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20 PENCE



DAWN

An Irish magazine on nonviolent action
civil liberties and movements for change

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A NEW ALTERNATIVE MAGAZINE?

A meeting takes place on September 22nd in Dublin (2 pm at Glencree House, 1 Belgrave Sq, Rathmines, Dublin 6) to discuss setting up a new alternative magazine with a number of different pressure and alternative groups involved. The proposal, being made initially by the Dawn group after discussion with other people, is that groups covering ecology, disarmament and nonviolent direct action, third world, civil liberties and human rights, feminism, gays and lesbians, etc. would band together to produce a high-quality magazine with a wider circulation than any of the current magazines enjoy. There would be a guarantee of space for particular subject areas.

So far as DAWN is concerned, if the proposal went ahead, DAWN monthly magazine would be incorporated in the new publication (subscribers would receive the value of their unexpired subscription to DAWN in copies of the new publication). The DAWN group would continue to publish the occasional 'DAWN TRAIN' magazine, and would work on training, disarmament and other projects. There has been a question mark over the continued publication of DAWN monthly since the 'Whither DAWN?' meeting at the start of the year (see report in DAWN 97).

Further details of the proposal for the new alternative magazine are available from DAWN in Dublin or Belfast. All are welcome to attend the meeting on September 22nd but please contact DAWN beforehand. This meeting will test the ground and will make some initial decisions which representatives can then take back to their groups prior to further decision making.

PRO-LIFERS FOR SURVIVAL

Christian CND is holding a public meeting with Juli Loesch of Pro-Lifers for Survival, an U.S. group linking the nuclear threat with abortion (see last DAWN). The meeting will take place in the Clarence Hotel, Dublin on Monday, 17th Sept. at 8 pm.

WOMEN IN COURT

During the visit of President Reagan, when 'democracy was suspended for the weekend', 33 women protesters were arrested in Phoenix Park and held for over 30 hours. 28 of them are now taking civil actions against the government and the Gardai for wrongful imprisonment, etc. They estimate the cost at £30,000. All kinds of donations are desperately needed, to: Shares a/c No. 533677 (Women for Disarmament Legal Fund), Educational Building Society, Westmoreland St., Dublin 2. Further information from Women for Disarmament, c/o Women's Centre, 53 Dame St., Dublin 2.

A Women's Place is . . . in Greenham!

Ten million women for ten days — that is the biggest action ever to be committed at Greenham Common. The women invite you to come from Sept. 20th-30th. *'Withdraw your support from a society that has become mad, a society that spends its resources on death and destruction while its people live and die in direst poverty. Join with other women to create the world we want.'* Further information from Cris Mulvey tel. Dublin 724632.

WOMEN'S EDUCATION

A Women's Education Day will be held in the Whiterock Community Centre, Belfast on Oct. 9th from 10 am — 1 pm. There will be workshops on health, sexuality, crafts, local history, etc.

WOMEN AND LABOUR

A conference titled 'Women and Labour History in Ireland' will be held in Trinity College, Dublin on 28th-30th Sept. Speakers include Sheila Rowbotham, M. Cullin, M. Daly (UCD), R. Owens and Margaret Ward. Workshops are offered on motherhood, domestic work, education, nationality and emigration. The registration fee is £10. A creche is provided. Further information from the Employment Equality Agency 36 Upper Mount St., Dublin 2, tel. 605966.

Nonviolence — a loving Call to Justice

Pax Christi Conference, 6th Oct. 9.30-5.30 at Milltown Park, Dublin. Further details from, and bookings to: Nonviolence Conference, Pax Christi, 52 Lwr. Rathmines Rd, Dublin 6, ph 965293. Closing date for applications: 21st Sept. Cost 1 RE5 including lunch. All interested welcome.

Beginning with a session on violence in our planet, including an analysis of the root causes of violence, and a second session on violence in our community, the conference progresses in the afternoon to 'Applying nonviolence'. With input from a number of different people, in the last there is a choice of 4 workshops: parenting for peace and justice (led by Terri and Mickey Quinn of Newry), teaching for peace and justice (Cathy Kelly, Pax Christi, London), prisons and prisoners (Breifne Walker) and nonviolent civilian defence (Rob Fairmichael).

PRISONERS BOOK RESOURCE

The Prisoners Book Resource is a group with two bases — one in Derry, and one in London, that collect books and magazines for Irish prisoners.

Although relatives and friends try to provide the prisoners with reading material whenever they can, the cost of the books and magazines these days means that many families cannot afford to buy new books or spend money every week on magazines and newspapers.

In England and Ireland we have collected many books from publishers and bookshops who have donated them free, or at very low cost. We get them to the prisoners' families who then take them in to the prisoners on their visits to the jail. They must be paperback books, new or second-hand, except for Armagh women's jail, where the books have to be new. Some prisoners also receive free subscriptions to newspapers and weekly/monthly periodicals.

Further information from, or donations of money or books and publications to: Derry Address, c/o Ellis Heany, 26 Clarendon St., Derry City, North of Ireland, tel. (0504) 264527; London contact: tel. (01) 2501293, Mon-Fri 1 pm — 6 pm.



INTERESTED IN 'DAWN'?

If you are interested in receiving 'DAWN' on a regular basis (10 issues per year), we ask you to please take time to fill out the form below and return to DAWN

TICK

☐ I would like to receive 'DAWN' regularly and enclose subscription cheque/postal or money order.

Subscription Rates: Ireland, Britain and World / European Surface: 10 issues for £3.50, supporting subscription £6.00; Airmail Worldwide: 10 issues for £6.00, supporting subscription £10.00.

☐ I would like to receive 5 recent sample copies and enclose £1.00 postage paid.

☐ I would like to receive 'DAWN TRAIN' (occasional, 2 issues per year) publication on nonviolent action theory, training and skills and enclose £2.00 for 4 issues, £3.00 for 4 issues airmail.

For Dawn in Belfast
phone 647106.

1 Belgrave Sq.
Rathmines
Dublin 6
Ireland.

NAME
ADDRESS
.....
COUNTRY
AMOUNT: £

DAWN 104 (Sept '84) was produced in Belfast by Larry Speight, Rob Fairmichael and Ky Vandal. Send in material for the next issue by the end of Sept. Please notice item for a new alternative magazine on p. 2.

WORLD BIKERS

by Kathy McDonald

The World Bike Ride began in March 1982 from Canberra, Australia and has travelled in 10 countries since then. Our aim is to make contact with groups and individuals who are working for a better world and to carry their message to others.

Because we travel by bicycle (usually on little travelled roads), we are able to meet with many people who have never come into contact with any so-called 'alternative' ways of thinking/lifestyle. We hope that at least we cause such people to become a little more open to different ideas.

Originally we were 50 people (from a great variety of backgrounds) and during the 4,000 ml. journey in Australia, our numbers averaged 40. We were able to make a big impact in the towns we visited. Since then, we have been a much smaller group, averaging from 7 to 15 people during our travels in Japan, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Hungary, Sweden, Denmark and Holland — about 6,000 mls.

Limited Cycle-Power

Since our arrival in Britain, we have been an average of 4 people. We still try to make as much impact as possible but feel our effectiveness is diminished by our small numbers. We are in the midst of sending letters to our bike-riding brothers and sisters in Australia in the hope that some of them can come and help us over our difficult times. (Our journey continues in N. Ireland and Eire during August and September and we welcome anyone wanting to join us). We are very concerned about the pollution of the Irish sea caused by Sellafield (ex Windscale) and hope to encourage locals to form action groups to work towards the closure of that establishment. We were pleased to have been involved in the formation of such a group in Stranraer (Scotland).

'Impressed' by Six-County State

We have been shocked by the huge police and military presence in Northern Ireland. This is the first country we've visited where the 'state' is so obviously attempting to subdue its people. We have all felt the underlying tense atmosphere which exists there. It's sickening to see the flags flying outside family homes and the patriotic colours painted on curbs and sign posts on the road sides. It feels like these people are guinea pigs in the experiment of total 'state' control.

We are keeping our eyes and ears open and taking lots of photographs so we can report back to people in other countries and hopefully warn them of the danger of apathy. We do not know the solution to this problem,



but feel that violence isn't the answer. Prevention is better than cure!

We are ordinary people, accepting personal responsibility for the state of our planet. There is much to do and we often feel discouraged and downhearted, but always someone or something comes along to uplift our spirits when we most need it.

One bright spot is that we know so many people are working towards a better world and maybe our combined efforts will succeed. As the Chinese proverb goes: 'A journey of 1,000 mls. starts with the first steps.' Good luck in your efforts.

(They were in Co. Tyrone in mid-August and may be in Belfast mid-September — other whereabouts unknown! Perhaps phone London 6229920, 13 Lillieshall Rd, Clapham Common, London SW4.)

WORLD CITIZEN

MEMOIRS OF A WORLD CITIZEN: OH! MY FEET! MY POOR FEET!

by Peter Hall

Life is strange. Three years ago I signed a legal form in front of a lawyer. Issued by the British government, the form was called a 'Declaration of Renunciation of Citizenship' and intended for emigrants who give up one nationality in order to take up another. In my case, though, I had decided to become a citizen of the world. After sending the form off to Mrs. Thatcher together with a covering letter explaining why, I set off from Dublin a few weeks later to go for a walk on a world passport. The idea was to try and show the artificiality of living as a national citizen. Hmm... rather a tall order. The first stretch from Dublin to Belfast took eight days. Three months later I reached London via Larne and Stranraer. Then on to France, Belgium, northern Europe and Scandinavia. Having been refused a visa to walk through the Soviet Union, I popped over the border anyway from Norway for a brief

visit. Two days later I was returned to Norway by the Russian border authorities. Back in Norway I was in prison for two weeks while they tried to figure out what to do with me. I was told that the Norwegian government had asked the British to issue an emergency British passport for me, but that the British government had refused. Eventually I was simply put on a plane for London, two years to the very day since setting out.

'Political Dynamite'

In a way it is surprising that the walk got as far as it did. You see, the whole idea of world citizenship is political dynamite. Not being a national citizen any longer, one cannot be conscripted into a national army. At the same time one cannot have a national passport. Not being able to travel without a passport, one must remain under the thumb of that government. To a certain extent, though, I have been able to travel on a world passport. In principle, then, I am free. Now just imagine if everyone could do the same; no more armies therefore no more wars, states, frontiers... So world citizenship really is a piece of political dynamite which every national government will try to stamp on as hard as possible before the idea catches on.

Never without a bed

'All very well in theory' I can hear you muttering, 'but what have theories to do with real life?' I think that what the walk offered was a dream, a vision of a world made perfect. Yet what brings people to act is just that: an idea, a glimpse of how the world could and should be different. I used to tell people along the way that if they liked the idea of world citizenship, if they'd like to see the project carry on, that I'd welcome a financial contribution. People responded magnificently. Not once during the two years of the walk itself did I go hungry or fail to find a bed for the night. Back now in Dublin where it had all started from, I feel almost a sense of wonder. What began as a fantasy, a leap into the dark, became something real and concrete. Far from being an individualist action, the whole walk was only possible through the help and encouragement of people along the way; a collective action by everyone I met on 5000 miles of road through ten countries. So often I was told that it made people feel good just to read about it in the paper, made them feel that if such things were still possible that the world cannot be such a bad place after all, that it was worth carrying on. For the idea of world citizenship has an instant appeal. Unlike most political philosophy which seems too distant from ordinary life to ever have more than a minority appeal, the idea of world citizenship crystallizes the wish for unity and peace held by people everywhere. Now what could be better than that?

A QUICK FAST

by Peter Emerson

Now they say the cost of living in Dublin is fierce, but, no no, 'tis a myth; I spent a whole week in the very heart of the city and, don't you know, it cost me nothing at all.

'Twas a pity it was so cold though. I mean, there we were, calling ourselves part of the international fast for life, doing what was (only) a seven day fast, yet looking like 'heavens know what from God knows where'. Blankets and bobble hats gave us a bogus biblical appearance, but surely we were only doing what we would like to think everyone neither too old nor young could do. What we should have done, perhaps, was to wear the long combs and the thermals to so give the external appearance that we were feeling, och, not too bad thanks.

I pause for a thought and I think as I thought that Gandhian protest is powerful. Millions marching plus thousands non-violently blockading plus only hundreds fasting is, methinks, getting pretty close to that unknown thing called the threshold of disarmament. Once we're there, once the international collective will for disarmament is strong enough, the actions will soon follow. It took years of words but only weeks of deeds to abolish slavery. Well, as far as banning the bomb is concerned we're still in the years of words. But we're getting close. Fasting might just get us there (oh painful pun of peace) a little bit faster.

But why did we have that sign up, day 5, day 4, day 6? Why did we not just fast, and say we were on a fast, without counting the days like a schoolchild awaiting the holidays? Should we not just have fasted, telling those who wished to know of the duration, preferring more to talk of the purpose?

We had said 7 days so, in a way, we were sort of 'forced', if only by ourselves, to the commitment we'd made. On another occasion, would it perhaps be better to allow folk to join in and out as they please? Or, if it is to have a specific time limit, should the fast have a more specific purpose? Gandhi used to fast to stop this riot or to end that injustice. Should not those in the peace movement seek perhaps to fast for a specific goal: the allocation of 0.7% GDP to the third world famine relief; the provision of a multiple choice referendum in the UK as to whether or not American and/or NATO and/or British nukes should be allowed on its lands and in its waters? or the calling of a cease-fire by all paramilitary groups within Northern Ireland to be accompanied by a laying down of arms by all units of the security forces and a re-



A picture of brotherly love; (left to right) Eoin Dinan, Phil Kearney, Peter Emerson (with partial beard) and Pauric Cannon at the end of the 7-day Fast for Life.

quest from the British government to the UN and/or the Council of Europe seeking advice as to how justice could be administered without the UK abrogating articles of human rights conventions to which it is a signatory. Sorry, long sentence. But I do think specific objectives should be considered.

And I do not think I like something as vague and unspecific as an appeal to Mr. Reagan's conscience, which was what the 7-day fast was all about. Was I pretending that my conscience is better than his? Would not I, given the same talents and opportunities as he, have come out of the American Hollywood mid-20th century sausage machine as a shumwhatshimilarshoshige? No, I Don't think I have the right to say that I am holier than he.

But I'm still thinking and what I do think is that fasting and all other forms of non-violent protest which involve self-sacrifice have a certain power, if only 'cos they demonstrate the level of commitment of those involved. Whether that self-sacrifice is through fasting or living rough in rather nippy conditions of wind and rain or a combination of both or a mixture of other forms of hardship matters not. What does matter, most especially if we wish to show that the arms race is already a killer in so far as the third world is concerned, is that the degree of self-sacrifice should be obvious and that those involved should suffer it gladly.

Suffer it gladly? No no, *enjoy* it gladly! A quick fast of but seven days, which after all is not very long by Irish standards, is a form of exercise not dissimilar to running a 7 kilometer jog. Now look at how many usually sane sober and sensible folk actually enjoy that masochistic madness known as the marathon, a full forty kilometers. (Forty . . . ummm . . . an interesting number) Should not just as many people enjoy the peace and tranquility of a seven day fast? Try it. Go for a one kilometer jog. Try fasting for 24 hours. It's amazing how easy it is, how healthy you feel afterwards, and damn it, there is no washing up! There's a little bit of spiritual health that creeps in as well,

you know — not much after only a few days, but the great thing about spiritual benefits is that they are totally unquantifiable, they bear no direct relationship to the duration of the fast, and for each and every one of us, different periods will be appropriate. All these, though, are but the fringe benefits; how nice to know that the most important job in the world can also be so beneficial. And there's more. For if we're all successful, then too, there'll be full pension rights, for everyone!

MEN

There's a planning meeting/open forum for men on Saturday, Sept. 29th at 11 am in the WEA office, 1 Fitzwilliam St. Belfast 7 (phone Paul Nolan, Belfast 229718). This is intended as a 'where do we go from here' planning session, anyone from anywhere welcome. Meanwhile a small but successful men and children weekend was held at Ardboe, Co. Tyrone (thanks to the Fitzduffs) in mid-August. The rumours that one child ate some dubious mushrooms (causing temporary discomfort to the adults only) and another let off the handbrake of a car parked on a hill immediately above another one is purely malicious gossip and quite true. The mushrooms weren't poisonous and swift reaction saved 2 cars and one child from a severe case of bumps.

DAWN's issue on men, No. 102-3, has gone down extremely well, but we expected some critical reactions — and certainly asked a number of people for them — particularly from women. It's still not too late!! We heard a household's going into lengthy debate as a result of the issue so — please give us some of your considerations!

SS 20 PROTEST

Irish CND is organising a demonstration outside the Soviet Embassy, Orwell Rd, Dublin 6 on Sept. 29th at 3.00 pm. They'll protest against the deployment of Soviet missiles in Eastern Europe.

NO ANGELS ON MT. GABRIEL



MOUNT GABRIEL PEACE CAMP

Another Mount Gabriel peace camp was organized by Cork Youth CND in late August. However, unfortunately the weather was atrocious and while was spent at the radar station camped in nearby Schull rather than the mountain. Among other things constructed a peace CND-symbol circle of stones, and chatted with the technicians at the radar station on the Sunday afternoon; they also talked to the garda who turned up (the only police presence). A bomb push was held in Schull on Saturday and they paraded with banners about the peace camp but a public meeting in Schull drew a very poor attendance — perhaps partly again because of the atrocious

Cork CND and Youth CND issued an information-packed press release about Mount Gabriel from which we quote:

'This Peace Camp is being established largely because we wish to bring to light the misleading and technically inaccurate statements made by senior civil servants at the Dept. of Communications to locals and to the Oireachtas. We do not deny the importance of the work being carried out by the Air Traffic Services by means of the Mt. Gabriel facility. This is not in question nor is the civil function of the Secondary Surveillance Radar Station (SSR). But this civil role does not eliminate the technical capability of the station. Some journalists may recall an assertion made by a Mr. Richard Dunne and a Mr. James O'Farrell, Information officer and Air Traffic Control officer for the Dept. of Comm. on June 29, 1984 on a publicity day to ensure the media that Mt. Gabriel had no military capacity. They claimed that information from Mt. Gabriel would be denied to West Drayton Air Traffic Control in times of war. This statement is indeed very assuring but on closer examination this is not so for the following reasons;

- 1 The denial of Irish facilities to foreign Powers is entirely dependant on the ability of that Power to sieve the information from the facility, and the Government will deny this.
- 2 The argument that SSR's are of no military use is nonsense. In the last twelve months the British MoD has spent £25m on provision of SSR's for their airforce.
- 3 The Minister of State Mr. John O'Donnellan in the course of passing the Eurocontrol Bill 1983 claimed that military aircraft are not equipped with transponders. This is untrue. Every single aircraft in the air force is fitted with a transponder.

Mt. Gabriel has an independent 'real time' data transmission to West Drayton Air Traffic Control Centre (West Drayton is the central dissemination centre for the U.K. air defence ground environment system (UKADGE)) and the military Air Traffic organisation (see British Civil Aviation documents No. 225 (1983) and No. 260 (1982)). By saying that the signals from Mr. Gabriel would be denied to West Drayton in war is a contradiction of earlier denials by the Dept. of Comm. of the military uses of Mr. Gabriel Radar Station.

According to the U.S. European War-fighting Strategy 'Airland Battle', the provision of adequate navigational facilities for the air transport of reserve troops and weaponry would be essential in the earlier stages of hostilities. Mt. Gabriel would be vital in such a scenario. Thus it is likely to be a target in any nuclear confrontation in Europe.

The Government has bought Euro-control facilities for IR£13m, including Mt. Gabriel, but has continued to maintain its transmission link with West Drayton despite the fact that Shannon should be the sole Authority for Irish Airspace. Presently airspace over 25000 ft. is facilitated by Irish facilities but

controlled by West Drayton. The denial of the link would deny NATO any strategic value and would provide Shannon ATC with extra revenue from airlines using Irish upper airspace. We do not want Mt. Gabriel shut down but we believe that the information gathered by it should be used for Peaceful purposes and that means Irish ATC and not West Drayton.'

BISHOPSCOURT ACTIONS

The Bishopscourt Support Group recently set up in Dublin is organising ten days of action at Bishopscourt Peace Camp. The actions, from Sept. 20th-30, will coincide with the biggest ever Greenham women's action and the biggest ever NATO manoeuvre. Further information from ICND, tel. Dublin 730877.

BOYCOTT TROPICAL BEEF AND HARDWOODS

by Malcolm Samuel

The destruction of the Tropical Rainforests progresses apace. Biological cathedrals, the Earth's lungs, genetic storehouses of species understood by native cultures that live in harmony with them — they are being turned into deserts for quick profit. The native peoples are shot, infected with diseases, given alcohol, rounded up into reservations.

Large numbers of species are disappearing; widespread droughts, floods and erosion effect peoples in nearby areas; global climatic changes may be expected.

The production of cheap beef for a few years before the land's fertility is lost, and the production of Mahogany Meraati hardwoods are two activities responsible for much of the destruction. Boycotting products containing these (Corned Beef, many Beefburgers, many plywoods, furniture, etc.) would be a useful contribution to a campaign to save the rainforests and encourage sustainable self-reliant agriculture in the tropics.

Re-address labels with the message
'Don't desert the rainforests —
please don't buy tropical hardwoods'

are available @ £1.50 inc. post from Inge Conroy, Kensington and Chelsea F.o.E., 126 Elgin Crescent, London W11 2JP.

4 inch-diameter multi-colour stickers
'Don't desert the rain forest'

are available from Malcolm Samuel at 30p each for up to 10, and 20p each for more than ten. Make payable to Ecological Publishing, 99 Prospect Rd., Portstewart, Co. Derry.

4-inch sticker

'Politics for life — Northern Ireland
ECO'

with picture of flax plant at the same price.

BALLS AND BULLETS

EXPERIENCES IN BISHOPSCOURT AND ANDERSONSTOWN

by Kay Wendel

The day before Hiroshima Day, eleven hundred hours and we jumped into a trench. The tiny figures on the radar tower still showing no sign of alertness, we, the Bishopscourt Direct Action Unit, were sneaking over a field, our heads low lest we were detected by ground radar. In front of us, the airfield, now, we're running, to the radar dishes, as near as we can get. We sit down outside the walls of barbed wire. Still no signs of alarm in the base. Sleepy they must be, on this Sunday! Finally, Jim had already chained himself to a lamp-post, Joe already had painted slogans on the pathway, finally an English fellow came slouching towards us, one of the sort with these high black boots, combat jacket and a doggy on lead. He just came and stood there. Stood there and waited after having affirmed that we're just sitting. The thing got a bit boring, the fellow being so mute, acting under 'orders'. To liven it up, another fellow came, also with a doggy, a really fierce looking one. The new one starts shouting when he sees Joe painting.

'What are you doing there?'

'Painting.'

'Would you stop this!'

'No.' and Joe paints on leaving the Sergeant alone, disappointed. But Sergeant has a new idea. Grumbling, he tears down our posters with which we tried to bring some colours on the barbed wire, in vain.

All right, waiting time is over, now the real fellows are coming, speeding in landrovers from the horizon directly towards us. Now no nonsense! Now the commanding voices, the harsh movements. We're made to spreadeagle. They're doing it in routine, the searching, nevertheless they haven't learned

gentleness. All clean, we're ordered to get into their landrovers. Only Jim is left behind, chained to the lamp-post.

They are taking us to — what a pleasant sight — a tennis court full of peace protesters. We meet the two other groups, the play group which wanted to transform the runway into a frisbee ground and the women's group. The women have a wonderful story to tell. When they were strolling on the military meadows a really touchy fellow came running towards them and shouted aggressively —

'Stop!! What do you have in that bag?'

'Only stones.'

'Drop them at once, they could be explosives! Five steps back!'

And the painted stones with the women's greetings on them were too explosive for him.

Now we have to think how to spend our time, here in this military tennis prison. We're eleven, Jim is still missing. One shows us a ball, a real tennis ball. Our spirits are still high, unimpressed by the soldiers and their dogs on the other side of the fence who can't join in our game.

By playing I can forget that I'm now 'captured', under their control. But the game gets a bit uninteresting and this feeling comes back, this feeling of total powerlessness: I have to obey their commands otherwise I . . . They have all the physical power, we — nothing, only our convictions to which they don't even listen. Being a victim makes me so passive, so empty. I wonder whether I could stand a long-term imprisonment without breaking.

But back to the carrots, onions and cabbage, our game. Meanwhile the RUC have arrived. A man in his fifties, grey hair and friendly face of a family father, tells us that we will be released without charge, just our names will be taken down. Shall we now be thankful to the friendly RUC? They know well

that any attention given to imprisoned peace protesters will weaken the public's mute acceptance of the radar base. So they are better friendly, this time. And anyway, peace protesters are nice and harmless, are not like these awkward demonstrators on the forthcoming Sunday. Peace protesters in the North appear to accept the State, so they are no danger to the RUC. Without resistance, passively, we let ourselves be spreadeagled, searched, transported, locked up, as if we were accepting such a treatment as a natural consequence of our 'infringement of the law', that is that we went into the base from the back door. It's us ourselves who are responsible for that feeling of powerlessness. We didn't counter their physical power with a form of our power, our sense that our actions are just and necessary, our spirit of resistance. We only resisted the nuclear policy of the British government while at the same time accepting the instruments by which they enforce this policy, their laws of trespassing and the RUC 'who are just doing their job'. The coming Sunday I should learn how schizophrenic such a partial acceptance is.

In the beginning I was jubilant. I thought tactics of non-violent civil disobedience were being used when Adams told the crowd —

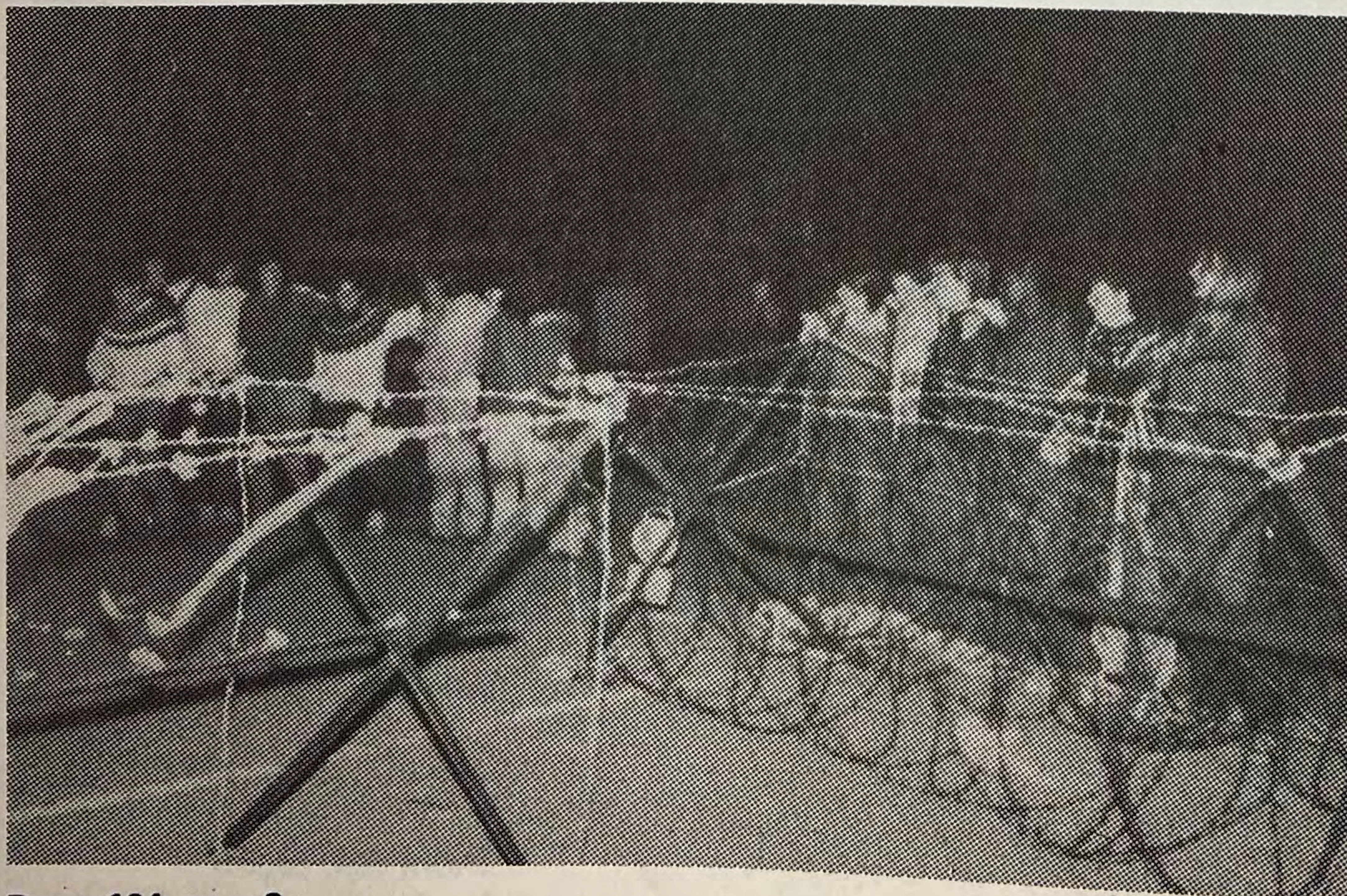
'We have hundreds of heavily armoured RUC men and British soldiers. We have a perfectly peaceful, passive demonstration of people sitting down and we have the press here.'

'Now if we act in a disciplined fashion the RUC and British soldiers will be forced before the cameras of the world's press to expose themselves. . .'

'What we want to do today, regardless of what happens, is to obey the stewards, is not to throw stones, is to use our bodies because that's all we have, that's all we use and to stay as a disciplined crowd. . .'

'Now to the RUC and to the British soldiers and those in charge, if you want to kill men, women and children, this is your opportunity, because we are not moving.'

But it didn't work. As soon as Martin Galvin, the banned publicity director of Noraid, appeared, the RUC landrovers drove into the crowd, from both sides. At first I thought the disaster only happened because the cheering crowd sprang up when they saw Galvin. Too much trust in RUC men. They walked over people, baton-charging, firing plastic bullets in the midst of the crowd, indiscriminately, mercilessly, like machines. They didn't run amok. Their action must have been well planned beforehand, concerted as it was. It is difficult to follow their thinking. They know that plastic bullets are deadly weapons fired at point blank range.



It is only a wonder that they didn't kill more people, murder would be the appropriate word, just, as they claim, 'to enforce the law', to seize Galvin who had broken the ban. The people who used their bodies against this unjust ban were the victims of the denial of the right to free speech.

The RUC press reaction was evenly disgusting. First a lie, that they were attacked with stones, that Sean Downes was a rioter, that he was hit by a ricocheted bullet. Then, when they realised that TV viewers wouldn't accept that interpretation in face of the pictures they'd seen, another miserable attempt to justify the murder was made: Sean Downes was about to attack a policeman with a stick. With a stick as thick as a finger. A policeman in full riot gear, helmet and flak jacket. Not quite a match.

Far from admitting a mistake, the loyalists closed ranks. They praised the police action.

'Hopefully this will not be the last time that Republican law-breakers will be dealt with in such a positive manner.' said Sammy Wilson, the DUP press officer. Surprised at the international outcry, which they probably regard as an undue interference in Ulster affairs — which only they understand to manage — they shifted the defence of the indefensible. They attacked the TV for showing such horrible pictures, not *what* was shown on the screen. Talking about Republican law-breakers, they themselves don't seem to bother much whether their police force acts inside the law, a thinking which was expressed for example by Archbishop Armstrong and Judge Gibson. They seem to try and impose their state on the Catholic people by all means at hand, whether seemingly democratic or openly oppressive.

Fr. Desmond Wilson drew the conclusions:

'There is no longer any reason to doubt that the British combination of



armed police, armed military and armed clergy must be opposed by force. The only decision facing democrats in Ireland is what kind of force. Those who believe that military force has to be met with military force have already made their decision. Those who do not accept military force as a solution will have to create other kinds of force, whether by public opinion, boycott, or whatever other means they can create it. (Andersonstown News, 18/8/84)

On this Sunday in Andersonstown I saw the other face of the friendly RUC which released us without charge when we had entered Bishopscourt radar base the Sunday before. The RUC might think they are dealing with a totally different kind of protest in Bishopscourt than the 'akward squads' on anti-internment rallies. But this decision only exists in the heads of RUC men. State repression and preparations for nuclear war are two expressions of the ideology called 'reasons of State'. The State defends primarily itself as a

centralized power monopoly, not human values. In order to maintain the power apparatus 'State', dissenting minorities within have to be controlled and repressed, as well as rival power blocs outside have to be threatened with the extinction of all life.

The two things — internal repression and nuclear threat — are certainly not separate in the calculations of the British war establishment. Rather than for any economic reasons or even for altruistic ones — to keep the warring tribesmen apart — the Six Counties seem to be of any importance only in their strategic war games, their scenarios of a 'limited nuclear war' for Europe in which they consider a 'stronghold' in Ireland as 'vital' — for the defence of the military/State machine itself.

In the Six Counties disarmament is not a controversial issue. People are more concerned about State repression. If it were an issue opinion on it would probably be divided along Nationalist/Unionist lines. Unionists identify with all things 'made in England', including war instruments. Some even go over the top and demand cruise missiles for Northern Ireland, to establish 'parity with the rest of the U.K.'.

Nationalists, not having to defend a power bloc, are usually more open for arguments on disarmament. Some, however, would buy their cherished Unitary State with an entry into NATO.

On this edge pacifists walk. Ireland can, it seems to me, only sever all links with NATO when the Six Counties leave the U.K. Bishopscourt radar base is unlikely to disappear otherwise. Yet we have to safeguard neutrality.



A CATALYST FOR CONSENSUS

Below we publish Peter Emerson's proposal for a Multiple Choice Referendum and a reply by Kay Wendel. Further replies are welcome.

Not only because of the New Ireland Forum report, there is considerable interest being expressed in the idea of some sort of similar inquiry in Northern Ireland. One weakness of the Forum was, of course, the uncertainty of what happens next. Any inquiry in the North should, therefore, be given not only a brief, but also a purpose. The former should be to involve as many people as possible, and not just the political parties; so it should be a public inquiry. Such are used prior to the building of motorways and airports — the constitutional question is no less important. Furthermore, the brief should be to consider the social, political and economic implications of any constitutional option submitted to the inquiry, and to draw up a short list of at least six and preferably about twelve possible settlements for the future of the Province. The Forum produced three (and failed to mention how the electorate in the six counties should choose between them); any Northern Ireland public inquiry is likely to produce at least a dozen! Secondly, the purpose of the inquiry should be to allow the electorate of Northern Ireland to vote on those chosen options in their own orders of preference, in a 'MULTIPLE CHOICE REFERENDUM'.

In the paragraphs that follow, may I first explain what a multiple choice referendum actually is, and then demonstrate, on a sample electorate of 1000, based on the recent Euro-elections, just how such an MCR might work; and how it could, in theory, lead to a consensus solution.

It must be emphasised that any 'solution' to Northern Ireland will require some degree of compromise. The danger of a simplistic 'yes-or-no', 'for-or-against' vote, as in the border referendum of '73, is that it allows for no compromise at all; indeed, that particular poll was, we all know, yet another divisive election which only exacerbated our tensions. A multiple choice referendum, on the other hand, would simply allow each and any compromise option an equal chance.

An MCR would work in the same way as any PR STV (Proportional Representation — Single Transferable Vote) type election — i.e. people would vote 1,2, 3, etc. on the options in any order of preference — with one difference, namely, that they would be asked to vote on exactly half of the options listed. The weakness of the x-vote is that it gives the MOST acceptable option of only a *simple* majority; by asking voters to state their other preferences (and even the most extreme members of society must have more than just a first preference), and by



"Well, so much for Plan 'A' "

adding up all those preferences to give an overall picture of each option's level of support, it is possible to see which is the MORE preferred by the greatest possible majority. In an MCR on twelve options, then, folk would vote on six and no more than six preferences; 1st preferences would be given 12 points, 2nd ones 11, 3rd 10, and so on; and a final score would then be added up.

Now the most recent test of public opinion in Northern Ireland was, of course, the Euro-elections, wherein the percentage levels of party support were as shown in table 1. For the sake of simplicity, let us assume the turnout in the multiple choice referendum is 1,000 voters, and that they are split along party lines at the same levels of support.

Table 1

Party	%	No./ 1000 v.
Democratic U. P.	33½	335
Official U. P.	21½	215
Ulster Popular U. P.	3	30
Alliance P.	5	50
Ecology P.	½	5
SDLP	22	220
Workers' P.	1½	15
Sinn Fein	13	130
	100	1,000

Let us also assume that, after months of deliberation, the public inquiry draws up the following list of twelve options, listed here in a somewhat logical sequence, to be arranged on any voting paper in random order.

Table 2

- NI to be totally integrated into the UK
- NI to continue under direct rule, with or without the present advisory assembly
- The NI assembly to be given executive powers, leading to NI being re-instated with a fully devolved administration while remaining part of the UK.

- NI to be a semi-independent region of the EEC, with no formal links with London and/or Dublin.
- NI to be a semi-independent region in an Anglo-Celtic Federation which would link England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland, North and South.
- NI to be given its own executive under a joint British/Irish condominium form of administration.
- NI, on a temporary basis, to be administered by a European or United Nations authority until such time as an alternative option receives Province-wide support.
- NI to become a 9-county Ulster in a 4-part Federal Ireland.
- NI to become a 9-county Ulster in a 2-part Federal Ireland.
- NI to join with the 26 counties of the Republic of Ireland in a 2-part Federal Ireland.
- NI to be given a devolved administration with the superior link not with the UK but with the Republic of Ireland.
- NI to be totally integrated into a unitary state 32-county Republic of Ireland.

And now let us further assume that the electorate votes on these twelve options along strict party lines in the ways listed in table 3. These preferences would then be given points as shown in inverse order to the number of options available, and the totals amassed accordingly. The overall results are seen in the far right hand column. The reason why each voter must vote on exactly the same number of preferences is so that each vote is worth the same number of points, in this case $12 + 11 + 10 + 9 + 8 + 7 = 57$. The somewhat complicated looking mathematics of the following table can be checked quite easily, as seen in the bottom column.

The border poll of '73 was no solution! But if that poll had gone the other way, if 51%+ had voted for a United Ireland and 49% minus against, it is still possible that that referendum would have led to no solution. A multiple choice referendum, in painting

Table 3 A MULTIPLE CHOICE REFERENDUM ANALYSIS									
Political Party	DUP	OUP	UPUP	ALL	ECO	SDLP	WP	SF	
No. of voters	335	215	30	50	5	220	15	130	
Option	Preferences Points of preference Total points	Preferences Points of preference Total points	Preferences Points of preference Total points	Preferences Points of preference Total points	Preferences Points of preference Total points	Preferences Points of preference Total points	Preferences Points of preference Total points	Preferences Points of Preference Total points	Total
A.	3 10 3350	2 11 2365	3 10 300						6,015
B.	2 11 3685	1 12 2580	2 11 330	1 12 600					7,195
C.	1 12 4020	3 10 2150	1 12 360	6 7 350					6,880
D.	4 9 3015			5 8 400	4 9 45				3,460
E.	5 8 2680	4 9 1935	4 9 270	3 10 500	1 12 60	5 8 1760	4 9 135		7,340
F.		5 8 1720	5 8 240	2 11 550	2 11 55	4 9 1980	3 10 150		4,695
G.	6 7 2345	6 7 1505	6 7 210		3 10 50	6 7 1540		6 7 910	6,560
H.					5 8 40	3 10 2200	6 7 105	1 12 1560	3,905
I.						2 11 2420	2 11 165	2 11 1430	4,015
J.				4 9 450	6 7 35	1 12 2640	1 12 180	5 8 1040	4,345
K.							5 8 120	4 9 1170	1,290
L.								3 10 1300	1,300
	335x57= 19,095	215x57= 12,255	30x57= 1,710	50x57= 2,850	5x57= 285	220x57= 12,540	15x57= 855	130x57= 7,410	57,000

more clearly the political viewpoints of the electorate, is also likely to lead to no one massively popular solution. If options A, B, C, E and G are all equally popular, then it will indeed be difficult to declare a 'winner'. It will, however, be possible to ascertain reasonably accurately how the people feel — and there can be no harm in the greater awareness of the truth. And if no one option is clearly most popular, then it will be apparent that no consensus for change exists and that, unless the status quo option is derisiously unpopular, there should be no change at all.

The overwhelming merits of a MCR and its preceding public inquiry are clear. The latter is, after all, a very democratic instrument of government, and the conduct thereof would be if nothing else a thoroughly educational exercise, promoting the subtleties and not the slogans of politics. After such a sophisticated debate, people would be much more likely to think more deeply and vote more conscientiously. The referendum itself, either now or at some future date, could be the very means by which the people of Northern Ireland might agree on a future. There will be no end if there is no means to get there; a MCR is a means unto a political settlement acceptable to (nearly) all; it could, indeed, be the catalyst of consensus.

The above analysis suggests that even in the polarised climate of June '84, compromise is possible; table 3 indicated that the most likely option to receive province-wide approval would be option E, the first preference of few, the compromise option of 86½%! The multiple choice referendum is a democratic tool which offers the possibility of such compromise. It deserves consideration.

a reply by Kay Wendel

As long as the 'Troubles' continued some people have been searching for 'solutions', for a solution that would bring 'peace' to the Six Counties, i.e. no more paramilitary activities. Usually they were looking for *the* solution, a magic constitutional formula that would win the support of all sections of the population, a 'consensus'. But, as it was stated again recently, unequivocally by Paisley, 'There is no consensus'. Whether the Six Counties should continue to be ruled by a British State or not — these positions are still incompatible. Meanwhile the feeling is growing that such a magic constitutional proposal doesn't exist. So the proposals become more sophisticated. Maybe a referendum system which favours a compromise will do. Peter Emerson suggests such a system.

At first sight it looks attractive; this compromise would not be negotiated by party representatives but voted for by the people themselves, thus ensuring that everybody had participated in the decision. It would be like a general election, in this case, however, not for a government but for a particular constitution. And in 'normal' liberal democracies the voters allow themselves to be ruled by the elected government even if they had voted for another one. They accept the constitution and, included in it, the method for choosing their rulers. There's a consensus on this method, the election system, and there-

fore the government is 'legitimate'. But the Six-County State is not a 'normal' liberal democracy. The State being forced upon the Nationalist people, they don't acknowledge the British State, the British constitution and election system. Why should they then acknowledge the results of such a multiple choice referendum as binding? Only if they agreed with this system. Then there actually would be a consensus — on the MCR. But they may have — reasonable — objections. Why choose only the population of the Six Counties as the electorate — with a manufactured Unionist majority — and not the people of the whole of Ireland? Because then the Unionists wouldn't agree with the MCR. Allright, let's choose say the whole population of the 'British' Isles. Maybe feasible but — will 'Irish' Northerners grant British people a say in NI affairs, and, vice versa, 'British' Northerners Irish people? It gets a bit complicated.

More to the principle: Do I have to acknowledge any referendum, any constitution therefrom, and a State based on it if this government, no matter how elected, oppresses me, my community, minorities? No matter whether 'majority'-rule or 'PR-STV'-rule, no rule is legitimate which violates my freedom from oppression. That freedom is not negotiable, it is a human right, a natural right or a Christian right, however you want to put it. A 'compromise' on it is simply not possible, even not one brought about by a clever referendum.



LIMITATIONS OF NONVIOLENCE



IRELAND: THE KEY TO THE BRITISH REVOLUTION. by David Reed. Larkin Press, London, 1984. Pbk. £3.95 413 pp.

reviewed by Cinaedh Uí hUiscin

From a nonviolent revolutionary and pacifist perspective, David Reed's book would be difficult reading; indeed the logic (or at least the usual practise of) the nonviolent position is seriously challenged by his historical-materialist analysis of the Irish question.

Challenge to Pacifism

Reed's marxism is of a clear and serviceable type; he does not indulge in exotic formulations and dialectical abstractions that obscure content, rather than reveal it in its sharpest outline. His book, written principally for the left-wing British reader, in fact heaps its bitterest gall on the heads of middle-class and academic British leftists who have never — but for a few rare exceptions — taken an honest and principled position on Ireland, and as a consequence have not only failed the Irish, but have failed to advance socialism in Britain as well.

As the title implies, the book is developed around Marx and Engels' mature position that the English working class will never be free, or take up the revolutionary project until they wholeheartedly reject British imperialism's economic and military domination of another nation; and Reed verifies the position, I would say, in convincing fashion. Furthermore, he goes on to say that the IRA from 1916 on to its present form (the Provisionals) is a legitimate revolutionary armed liberation movement, otherwise it could not continue to exist after 70 years despite some appalling setbacks and errors, without bedrock support of the Irish people themselves. Reed develops the theme that British imperialism has no progressive role to play in Ireland, and that such an assertion is only a hypocritical mask to conceal a reactionary and chauvinistic attitude toward the Irish. Roads, viaducts and Protestantism for the unruly natives notwithstanding, certainly it was the 'socialist' Labour governments who initiated some of the most terroristic phases of oppression in the Six Counties, including 'Ulsterisation'. So much for the 'stick'; the 'carrot' of course is the paternalistic womb-to-tomb welfare state (rapidly being snatched back by Thatcherism) to keep the masses docile, and is only a grotesque parody of socialism, intending to

perserve fundamental power relations, not replace them. Reed concludes that the only course open for genuine socialists is to build a strong Irish solidarity movement in Britain.

Peaceful Protests Limited

It was at the height of this world-wide post-war social democratic illusion (that capitalism can be reformed from within, and imperialism will spontaneously become 'good'), and after its inconclusive Border campaign (1956-62) the IRA voluntarily disarmed itself and called for the reunification of Ireland by peaceful means. This set the stage for the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association, in an attempt to democratise the Six County police state, to commence the campaign for reform (not reunification of the country) by peaceful mass demonstrations. The depressingly familiar downward spiral of events leading to Bloody Sunday, and culminating in armed struggle, terror (both state and partisan) did not eliminate nonviolent tactics from the scenario, but split it into two distinct types. However, Reed makes it clear that he thinks all nonviolent action is futile:

The march had been covered by television and millions in Ireland and Britain had seen the armed thugs of the RUC smashing up a peaceful demonstration. Millions were horrified when they saw the naked face of loyalist state violence. The nationalist minority in the Six Counties was experiencing the limitations of non-violent action in opposition to the sectarian policies of the loyalist state. A peaceful demonstration had been batoned off the streets.

Peace People: Counter-Insurgency

Marx once wrote when history repeats itself, it is a tragedy. When it repeats itself twice it becomes a comedy. The Peace People, a dim reflection of the courage and integrity of the earlier NICRA campaign, rapidly became a black comedy ('black' because it exploited a deeply-felt desire for peace) of opportunism, international media hype, and ending with two of the organisers getting Nobel prizes a year after the 'movement' was effectively dead. Reed stresses the campaign was hyped precisely because it would draw support away from the Republican Movement. (It didn't). Reed concludes his anti-nonviolent argument by quoting General Kitson, Britain's counter insurgency expert, who wrote his handbook on the subject after commanding anti-guerrilla operations in Maylaya, South Yemen and the North of Ireland. The General advises us to '... discover and neutralise the genuine subversive element' and then 'associate as many pro-

minent members of the population, especially those who may have been engaged in non-violent action, with the government.' Right you are sir!

Hunger Strike: Defeat or Victory?

What is clear is that two types of non-violent action emerged from the Irish situation: those who consciously or unconsciously allow themselves to be used by reactionary forces, and those who use it as the only weapon they have at hand against oppression and state terrorism. The Republican Hunger Strikers, after years of brutal treatment, incarceration and officially branded as 'criminals' were spiritually prepared to go all-out, after the failure of the 'dirty protest' to bring about a just resolution to their demands. The H-Block/Armagh campaign was intended to be a peaceful uniting of democratic forces from the start. Unfortunately the imperialists, echoing Kitson's cynical contempt for the role of non-violent action, had their SAS and/or loyalist death squads murder several of the original organisers of the H-Block campaign — Ronald Bunting, Noel Lyttle, Miriam Daley, John Turnly and a bungled attempt on Bernadette McAlisky.

Reed is mistaken in referring to the conclusion of the H-Block/Armagh campaign as a 'Defeat', I would say the prisoners won an overwhelming moral victory in being able to overcome years of carefully managed imperialist propaganda in one stroke, in proving (by Bobby Sand's electoral victory) that the mass of the Irish nation is behind Sinn Fein, and arousing support for the Irish around the world; at the end of the day the Irish discovered who their real friends and who their enemies were. The prisoners proved that non-violent tactics, in the correct time and place, can win more ground than a shipload of armalites.

National Oppression and Peace

It may not be obvious how the peace movement can extrapolate from all this ways of preventing thermonuclear war; it is simply the overwhelming necessity of our epoch. But I would suggest we will not succeed without a deeper understanding of the roots of violence, exploitation, and why small nations are oppressed by big ones. The peace movement will not begin to become effective until it is prepared to deal with the problem of class and national oppression, and raise the level of struggle against imperialism itself.

Reed's final conclusions sound an ominous and believable warning. By their failure to oppose torture and suppression in the Six Counties, the people of Britain are now paying the price in Thatcher's militarisation of the state, allowing the growth of neo-fascism, and instituting a climate of intolerance, hysteria and big-nation chauvinism.

sm which would not have been possible if the socialists had stood up to oppose such measures in Ireland. At the time of this writing, the latest Bloody Sunday in Ireland has just occurred, and the miners still stand alone. If the situation is going to change for the better at all, David Reed's book may well motivate some to begin the long road ahead.

A CONTRARY POSE?

A SINGULAR STANCE: IRISH NEUTRALITY IN THE 1980'S. by Patrick Keatinge. The Institute of Public Administration, Dublin, 1984. IR£4.95 162 pp.

reviewed by John Cobain

This book is intended by Patrick Keatinge to provide a 'Body of information about the current practice of neutrality' and to clarify the concepts included. It is as stated in the title principally concerned with Irish Neutrality in the 1980s and does not deal in great detail with the origins or subsequent history of the idea and policy of neutrality. As a source of information on the various forms of neutrality and the differences between them it is adequate and does make a worthwhile effort to clarify the peculiar variants which nationalist Ireland believes in and practices as a state policy. In fulfilling these objectives the author reflects what is the Irish political establishment line on the practice of neutrality, do nothing much, no radical change, let's not think that debate is actually going to change anything.

Neutrality for Unity Scare

The author refers only tangentially to the basic fact thrown up by the Neutrality for Unity scare of 1981, (the probable occasion for producing the book), namely the mutually exclusive relationships of Unity and Neutrality. That this causes deep confusion, frustration and rage in the ranks of separatist Irish Nationalism is all the more reason why it should have been treated at length.

The economic prospects for Ireland in the EEC do not compel a reassessment of its neutral stance (at least not in the near future) as Keatinge makes clear. Also the relative military insignificance of the Republic of Ireland is thankfully explained by Keatinge, thereby laying to rest the conspiracy theory that the Republic of Ireland is being lured into NATO with Northern Ireland as bait. The Republic isn't worth it to NATO, Northern Ireland isn't worth it to the Republic. Each side knows the other couldn't deliver their part of the bargain.

A Conservative View

From the point of view of *DAWN* readers the book is a disappointment. Very little consideration is given to the alternative policy options on defence, disarmament and foreign policy. As part of considering the military challenge it renews briefly the defence options. Frontier-based conventional defence and conventional defence in depth are both convincingly dismissed. Guerrilla warfare both rural and urban are not as effectively ruled out (the reasons given reflect the Irish establishment's present distaste for and fear of this military technique). Non-violent civil resistance is referred to and although it seems Keatinge does not have a full understanding of this method (who does?) he gives one very effective reason, by referring to nationalist history, why it may not be acceptable to the people of the Irish Republic. Keatinge shows that the Republic is presently in a state of disarmed neutrality but offers no way in which this can be rationalised in a world of armed alliances or armed neutrals. This lack of any serious proposal for change represents the intellectual weakness of his present book. It is an Irish conservative (small c) view of the future.

My personal preferred options for the Irish Republic's neutrality/defence stance is one of disarmed neutrality combined with a very effective civil defence programme. This seems to me a better way to spend the defence budget as it provides a national response even to nuclear conflict. Don't look in Patrick Keatinge's book for any information on this option, it isn't there. For your IR£4.95 an anodyne account of some of the ins and outs of Irish Neutrality in the 1980s but no good reasons why it should not be called a contrary pose.

DAWN's pamphlet 'AN ALTERNATIVE DEFENCE FOR IRELAND' is still available at 20p a copy + postage or 5 copies for £1 post free, from **DAWN, 1 Belgrave Square, Rathmines, Dublin 6.** In Belfast phone 647106.

DANGEROUS DELIGHT

SENATOR SUNFLOWER. by Ubi Dwyer. Dun Laoghaire, 1984; not for sale from the author at Justice Caravan, 3 Gowrie Park, Dun Laoghaire, Co. Dublin.

reviewed by Garreth Byrne

This self-bound and self-published work is being sent to select readers in an initial addition of 100 copies and the writer welcomes help in printing more copies. Each foolscap page is a photocopy; 70 pages each costing 5p per

copy amounts to £3.50. A bicycle adorns the plastic-protected cover and a smiling crowned sun, the symbol of the author's Justice Party, decorates the title. There is an impressive line drawing on the first page of a giant bicycle being pedalled across a diminutive Trafalgar Square in London. (This and other drawings should be attributed to their fine artists.)

Tour d'Irlande

The work has a travel-book structure. During a two-year period circa 1981-83 Ubi Dwyer, (see profile in *Dawn* 40) who accumulates time off for doing shift work as an assistant in a rehabilitation hospital for crippled accident victims, has taken several bicycle trips around Ireland meeting people and sampling the countryside and beverages of many localities. I enjoyed the account of several days spent touring the area between Achill and Roscommon; there is an evocative description of cycling and hiking in the Ring of Kerry; and a faithful description of the landscape of County Wicklow. Other regions of this varied island are dealt with, but often tantalizingly briefly. His tour of the pubs along the Shankill and Falls in Belfast after attending the funeral of an uncle fails to tell us what he learnt about the Northern Protestants he asserts we in the Republic need to know more about. Similarly his final regional tour, through Northern Ireland along the coastline from Derry through Ballycastle and down along the Ards Peninsula through Downpatrick, is too fleeting for him to unravel the mystery of King Billy's descendants.

Struggle for Political Power

After failing to revive the People's Free Festival at Windsor Park, and having failed to draw a crowd of more than three thousand to a free festival in Dublin's Phoenix Park (see *Dawn* 46), Ubi Dwyer founded the Justice Party and contested a few elections in the sprawling five-seat constituency in Dun Laoghaire. He travelled the hustings on his white bicycle and a portrait of the machine adorned posters outlining his policies (work for all, peace and ecology). He came 13th in a field of 15 candidates, collecting over 900 votes and beating candidates of the Labour Party and now defunct Socialist Labour Party. In a moment of inspiration a journalist remarked that if Caligula could make a Senator of this horse, then Ubi might make a Senator of his bike. Hence the title of Ubi's work.

Eco-Sophy

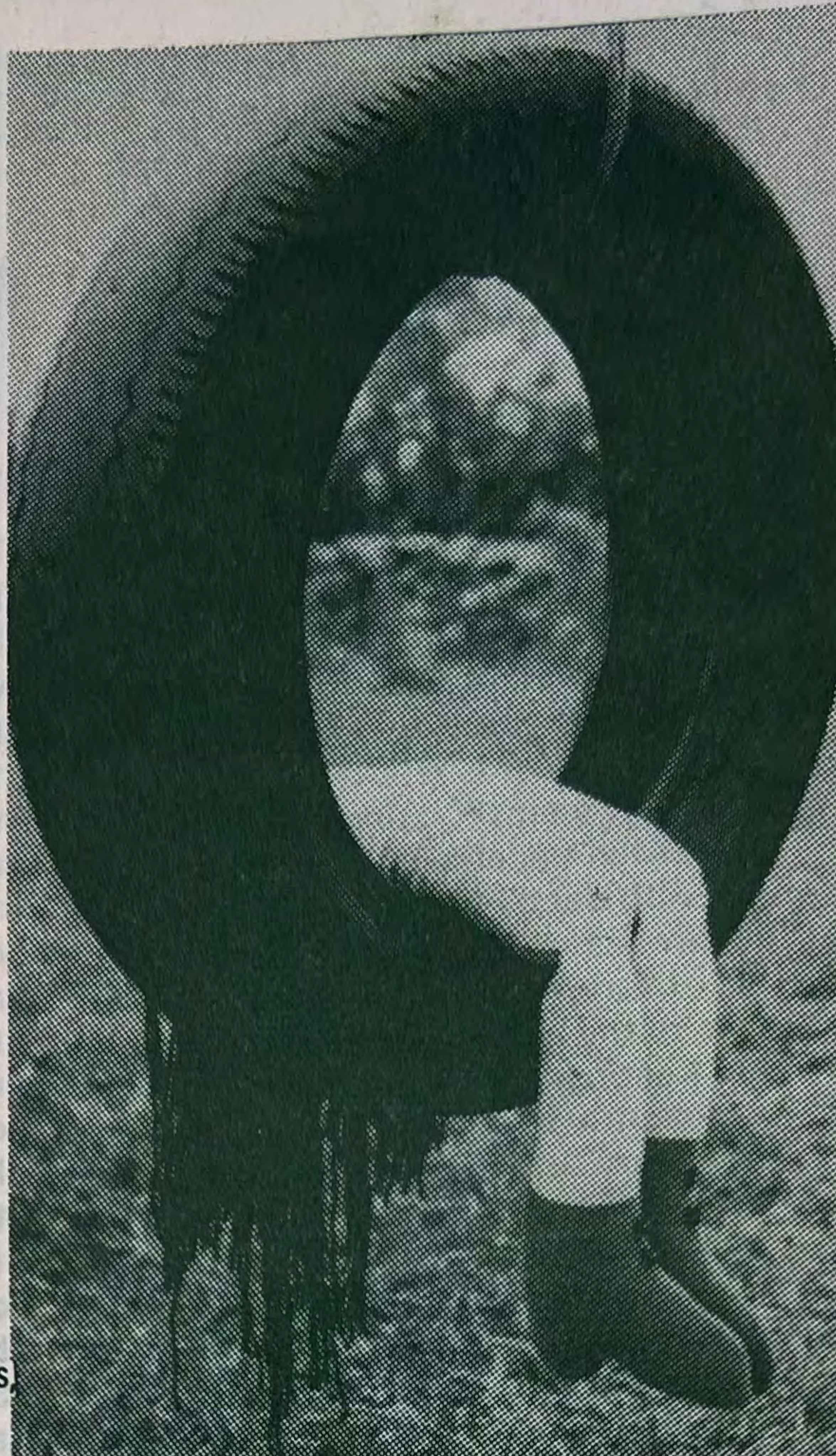
But this work is more than a travelogue. Ubi pegs his philosophy of nature and religion on the literary structure. He laments the despoiling of the Irish countryside by the advancing consumer society. He worries about the threat of nuclear destruction. He feels that Christianity has failed Irish society,

that the clergy and politicians are trained to utter fine sounding sentiments which they would never dare to put into practice. (In America this latter is called *Bomfog*: the Brotherhood of Man and the Fellowship of God. Ubi is against Bomfog, and he is particularly against the Catholic religion as preached and practised in the Republic. In this regard he falls into a long tradition of Catholic disillusionment — an attitude of disdain which seems to be *de rigueur* among the Irish intelligentsia during this century. Personally I am bored by this lack of pluralism in Irish intellectual life: it is conformist deracination and disintegration. Cultural continuity and progress best proceeds slowly on the basis of traditional wisdom whatever may be the religious heritage. (Christian evangelisation in the Third World has been most successful where missionaries have stressed the importance of traditional culture in building a New Kingdom.)

Messianic Nihilism

The most delightful aspect of this work is the appearance of Fairies and Leprechauns to Ubi at solitary moments of his travels. The King of the Leprechauns, respectfully designated His Majesty, conveys the main message of the work during the author's flight to Roundwood on the occasion of the Pope's visit to Phoenix Park in 1979: '... Whatever he says will be wildly applauded (by the crowd of 1½ million faithful) but in reality totally ignored because the people in their hearts know he talks about the past and the problems of the past. Neither he nor they have now any vision... We (Fairies) had our day too... What you must understand is this — there is an eternal fire of which we are still part, of which he too is part. But there is no going back, our religion, and his, too, have lessons to teach but we are both of the past. You and the people of the world must build anew, must be re-born anew.' (Chapter 7, pages 5-6).

This messianic nihilism has been preached many times previously in different kinds of society. No culture can turn its back completely on itself without suffering subjugation and eventual extinction by another, colonial, culture. (In the case of Ireland today the threat of erasure comes from the decadent consumerist culture of Anglo-America.) It is a pity that Ubi wraps his unacceptable message in the happy music and dancing of the 'little people' who inhabit raths, woods and mountains. It is doubly unfortunate that he juxtaposes lyrical descriptions of nature and of his joyous emotions recollected in tranquility with dire prognostications about the traditional and nuclear family. I enjoyed reading this work; but it is delightfully dangerous.



A doll takes a break during the men and children weekend in Ardboe, Co. Tyrone, in August.

IN THE GOVERNMENT'S ARSENAL: THE 'SUPERGRASS'. Published by Concerned Community Organisations, Belfast, 1984. 50p 50 pp.

reviewed by Larry Speight

Concerned Community Organisations 'is a loose amalgamation of over 200 community groups in Belfast.' The booklet sets out to illustrate what the 'supergrass' system actually means. It does this through an examination of the principal themes of the trials which it feels is sufficient to show 'that what poses as 'justice' in the North of Ireland is nothing more than an elaborate charade, engineered by the British, and administered by a compliant judiciary who have become an integral part of the British military machine.'

The booklet, both illuminative and well written, can be purchased from Concerned Community Organisations, Box 3, 7 Winetavern St., Belfast 1.

VITAL TREES

An 'Irish Aboricultural Association' has been formed. You haven't heard of 'aboriculture'? Well, aboriculture, that's the skills for the maintenance of amenity trees (those in parks and streets, etc.) And this association can advise you on all questions you have to trees. Contact The Promoters of the Aboricultural Association of Ireland, 222 Ratoath Road, Cabra, Dublin 7.

ANTI-APARTHEID POSTCARDS

Action from Ireland (AFri) and the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement have launched a postcard petition to Mr. Ben Dunne of Dunne's Stores. Currently 13 members of the Irish Distributive and Administrative Trade Union (IDATU) are in dispute with the management at Dunne's Store, Henry Street, Dublin. The dispute began in July when Mary Manning, a young cashier, refused to handle South African oranges. She was immediately suspended and 12 of her union colleagues came out in support of her. Since then they have been threatened with dismissal if they did not return to work although, due to public awareness, the company have revoked that decision. The workers are still on strike however, since the company will not allow them to return to work unless they agree to handle South African produce being sold in the store. This is, of course, totally unacceptable. The dispute therefore continues.

South Africa is governed by a system known as Apartheid. It is a system of institutionalised racial domination and exploitation imposed by a small white minority (16%) on the overwhelming majority (20 million) of the people of South Africa. Black people have no rights in the land of their birth. They are forced to live in appalling human conditions. Conditions which break every article of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights. In short, these conditions are a crime against humanity.

During a recent visit to Ireland, Bishop Desmond Tutu, General Secretary of the South African Council of Churches, spoke of the injustice and oppression suffered by his people. He spoke of people starving in South Africa, not because there is no food, but because of deliberate government policy. It is this food, the food of the black South African people, which the Dunne's Stores workers have refused to handle. In view of our own historical struggle to achieve independence from a powerful colonial nation, we believe that we have a moral obligation to support the struggle of black South Africa in its efforts to achieve freedom and justice for all. This petition therefore, is aimed at increasing Irish people's understanding of the South African issue and also of impressing upon Ben Dunne and the Irish people, the immorality of selling and buying the food of hungry people, especially in view of our own tragic experience during the Irish Famine. AFri and the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement hope to have 25,000 petition cards sent to Ben Dunne between now and December 31st 1984. The card is being sold for a donation of 20p and all profits will go to support the South African Council of Churches in its struggle to end apartheid. Write to: AFri, attn. Don Mullan, 86 Summerhill, Dublin 1, tel. (01) 724632.

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