had been placed under the van as it was parked in the garrison town, home to the crown forces in Ireland.

In its statement after the attack the IRA said:

"Every care was exercised by our Volunteers to ensure minimum risk to the local civilian population. However, we would again use this opportunity to warn people to avoid any contact with crown force personnel.

"The British government has no right to be in our country, has no right to oppress our people and to deny the Irish nation our right to determine our future.

"Until that presence is removed and the Irish people as a unit can exercise our right to national self-determination, the Irish Republican Army will continue to wage unceasing war against the British crown forces and the British colonial apparatus.

"In the coming days the British people will receive home the remains of six more of their soldiers. How many more of their people and ours must die before they realise that the only constructive role the British have in Ireland is to withdraw?"

18th - Four British soldiers were injured in an impact grenade attack on a British army mobile patrol in Strabane, County Tyrone.

21st - An unmarked RUC van was hit by two impact grenades on the Killough Road.

IRA units in Belfast and Cookstown opened fire on British military installation. The attack on the Cookstown UDR base was the IRA said: "directed against a worker employed by Henry Brot-

hers, Magherafelt. He was observed falling from the roof by our Volunteers.

"We again reiterate that anyone conducting work on crown forces bases should desist immediately or face the consequences."

22nd - While British forces were saturating the Westrock estate, Belfast, IRA Volunteers opened fire with a high-velocity rifle seriously injuring a British soldier.

In Derry, a British soldier was injured when an ASU opened fire on him.

23rd - In a spectacular attack the IRA in South Armagh using heavy calibre weapons brought down a helicopter, injuring at least one British soldier. 12 Volunteers using two 12.7mm anti-aircraft guns, three 7.62mm general purpose machine-guns and assorted rifles opened fire on a Lynx helicopter believed to be carrying British soldiers. The helicopter was hit a number of times and fell into the shores of nearby Cashel Lough. The Volunteers carrying machine-guns and an RPG 7 rocket launcher ran to the top of the hill overlooking the area but could see no trace of the helicopter.

28th - An attack on a British soldier in Lisnaskea injured a young girl. A UDR member, who was driving the bus in which the schoolgirl was injured, was the intended target of the mercury-tilt switch-booby-trap. GHQ Staff IRA in a statement regretted the injuries to the girl and stated that it intended to hold an inquiry.

30th - IRA Volunteers in Belfast scored a direct hit North Queen Street Barracks with an RPG 7 warhead and three high-velocity rounds before being forced to abandon their vehicle and weapons due to indiscriminate RUC fire. A taxi driver Kenneth Stronge was seriously injured, and died on July 4th, by RUC bullets.

Mackies engineering works on the Springfield Road, Belfast, was the target of IRA Volunteers. In a statement they warned Mackies' managers and workers to dismantle the crown forces surveillance equipment erected on the premises and that "workmen who attempt to erect these cameras are given notice that they are legitimate targets."

South Armagh Brigade, Ogligh an hEireann gave Willie Bergin seven days to leave the country. Willie and his wife, former members of the

British forces had been passing information to the crown forces. IRA said, "Only for their advanced age this couple would have been executed."

JULY

3rd - A British army/RUC mobile patrol came under gun and RPG7 rocket attack in Strabane. No hits were claimed.

7th - IRA Volunteer Seamus Woods lost his life when a mortar tube exploded as he was withdrawing from a firing point for an attack on the joint British army/RUC Barracks in Pomeroy, County Tyrone. Two bombs were fired, one hitting the barracks but failing to explode, the other exploding on wasteland. Volunteers opened fire with a machine-gun to cover their withdrawal.

The 400th British soldier to die (not including UDR soldiers) as a result of the British occupation was killed in a booby-trap bomb attack at the Falls Baths, West Belfast. Two civilians were also killed when the first of the two bombs was accidentally detonated. The IRA extended its "deepest condolences to the relatives of the two who died."

It also stated:

"The Irish Republican Army calls upon the British government to give Ireland peace, to withdraw and end the ongoing tragedies. Must it take the deaths of another 400 soldiers before the British government realises it is time to go?"

9th - Over 80 shots were fired by Volunteers using G3 rifles at the British army observation post on the top of Broadway Tower nurses home.

12th - Derry Volunteers threw two grenades at RUC personnel at Castle Gate in the city; one exploded.

20 high-velocity shots were fired from a car at the Springfield Road Barracks in Belfast.

14th - Nine British soldiers at the Glamorgan Barracks, Duisberg, Germany were injured in a double bomb attack. Two 50lb bombs of semtex plastic explosive blew a 15-foot section of the barracks sleeping quarters wall and part of the roof into the main street over 150 feet away. An attempt by German police to intercept their vehicle was brought abruptly to a halt when the Volunteers fired warning shots from an AK47 rifle.

Tight security around Strand Road RUC Barracks in Derry was breached when Volunteers threw two grenades over the newly-erected barriers; one exploded.

14th - An impact grenade failed to explode when it deflected of an unmarked RUC car in Chapel Street, Cookstown, County Tyrone.

15th - A British soldier was seriously injured, he died later on August 8th, in a daring attack on a British army foot patrol. At 3pm as the last patrol from a large contingent of crown forces who had saturated the area since early morning was entering Henry Taggart Fort, Belfast, Volunteers fired a sustained burst of gunfire hitting the soldier.

Two impact grenades were thrown at an RUC mobile patrol on the Lecky Road, Derry.

17th - A British army observation post was the target of a grenade attack in Derry. Two impact grenades exploded against the Bishop Street post.

20th - Cattle damaged the command wire to a 500lb landmine on two separate occasions on the main Dunganon to Coalisland Road. The operation was abandoned.

23rd - Three members of the Hanna family were killed when the IRA in South Armagh

detonated a 1,000lb bomb in the belief that the vehicle they were travelling in was that of Six-County High Court judge, Ian Higgins.

In a statement the IRA said:

"There is nothing we can say by way of comfort to the relatives of this family. But in light of these circumstances Judge Higgins must resign his role as a paid agent of British rule in Ireland."

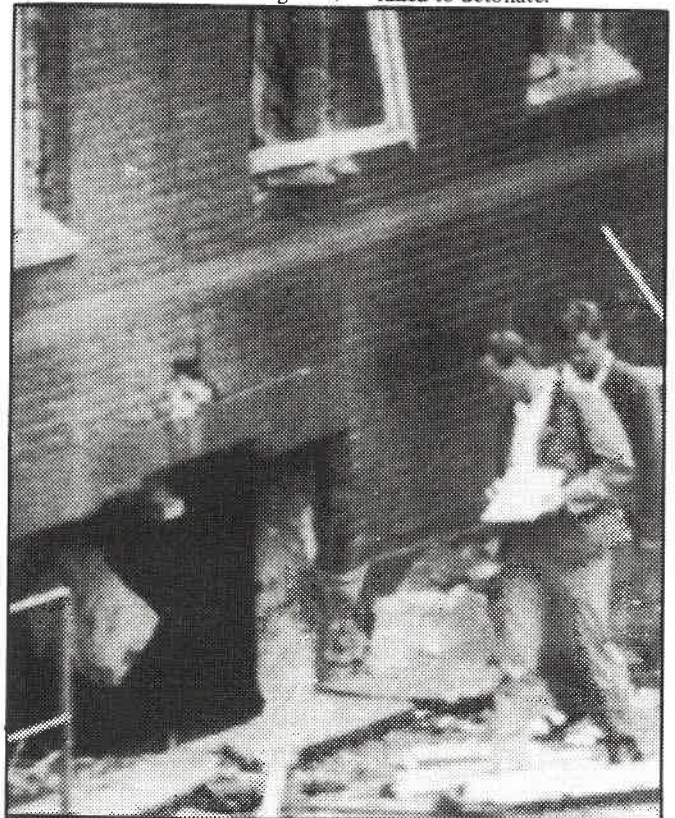
Strabane RUC Barracks was hit by two impact grenades, one exploding.

25th - IRA Volunteer Brendan 'Ruby' Davison was killed by a loyalist assassination squad wearing RUC uniforms.

27th - Five members of the crown forces were injured, one seriously when Volunteers of the South Armagh Brigade detonated a landmine as a RUC/British army patrol passed. Two RUC men and three British soldiers were injured in the Cullyhana blast. One of the soldiers died the following day.

28th - An impact grenade was thrown at crown forces patrol as it moved along the New Barnsley area of Belfast.

Derry Volunteers were forced to abandon a 1,000lb bomb on the Glenshane Pass after it failed to detonate.



Some of the damage caused by IRA bombs at the British army Glamorgan Barracks, Duisberg, Germany, on July 14th

AUGUST

1st – Margaret Thatcher's Finchley constituency was rocked awake when an IRA bomb devastated a section of the sleeping quarters at Inglis Barracks at 7am. One soldier died and another nine were injured in the first attack in Britain since the Brighton Hotel bomb in 1984.

IRA GHQ issued a warning saying:

"The Irish Republican Army calls upon all civilians to stay well clear of all British personnel in Europe and Britain. We are issuing this warning because the close presence of civilians causes us to abandon operations. No-one should travel close to, or with, clearly identified or identifiable members of the British forces."

2nd – Two crown forces members were killed in two separate attacks in Belfast. The first attack was in Sloan Street, Lisburn, when a 3lb booby-trap bomb exploded, instantly killing an RUC detective.

Twenty minutes later in West Belfast a British soldier was killed. The UDR man was executed in Park Shopping Centre and the IRA stated that it was aware of other crown forces personnel using civilian-type activity in republican areas as cover for intelligence gathering.

At 9am on the main Coalisland to Dungannon Road a three-vehicle British army mobile patrol was attacked. IRA Volunteers of the East Tyrone Brigade detonated a 500lb landmine as the second vehicle passed it. Simultaneously the Volunteers armed with automatic weapons opened fire on the soldiers. Six UDR soldiers were injured in the blast.

3rd – East Tyrone Brigade, Ogligh na hEireann, killed a British soldier as he travelled across Lindsayville Road, close to Cookstown.

A West Belfast man "who was responsible for the rape and gross physical assault of a local woman" was shot by the IRA. Belfast Brigade said, "we repeat previous warnings that this type of despicable crime will not be tolerated and that we reserve the right to take appropriate action."

4th – Two civilian contractors



● The remains of the British army coach in which eight soldiers were killed and 28 were injured in an IRA bomb attack on August 20th

who had been carrying out maintenance on Beleck RUC Barracks were killed by the IRA's West Fermanagh Brigade. An active service unit shot the two contractors as they left the barracks.

5th – Three members of the Royal Engineers Regiment and a civilian working at the base were injured in an attack on the Roy British army barracks at Ratingen, Germany. The bomb ripped through a store room in the barracks.

9th – An RUC man escaped injury when he was shot at by Volunteers of the North Armagh Brigade as he walked along Windsor Avenue, Lurgan. 12th – A regimental sergeant major in the British army was executed in Belgium as he was

travelling from Germany to Britain. Two Volunteers using shortarms stepped forward and executed him in Ostend. He had done six operational tours in the Six Counties.

Jim Gilhooly was punished by Belfast Brigade for "harbouring anti-social elements".

17th – Two grenades were thrown at Springfield Road Barracks, Belfast. Both devices exploded but there were no injuries.

19th – In Lisnaskea, County Fermanagh, three RUC members were injured, one seriously, when IRA Volunteers detonated a remote control bomb at Henry's Filling Station.

The Mourne County Hotel was severely damaged by an

IRA bomb. Claiming responsibility the South Down Command said that the hotel was being used by the RUC for meeting informers.

Two British soldiers were injured in a bomb attack on the Steelestown Road and Lone Moor Road, Derry.

20th – Shortly after 12.30am a coach carrying 36 soldiers of the 1st Battalion, Light Infantry was blasted off the road, killing seven instantly, an eighth soldier died later. IRA Volunteers from the East and West Tyrone Brigades had monitored the coach's departure from Aldergrove Airport on its trip to Omagh Barracks where the soldiers on 'leave' were returning. The 200lbs of Semtex was detonated as the coach passed Kelly's Roadhouse between Ballygawley and Omagh.

22nd – A Marine Corps and Royal Navy recruiting officer was blown-up as he was driving through East Belfast.

23rd – Security in Belfast city centre was breached when the IRA managed to place and detonate a 400lb car-bomb outside Windsor House. The bomb was placed outside the administrative target and a warning was given. The blast caused in excess of £4 million worth of damage.

The IRA said in future that "when car-bombs are placed a small smoke grenade will explode shortly afterwards allowing members of the public to immediately identify the car and the area in question. Simultaneously with the smoke



● An RUC man was killed instantly in a bomb attack on his car in Lisburn on August 2nd



● Coagh RUC Barracks after an IRA bomb attack on September 8th

grenades going off, a micro-switch will be activated which will sensitise the car to the extent that efforts to defuse using controlled explosions will immediately set off the main charge before its timing device has expired."

24th - An RUC vehicle was thrown across a road into a field when it took the full force of a bomb on the Maghera to Swatragh road.

26th - Derry's Bishop Street Courthouse was damaged in a bomb attack.

A border customs post was demolished by an IRA bomb.

27th - Over 250 attacks were carried out against the crown forces in the Six Counties as a direct response to the extradition of Robert Russell from the 26 Counties. Eleven RUC men and three British soldiers were injured in over 27 shooting and 21 bombing attacks as Belfast and Derry city centres were brought to a standstill.

28th - A 2lb bomb at the crown forces firing range at Portballintrae, North Antrim, was discovered.

30th - Three IRA Volunteers from the East Tyrone Brigade were gunned down by the SAS in Drumnakilly, County Tyrone. Brothers Gerard and Martin Harte and their friend and comrade Brian Mullin were killed on active service.

31st - An operation in Derry city went tragically wrong when two people died after a bomb exploded in a flat in the Creggan. Derry Brigade said: "This operation was designed to inflict casualties on members of the British army search squad who were in the area this morning. Although the operation was carefully

planned it went tragically wrong."

SEPTEMBER

3rd - Three mortars exploded near the Crossmaglen British army barracks, others penetrated the highly-defended outpost but failed to explode.

8th - Coagh RUC Barracks was ripped apart in an explosion caused by a bomb estimated to be around 1,000lbs. Five RUC men were injured in the attack. The IRA's East Tyrone Brigade warned civilian contractors not to collaborate with rebuilding the barracks or to face the consequences.

9th - Two IRA Volunteers executed a leading loyalist, Colin Abernethy, on board the Coleraine to Belfast train.

The IRA said, "let those whose misguided sense of 'loyalty' to Britain leads them into organising or participating in attacks against our community take heed, we reserve the right and retain the capacity to take appropriate action."

11th - An impact grenade and gun attack on an RUC Land Rover injured three crown force members in Armagh.

12th - Tom King's most senior advisor, Sir Kenneth Bloomfield, was the target for an IRA attack on his home in Crawfordsburn, County Down. Two of the four bombs placed at his home exploded at 6.15am, wrecking the large detached house.

The IRA warned, "other

senior civil servants, part of whose work involved them in formulating British military strategy or advising the administration in this field should resign their posts or face the consequences."

A 20-minute warning was given before a 250lb bomb in Belfast's city centre exploded causing widespread structural damage to surrounding buildings and thousands of pounds worth of damage.

17th - Broadway Tower observation post and Girdwood British army base in Belfast were attacked by gunfire. A UDR soldier was hit in the head, chest and neck by high-velocity bullets in Girdwood Barracks.

19th - At 9pm a joint British army/RUC patrol was hit in a landmine attack in Strabane, County Tyrone. Four RUC men were injured when the mine behind a stone wall was detonated.

20th - A 3lb Semtex bomb in the control cab of a crane on the site of the £60 million Castle Court complex effectively halted work on the complex.

A British army/RUC patrol on the Grosvenor Road, Belfast were caught in a mine attack. One British soldier was injured.

21st - A 20lb bomb exploded in Wellington Street in Belfast's city centre causing extensive damage to commercial property.

An ASU from the IRA's Belfast Brigade armed with an RPG rocket launcher and two high-velocity rifles attacked a crown forces mobile patrol.

22nd - Fort Jericho in West Belfast was attacked with an RPG warhead at 9pm. No casualties were reported.

OCTOBER

2nd - IRA Volunteers abandoned an unprimed 600lb van bomb in Magherafelt, County Derry, due to "the high level of crown forces activity in the vicinity of the bomb's intended target."

3rd - Two impact-grenades were lobbed into Waterside RUC Barracks in Derry. Both exploded.

4th - Volunteers of Belfast Brigade IRA killed the vice-chairperson of the Prison Officers' Association, Brian Arm-

our. In a statement the IRA outlined Armour's history of brutalising republican POWs during and since the hunger-strike. It went on:

"In the immediate aftermath of the escape from the H-Blocks in 1983, Armour was one of a small group of POA personnel who seized control of the prison for several days. During this period scores of prisoners were beaten, made to run the gauntlet and savaged by prison guard dogs, Armour played a central role in these acts."

A 500lb car-bomb was detonated by Volunteers on Belfast's York Road. In a statement the IRA gave a detailed account of the RUC's delay in clearing the area despite a 45 minute warning.

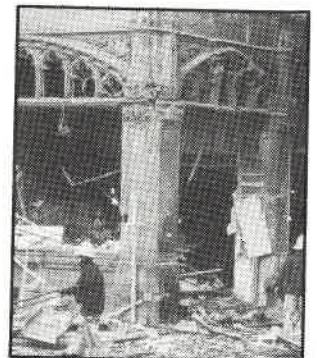
4th - A car-bomb under a senior governor and member of the NIO's prison administration branch, Thomas Murtagh, was found after an IRA warning when it failed to detonate. Murtagh had been responsible for the introduction of systematically strip-searching republican women POWs in Armagh Jail. An IRA statement said:

"That those like Armour and Murtagh who participate in the physical and mental torture of our imprisoned comrades cannot expect to escape the consequences of their action.

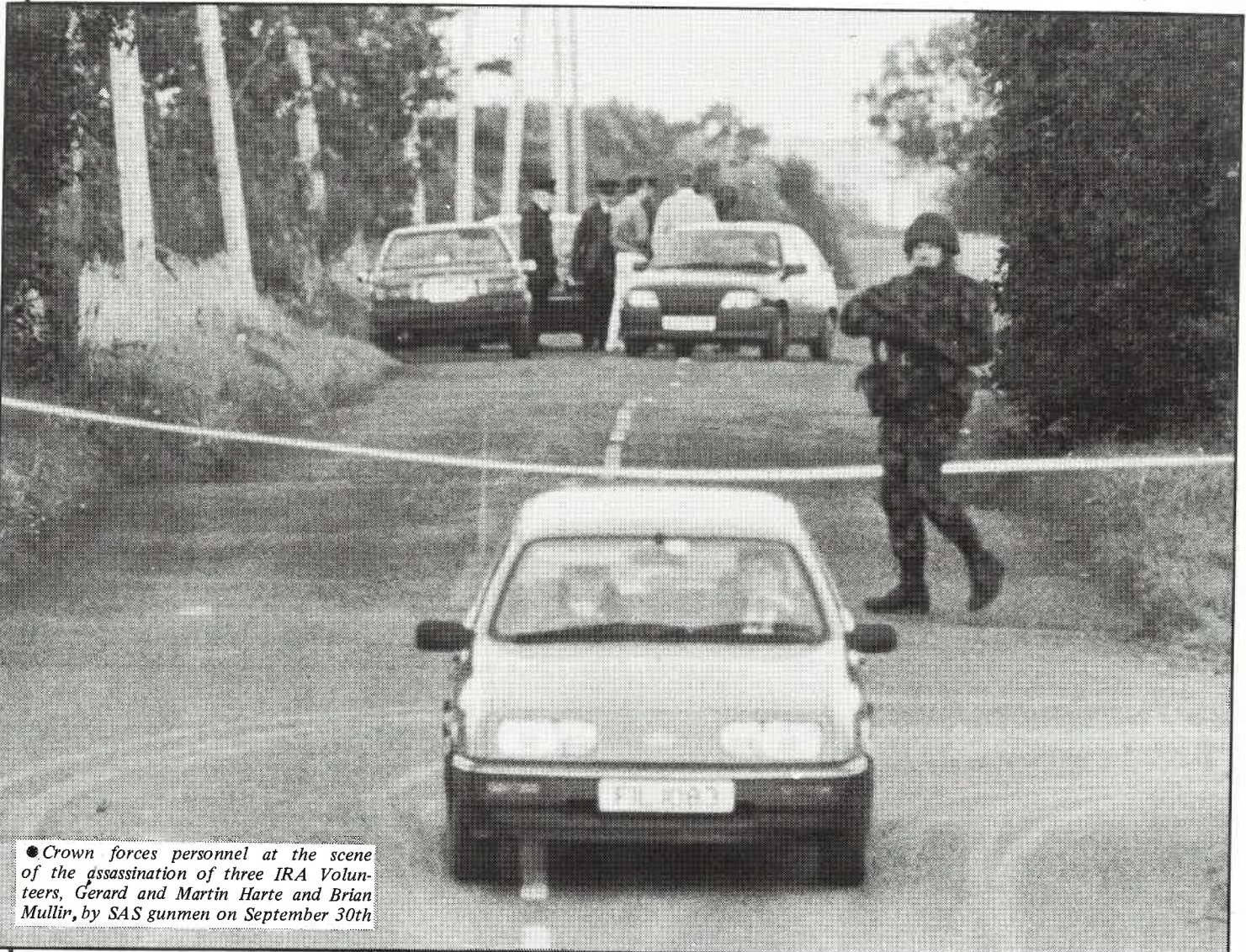
"Today Murtagh was lucky - he and his cohorts will not always be lucky."

6th - Belfast Brigade Volunteers arrested and later released Trevor Gorman who was doing contract work for the crown forces. Gordon had dealings with an RUC-operated prostitution ring in Belfast which was in fact the target of an IRA intelligence unit.

7th - One British soldier was seriously wounded in a bomb attack in the Whiterock area of Belfast



● Belfast city centre after a bomb attack on September 12th



● Crown forces personnel at the scene of the assassination of three IRA Volunteers, Gerard and Martin Harte and Brian Mullir, by SAS gunmen on September 30th

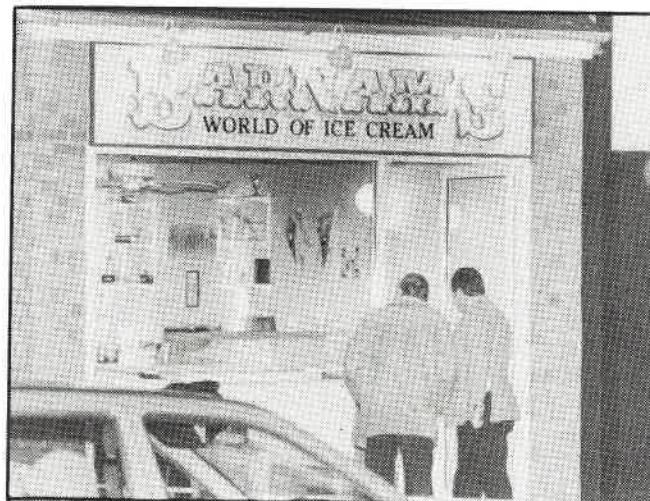
9th – An impact grenade was thrown at Toomebridge RUC Barracks. No casualties were claimed.

10th – In a statement issued in Dublin, the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau said that the IRA “takes great delight from the hysteria and expense surrounding the security of Mrs Thatcher and the Tories at their Brighton conference”.

It continued:

“Given that Mrs Thatcher said, seven years ago, that the H-Block hunger-strike was the IRA’s last card, the British public can now judge for themselves how safe their prime minister feels when she has to surround herself with the Royal Navy, the RAF, the SAS, the Special Boat Service, the British army and the police force.”

11th – Skilful intelligence work enabled the IRA to pinpoint the movement of an



● The Lisburn Road ice cream parlour in which an RUC man was executed on October 11th

RUC man and execute him. The operation, carried out by two IRA Volunteers armed with handguns, took place at

around 10pm in Barnam’s ice cream parlour on the Lisburn Road, close to the RUC Barracks in South Belfast.

16th – A contractor who supplied security shutters and fire-proof materials to the crown forces was executed by the IRA in a booby-trap bomb attack on his car. Norman McKeown was a senior manager of James Anderson Limited, and also associated with the UVF. The IRA warned Anderson’s that they knew the identities of 12 others working for the company who carried out work for the crown forces and called on these and other contractors “to publicly withdraw from these contracts or face the consequences.”

18th – Two grenades were thrown at a British army foot-patrol on the Springfield Road, Belfast. No casualties were reported.

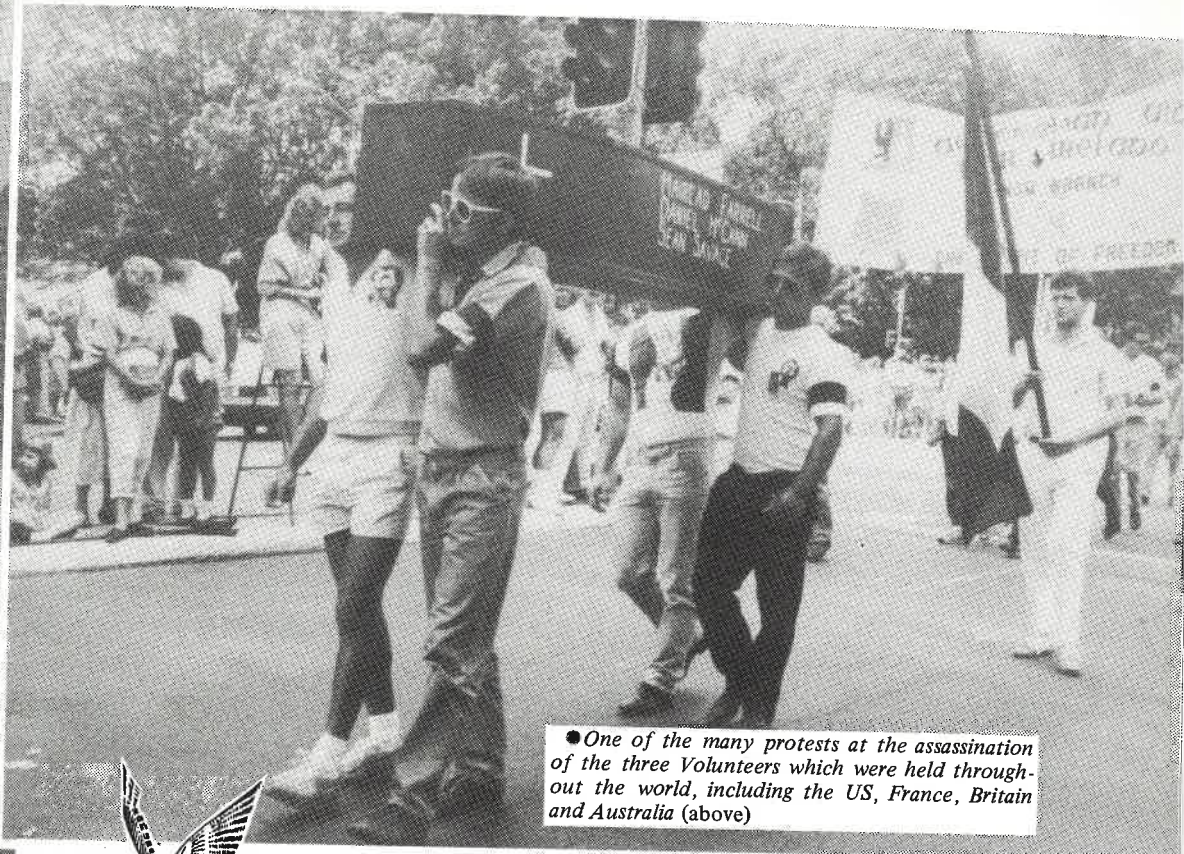
Volunteers of the Tyrone Brigade opened fire on a UDR captain in Cookstown. The British soldier escaped injury.



● Volunteers of the Belfast Brigade, Ogligh na hÉireann, honouring their fallen comrades, Mairead Farrell, Dan McCann and Sean Savage, by firing a volley of shots in West Belfast to coincide with the arrival of the coffins in Dublin Airport on March 14th



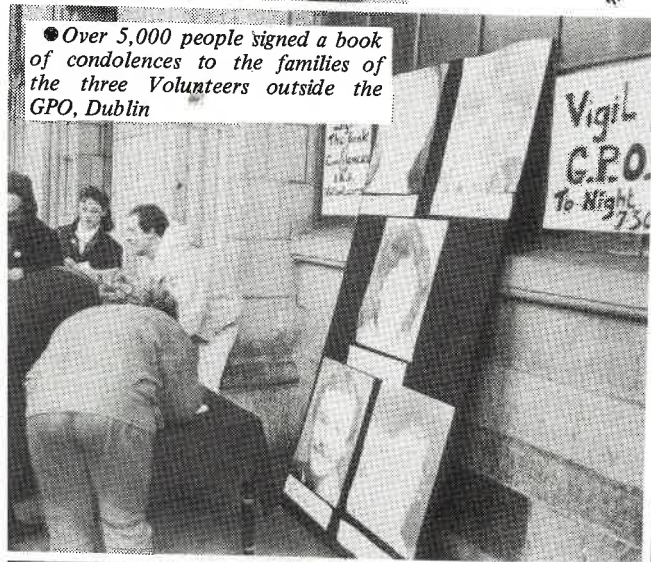
● Thousands paid their last respects to the three fallen Volunteers as their coffins passed through Dundalk



● One of the many protests at the assassination of the three Volunteers which were held throughout the world, including the US, France, Britain and Australia (above)



● Over 5,000 people signed a book of condolences to the families of the three Volunteers outside the GPO, Dublin



A week in March

THE MONTH of March 1988 will long be remembered by nationalists throughout Ireland. On Sunday 6th March, three unarmed IRA Volunteers – Mairead Farrell, Sean Savage and Dan McCann – were shot dead by SAS gunmen in Gibraltar.

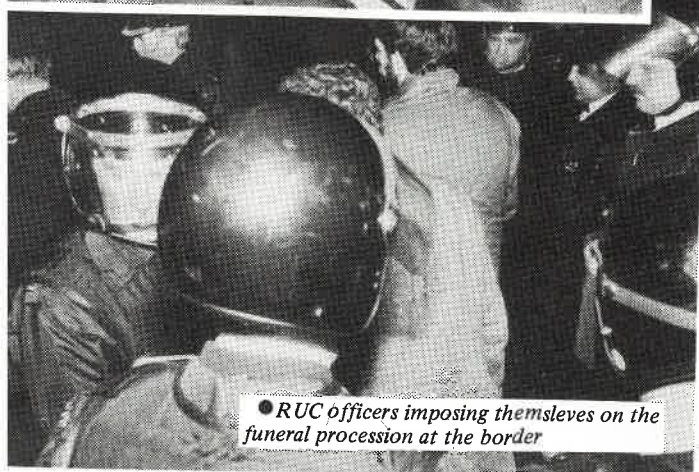
After eight days their remains were flown back to Ireland and, despite British attempts to hinder the return, large crowds assembled in pouring rain at Dublin Airport to meet them and pay a final tribute.

Thousands more lined the route of the funeral cortege as it passed through Drogheda, Dunleer and Dundalk en route to Belfast. Almost the entire population of Dundalk turned out in honour of the dead Volunteer.

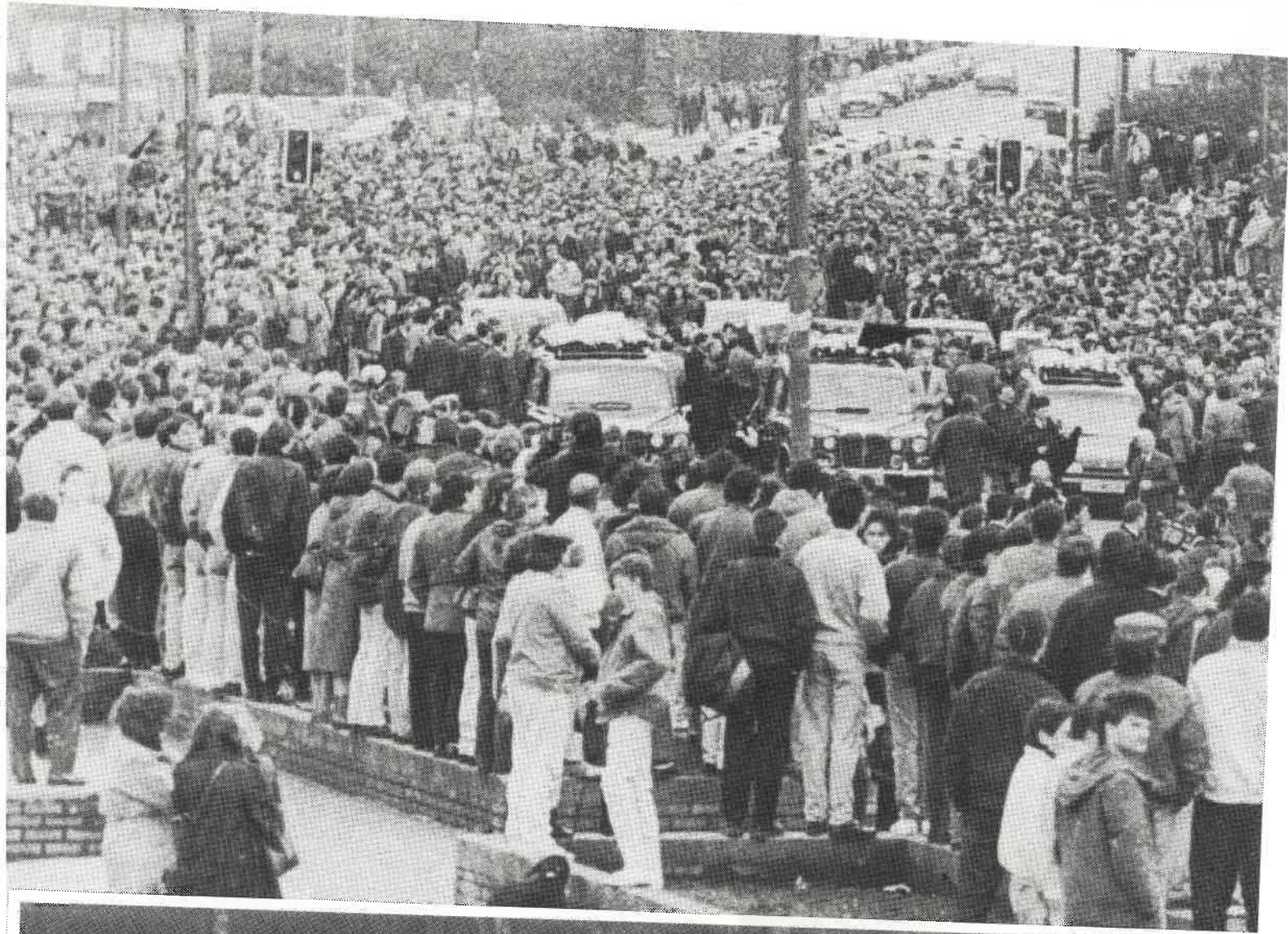
As the cortege crossed the border into the North the British army and RUC intruded on the grief of the families when they attacked mourners and then hijacked the cortege. In Belfast, the homes of the dead Volunteers were for a time placed under siege.

On Wednesday, March 16th, the day of the funeral, over 20,000 people gathered on the Andersonstown Road to pay their respects.

In stark contrast to their policy of saturating the vicinity of republican funeral processions, intimidating mourners and launching vicious attacks on them, the crown forces were nowhere to be seen. Many remarked upon this difference as the pall bearers of Dan,



● RUC officers imposing themselves on the funeral procession at the border





● (left) A section of the 20,000 strong funeral procession which made its way to Milltown Cemetery, (below left) The loyalist assassin still firing while being pursued by courageous nationalists, (below right) Mourners trying to revive one of those injured in the murderous attack, (above) Injured mourners being taken away in a fleet of vehicles



Mairead and Sean, led by a lone piper and followed by long lines of silent wreath bearers and teenagers carrying Tricolours and black flags, made their way towards Milltown Cemetery. For the first time since 1983, when the RUC policy of attacking funerals began, it appeared that republicans, possibly due to the presence of the world media and pressure from the Catholic Church, were going to be allowed to bury their dead with dignity. Thus, around the gravesides the atmosphere was calm.

As the coffin of Volunteer McCann was being lowered into the grave, the dignified silence was suddenly shattered by the sound of exploding grenades followed by a rapid burst of gunfire. Panic-stricken mourners scrambled for cover behind headstones as several more grenades exploded among them. The instigator of the attack was spotted on the edge of the assembled crowd and just yards from the republican plot. He was wearing a grey cap and carrying a small hold-all. He aimed his fire indiscriminately at the crowds of men, women and children and lobbed another couple of grenades.

Incredibly, even as he aimed his fire directly at them, young men, some of them in their early teens, rushed towards him. Their courageous action forced him to retreat from his position on the edge of the crowd. Occasionally pausing to lob another grenade or to fire a volley from his handguns, the assassin made off in the direction of the M1 motorway which verges on the cemetery's lower end.

As he tried to escape across the motorway the gunman was captured, still trying to fire at his pursuers, when he was felled by

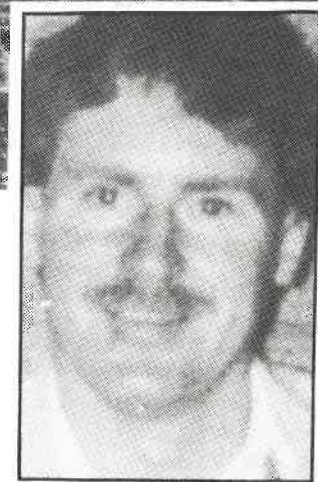


●(above) Mourners scattering as a grenade explodes sending a cloud of dust in the air, (left) A youth with a bullet wound in the nose being helped by Volunteer Sean Savage's father, (below) Pursuing youths dive for cover as the loyalist assassin fires again

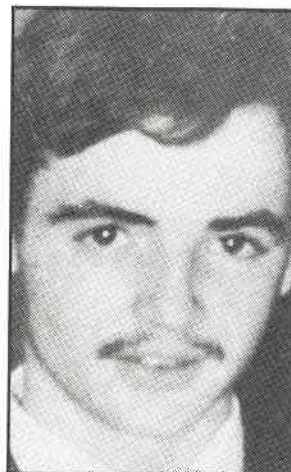




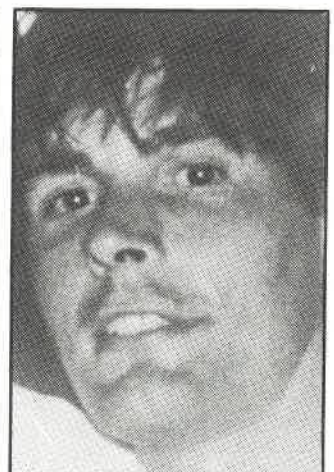
● Volunteer Caoimhin Mac Bradaigh's comrades stand for a minute's silence as a mark of respect for their fallen comrade



● CAOIMHIN Mac BRADAIGH



● TOM McERLEAN



● JOHN MURRAY

a blow to the head from a youth who had managed to race up and set upon him from behind.

In the cemetery, transport was already being organised to ferry the dead and injured to hospital. Men, women and children huddled behind gravestones, bleeding and crying. Three young people lay dead. John Murray from South Belfast and Thomas McErlean from Divis Flats, both married with small children, and a single man, IRA Volunteer Caoimhin Mac Bradaigh from Andersonstown. The reason for the marked absence of crown forces during the funeral became clear to all.

Later, at a hastily-organised press conference, Sinn Fein President Gerry Adams echoed the feelings of the thousands who had witnessed the attack and accused the British government and crown forces of colluding with those responsible for the murder and carnage at the cemetery.

The following day, at the funeral of Vol Kevin McCracken from Turf Lodge, who had been killed while preparing to launch an attack on British soldiers in his home area on the night that Farrell's, McCann's and Savage's remains were returning to Belfast, the absence of the RUC and British army was once again significant. Tension was high around the McCracken home and along the route to Milltown, but mourners maintained a calm dignity as Kevin's remains were laid to rest in the republican plot.

Two days later, on Saturday, March 19th, crowds assembled once again on the Andersonstown Road outside St Agnes's Chapel, this time to bury the remains of IRA Volunteer Caoimhin Mac Bradaigh, a victim of the Milltown attack. There was no British crown forces' presence to be seen. As the cortege moved off along Andersonstown Road, screams split the silence and panic broke out as a silver Volkswagen Passet was seen accelerating towards the front of the funeral procession. Sinn Fein stewards who had tried to wave



● A firing party salutes Volunteer Kevin McCracken at Rockville Street, West Belfast, on March 17th

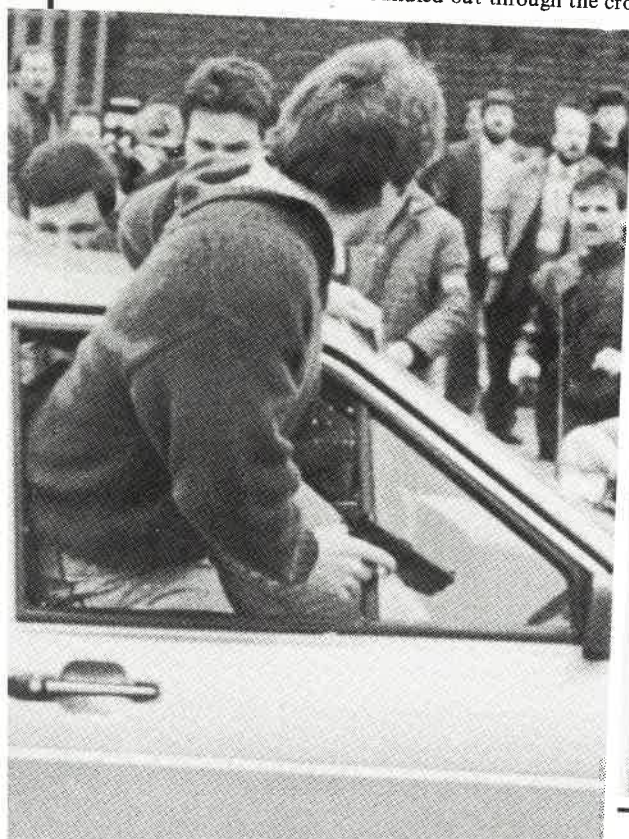
it down further down the Andersonstown Road shouted warnings to the crowd.

The car swerved onto the pavement and careered up alongside the mourners, scattering them in disarray. As Downtown Radio later announced in its news report of the incident, "the unthinkable had happened again". Once more, the same selfless courage shown at Milltown by the crowd of young people who arrested the loyalist assassin was witnessed as young men and old, rather than run from the attack, raced towards the car and tried to arrest the occupants.

As they did so, the car reversed back to the front of the funeral cortege, but it was blocked and as the mourners smashed their way into it a gunshot rang out. A man wearing civilian clothes emerged from the driver's side brandishing a short-arm and aiming it at the crowd. However, before he could fire another shot he was caught from behind and forced to the ground. Both he and the other occupant were disarmed and bundled out through the crowd.

Pandemonium reigned as stewards and Sinn Fein members appealed for calm and the funeral procession proceeded down the Andersonstown Road to the cemetery. Later the Belfast Brigade of the IRA claimed they had apprehended the two would-be attackers, identified them as undercover British soldiers and executed them.

In the aftermath of this attack, the media, politicians and the clergy, who had reluctantly acknowledged the sheer bravery and quick-thinking of the mourners at Milltown, who had forced the loyalist assassin to retreat and thus saved many more innocent lives in the process, now vied with each other to issue the strongest condemnation of the same mourners, the same teenagers, the same young and old men for similar bravery in the face of the Andersonstown Road attack. The people of West Belfast were pilloried as barbarians and savages by the British press and government. At present, over 20 young men have been arrested and remanded in custody to Crumlin Road jail on charges connected to the deaths of the two undercover soldiers.



● One of the two armed undercover soldiers, who attacked the funeral cortege of Volunteer Caoimhin Mac Bradaigh, getting out of their unmarked car after being challenged by courageous mourners



Fallen comrades

SINCE the last issue of *Iris*, 16 Volunteers of Oglaiġ na hEireann have lost their lives, 15 of them on active service in the struggle against the British occupation of the Six Counties. Five Volunteers were killed tragically in premature explosions, the SAS gunned down three in Gibraltar, and three in County Tyrone, loyalists assassinated another, the Special Branch killed a Volunteer in County Clare, two

were killed in Belfast and one died in a drowning accident.

The funerals of Volunteers again became the target for attacks by the crown forces in this period as the British sought in vain to intimidate the republican people.

The Republican Movement remembers with pride all its fallen Volunteers and re-dedicates itself to carrying on their struggle to victory.



Fallen comrades

SINCE the last issue of *Iris*, 16 Volunteers of Oglaiġ na hEireann have lost their lives, 15 of them on active service in the struggle against the British occupation of the Six Counties. Five Volunteers were killed tragically in premature explosions, the SAS gunned down three in Gibraltar and three in County Tyrone, loyalists assassinated another, the Special Branch killed a Volunteer in County Clare, two

were killed in Belfast and one died in a drowning accident.

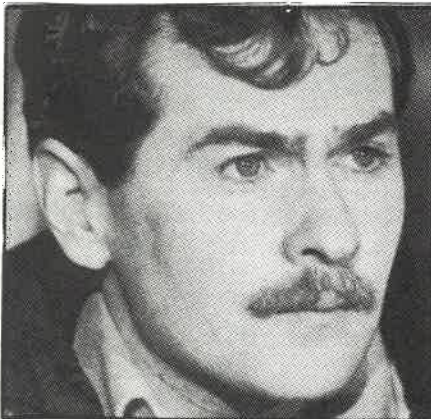
The funerals of Volunteers again became the target for attacks by the crown forces in this period as the British sought in vain to intimidate the republican people.

The Republican Movement remembers with pride all its fallen Volunteers and re-dedicates itself to carrying on their struggle to victory.



PADDY DEERY was killed with his comrade Eddie McSheffrey when a bomb they were transporting exploded prematurely in Creggan, Derry city, on October 28th 1987. Paddy had long experience of the violence of the British presence – when he was 15 he lost an eye after being shot with a rubber bullet by a British soldier and his mother was the only woman shot on Bloody Sunday.

Paddy died at the age of 31, having being an IRA Volunteer on the run, in prison and on active service for 16 years.



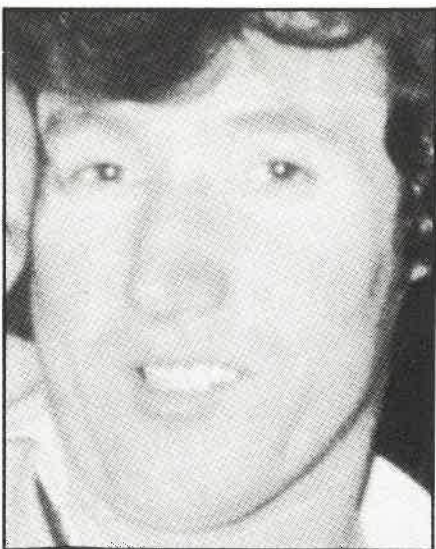
EDDIE McSHEFFREY left behind a young family and a life of dedicated service against great odds when he was killed tragically on October 28th 1987. He had received severe leg injuries in another explosion which claimed the life of Volunteer Charles English on August 6th 1985. The previous year he was released along with 37 other Derry people who were held for over two years on the perjured word of Raymond Gilmour.

Despite constant arrests and harassment from the RUC and his own disablement Eddie remained an active Volunteer until his untimely death.

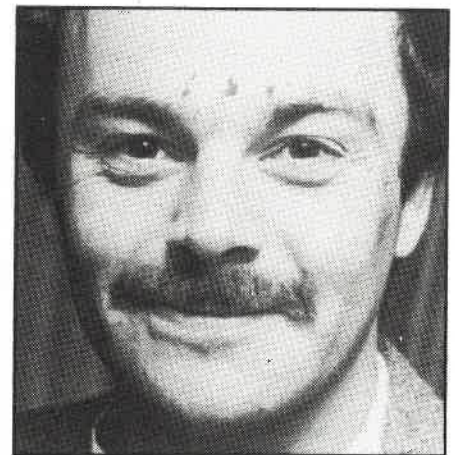


VOLUNTEER PETER RODDEN, North Antrim Brigade, Oglagh na hEireann, died in a tragic car accident when the car he was driving plunged into the River Bann at Sand Key. Two other occupants of the car died in the accident.

Peter joined the IRA after the 1981 hunger-strike when he was 21 years old. A highly-trained and courageous Volunteer, he was also deeply security-conscious. It was for this reason that he joined the neighbouring North Antrim Brigade, instead of the IRA unit in his native South Derry.



BRENDAN MOLEY died in a premature explosion in South Armagh on February 29th 1988. He joined Fianna Eireann at the age of 16 and became an IRA Volunteer two years later. He was involved in some of the most daring and dangerous attacks in the South Armagh border area and was a highly respected member of his local community and a dedicated activist of Oglagh na hEireann.



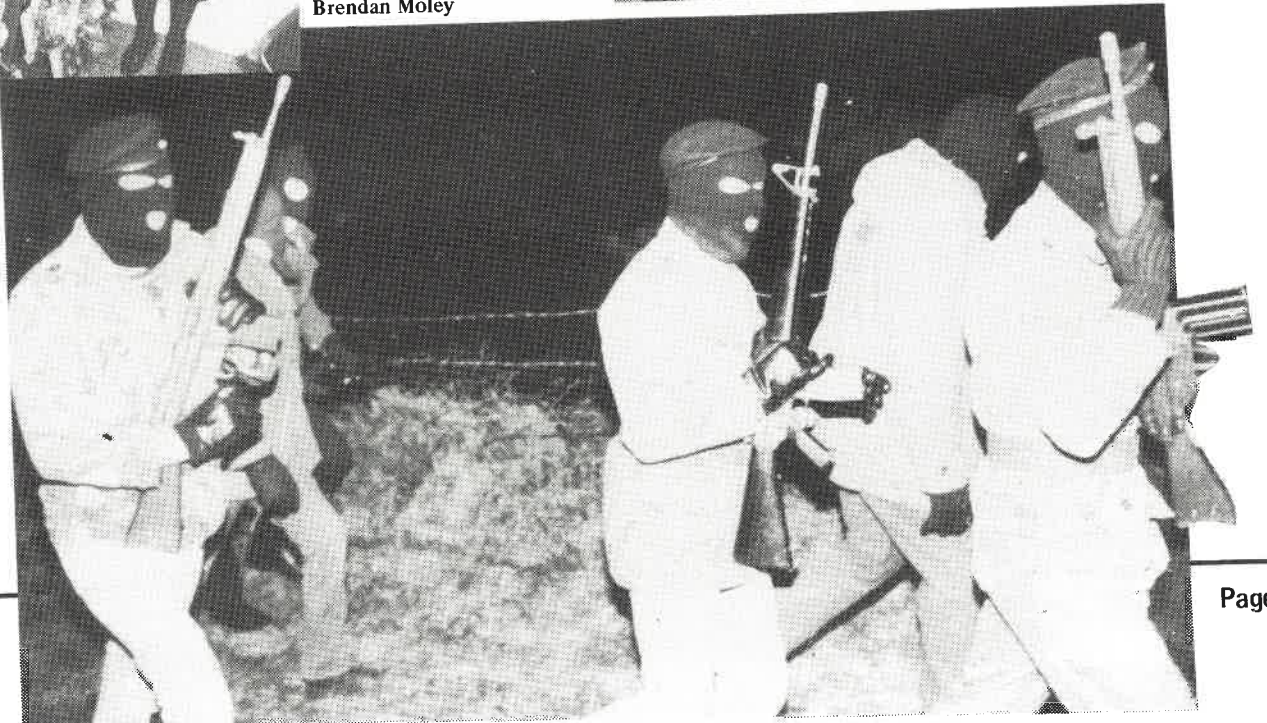
BRENDAN BURNS was killed with his comrade Brendan Moley in a premature explosion on February 29th. Like his friend, Brendan joined the struggle at an early age and went on to become a key IRA activist in South Armagh. In 1983 he was arrested by gardai in Dundalk and held for two years on British extradition warrants in Portlaoise Prison. He was freed after the warrants were declared invalid.



MAIREAD FARRELL was shot down by the SAS in Gibraltar on March 6th. One of the best known and widely respected of Irish republicans Mairead was the first woman to be jailed after the withdrawal of political status in 1976. She stood as a H-Block Armagh candidate in the 1981 general election. She undertook a 19-day hunger-strike with two of her comrades in Armagh in December 1980. As a woman, as a highly politicised republican and as a dedicated IRA Volunteer Mairead gave unflinching service in the cause of freedom. Like her two comrades she was a member of the General Headquarters Staff of Oglagh na hEireann.

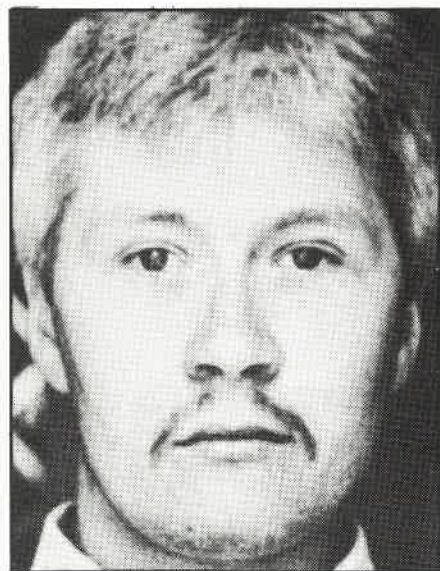


● (above) RUC personnel firing plastic bullets at the mourners attending the funeral of Volunteers Paddy Deery and Eddie McSheffrey on November 2nd 1987, (left) Derry Brigade guard of honour at the coffin of Volunteer Paddy Deery, (right) As the RUC attack the funeral of the two Derry Volunteers one of the coffins is knocked to the ground, (below) IRA Volunteers withdrawing from the area they had secured, around the Glassdrummond British army observation post, to fire a volley of shots over the coffins of Volunteers Brendan Burns and Brendan Moley





SEAN SAVAGE was only 23 years old when he died on a street in Gibraltar at the hands of SAS gunmen. An incalculable loss to his family, friends and comrades he was known for his quiet strength and intelligence. Sean joined the IRA when he was 17 and from the outset showed his leadership qualities and sharp judgement which he used to the full during his years on active service. He was a gifted Gaelic footballer, Irish language enthusiast and had a wide range of interests and activities beyond his political involvement.

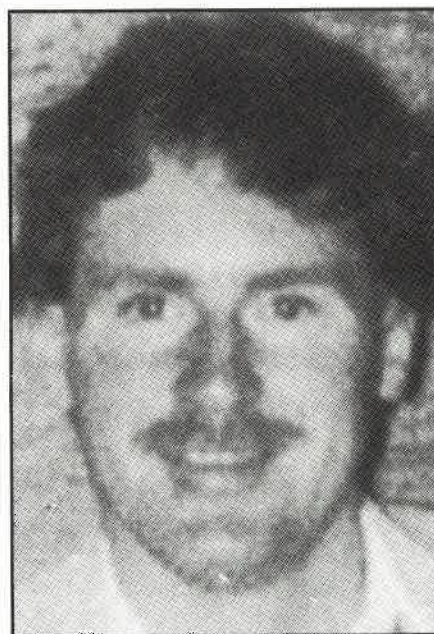


DAN McCANN was the third Volunteer executed in Gibraltar on March 6th. A target for loyalist and British army death threats Danny served time in the H-Blocks during the blanket protest and was severely beaten by the British army in 1982. A popular man in his West Belfast community Dan was survived by his wife and two young children. He was a life-long activist and was 30 years old when he was killed.



KEVIN McCracken was shot dead by a British soldier in Turf Lodge in Belfast on March 14th. He was preparing to launch an attack on the crown forces who had saturated the area where Sean Savage's family were awaiting the return of their dead son's coffin. Kevin was shot in the back and lay on the street for 15 minutes before an ambulance arrived. He died on the way to hospital.

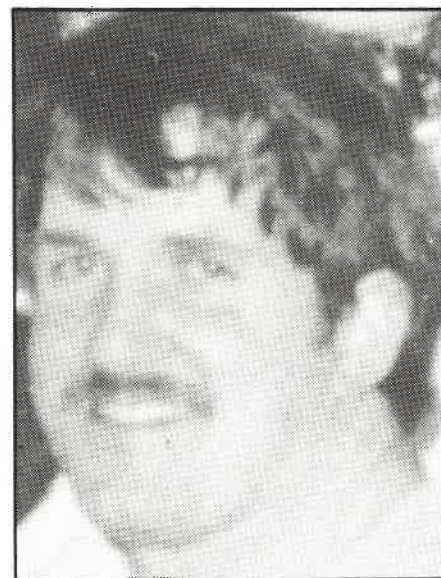
Aged 31 Kevin was a former H-Block blanket man. He joined Fianna Eireann in 1972 and became an IRA Volunteer three years later. He was an active republican soldier up to his death, having reported back to the Army after his release from prison in 1985.



CAOIMHIN Mac BRADAIGH died on March 16th in Milltown Cemetery,

Belfast, at the funeral of his comrades Mairead Farrell, Sean Savage and Dan McCann. Caoimhin and two others – Thomas McErlean and John Murray – were killed defending mourners when a loyalist attacked them with grenades and bullets in the graveyard.

Caoimhin was the youngest in a family of seven brought up speaking Irish, his mother being from Rann na Feirste Gaeltacht, County Donegal. He joined Oglagh na hEireann in 1975 when he was 17 years old. He was active in the public political work as well as the military side of the Movement. He died as he spent his life defending his people.



HUGH HEHIR was shot dead by a member of the Garda Task Force near Caher, County Clare, on Friday, May 6th. He was the first Volunteer to be killed by Free State forces since March 17th 1975, when Tom Smith was killed in Portlaoise Prison.

Hugh, a plumber by trade, joined the Republican Movement in 1969. In 1974 Hugh was captured while on active service in the New Lodge Road area of Belfast and was charged with possession of explosives and membership. While on remand in Crumlin Road Jail he unsuccessfully attempted to escape. Hugh was imprisoned in the Cages of Long Kesh.

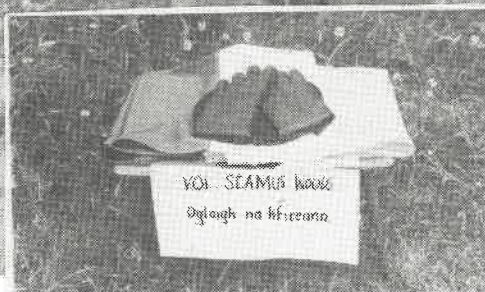
Upon his release in November 1979, Hugh Hehir reported back for active service and he remained an active and committed Volunteer until his untimely death.

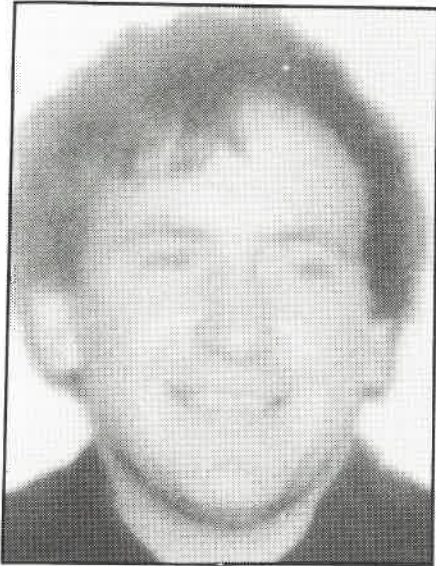


● (above) British soldiers and RUC personnel saturated the funerals of Volunteers Brendan Burns and Brendan Moley, (right) The funeral cortege of Volunteer Brendan Moley making its way through the South Armagh countryside, (below) A republican guard of honour flanks the hearse during the funeral of Volunteer Hugh Hehir, in County Clare, on June 5th



● IRA Volunteers firing a volley of shots over a temporary monument (inset) to Volunteer Seamus Woods on July 8th





SEAMUS WOODS joined the East Tyrone Brigade, Irish Republican Army, at the age of 18 and played a prominent role in making the crown forces fear that area. Seamus' knowledge of the local terrain, especially around Pomeroy, was of great benefit to his unit and helped to secure many retreats from successful operations. He was particularly good with the younger and newly-recruited Volunteers and spent much of his time showing them the ropes.

At the age of 23, he was tragically killed in a mortar and gun attack on Pomeroy RUC barracks. It was characteristic of his bravery that he had taken responsibility for carrying out one of the most dangerous aspects of the operation – driving the mortars to the firing point. He died when they exploded prematurely.

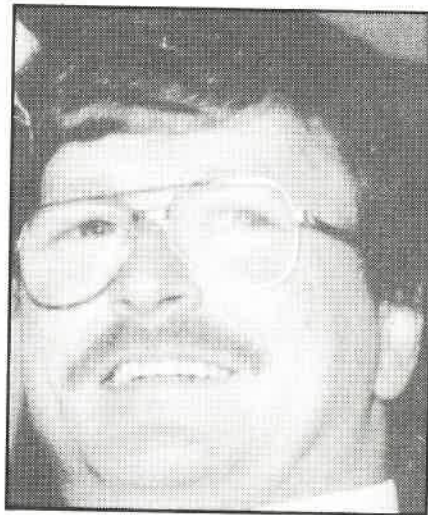


BRENDAN DAVISON was shot dead at his own home in the Markets area of

Belfast on July 25th 1988, by loyalist assassins wearing RUC uniforms.

Only 33 years old, Brendan had spent most of his life in the service of his people. He was imprisoned for over 10 years. Brendan joined the Republican Movement in late 1971. By early 1972 he was arrested and sentenced to 15 years. He was released from the Cages of Long Kesh in 1980 only to be rearrested ten months later on the word of RUC paid-perjurer John Morgan.

On his release over two years later, he reported back to the IRA. He survived an attempt on his life in May 1987 and was an active Volunteer till his assassination by loyalists.



GERARD HARTE was the eldest of the three comrades who died in a SAS ambush in the townland of Drumnakilly, County Tyrone on August 30th 1988.

In his own unit, Gerry was a disciplinarian, strict but fair. Young Volunteers held him in high esteem. This respect was hard-earned, of course, the cumulative result of 14 years active service.

Gerry was a prominent member of Loughmacrory St Theresa's GLC where he supervised various youth teams and was instrumental in the revival of the club.

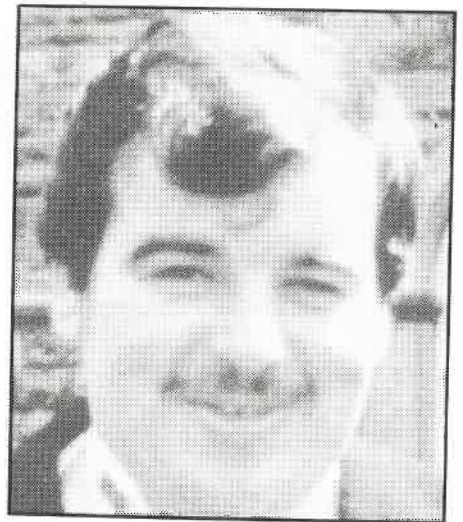
He is survived by his wife Roisin and his son Colm who was ten-months-old when Gerry was gunned down.

MARTIN HARTE was an active member of Oglagh na hEireann from the age of 17. Like his elder brother he played



for the local GAA club and had been considered for selection to the Tyrone county team but his commitments to the Republican Movement came first.

Martin was married a few years to Briege Mullin, Brian's sister and he had seen the birth of his son Declan three months before being killed by British assassins.

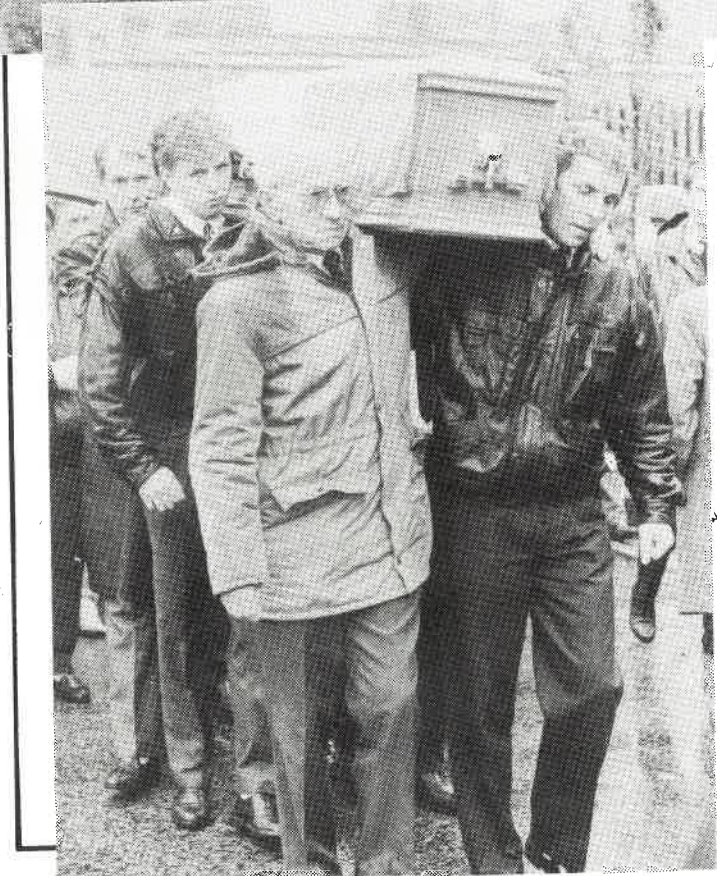


BRIAN MULLIN was an extremely capable and willing Volunteer since he joined in the early 1980s. He was aware of the risks he ran but never allowed the shadow of death to diminish or overawe him.

Brian Mullin was a truly jolly man but one who was nevertheless very serious about the business of revolution. To many he was the 'gentle giant' known for his loud and hearty laugh. He was gunned down in his prime by the SAS along with his two close friends and comrades.



● (above) Friends and relatives at the graveside of Volunteers Martin and Gerard Harte on September 2nd, (left) Brendan Davison's father and brothers carry his Tricolour-draped coffin, (below) Volunteers from the 3rd Battalion, Belfast Brigade, Oglagh na hEireann pay their last respects to their fallen comrade Brendan Davison



PUERTO RICO

& the Struggle for Independence

By Martin Guevara

West Side Story, the drama and film of the early 1960s represented just one side of the real Puerto Rico; its main topic was the Puerto Rican diaspora to the US mainland. But this former Spanish colony in the Caribbean is more than that. It is a nation with a solid culture and its own heritage, which is trying to survive the latest manifestation of colonialism in the world by the biggest superpower today, the USA.

Discovered and conquered by the Spaniards in the late 15th Century the island remained a colony of Spain until 1898, when the Hispano-American War took place. This war, provoked by the imperialist intentions of the US in the Caribbean region, resulted in the island changing its metropolis. Puerto Rico became a US territory, ie. a colony.

After four hundred years of Spa-

nish domination many Puerto Ricans saw the newcomers as a Godsend. The country of "freedom, liberty and equality" was going to rule over the island. Many people thought that all the 'progress of civilisation' achieved by such a country was going to be bestowed on the islanders. But time showed a different perspective.

In the first two years of the intervention the island was controlled by the US military. In 1900 the US Congress passed the Foraker Act, by which a civilian government was established. In this system a governor was appointed by the president of the US. Politically the island was in limbo, the US Supreme Court stated that it "*belongs to, but does not form part of*" the American Federation — Puerto Rico was an unincorporated territory, ruled by the Defence Department and Congress. The citizens were not entitled to all the civil rights of a US person. It was in 1917 that Puerto Ricans became full citizens of the Federation. Through the Jones Act, 1917, the people born in Puerto Rico received US citizenship

in an imposed manner. It was not a philanthropic action by the States; they needed people to participate in their military intervention in the First World War and the Puerto Ricans were the best candidates for doing that.

In the field of the economy, Puerto Rico during the first four decades of the US intervention was ruled as a 'banana republic'. The basic crop of exploitation was sugar, dominated by US absentee multinationals. The inhuman conditions of the labour force were exposed when many Puerto Ricans started emigrating to the US looking for a better destiny. The socio-economic conditions of the island were so depressing that in late 1940s a unique economic model was established, in order to promote the rapid development. It was the Bootstrap economic model (called in Spanish *Manos a las Obras*).

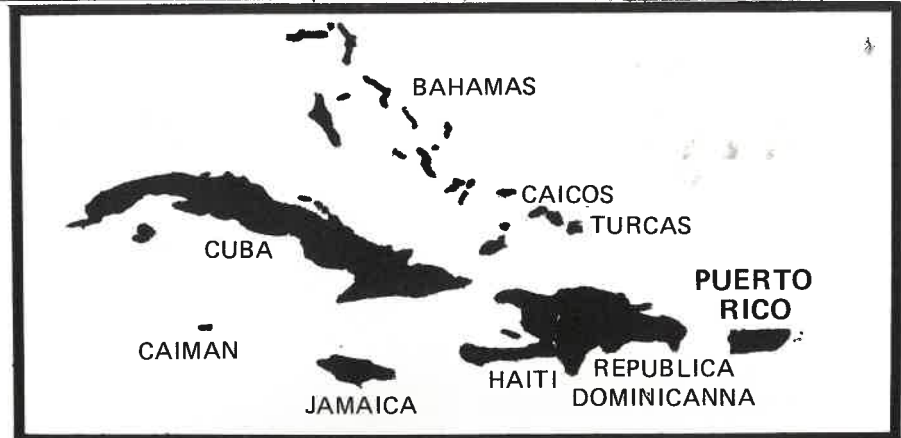
The idea behind this economic model was to attract foreign capital (basically US capital), labour force intensive and to develop the national economy as well as a national capital.

This model was initiated at the same time that the US was involved in the reconstruction of Europe, after the Second World War. Although at the beginning the first results of the model were seen as a total success (rapid urbanization, a rise in per capita income, fast development of the national infrastructure) time has demonstrated the inefficiency of this model.

More than 35 years later the negative consequences of this model are very considerable. One third of the Puerto Rican population had to emigrate during the late 1940s, 1950s and 1960s to the US, in order to deal with the incapacity of the system to employ all the available labour force, national capital was never developed and since the late 1940s the economy of the island has been subordinated to the interest of the US multinationals.

Today, the capital invested in Puerto Rico is in the industries of pharmaceuticals (with environmental consequences for the population) and high technology (for military purposes, making it a military target in a possible East-West conflict); both industries are intensive in capital investment, not in the use of labour force, therefore employment in Puerto Rico is now as in depression or recession times (the official figure is 21%). Thus, it has to survive through an annual transfer of federal (US) money, which at this moment represents the sum of \$6.2 billion (it has been stated by 1995 it would need 15 billion dollars annually in order to survive). Puerto Rico imports 88% of what it consumes from the US, the profits earned by the US capital in Puerto Rico represent 40% of all their profits in Latin America, and furthermore, it is the 7th market for US goods in the world.

All this economic 'success' was achieved at the same time as an experimental politico-legal relation was developed in Puerto Rico. Since 1952 the Puerto Ricans have been linked to the US through a "*sui generis*" legal system: the *Estado Libre Asociado* (Free Associate State) which has been translated into English as the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. This weird relation-



ship established is that the island and the US are united "*under the nature of a compact*" as equal partners with the same importance and power of decision. History has demonstrated the opposite.

Although the name of the present status could provoke many ideas in one's mind, reality has demonstrated that Puerto Rico is an ordinary colony. The US rules it as a parental institution, which has influence over every single aspect of the daily life of the people. They control among other things: the post, the communication and broadcasting systems, foreign trade, immigration, army, 14% of the land and foreign relations. In other words, every element of society.

SINCE 1868, when the Revolution in the town of Lares occurred, the people of Puerto Rico have consistently struggled for their independence. First they fought against the Spaniards, and since the beginning of the 20th century they have been fighting against the US. The open struggle against them was initiated in the 1930s through the Nationalist Party. The leader of this party, Pedro Albizu-Compos, led the islanders to feel proud of themselves, and to understand that to fight against the US was a necessary instrument in order to preserve their nationhood.

Albizu-Compos and his revolutionary ideas survived. He was incarcerated for more than a third of his life, but this

did not stop the independentistas from continuing the revolution. In 1950 the Second Revolution took place, this time against North America. More than two thousand people participated in this struggle, in which they liberated a few towns from US rule. It was necessary for the States to bomb those towns controlled by the revolutionaries in order to restore their control.

Although these events occurred in the 1950s the seeds of the revolution are still alive, the only difference being that now they are not a 'one crop' manifestation. The independentista and progressive movement take different paths to achieve the same goal, the freedom of the nation and a more equal social society. Among the different manifestations of the movement are:

THE PRO-INDEPENDENCE PARTY

It has been contesting the elections since the 1950s. In 1973 it managed to get three of its representatives into the Puerto Rican legislature (i.e. parliament). In the 1984 elections the president of the party, Ruben Berrios-Martinez was elected to the Senate, and the vice-president of the party, David Noriega, to the House of Representatives. It is important to mention that both received the highest number of votes ever got by any candidate for the legislature in the Puerto Rican electorate history.

The reason behind these results is that in the last decade, after the inefficiency and corruption of the local ruling classes (either in favour of the annexation of Puerto Rico to the US Federation, or those that support the colonial relationship), the independ-

entistas people have emerged as the only honest and uncorrupt alternative in the island. Moreover after the massacre of two independentistas people in 1978, in the so-called Cerro Maravilla case, (an ambush orchestrated by the police, with the consent of the US/FBI officials), in a shoot-to-kill policy, the people of the PIP emerged as an important force to stop such kind of actions.

In the forthcoming elections, November 1988, it seems that they will reinforce their position and all the other independentistas sectors are supporting PIP in these elections.

ARMED STRUGGLE

Its modern history started in the late 1960s with different groups carrying out sabotage action against the US symbols (government or capital interest) in the island. But, since 1978, this manifestation of the struggle got uniformity through an organisation created in that year, El Ejercito Popular Boricua, Los Macheteros (Puerto Rican Popular Army, The Machete Wielders), an important organisation challenging the US presence and exploitation of our people.

Their main targets in the last ten years have been US institutions, agencies, military service personnel or installations, but they never have attacked other Puerto Ricans (the only exception being the killing in self-defence of a Puerto Rican policeman). They have built up strong support in the community for their actions. Among their most important actions have been the demolition of nine US Air Force aircraft (that were meant to be used in El Salvador); the ambush and the killing of two US navy officers (twelve were injured) in 1980 in response to the killing by the US of a Puerto Rican patriot incarcerated in the States; and many rocket attacks against US installations.

As with PIP, Los Macheteros are struggling for the independence of to Rico, and for the creation of an equal regime for fair distribution of the wealth. There are other organisations like Los Macheteros, although smaller, and on different occasions th-



● Some of the 15 Puerto Rican patriots kidnapped and framed by FBI agents in 1985 (from left) Issac Camacho Negron, Jan Segarra Palmer, Luz Berrios, Luis Alfredo Colon Osorio and Filiberto Ojeda Rios

ey have worked together (i.e. Organizacion de Voluntarios para la Revolucion Puertorriquena, Volunteers for the Puerto Rican Revolution).

COMMUNITY AND POPULAR STRUGGLES

These are probably one of the most important expressions of the progressive and Independentistas Movement in the decade of the 1980s. The main goal of their action has been for a better quality of life, which in Puerto Rico is linked to the necessity of the withdrawal of the US force.

We can also mention the 'battle' of the Fishermen's Association of the Island/Municipality of Vieques (east coast of Puerto Rico) in the late 1970s till the beginning of the 1980s. Their main purpose was the elimination of a US naval base (used for live ammunition practices) which controlled 2/3 of the waters around the island and was interfering with fishing activities. Although this movement was not completely successful, it opened the path for other movements in the '80s

Environmental and ecological work against the US multinationals in Puerto Rico (the island's laws on environmental protection are more flexible than those in the US, therefore toxic dumping is widespread) has achieved important victories in different battles. People's mobilisation for the protection of the environment has great importance. In the last few years a lot of organisations have emerged for the rescue or repossession of the land controlled by the US or intended to be controlled by the US capital. The action in November 1986 in the El Yunque mountain, controlled by the US government which at that point was intending to develop the mountain as an industrial enterprise, mobilised ten thousand people under the slogan that "El Yunque belongs to us". The US dropped the plans.

It has been the same in other situations, i.e. the US intention to construct an antenna for the Voice of America using two thousand acres of land; the intentions of different developing and tourist companies, such as the Inter-



national Club Med, to control the beaches; with the positive outcome of the victory for the progressive sectors. The necessity to control the destiny of the country is always the main problem raised.

WOMEN'S STRUGGLES

Several groups are leading this struggle, among which are: Feministas en Marcha (Feminists on the Road), Organizacion Puertorriquena de la Mujer Trabajadora (Puerto Rican Organisation of the Working Women) and the Taller Salud (Women/Health Workshop). One of the most important aspects of their struggle has been to inform the people of the island of the outrageous conditions to which our women were being exposed during the 1950s, used as guinea pigs in the test of an experimental contraceptive pill. The outcome of such experiments is one generation of Puerto Rican women with cancer.

Part of their information campaign has been the denunciation of the local government and the US government policy of mass sterilization of Puerto Rican women. This campaign was initiated in the late 1950s and culminated

in the early 1980s when President Reagan – within his economical policies – cut the funds for it. Today, according to a survey done in 1984, 44% of the Puerto Rican women have been sterilised. However, the campaign of the women today is concerned with the creation of the necessary laws that will protect women from sexual harassment in their employment and in the civil society. The struggle is very hard, and as yet has not been successful, but in the long run they will win.

THE US government is very aware of the strength and diversity of the Independentista Movement. Therefore systematic, subtle and blunt repression has been used against those progressive sectors which are seeking independence.

Over two years ago, on the 30th of August of 1985, a US army force of 250 men landed in Puerto Rican soil, arresting and kidnapping 15 Puerto Rican patriots. They charged these people with being members of Los Mach-

eteros, and of carrying out a robbery of \$7.1 million in the US. Moreover, they accused them of participating in a distribution of money, food and gifts – actions claimed by Los Macheteros – using the stolen money. Although the trial has not yet started, the harsh conditions to which these comrades have been exposed are only comparable to the practices used by the government of South Africa against the black people. One person, Filiberto Ojoda-Rios is still in jail, being refused the right to bail (which represents the longest detention period in the US history for someone pending trial). Although the US intention behind this action was to weaken the Independence Movement – they failed.

The colonial/imperialist intervention of the US in Puerto Rico gives the people the right to use any possible means to achieve our independence. As in the case of the people of the North of Ireland, New Caledonia and the Black people of South Africa, the struggle is against a foreign power which is trying to destroy the nation, its culture and traditions. Like other countries in the world, the people of Puerto Rico have the legitimate right to be free. ■



Liam Mellows and the Irish Revolution,
by C. Desmond Greaves (Lawrence and
Wishart, £9.)

Reviewed by Tom Hartley

DURING this past 15 years, I have often hunted through the bookshops of Belfast and Dublin looking for a copy of *Liam Mellows and the Irish Revolution* by C. Desmond Greaves. It was not until the last month of 1987 that I was able to get my hands on a copy of this most valuable political book, thanks to the publishers Lawrence and Wishart who have reprinted the story of Liam Mellows.

The story of Liam Mellows covers that period of Irish political life when, in the aftermath of the great Famine and the failure of the Fenian movement, another generation of Irish patriots prepared themselves for a confrontation with British imperialism. That confrontation which began on Easter Monday 1916 was followed by the Tan War and a counter-revolution which led to the partition of Ireland and a bloody civil war. The life-span of Liam Mellows covers this period. Born on May 23rd 1892, Mellows was to die in front of a firing squad on December 8th 1922 at the age of 30.

Liam Mellows' story touches upon every aspect of an Irish revolution. In these pages we find a history of the IRB, the formation of the Volunteers, the events which led to the Easter Rebellion of 1916, the setting up of Dail Eireann, the Tan War, the Treaty negotiations, the split in the Republican Movement, Partition and the Civil War and, as always, the reactionary stand of the Irish Catholic Hierarchy. Also included is a detailed account of the relationship between the Irish struggle and its counterpart in North America. While dealing with the events taking place in North America, it is interesting to see how the Irish struggle had contacts with political activists from India and the newly-formed Soviet Union.

However, the book contains more than a history lesson. Desmond Greaves touches upon the internal political questions raging in the Irish revolutionary movement during that

BOOK REVIEWS

period and maps out for the reader the beginning of the counter-revolution. A counter-revolution which was the brainchild of imperial strategists, like Lloyd George and Churchill, and which was carried out by former leaders from within the Irish revolutionary movement like Collins, Cosgrave and Mulcahy.

Republicans of my generation should not by-pass this book. For staring us in the face are the political lessons which can be derived from a period of our history when the Irish revolutionary movement lacked a defined political strategy. Because of this, militarism, personalities, conspiracies and bad politics were all to dominate and take the place of revolution. Central to the political weakness of this period is the blindness of the republican leadership to the role of organised labour. While the 'men and women of no property' were to bring imperialism to its knees by their sacrifice and heroism, the petite-bourgeoisie alliance which led the struggle made no serious effort to include Labour in the fight for national and democratic rights. This process was helped by some elements of the trade union leadership who, in August 1916, peddled the theory that James Connolly had turned his back on the labour movement. The working class were to fight the struggle but had no real input into its political direction. This lack of a political strategy combined with the absence of organised labour was to focus in the weakness of republican forces during the run up to the signing of the Treaty and, in particular, during the period of the Civil War.

It is to his credit that Liam Mellows had come to realise that without the participation of the working class and its mass organisations it would be impossible to have a successful Irish revolution. In a document sent out by Mellows from his cell in Mountjoy prison, he writes: "*We are back to Tone - and it is just as well - relying on that great body 'the men of no property.'*"

One of the difficulties in reading this book is trying to deal with the amount of detail carried within its pages. The span of political organisations and individuals involved in the Irish struggle during this period and mentioned by Desmond Greaves necessitates a second reading of this political masterpiece.

After reading this book, it is also clear that dead rats have played and continue to play a role in the Irish struggle. After reading the story in a recent issue of *An Phoblacht/Republican News* which dealt with an incident where a member of the Special Branch had searched the jacket of a republican supporter only to find a dead rat in his hand, I was left with the conclusion that the modern version of the Irish republican suppor-

ter was Machiavellian in the extreme. So it was with some amazement that I read the story about Sean Etchingham who used the rumour about a dead rat to achieve a small victory for the Irish separatist movement. Apart from that one small incident which brought a moment of light relief, the book left me with a feeling of great sadness. Such was the waste of energy and humanity which is epitomised in the murder of Liam Mellows.

Desmond Greaves has given us a valuable political and historical record of a period of an Irish revolution which continues to dominate the Irish political scene today. For that reason, this book is a must for anyone looking to put the present into its political and historical perspective.



No Time For Love, by Hugo Meenan
(Brandon, £4.95).

Reviewed by Frank Whitney

HUGH O'DONNELL is a busy man. He has no time for anything other than running Saor Eire, a socialist republican organisation in Derry in the early 1970s. His life is taken up with planning and executing very successful hits on the RUC and British army, raiding for guns in West Germany, surviving a vividly brutal seven-day interrogation in Ballykelly army base, training hundreds of Volunteers in Donegal and recovering from gunshot wounds in Letterkenny Hospital. Charismatic and totally dedicated, he has turned the nationalist areas of the west bank of the Foyle into no-go zones where the British army and RUC only venture in large force to raid and then retreat.

Hugh's plan is to go all the way, have one massive push and turn the west side of Derry into a totally liberated area. His plan is to hit all the British army bases in one operation, but; to test out his newly-trained recruits, he has a trial run on one base on the walls:

overlooking the Bogside. It is successful and, all the Volunteers but one escape to rest up for one big attack the following night. However, the RUC, who up to this point have been almost totally inept, swamp the Bogside and Creggan immediately and capture everyone of any importance in Saor Eire except Hugh, who escapes to start the task of rebuilding the movement from scratch.

You can see why Hugh has no time for love. This is a source of much annoyance to his partner Brenda, who consequently takes off to London with their young son, leaving him a letter.

"I just can't stay. This society is so fucked up that it is going to take a lot of tears and blood to rectify it... I don't want my children growing up to become part of that lake. I don't want to watch you becoming part of it! And I don't want to end up at the bottom of it myself... Don't judge me too harshly, Hugh, you are stronger than I am."

As a full-time guerrilla, Hugh's relationships with women are bound to be fleeting — Ingrid the German nurse (*"I have dedicated my life to a cause and both of you would interfere with each other"*), and Dympna, the RUC's answer to Mata Hari, who infiltrates his organisation all too easily.

Hugh is larger than life; he takes all of this in his stride. He is a typical thriller hero — almost bleeding to death but living to fight another day, escaping from Creggan when practically the whole British army is in the estate searching for him, and so on. On the other hand, it is nice to see a larger than life republican hero for a change. In a genre where republicans are depicted as psychopaths, Mafia-type gangsters or misled idealists, it is a tremendous relief to come across a novel about the North in which there is such a positive republican hero.

But do not forget that it is a thriller. If you read it, you will not find an awful lot out about Hugh's politics in the midst of his macho exploits. You will find all the thriller cliches of male strength and female innocence superimposed on our situation. Hugh comes to represent 'war' and Brenda 'peace'. And you will wonder why the author, ex-British Army soldier, ex-Official IRA man and ex-Irish Republican Socialist Party, left out the IRA and internment, two of the missing realities of early 1970s Derry, in an otherwise highly 'realistic' novel.

But, if you bite your tongue a bit, suspend your questioning mind, relax and read on, you will squirm at the incredible interrogation in chapter two, thrill at Hugh's successful raid for guns on the British army in West Germany, etc. It is fast-moving, exciting and highly readable — a very good thriller with its heart in the right place for a change.

The People of Ireland edited by Patrick Loughrey (Appletree Press, £14.95).

Reviewed by Fergus O'Hare

IN 1966, RTE transmitted a series of television programmes under the title *The Course of*

Irish History. The following year, the text of these programmes were published in book form under the same title.

Twenty years later in 1987, the BBC "invited eleven of Ireland's leading historians to participate in a series of talks for broadcast on Radio Ulster". These talks have now also been published in book form under the title *The People of Ireland*.

I was asked to review this latter book and, to cut a long story short, did not find it a terribly enlightening or interesting piece of work. So, if you are reading this review to find out whether or not to go and buy the book, my advice is do not bother, save your money and take out a subscription to *IRIS* instead.

What I find quite fascinating, however, was to compare how both of the above fairly similar projects, albeit with a gap of 20 years between them, could produce such amazingly different results.

Both books are written in a popular, non-academic style, are well illustrated, and are aimed at a general audience. They even have three contributors in common — Tomas O'Fiach, Liam de Paor and Aidan Clarke. While accepting that the two projects are not identical, they do allow some comparison as to how the presentation of Irish history has changed over the last 20 years.

Lest you have forgotten, 1967 was before the current phase of 'the troubles' broke out in the North. It was a time when even the Dublin government felt it safe to commemorate the 1916 Rising and to hint occasionally that Britain's role in this country might not always have been totally benevolent. Accordingly, *The Course of Irish History* makes reference to such things as the "Anglo-Norman invasion" and the "Tudor conquest" of Ireland. The English are referred to as "conquistadors" who "conquered" Ireland while terminology such as "indiscriminate inhumanity", "callous, parsimonious and self-righteous" is used to describe various aspects of British rule here.

Twenty years on in *The People of Ireland*, things are changed quite dramatically. Not a disparaging syllable is to be heard about Britain's role in Ireland. The Anglo-Norman invasion has been transformed and is now presented as a gracious acceptance by the Normans of a kind invitation to come over and help us 'modernise' our affairs.

The change that has occurred in the plantation of Ulster during the last 20 years, however, is perhaps most startling. According to Aidan Clarke writing in 1967:

"The flight of the earls left Ulster leaderless and the government jubilant....The exiles had left their people defenceless.... Much of the land was confiscated in the six counties of Armagh, Cavan, Donegal, Derry, Fermanagh, and Tyrone and then granted out again in lots of from one to two thousand acres at easy rents, on condition that those who received it bring in Protestant tenants — the area was riddled with native Irish Catholics, embittered and degraded, waiting their chance to strike back".



● Hugh O'Neill of the chieftains who left Ireland during the Flight of the Earls

In *The People of Ireland*, we have Finlay Holmes telling us of the same events in the following terms:

"The so-called Flight of the Earls.... signalled their recognition that their long campaign to resist the advance of English authority and law in Ulster had failed.... Their military struggle in the last year of Elizabeth's reign had left Ulster devastated and depopulated, ripe for redevelopment... Many of [the native people] remained to find that the new order was less repressive than the old... Of course there were also those who resented the arrival [of the planters]... They retreated to the hills and forests, finding refuges from which to harass the settlers."

So there you have it. None of this nonsense about the native Irish having been thrown off their land and perhaps being justified in feeling just a little annoyed about it. No, the new enlightened version of the plantation explains it all. You see what really happened was that these wild Irish chieftains had wrecked Ulster with their nasty military campaign. Luckily, some kindly Scots and English settlers agreed to come over to redevelop the place for us. Most of us natives were, of course, very grateful to the kindly settlers for doing this for us, but a few thankless begrudgers slunk off into the forests and hills, which was the right place for them, and they started to harass the poor settlers.

But fret not dear readers, for all is well that ends well and, according to Finlay Holmes: *"Some of Ulster's most distinguished aristocratic families like the Londonderrys were originally Scottish and Presbyterian, as were the forebears of Sarah Ferguson, Duchess of York"*! Now doesn't that make you feel better?

I suspect that, if Mr Finlay Holmes continues his fascinating research, he might discover that some of these begrudging natives have snuck back out of the forests and are voting for Sinn Fein. Perhaps you are getting a clearer idea as to why I don't recommend

that you rush out and buy *The People of Ireland*.

For the last 15 years or so, an insidious and determined revision and rewriting of Irish history has been taking place. This is not the ordinary academic re-evaluation which can take place in the normal course of events, as new information and sources etc. become available. This has been a deliberate campaign initiated because of the renewed struggle in the North, aimed at minimising support for the struggle by changing our people's view of our own history. It represents a serious challenge which will have to be met by those dedicated to the achievement of freedom for Ireland and its people.

Postscript: I noticed that the book I referred to above *The Course of Irish History* published originally in 1967 has been "revised and updated" in a new edition published in 1984. I have only glanced at the new edition but I noticed that the chapter which was previously entitled 'The Anglo-Norman invasion' has had a name change. It is now called 'The Normans, Arrival and Settlement'. Curiouser and curi-
ousier!



● A British soldier photographed by Tony O'Shea in a barracks in the Six Counties

Walking Along the Border, by Colm Toibin (£12.95)

Reviewed by Gerry Adams

Walking Along the Border could have been a great book. Unfortunately it never gets past being a good idea. There are, pardon the pun, miles of material – the stuff that is crying out for a good author. From Carlingford Lough to Lough Foyle, there must be tons of stories, of localised histories, of anecdotes. There must also be someone who remembers how the border came about. There must be some account of how it was established and of how it is maintained and by whose writ it continues. Colm Toibin obviously had no access to such sources. The reader looking for an education on all these issues will do so in vain.

In Colm Toibin's book, the border is something which he crosses and recrosses on his

way through the border counties and on his journeys from them to sojourns with friends. Mr Toibin's work then is really more of an account of how he spent a few weeks in the summer of 1986. Such an account, no matter how well written, would not of course be a saleable commodity. It is unlikely to be commissioned by a publisher. It needed a good title, it needed a good theme and so this book came about. As an account of how Colm Toibin spent the summer of 1986, it is an enjoyable 'Readers' Digesty' read. Something to pass a few hours with. Not too heavy. But just as dangerous because as an educational aid or even a general knowledge about the British partition of Ireland and its effects on those living in those counties cut off from their hinterlands the book is blandly dishonest. True Mr Toibin does give us accounts of his encounters with those he met en route. But rarely do the ordinary people speak, either loyalist or nationalist, and when they do they appear as mirror reflections of each other with the border becoming almost a necessary buffer between them. Mr Toibin could have written as good a book about walking along the Nile. Maybe he should have. At £12.95, even Tony O'Shea's excellent photographs do not make this a good buy.

Beyond the Rhetoric: Politics, the Economy and Social Policy in Northern Ireland, edited by Paul Teague (*Lawrence and Wishart*, £6.95).

Reviewed by Eileen Duffy

Beyond the Rhetoric is a collection of essays written by a number of academics from a variety of political perspectives. Unhappy with existing literature, Teague hopes the book will initiate open debate about future policy towards the Six Counties.

The first section of the book examines the nature of politics since the signing of the Hillsborough Agreement. A "strange agreement" is how Bill Rolston describes it, open to various interpretations, which allows the British to present it as "a bulwark to a united Ireland" and the 26-County government as "a defence of the nationalist aspirations of the Northern minority". A small sample of these variable interpretations appear in the book.

The unionist interpretation is presented by Paul Benn and Henry Patterson. They argue that unionism only becomes a reactionary force when the constitutional status of the North is threatened. That unionism could even be seen as a progressive force within a partitioned statelet rings hollow with those who suffered under their repressive laws and discriminating practices during their 50-year stewardship of the Six Counties.

Brendan O'Leary concentrated on the constitutional significance of the Accord, accepting it as the formal recognition by the Dublin government of the moral uprightness of the British constitutional guarantee. He believes it is the most effective weapon to bring



● Policing RUC-style

about a power-sharing executive (his preferred option) and he urges the British Labour Party to abandon their support for a United Ireland and organise in the North. O'Leary goes even further, recommending any future Labour government to "contemplate splitting *Sinn Féin* and the IRA by offering commuted sentences and partial amnesties in return for surrender." Anticipating the republican response, O'Leary believes it would be then easier to defeat them "through legitimate policing" (and they have been telling us for two decades that this is precisely what they have been doing).

The nationalist position is articulated by Rolston and Peter Mair. In his essay, Mair traces the move away from what he calls "territorial nationalism" to the "economic nationalism" of present-day, Southern-based parties. The Accord has given these parties a framework in which they can utter the rhetoric of unification and nationalism without having to deliver the goods, a position which also suits the SDLP whose main political objective is to be part of a power-sharing executive in the partitioned state. Rolston argues that the Accord has afforded Thatcher a framework for co-operation in which she concedes little or nothing in return for concessions from the 26-County government. It has also provided a much-needed lifeline to the SDLP in the aftermath of Sinn Féin electoral victories. The future of the SDLP, he concludes, depends largely on whether or not Thatcher will deliver in the area of justice. He did not think (when writing) that she would. He has been proved right.

The other section of the book deals with "the other crisis" – economic stagnation. What becomes clear when reading this section is the extent of poverty, deprivation and the degree of dependency in the Six Counties created by the economic link with Britain. Many issues of concern to economic development are discussed including the role of the multinationals and inward investment, the

nature of discrimination in employment, the growth in public sector employment and the vital role dependency plays in British containment policies.

A variety of future policy options are suggested. From Frank Galikin and Mike Morrissey comes the suggestion that nationalists should abandon their claims which "drive unionist workers into a beleaguered reactionary response and attempt to realise their radical potential in struggle around poverty, employment and democracy"! David Canning believes the expansion of the public sector to be the cheapest, short-term solution to the massive unemployment problem. Cross-border economic co-operation is also offered as a solution to the economic problems North and South.

Some of the statistics are startling. Public expenditure in the Six Counties accounts for 70% GDP and 45% of all employees are in the public sector. If a target of 30,000 unemployed by 1997 was set, it would require the creation of 15,000 new jobs each year for the next decade. What is clear in this section is that dependency breeds yet further dependency and dependency also creates economic shackles. While the Six Counties remain on the periphery of the British economy, the realisation of any tangible economic goals is "practically negligible".

Beyond the Rhetoric is a worthwhile read and, while it should help initiate open debate on the problems facing Ireland today, I did not come away from the book with my predetermined position changed. Indeed, I am even more firmly of the belief now that the only peaceful and lasting solution to all our political, economic and social ills lies in complete separation, (political and economic), from Britain.

Disillusioned Decades, Ireland 1966-87, by Tim Pat Coogan (Gill and McMillan, £9.95).

Reviewed by Des Wilson

I WAS disillusioned by this book. Tim Pat is one of the few writers who has come North and spent a long, long time here talking and studying the situation. He is former editor of a Dublin newspaper. Yet, for him, the Orange Order in 1966 was no more than the arranger of colourful parades. Garret Fitzgerald is an amiable, absent-minded academic rather than a politician and the 1974 Northern Executive was brought down by a loyalist strike.

History is not like this. What Tim Pat has done is write a series of impressions of what he saw happening without analysing whether his impressions are true or not. There is a great deal more to Orangeism than arranging parades – the Order was and is powerful in patronage and pogrom. Fitzgerald is one of the most ambitious of politicians with a hardy streak of political ruthlessness and the 1974 Executive was brought down by the British establishment (through its spy services partly) and not by a handful of disorganised

and heavily-infiltrated loyalist workers. Added to that, there is more to Haughey than a dealer in 'strokes' and, if we want to exert leverage on Thatcher or her successor, we had better admit the fact and work on it.

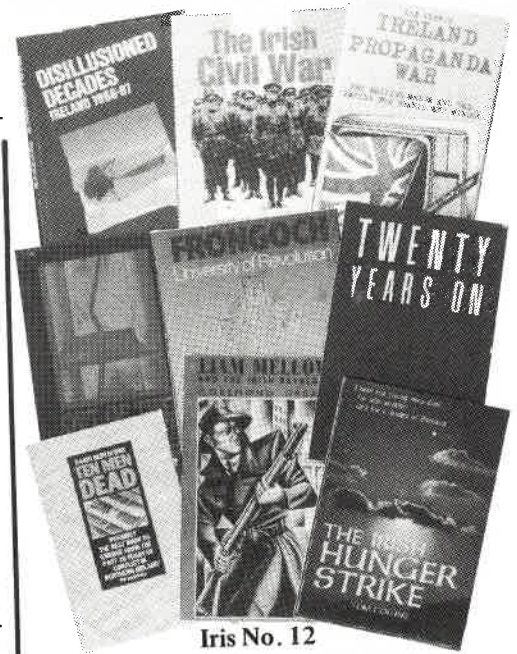
When Tim Pat says that the perpetrators of the Dublin bomb attacks are "unknown", he may mean that the actual persons are unknown. What kind of organisation they belonged to and whose interests they served is very well known indeed. One suspects that this book is meant for the American and perhaps English market and contains all the soft sayings which such a market demands. The loyalists somehow, we understand from this and many other books, act out of reason and principle – they have something to defend – while nationalists or republicans act out of emotion – they are rabid republicans or old-time nationalists, ballad-singing pub activists. That republicans or nationalists – or even Catholics for that matter – act out of reasonable motives and carefully formed political ideas has to be discounted. The same kind of attitude is evident in newspapers – the Irish News is only one example – which headline republican "fury" at something or other when in fact a spokesperson has done little more than argue strongly against it. Of such is propaganda.

Again, how can Irish politics in the Dail be said to have begun to divide on left-right lines? With a huge right wing and a tiny left in the Dail, such a division simply means nothing. The best you can expect is an enormous conservatism occasionally stung by a tiny gadfly. To describe this as a division of Irish politics into left-right is to make it appear that a left-right oppositional situation in Ireland is the kind of reality one would find in some other European counties. It is not.

This book is valuable as a reminder of what has happened to us during the past 20 years, provided one remembers that one's own impressions are just as valuable as the writer's and that a strict analysis of the period is more valuable than anybody's impressions and we shall have to wait for such an analysis.

It is regrettable that someone like Tim Pat does not use his extensive knowledge to probe more deeply also into such events as the Pope's visit to Ireland. The Pope was not deterred from visiting the North because of Mountbatten and Warrenpoint. He was deterred by the fact that to visit the North in the context of a visit to the South would have been to show that Ireland is all one and this would have annoyed the British. To have visited it in the context of a visit to Britain would have implied that the North was part of Britain, which would have offended the Catholics of the North who feel strongly about such things. So he didn't come at all. The choice was not moral but political.

We will find ourselves getting out of the British-created political mess when we know what the political mess is about and who is involved in it and how. Reminiscences are not necessarily the best way to achieve this.



Iris No. 12

Recommended Reading List

The following books can be obtained from the Sinn Fein bookshops at 44 Parnell Square, Dublin, and 51/55 Falls Road, Belfast – and some can be bought at reduced prices!

- Liam Mellows & The Irish Revolution C. Desmond Greaves £9
- Error of Judgement Chris Mullin £4.50
- Ten Men Dead David Beresford £4.54
- The Irish Hunger Strike Tom Collins £7.95
- Survivors Uinseann MacEoin £8.90
- Disillusioned Decades Tim Pat Coogan £9.95
- The Secret War Patsy McArdle £4.95
- The Irish Civil War Francis M. Blake £2.25
- Smashing Times Rosemary Cullen Owens £4.95
- Ireland Since The Famine F.S.L. Lyons £5
- Against The Tide Noel Browne £6.50 (reduced)
- Britain's War Machine In Ireland Fr. Maurice Burke £6.95
- Time Bomb Grant McKee & Ros Franey £5.78
- Twenty Years On ed. Michael Farrell £4.95
- Out of The Maze Derek Dunne £6.95
- James Connolly, Collected Works Vols 1 and 11 £7.00 each
- Ríocht Roinnte Nollag Ó Gadhra £6
- Girseacha i nGeibhinn Áine & Eibhlín Nic Giolla Easpaig £4.50
- Inside An English Jail Raymond McLaughlin £4.25
- Ireland – The Propoganda War Liz Curtis £6.50
- Frongoch – University of Revolution Sean O'Mahony £5.95

Book reviews

Almost at the End,
by Yevgeny Yevtushenko,
(Marion Boyars, £10.50.)

Reviewed by Danny Morrison

TO DO this book justice would require the exclusion of any commentary – a review which would be a packed precis of the poetry and prose which comes gushing from this crusader against oppression and imperialism, this spokesperson for humanity. But what to leave out? Such a pleasant dilemma!

On justice:

*"I saw the ruin of war
but a hypocritical peace is also ruin."*

A torturer admits:

*"Even naked
I can't pull the police uniform from my skin."*

To the rich:

*"You can't hide blood
in a safe."*

Almost at the End is an odyssey through the passage of time and through the minds of the poor and their conquerors, the interrogated and their torturers, the famous and the infamous. Everywhere the poet is in two places at once, continually juxtaposing his own impoverished Siberian youth with kids in Santo Domingo, Addis Ababa, Santiago...

The friendly islanders who came in canoes with peace offerings to Columbus's ship now scream aloud against their genocide:

*"We were conquered by the cross
and called savages,
and promised the freedom to get drunk.
Who was more treacherous?
The most savage savagery
in civilization."*

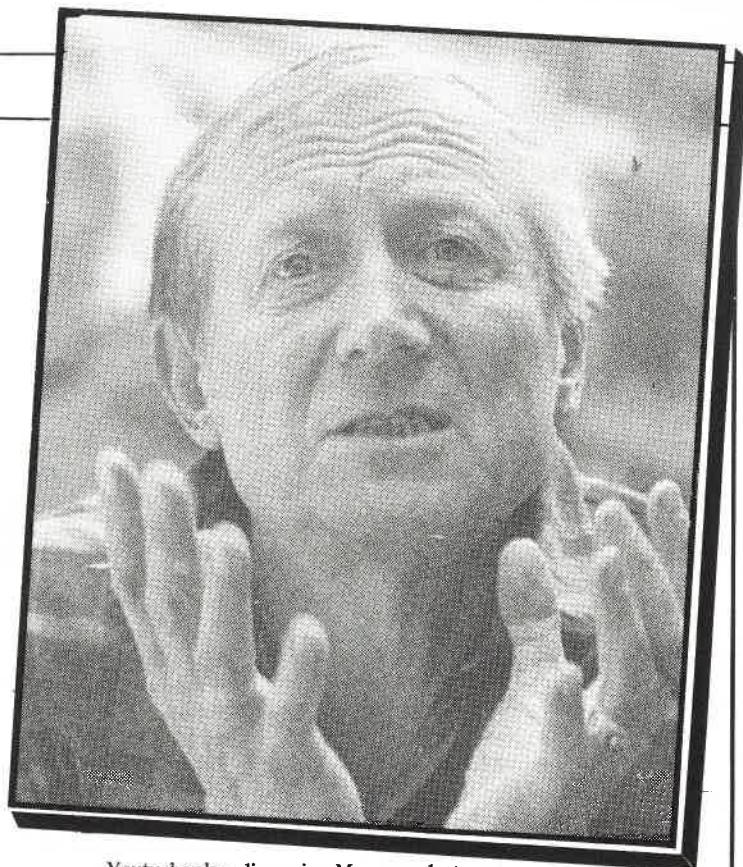
And even in death the goldstruck Genoan can't rest from robbing and plundering:

*"It's said those bones are in Seville.
Tourists poke their walking sticks at them.
And once,
with unexpected agility,
the skelton grabbed a stick:
apparently the tip was gold..."*

Yevtushenko recalls being told by Che Guevara in 1963: *"I wanted to be a doctor, but then I became convinced that medicine alone could not save humanity... Hunger – that's what turns people into revolutionaries. Either your own hunger or that of others – when you felt it like your own."*

The poet continues his observations:

*"They say
the greatest punishment for a tree
is to become a border post...
I suppose
that at first, it was people who invented borders,
and then borders
started to invent people.
It was borders who invented police,
armies, and border guards.
It was borders who invented
customs-men, passports and other shit."*



Yevtushenko lives in Moscow but can travel abroad. In earlier years, he incurred the wrath of the state, especially over his poem *"Babi Yar"* (which Shostakovich set to music) with its controversial statement on Soviet anti-semitism. He lets us know in no uncertain terms that whilst he is no Kremlin toady neither is he a Solzhenitsyn:

*"It is more honest to die in a ditch
than to prefer the dubious honour
of escaping from your own bastards
only to be embraced by bastards abroad."*

*It is shameful for a true writer
who is proud of his unrecruited soul,
to break with homemade reaction
just to be reactionary elsewhere."*

What is beautiful about his internationalism is his necessity – which is not a paradox – to return to home (as in *"I would like"*, see overleaf), to the personal, to his family, to reminisce on love:

*"I stand on the ruins
of loves I destroyed.
The ashes of friendship and hopes
coldly fly through my fingers."*

This book is full of hope, sadness and humour. It is redolent of a final adieu, surely a premature comment for this poet who is in his mid-fifties, who dips his pen into a multi-dimensional well, jumping from century to century but returning, almost to the end, to his own mortality:

*"For in my boastful, wilful life
between the hawks and doves,
one bit was really true –
that is, I really was."*

An excellent read and worth every pound.

I WOULD LIKE

BY YEVGENY YEVTUSHENKO

I would like
to be born
in every country,
have a passport
for them all,
to throw
all foreign offices
into panic,
be every fish
in every ocean
and every dog
along the path.
I don't want to bow down
before any idols
or play at being
an Orthodox church hippy,
but I would like to plunge
deep into Lake Baikal
and surface snorting
somewhere,
why not in the Mississippi?
In my beloved universe
I would like
to be a lonely weed,
but not a delicate Narcissus
kissing his own mug
in the mirror.
I would like to be
any of God's creatures
right down to the last mangy hyena –
but never a tyrant
or even the cat of a tyrant.
I would like to be
reincarnated as a man
in any circumstance.
a victim of Paraguayan prison tortures,
a homeless child in the slums of Hong Kong,
a living skeleton in Bangladesh,
a holy beggar in Tibet,
a black in Cape Town,
but never
in the image of Rambo.
The only people whom I hate
are the hypocrites –
pickled hyenas
in heavy syrup.
I would like to lie
under the knives of all the surgeons in the world,
be hunchbacked, blind,
suffer all kinds of diseases,
wounds and scars,
be a victim of war,
or a sweeper of cigarette butts,
just so a filthy microbe of superiority
doesn't creep inside.
I would not like to be in the elite,
nor of course,
in the cowardly herd,
nor be a guard-dog of that herd,
nor a shepherd,
sheltered by that herd.
And I would like happiness,
but not at the expense of the unhappy,



and I would like freedom,
but not at the expense of the unfree.

I would like to love
all the women in the world,
 and I would like to be a woman, too –
just once...

Men have been diminished
by Mother Nature.
 Suppose she'd given motherhood
to men?

If an innocent child
stirred
below his heart,
 man would probably
not be so cruel.

I would like to be man's daily bread –
 say,
a cup of rice
for a Vietnamese woman in mourning,
 cheap wine
in a Neapolitan workers' trattoria,
 or a tiny tube of cheese
in orbit round the moon:

let them eat me,
let them drink me,
 only let my death
be of some use.

I would like to belong to all times,
shock all history so much
 that it would be amazed
what a smart aleck I was.

I would like to bring Nefertiti
to Pushkin in a troika.

I would like to increase
the space of a moment
a hundredfold,
 so that in the same moment
I could drink vodka with fishermen in Siberia
 and sit together with Homer,
 Dante,
 Shakespeare,
 and Tolstoy,
 drinking anything,
except of course,
 Coca-Cola,
 – dance to the tom-toms in the Congo,
 – strike at Renault,
 – chase a ball with Brazilian boys
at Copacabana Beach

I would like
to know every language,
the secret waters under the earth,
 and do all kinds of work at once.
I would make sure
 that one Yevtushenko was merely a poet,
the second – an underground fighter,
somewhere,

I couldn't say where
for security reasons,
 the third – a student at Berkeley,
the fourth – a jolly Georgian drinker,
 and the fifth –
maybe a teacher of Eskimo children in Alaska,
 the sixth –
a young president,
somewhere, say even in Sierra Leone,
 the seventh –
would still be shaking a rattle in his stroller,



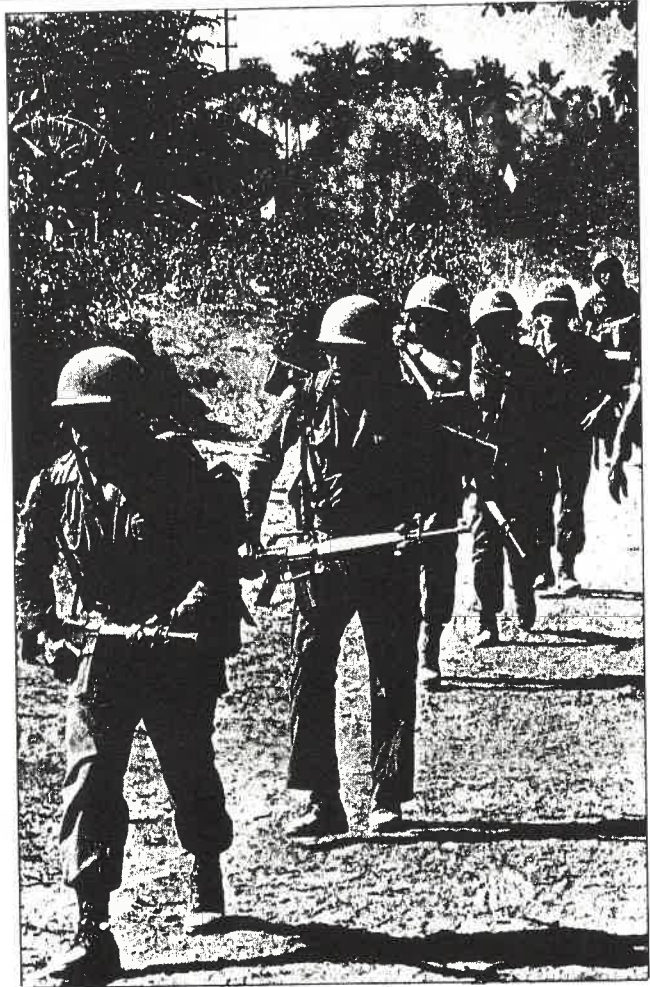
and the tenth...
 the hundredth...
 the millionth...
 For me it's not enough to be myself,
 let me be everyone!

Every creature
 usually has a double,
 but God was stingy
 with the carbon paper,
 and in his Paradise Publishing Company
 made a unique copy of me.

But I shall muddle up
 all God's cards –
 I shall confound God!

I shall be in a thousand copies
 to the end of my days,
 so that the earth buzzes with me,
 and computers go berserk
 in the world census of me.
 I would like to fight on all your barricades,
 humanity,
 dying each night
 an exhausted moon,
 and being resurrected each morning
 like a newborn sun,
 and an immortal soft spot
 on my skull.

And when I die,
 a smart-aleck Siberian Francois Villon,
 do not lay me in the earth
 of France
 or Italy,
 but in our Russian, Siberian earth,
 on a still green hill,
 where I first felt
 that I was
 everyone.



On watching a Greek tragedy on television

Three thousand years ago, Antigone,
 you buried a brother, upheld our right
 against a tyrant state's decree that he,
 defying that state and dead must through
 eternity howl unburied.

Antigone: your frail bones, your spirit facing state threat of
 stones, pale hands anointing brother's weeping flesh, then
 defying eternal nothingness to secure
 the deathly hanging knot
 around your own fair neck,
 Antigone, all who still know your name hear you

Fresh and true as ever.
 I see another state, incommensurably
 larger, greater some say. I see the coffin of
 the terrorist, state's enemy says the state that
 killed him and now meanly denies his burial
 rites. Not one, Antigone, now, but thousands,
 a white-faced crowd, pressed together

against the jackboot, shields and guns.
 'Protect the coffin', a woman cries, as
 black-clad ghouls press in for final futile vengeance.

'Terrorism must not pay', says the state. 'Punishment'.
 I see the puppet woman smirk screaming
 'Let them die' as ten young men choose an ancient way
 to illuminate unjust power.
 In airport lounge I see dark children
 torn unnaturally
 from parents. It's the law, they say.

I see the mightiest state that ever was
 bomb children in their beds, jets screaming
 'Punishment' for things that happened
 in another country. Punish-m-e-n-t'... the
 sound echoing back, Antigone, to your deathly cave.

Antigone: your works these days are done
 by those thousands who never knew your name
 but who die like you in their own country.
 And all who know your name hear you.
 Even the puppet woman and her American friend.

JANE PLUNKETT
 December 12th, 1986.



Republican Publications

The Politics of Irish Freedom by Gerry Adams, 176 pages. In this book Gerry Adams offers his own view of the political questions raised in Ireland during the last 20 years. Price £3.95.

Falls Memories by Gerry Adams. Personal reminiscences of local and national history and of an era in the history of Belfast Falls area. Price £3.50.

Portlaoise Prison Writings – a collection of short stories and poems written and compiled by the republican POWs in Portlaoise Prison. Price 70p.

The Writings of Bobby Sands. First published in 1981 this small booklet contains 12 short stories and poems written by the H-Block hunger-striker and Westminster MP under the pen-name Marcella and smuggled out from his prison cell in the H-Blocks. Price 70p.

Lifers. Republican prisoners analyse the British prison system in the North in relation to POW serving life sentences. Price 70p.

Women in Struggle. Produced and published by Sinn Fein's Women's Department this magazine looks at the role women have played in Ireland's freedom struggle.

The Good Old IRA. A look at IRA military operations during the Tan War 1919-1921. Price 80p.

The Doodle Bug. Issue No. 1. A 20-page comic produced by the Revolutionary artists and Graphics Group. Included among the contributors is *An Phoblacht/Republican News'* own Cormac. Price 50p.

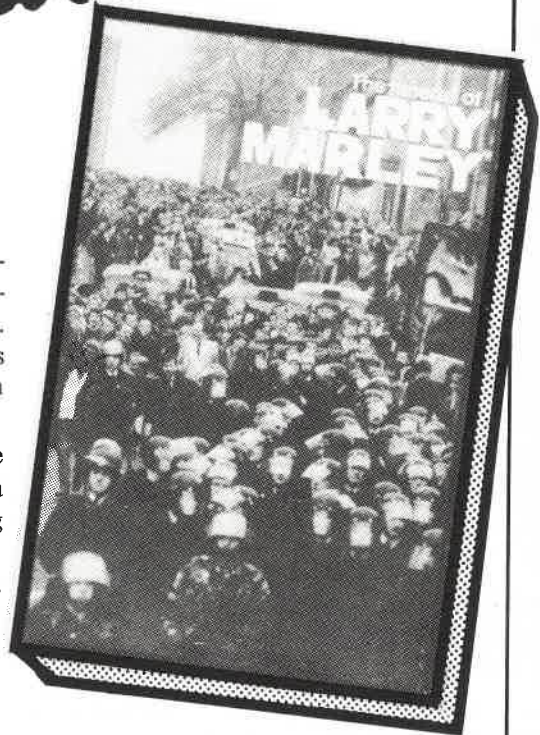
Fianna Éireann Handbook. A 154 page book including a history of Fianna Éireann, camping, first aid, marching and hiking notes. Price £2.75.
This book is illegal in the Six Counties.

The hidden struggle in Clare. Eight contributors outline their opposition to the extradition of republicans to the British system of injustice. Price £1.

Stop Strip-Searching – Pamphlet outlining the case against strip-searching. Price 70p.

Prison Poems by Bobby Sands. An 80-page booklet containing many of Bobby's now famous poetry and verse. Also includes his 228 verse trilogy, "Castlereagh, Diplock, H-Block". Price 50p.

Signposts to independence and Socialism by Gerry Adams. A collection of speeches and writings by the president of Sinn Fein, focusing on the importance of socialism within the context of the Irish struggle. Price 80p.



The funeral of Larry Marley: A 45 minute film analysing the brutal RUC attacks on the funerals of fallen republicans since 1983.

This video includes an interview with Volunteer Larry Marley just after his release from Long Kesh, and concentrates on the events surrounding his funeral, at which British and RUC riot squads batoned mourners and besieged the Marley family home in Ardoyne, Belfast, for three days.

Larry Marley's widow, Kate Marley recounts why she postponed her dead husband's funeral on two occasions prior to his remains being led to rest at Milltown Cemetery, with dignity. Price £20.

R E P U B L I C A N P U B L I C A T I O N S also stock a wide range of posters, badges, postcards, t-shirts and sweat shirts

METAL BADGES: Tíocfaidh ár lá, The Easter Lily and The Spirit of Freedom. Metal badges – Price £2.00, stg £1.50

POSTCARDS: Belfast murals (full colour); Portraits of the 1981 hunger-strikers; The MacBride Principles – Price 25p each. Christmas cards 15p each.

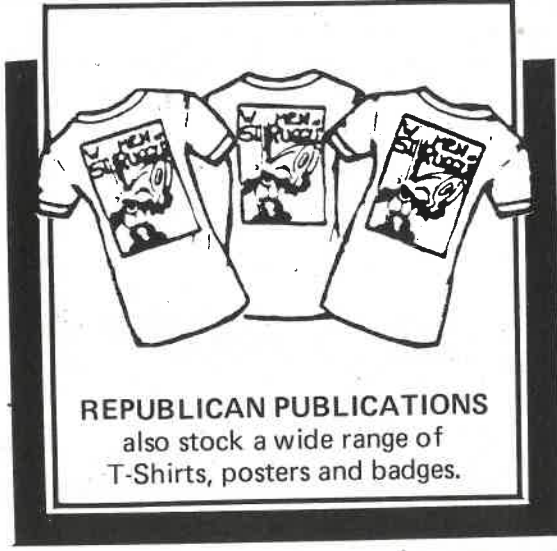
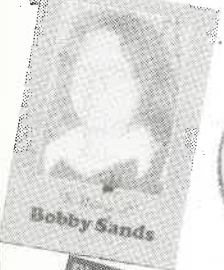
BUTTON BADGES – Price 35p each.

POSTERS: The Loughgall Martyrs, Loughgall Mural, Guerilla Days in Ireland, Price £1 each. The Cry of Freedom, 50p each.

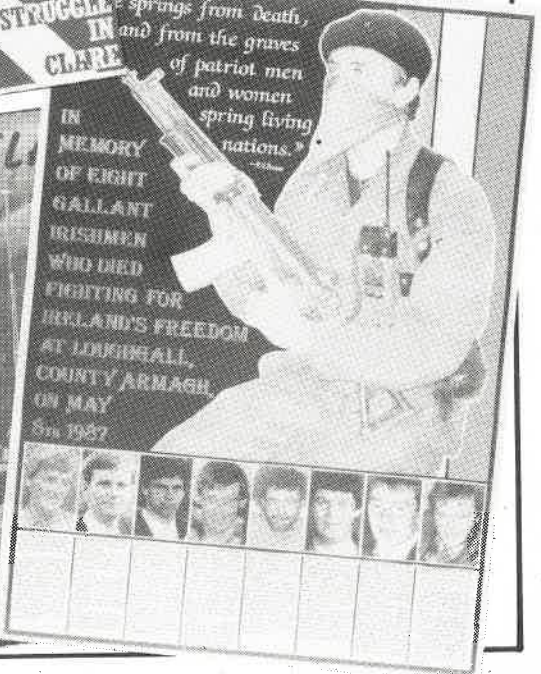
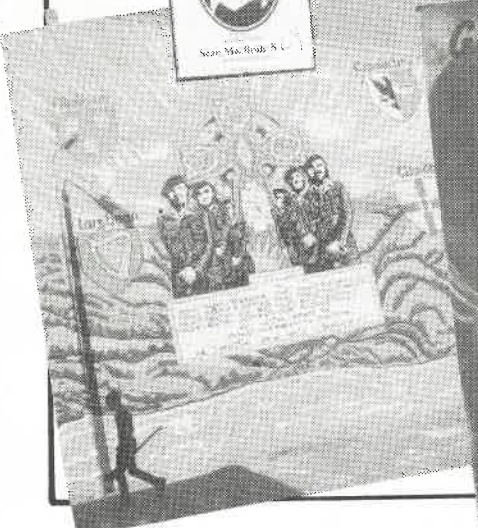
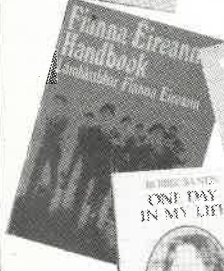
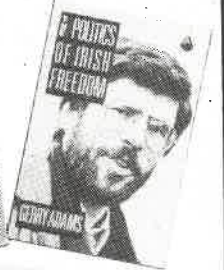
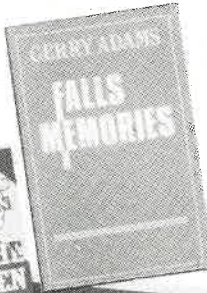
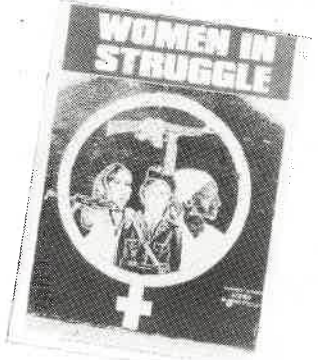


Republican Publications

For full catalogue and price list send to Republican Publication, 44 Parnell Square, Dublin 1 or 51/55 Falls Road, Belfast.

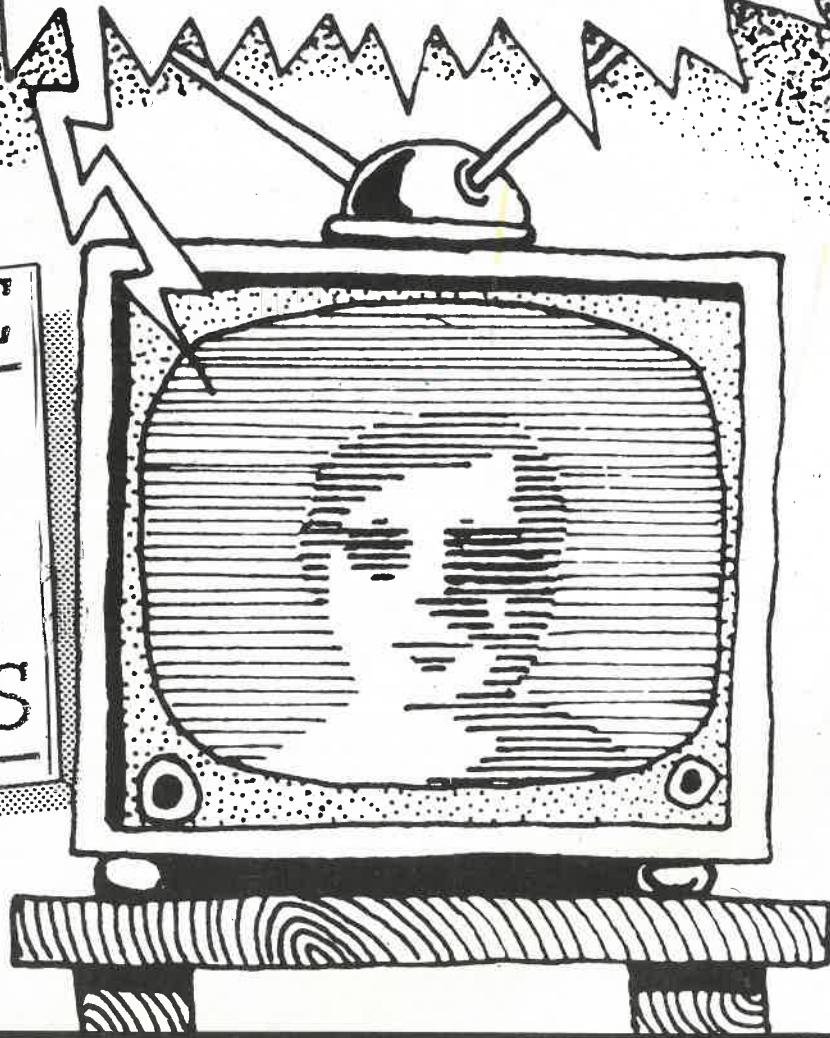


REPUBLICAN PUBLICATIONS
also stock a wide range of
T-Shirts, posters and badges.



GOVERNMENT ORDER
The brutal and immoral British occupat-
of the North will no longer be
represented on this channel.

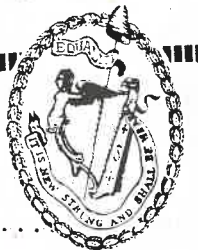
GET THE
TRUTH
BEHIND
THE LIES



R-
E-
A-
D

An Phoblacht Republican News

EVERY WEEK



SUBSCRIPTION RATES

| | |
|----------------|--------------|
| Ireland | Ir£25 |
| Britain | Stg£25 |
| Europe Surface | Stg£30 |
| Europe Airmail | Stg£45 |
| USA | US\$60 |
| Canada | Can\$65 |
| Australia | Aust\$65 |
| Elsewhere | Stg£40/Ir£45 |

Name.....
Address.....
.....

58 Parnell Square Dublin 1. Tel. 733611/733839 or 51/55
Falls Road, Belfast. Tel. 246841 Fax 0232 225231