

THE IRA AND OVERSEAS REVOLUTIONARIES

The IRA's most important foreign connexions continue to be with the Irish American community from which it derives considerable support, financial and otherwise. It is also supported by smaller expatriate Irish communities in countries such as Australia, New Zealand and Canada. The Provisional IRA in particular has attempted to promote "international solidarity" with its cause, to exchange experiences on guerrilla warfare, and to seek additional sources of finance and arms. But apart from these overseas communities of Irish origin, support comes largely from Communist, Trotskyist and other extremist and anti-Western groups - a fact which the Provisionals are careful not to publicise in North America.

During the border campaign of 1956-62, IRA men imprisoned in Britain established a close relationship with EOKA terrorist leaders from Cyprus who, at that time, were also serving sentences. The IRA tacticians also studied the techniques of the Algerian National Liberation Front and the Jewish

The Provisional IRA

By the late 1960s, with renewed troubles in Northern Ireland, IRA supporters ~~reported~~ ^{responded} to new foreign influences introduced by left-wing revolutionaries. Under the influence of local Marxists and the London-based International Socialists (now known as the Socialist Workers' Party - SWP), People's Democracy (PD) came to regard itself as part of the mainstream of world revolutionary and student protest, while the International Marxist Group (IMG), a British group linked to the Trotskyist Fourth International in Brussels and now known as the Socialist League, also took an interest in the Northern Irish conflict. By 1972 a new affiliate of the Fourth International, the Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG) - now the Movement for a Socialist Republic (MSR) - had been established in the Republic of Ireland. Gery Lawless, the IMG's Irish expert, visited Trotskyist groups on the continent, and Ernest Mandel, the Fourth International leader, visited Dublin. In 1978 the MSR
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with People's Democracy at a conference in Dublin addressed by a member of the Irish Republican Socialist Party. In 1981 People's Democracy itself joined the Fourth International.

The Provisional IRA shared with the revolutionary Left a distrust of orthodox Communism, which it contended had gained the upper hand among the Official IRA leaders. Evidence soon emerged that this had international overtones. In October 1971, Peter Graham, a young Irish teacher who had been sent to Dublin to prepare for the establishment of the RMG, was found murdered; the Dublin news magazine This Week subsequently claimed that he had been engaged in gun-running on behalf of the Provisionals and European Trotskyists.

Since 1972 leading members of the Provisional IRA have undertaken European visits, often accompanied by members of Irish extreme left-wing groups and under the sponsorship of sympathetic groups in Europe. An Phoblacht asserted after a tour in mid-1972 by Sean O'Brady, the Provisional Sinn Fein director of publicity, that

"The Republican Movement has shown that it is not just an insular inward-looking movement, but that it is spreading its wings world-wide in its efforts to achieve justice and freedom for the Irish people. It has shown that it is aware that international support can shorten the struggle for freedom, but it recognises that it is the Irish people themselves who must achieve that freedom".

In October 1976 the Provisional Sinn Fein annual convention decided to establish under the leadership of Risteard (Richard) Behal a "Foreign Affairs Bureau" which it was hoped would institutionalise contacts with overseas groups, and it invited national liberation movements to express "explicit support for the struggle in Ireland". Behal, who in 1975 was described as "a sort of roving European ambassador for the Provisional Republican Movement, based in Brussels" and who has relatives living near Bilbao in Spain, said in Dublin in September 1980 that

"We have got, whether we like it or not, to be linked with international struggles. The Irish struggle on its own cannot, and will never, succeed in isolation because we are no longer just fighting Britain but fighting an ⁱinternational conspiracy of old colonial powers, who are hand in glove with Britain in trying to impose a solution upon

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us, which would be suitable in maintaining us in the Western imperialist camp". (An Phoblacht/Republican News, 4 October 1980).

The present director of the "Foreign Affairs Bureau" is Sean Halpenny.

Others who have travelled abroad on behalf of the Provisionals include:

Joe Austin, Sean Crowe, Denis Donaldson, Dave Farrell, Maureen Gibson, John Hunger, Liam Kelly, Aidan McAteer, Christine McAuley, Fra McCann, Ciaran O'Hagan and Christine Ni Elias.

Solidarity Groups

Most West European countries now have one or more "Irish solidarity" groups usually very small groups of anarchists or extremists on the fringes of international Trotskyism. Many originally supported the Official IRA/Sinn Fein but, with the eclipse of the Official IRA in the early 1970s, they transferred their support to the Provisionals or in some cases to the Irish Republican Socialist Party and its military wing, the INLA (which broke away from the Officials in 1974-75). In recent years, the Provisional IRA and INLA have sought to extend their contacts through these groups but most of these links are opportunistic and have failed to generate lasting support for either the Provisionals or INLA.

The West German-Ireland Solidarity Committee (WISK), based at Oberursel near Frankfurt-am-Main, was founded in 1972. It is linked to other groups in Germany, including the Irland Komitee West Berlin (IKW). It supported the Officials until their break with the IRSP. It now supports both the IRSP and the Provisionals. In January 1979 it organised a European conference of solidarity groups from Norway, France, Holland and Germany, but even during the 1980 and 1981 hunger strikes, its activities failed to make any real impact in West Germany. A number of Irish solidarity groups were reported to have been formed as a result of a tour in October 1981 organised by the Anti-H-Block Committee in Frankfurt but they have similarly failed to make a major impact. During the tour Sean Halpenny condemned the presence of British and United States armed forces in Germany. A conference of solidarity groups meeting in Munster in December 1981 discussed the need for better coordination between the organisations and Sinn Fein but a projected "Brits

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Out Tour" failed to materialise in 1982.

France in comparison is a convenient meeting place for Irish Republican groups (there is a direct ferry connexion between Rosslare and Cork) and the Irish support groups in France are among the most active in Europe organising pro-Republican information tours, demonstrations and leaflets. During the 1980-81 hunger strikes their activities were supplemented by the activities of the French Communist Party (for its own internal purposes) and by the Communist Confederation Générale du Travail, the largest French trade union.

A Committee for the Liberation of the Irish People was set up in early 1972. At its first public demonstration in Paris on 10 February 1972, there were strong contingents from the Trotskyist Ligue Communiste and from the unorthodox Communist Party of Brittany. The committee operated from the Paris address of Témoignage Chrétien, an organisation which has arranged conference and propaganda activities in favour of the Palestinian cause and against the Vietnam War, and which later, in 1980-81 also took part in activities on behalf of the Irish hunger strikers.

The best known support group however is the Comité Irlande, (based in Paris but with branches in several towns), which was formed in 1975 and which publishes Irlande en Lutte. Its leading members include Bernard Spiteri (arrested in April 1980 with an Irish Republican, George Quigley, for attempting to rob a bank messenger) and the journalists, Roger Faligot and Alain Frilet. Faligot helped to found in late 1977 a monthly newspaper, Irlande Libre "to deepen understanding in France of Irish politics, culture and social life and the Irish peoples' struggle for self-determination". It ceased publication after nine issues but was revived in 1980. Others associated with it include David Sharp and Francois Lelievre. Faligot, the author of several books "exposing" Western intelligence services, also contributes to the French left-wing publication, Libération. Frilet, while Libération correspondent in Belfast in August 1978 was arrested on IRA membership charges. He was bailed but returned to Paris without standing trial.

New groups were established both nationally and locally during the Maze

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Prison hunger strikes, 1980-81. Virtually all the support groups together with the PFC and the CGT cooperated in the formation of the Comité de Défense des Prisonniers Irlandais in Paris in October 1980. An allegedly broadly based Comité Solidarité-Irlande to "support young Irish patriots dying in Long Kesh prison"

was formed in August 1981 but PCF and CGT members were predominant on the committee. Other organisations then active included the Comité International Contre la Repression, originally founded in 1976 to organise support for dissidents in eastern Europe and run by Jacques Marie, a leading member of the Trotskyist Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI), and the Centre de l'Initiative pour de Nouveaux Espaces de Liberté, founded in July 1981.

In September 1981, Mrs Bernadette McAliskey (formerly as Bernadette Devlin a Westminster MP) went to France after she had been refused permission to enter Spain. During her visit, which was organised by the Communist Revolutionary League, she called on French dockers to refuse to unload British goods. In the same month Owen Carron, the pro-IRA MP for Fermanagh and South Tyrone, attended the annual Communist Fête de l'Humanité, organised by French Communist daily newspaper, l'Humanité which claimed that during 1981 25,000 anti-H-block leaflets in English and French were distributed to tourists in Paris. In December 1981 a tour by Aidan McAteer of Provisional Sinn Féin and Barbara Brown of the National H-Block/Armagh Committee, organised by Irlande Libre, included an official reception by the communist-controlled municipality of Rennes.

France remains important for both the Provisionals and IRSP/INLA but neither have been able to fully turn to their advantage the support linked to the hunger strike campaign.

In August 1982, three members of the IRSP Mary Reed, Michael Plunkett and Stephan King were arrested in Paris amidst speculation that they were involved in international terrorism. In March 1983 attempts before the French Appeals Court to question the legality of their arrest failed. The three were charged with possession of firearms explosives and false papers and associating with criminals. Plunkett was later reported to have gone on hunger strike, claiming political status for himself and his companions.

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There are a number of small but vociferous pro-IRA groups in the Netherlands. The most active, the Ierland Komitee Nederland (IKN) based in Breda, was founded in May-June 1975. One founder, Evert von den Berg, who was also associated with a Dutch terrorist support group Rode Hulp (Red Aid), was arrested early in 1977 on bombing charges. Another leading member, Els (Elizabeth) van Hout, was convicted for her part in the attempted bombing of the Allianz Bank in Amsterdam. A frequent visitor to Ireland, she was a member in 1980 of an "international tribunal" held in Belfast to inquire into conditions in Armagh women's prison. In July 1980 while in Ireland with a group of Dutch feminists, Els van Hout was detained on suspicion of having links with INLA and served with an exclusion order banning her from the United Kingdom. IKN was active during the 1980-81 hunger strikes and was involved in the H-Block Komitee Nederland. Also involved in this committee was the Politiek Partij Radikalen (PPR) which helped to arrange a tour by Kieran Nugent the first "blanket" protestor to complete his sentence.

The several Irish Republican support groups in Belgium, though small have not been inactive. They have, for instance, succeeded in getting material sympathetic to the Provisionals carried by the Belgian media. The Ireland Information Group (or Info-Centrum) in Willbroek has existed since about 1970. There is a Flemish-Ireland Solidarity Group, also known as the Flanders Ireland Committee. In 1978 the sponsors of the French Irlande Libre set up an Ireland Committee named after their paper in Brussels whose stated objectives were to "inform" the Belgian people about Ireland and to assist the Irish "resistance". A Flemish group, Werkgroep Ireland, has been particularly active in recent years sometimes in cooperation with the Irlande Libre Collective. In August 1981, An Phoblacht/Republican News reported that Werkgroep Ireland members "recently in Czechoslovakia" had noted a high level of support there for the Maze hunger strikers.

Separatist Groups

The Provisional IRA has made common cause with a number of European separatist groups which also claim to represent minority "nationalities". In May 1974 An Phoblacht identified "30 nations" in Western Europe in addition to the "four

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nations of these islands" which are struggling for "a new set of equalised relationships".

IRA contacts with Breton nationalists have their origin in the period after the Second World War when Breton leaders who had associated with the Nazis took refuge in the Irish Republic. One of them, Yann Goulet, founded a Comité National de la Bretagne Libre in Dublin. In 1971 a special committee, Secours populaire interceltique, was set up to collect contributions for "distress relief" in Ireland. In June 1972 the left-wing French weekly Politique Hebdo reported that a political agreement had recently been signed "somewhere in Ireland" between the Provisional IRA, the Basque ETA and the Front de Libération de la Bretagne (FLB). The FLB, which favoured violence to achieve Breton independence and whose secretariat in Dublin was headed by Yann Goulet, was banned in France in 1974.

Irish terrorist contacts with the Basque ETA have been more productive. Following ETA's 1974 split into two major factions, ETA-Militar (ETA m.) which advocates terrorist action and ETO-Politico-militar (ETA-PM) which combines terrorist and political activity, Provisional Sinn Fein has had ties with Euskal Izaultzarako Alderça (EIA - the Party for the Basque Revolution) which in effect acts as ETA-PM's political wing. The Provisional Sinn Fein President, Rory O'Brady, has frequently travelled to the Basque region as EIA's guest, and EIA representatives regularly attend Provisional Sinn Fein meetings. In January 1979, members of Provisional Sinn Fein, EIA and a radical Portuguese workers' group the Organizacao Unitaria de Trabalhadores (OUT), met in San Sebastian to "discuss common problems in the revolutionary process in all three countries" (An Phoblacht/Republican News, 24 February 1979). While in Spain in February-March 1980, Rory O'Brady met representatives of the Chilean Movimiento de la Izquierda Revolucionaria (MIR) and the Eritrean People's Liberation Front. At an exhibition in Bilbao, anti-H-block posters and an anti-H-block film, as well as Sandinista and Eritrean extremist films, were shown. In March 1982 Richard Behal attended the founding congress near Bilbao of a new Basque Socialist party, the Euskadiko Eskena formed by members of EIA, ESEI and a major part of EPK, the Basque Communist Party.

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Basque nationalists are frequent visitors to Ireland. The Basque lawyer, Juan Maria Bandres (and president of the new Basque socialist party) attended a conference on "European Political Prisoners" in Dublin in April 1979 and actively supported the hunger strike campaign. The Basque MP, Inaka Ruizdepinedo, attended a Belfast anti-H-block conference in May 1981. An Ireland-Galicia Committee was formed in mid-1981 to "support the Irish struggle". In October 1981, a march in support of the H-block and Armagh prisoners was organised in Valencia by EUPV, a Catalan independence movement; it was addressed by Christine McAuley (Sinn Fein "department of women's affairs") and was supported by Basque nationalists and by anti-nuclear and anti-NATO groups.)

In September 1981 Mrs Bernadette McAliskey was refused permission to enter Spain on the grounds that during the 1979 Spanish general election she appealed for civilian armed struggle. ^{NP} Links with Corsican nationalists, including the Front de la Libération Nationale de la Corse (FLNC) which was declared illegal by the French Government in January 1983, are also active. In August 1982 Provisional Sinn Fein was represented at an international gathering in Corte, the historic seat of Pasquale Paoli's mid-eighteenth century government of Corsica. The gathering was organised by the CCN (Conseil des Comités Nationalistes or Consulta di i Cumitati Nazionalisti) the Corsican nationalist political movement whose relationship with the FLNC is comparable to that between Provisional Sinn Fein and the Provisional IRA. A fortnight later a Frenchman associated with Corsican nationalism was arrested at Cherbourg en route to Ireland and charged with illegally possessing and transporting explosives. Later in the year, representatives of the FLNC attended the Sinn Fein annual conference in Dublin.

Provisional representatives try to attend international meetings connected with Third World and liberation movements particularly where participation is by request rather than invitation. (and Their request to attend a meeting of the non-aligned movement in 1981 was refused). Richard Behal, for example, attended a conference in Lisbon, in February 1980 organised by the National Committee of Support and Solidarity with Peoples in Struggle. Joe Austin attended, in August 1980, a conference in Bologna of international "liberation groups", including Palestinians, Basques and various African organisations in support of the

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People's Liberation Front. Dave Farrell attended an international "peace" meeting in Larzac, France in August 1981. Rory O'Brady, while in Italy as a guest of Democrazia Proletaria and the Irish Solidarity Committee of Padua, attended a conference on "liberation movements in the Third World" in Padua in December, 1981 organised by the Lelio Basso Foundation for the Rights and Liberation of Peoples.

The Palestinians

The Provisionals have had links with a number of radical Palestinian groups but, despite press reports, such contacts have recently diminished. Yasser Arafat, the PLO's chairman, denied in an interview with Al Fajr (United Arab Emirates) in early November 1979 that there was "any connexion" between the PLO as such and the Provisional IRA.

Before 1979, contacts were primarily about arms procurement. In November 1977 a shipment of arms bought in Lebanon and despatched via Cyprus was intercepted in Antwerp on board the m.v. Towerstream; some of the boxes had al Fatah markings. Arms and explosives found in the car of two INLA supporters arrested in Greece in January 1979 came from a similar source. In March 1979 the Beirut telephone number of a known Palestinian arms contact was found in the diary of a former IRA "director of mainland operations" when the latter was arrested in Northern Ireland. The Palestinian contact was detained under the Prevention of Terrorism Act before being handed over to the immigration authorities and is not now permitted to enter the United Kingdom.

In August 1981 two Provisional Sinn Fein members from Northern Ireland, Denis Donaldson and Liam Kelly, were detained in France on passport charges when they arrived from Beirut. Speculation that the men had spent several weeks training in Palestinian camps was denied by the IRA's Republican Press Centre in Belfast who pointed out that both had recently been detained by the RUC in Belfast. The Centre maintained that the men were members of the Sinn Fein Foreign Affairs Bureau and had been "campaigning on behalf of the Maze Prison hunger strikers". In August 1982 reports of a Palestinian attending a Republican rally in Belfast were denied by the PLO representative in London who emphasised "there was

no PLO representative in Belfast nor any Palestinian with official status. The PLO has no links with the IRA." (The Palestinian belonged to a London-based 'Palestinian Solidarity Organisation').

The Provisionals nevertheless emphasise their affinity with Palestinians. In June 1982 An Phoblacht commented "... in the same way as the United States can napalm Vietnamese children, overturn democratic governments if it does not like their policies, or support the murderous regime of El Salvador, so too does Israel behave in a hypocritical and unbridled fashion against legitimate Palestinian attacks". An exhibition "Palestine, Ireland - One struggle", was put on^{at} Belfast's Felon's Club in July 1982 by the Sinn Fein Foreign Affairs Bureau. In his presidential address to the Sinn Fein ~~and~~ ^{and} fheis in October 1982, Roy O'Brady said "Sinn Fein wishes to record once more our solidarity with the gallant Palestinian people and their Lebanese allies who have suffered such an appalling holocaust in recent months at the hands of those who have driven them out and would deny them their homeland and self-determination as a people".

Libya

In the early 1970s Libya provided tangible support for the Provisional IRA. In March 1973 a Libyan arms consignment on the Cypriot vessel Claudia was intercepted by the Irish Navy and Joe Cahill, a leading Provisional, was among six Irishmen arrested. These arms, mainly of Russian origin, had been loaded on board at Tripoli by Libyan soldiers.

Subsequent Libyan attitudes towards Irish extremism have been equivocal. In 1979, after the conviction in Dublin of Thomas McMahon for his part in the murder of Lord Mountbatten, there were allegations that in 1975 he had gone to Libya for training in the use of explosives. But in April 1975, an Irish parliamentary delegation reported on its return from Libya that the Libyan authorities had undertaken that in future "no aid would be given to any illegal organisation in Ireland". President Qudhafi said in September 1976 "... our relations with London and Dublin are improving rapidly ... the IRA chapter is behind us". (Newsweek, 20 September 1976).

However by 1980 Libyan radio broadcasts again began to refer to "aid to Ireland". In 1981 at the time of the Republican hunger strikes, President Qudhafi

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sent a letter to the UN Secretary General criticising the "British non-humanitarian code of conduct" in Ireland; his letter was circulated throughout the UN and distributed abroad by Libyan representatives.

In August 1982, after the Falklands conflict (in which Libya had supported Argentina), further reports in the Libyan media indicated a more committed Libyan attitude. They included reporting of a speech by David O'Connell, described as "leader of the IRA", which referred to the war against "British colonialism" and references to the IRA as "freedom fighters struggling against the British military presence".

Latin America

The Provisionals have for some time been trying to extend their contacts into South and Central America. Martin McGuinness, interviewed on American television in March 1983, said "our heroes are all the people who fight for national liberation", quoting as examples the inhabitants of El Salvador, Nicaragua, Vietnam and Cuba. However, there is little evidence of anything more than revolutionary solidarity. For example, in 1981, Juan Perez of the Argentine Workers' Revolutionary Party (PRT/ERP) attended the Provisional Sinn Fein conference and the Chilean MIR sent a message of support. In March 1982 An Phoblacht reported that Sinn Fein had sent a message of support to the New Jewel Movement in Grenada which it described as "an inspiration to those struggling for national liberation and to those who fight against all types of oppression throughout the world". In September An Phoblacht reported that Sinn Fein Foreign Affairs Bureau had sent "revolutionary and solidarity greetings to our struggling Chilean brothers".

In January 1982 Provisional Sinn Fein issued a statement of solidarity with the rebels in El Salvador, which ended "We unreservedly condemn United States support for the genocidal military junta and pledge our continued support for the struggling people of El Salvador". In December 1982 An Phoblacht printed an "exclusive" interview with a leader of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN); a photograph caption asserted that the "moral weakness of the El Salvador army has been exposed by the FMLN's October offensive."

According to the Irish Press, December 1982, an Irish voluntary worker was told by a member of the El Salvadorean government that the IRA were "training

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revolutionaries" there. A Mexican report in March 1983 quoted an El Salvadorean colonel who claimed that "one hundred members of the IRA" were fighting with the FMNL. Neither story has been corroborated.

In June 1982 An Phoblacht reported an interview in Washington with a young Nicaraguan who had allegedly been captured while fighting with the FMLN in El Salvador. He indicated his "willingness and readiness" to fight with the IRA saying "we are the same people, we are in the same struggle, we are the same revolutionary army, we are of the same cause, we are the same in being revolutionaries".

The Official IRA

The Official IRA and its associates in the Workers' Party (originally Official Sinn Fein and later Sinn Fein the Workers' Party) have identified themselves with a wide range of revolutionary causes as well as more orthodox, pro-Soviet Communism, despite warnings by Mairin de Burca, a leading official until 1977, of the danger of "becoming identified in international affairs with small groups of people with handfuls of gelignite" (Irish Times, Dublin, 2 December 1974).

In July and August 1974, after a European tour by Sean O Cionnaith, Director of International Affairs, the Official IRA staged its first "International Anti-Imperialist Festival" in Dublin and Belfast - in part an attempt to win over some of the Provisionals' left-wing supporters abroad. The only foreign organisations to send delegates were the Republican Clubs of the United States and Canada, Clann na hEireann from Britain, a handful of extreme left-wing and separatist groups from Western Europe and "liberation movements" from Puerto Rico and Rhodesia. Total attendance fell far short of the 200 expected by the organisers. Despite this setback, Kenny announced in January 1976 that a second Festival would be held in July 1976, also in Dublin and Belfast, and that 1,700 invitations had been sent out to groups such as the Palestine Liberation Organisation, and MPLA from Angola, the Cuban Communist Party and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman and the

Arabian Gulf. However, he added that "We distinguish closely between liberation movements and terror groups. Anyone we regard as having sympathy with the Provisionals will not be asked to attend" (The Times, London, 28 January 1976). The second Festival duly took place in July 1976 with about 100 delegates from 18 countries and was strongly criticised by Provisional Sinn Féin.

In recent years contacts have been maintained with causes close to orthodox Communism. Workers Life, April 1982 described a projected trade union tour to Cuba in October 1982 as "a unique opportunity for over 100 Irish trade unionists to meet and exchange views with Cuban trade unionists, officials and shop stewards".

After the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in June 1982, Proinsias de Rosca, a Workers Party representative in the Dail, called for Israeli expulsion from the UN and for official recognition of the PLO by the Irish government. Sean O Cionnaith announced that the Workers Party was organising an appeal fund for medical aid for Palestinian victims of "the Israeli war of aggression in Lebanon".

The Workers Party have also been involved in European "peace" campaigns. In December 1982, Workers Life reported that at the end of April De Nieuwe "a small Brussels-based Flemish weekly with an interest in defence matters" had published a letter from General Haig to Joseph Luns, Secretary General of NATO advocating a campaign in favour of Cruise and Pershing II missiles. The article, which quoted extensively from the so-called letter, commented that "it is impossible to be absolutely sure that such a leak is genuine" (it had in fact been widely denounced as a forgery soon after its publication) but nevertheless concluded "it says a lot about the bankruptcy of NATO's claim to be a 'bastion of democracy' that the idea of a plan to subvert international relations and threaten war in the interests of nuclear expansion is entirely credible".

In February 1983 a conference in Vienna on "proposals to avert the dangers of war in Europe", organised by a committee which included several representatives of the World Peace Council, the most senior of the international Communist front

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organisations, was attended by Seamus Lynch, Workers Party Vice President, Sean O Cionnaith, Director of International Affairs, The Workers Party, Des O'Hagan, a member of the Workers Party and chairman of the Irish Committee for European Security and Cooperation (another organisation with links with the WPC), and Pat Rabbitte, Group Secretary of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union. O Cionnaith attacked the decision by President Reagan to appoint the US ambassador to Ireland, Mr Peter Dailey "to head the massive campaign to sell US arms policy in Western Europe". O'Hagan called for a European Mass Media Workers Conference to debate the responsibility of the media in promoting peace.