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An Phoblacht

REPUBLICAN NEWS

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Massive tribute to brave Volunteer



A MOVING TRIBUTE to a brave Volunteer of Oglaiha na hÉireann was made on the streets of Dublin by thousands of people on Wednesday as they laid to rest Martin Doherty, who by his action averted the attempted massacre of hundreds by a pro-British death squad.

A Dublin public house packed to capacity both for a republican function and with the regular Saturday evening crowd, was the target of the death squad, which was intent on shooting and killing as many people as possible. But the vigilance and bravery of Martin Doherty prevented the bombers from carrying out their plan. Tragically, in confronting them Martin lost his own life.

That he had saved scores of people was clear to all who were in attendance in the Widow Scallan's public house on Saturday night, 21 May when the death squad struck. In the aftermath of the attack, the full horror of what undoubtedly would have happened — but for Martin Doherty — became clear to all.

The attack could also be placed in its political context as loyalist death squads, manipulated by, and working to the agenda of the British government's military and secret intelligence services, struck Dublin, almost 20 years to the day when they bombed Dublin and Monaghan, killing 33 people.

The plan now, as then, was to strike terror into republicans, the wider public in the 26 Counties, and the Dublin government itself, diverting from efforts to achieve a lasting peace.

The tragedy robbed the family, friends and comrades of Martin Doherty of a loved one and their grief and loss was in evidence in the days after his death. A constant stream of people came to comfort his family and friends at the Doherty home in Finglas where Martin was brought up. There, the Volunteer's body lay in an open coffin flanked by an IRA guard of honour from Monday evening until the removal on Tuesday.

On Tuesday evening, hundreds of people waited outside the house for the coffin to be carried out. It

was draped in the tricolour and carried the Volunteer's beret and gloves. A ten man guard of honour flanked the hearse as it made its way to the Church of the Annunciation where hundreds more people were waiting. They included many who were prison comrades of Doco's.

The following morning, people arrived for the funeral from all over Ireland. As the coffin was brought out after the Mass it was again draped with the tricolour, the beret and gloves were replaced and it was flanked by the guard of honour. The streets of Finglas were crowded with people as the front of the cortege, led by a piper and marching to the slow drumbeat of two members of the Volunteer Tom Smith/Christy Harford Republican Band, began the journey to Glasnevin. Outside the Doherty home the procession halted as the piper played the lament Fáinne Geal an Lae.

All along the route to the cemetery people lined the footpaths and at Finglas village many shop

(continued on back page)



● The tricolour-draped coffin of Volunteer Martin Doherty is carried from the church after his funeral, which was attended by thousands of people

News



● Oglagh na hÉireann guard of honour at the coffin of their fallen comrade, Volunteer Martin Doherty

Volunteer Martin 'Doco' Doherty

VOLUNTEER MARTIN 'DOCO' DOHERTY was born on 11 July, 1958, in the Finglas home from where his body was removed on Tuesday evening, 25 May. He attended nearby St Fergal's national school and played soccer for the local Dunsink club.

His first job was in Hickey's of Green Street where he worked as a presser. The location is ironic in that it is situated across the road from the infamous Green Street Special Court where many republicans have been sentenced to terms of imprisonment in Portlaoise Jail. It was after he was released from Portlaoise himself

that Doco got involved in the building trade in Dublin, working as a labourer, where he made many friends and earned the respect and admiration of those who met and got to know him.

Martin Doherty joined the ranks of Oglagh na hÉireann in the wake of the 1981 republican hunger strikes. He was a Volun-

teer with the IRA's Dublin Brigade, constantly on active service up until his arrest and imprisonment in 1982.

Doco was released from Portlaoise Jail in 1988, immediately reporting back to the Dublin Brigade. Soon after this he went on active service to Britain, taking the war of liberation to the heart of the enemy. Following a period of operational activity there, he came back to Ireland, but despite the extreme risk of detection and arrest, he returned to Britain. Dur-

ing his second period in Britain, Doco was arrested by the British authorities and charged with IRA offences but later released due to lack of evidence.

Doco then returned to Ireland where he rejoined his comrades in Dublin Brigade and never once ceased his involvement up until the time of his death.

One of Doco's comrades described him with conviction as "genuinely fearless". He added

that the circumstances of Doco's death pointed to his calibre as a Volunteer. "He always did what was asked of him. If Doco wasn't of such high calibre as a Volunteer he would not have died the way he did, but many others could have been killed."

Another comrade from his time in Portlaoise said that Doco's good spirits were very important in maintaining the general morale of republican prisoners in the jail. "He was great crack, into sports, and took a full part in jail activities. He kept morale in the jail at a high the whole time."

Doco's belief in the necessity of different forms of struggle in the republican cause was clear and forceful. He rejected elitism and was a strong supporter of the efforts of Sinn Féin, especially those of the Sinn Féin activists in his native city of Dublin.

Doco was loved very much by all those who made his friendship and one of the main reasons was that people knew that Doco would do anything for them. If any of his friends were in any sort of trouble Doco would offer to help them out. It was that spirit of loyalty, and his utter fearlessness which was evident to those who knew him, which led him to lay down his life in the defence of others. Doco will be very sadly missed, particularly by his comrades in Dublin. The memory of his life of service to the republican cause and his death in our defence will inspire and guide us in the years ahead and will strengthen our determination to continue the struggle for a free and united country and peace with justice.

Martin Doherty is survived by his mother Rose, his brothers John, Michael, Thomas, James and Pat, his sisters Breda, Marie, Terry, Rose, Rita and Lilly, and his two sons Martin and Michael Joseph.

To his fiancée Ann and to his family, republicans express deepest sympathy. I measc laochra na hÉireann go raibh sé.



● Volunteer Martin Doherty leading a Dublin Brigade colour party at Bodenstown in 1989



● Ex-Portlaoise POWs carry the coffin of their friend and comrade Martin

"A genuinely fearless Volunteer" — IRA

In a statement issued on Monday, 23 May, the IRA's Dublin Brigade said:

"Martin Doherty, the man killed in the UVF attack on Dublin's Pearse Street was a Volunteer of Dublin Brigade, Oglagh na hÉireann."

"He died heroically in the defence of others at Widow Scallan's on Sat-

urday, 21 May. His courage and quick thinking during the attack undoubtedly saved many lives.

"Martin Doherty prevented the loyalist attackers from gaining access to the function room thereby averting widespread deaths and destruction."

"Oglagh na hÉireann extends deepest sympathy to the family, partner and friends of Martin Doherty."

IRA Volunteer prevented mass murder

■ BY ART Mac EOIN

VOLUNTEER MARTIN 'DOCO' DOHERTY had been in Widow Scallan's public bar watching television just before he was shot to death by a pro-British death squad on Saturday, 21 May. He had earlier taken admittance fees at the door of the function in the upstairs room where a fundraiser was being hosted by the Sinn Féin POW Department.

The doors to the function room had been closed as the event was packed to capacity. A friend of Martin's who was in his company in the downstairs bar had gone into the toilet when something drew Martin out onto the street. After hearing several bangs the bar manager rushed out onto Pearse Street and found Martin Doherty lying on the ground outside the main door leading to the function room. He ran back inside to call an ambulance while the man who had been in Martin's company rushed upstairs to the function room to see whether assassins had entered. It was then discovered that another man, Paddy Burke, lay injured on the front stairway, apparently hit by a bullet fired through the front doors.

All the entrances to the function room were sealed and barricaded as fear gripped many of

those inside. Word filtered through the crowd that people had been shot and a member of the band called for anyone with medical experience to come forward.

People from the public bar and a few from the function went out onto the street to tend to Martin Doherty, who was lying face down and unconscious. Others tended to Paddy Burke lying wounded on the stairs. It was at this stage that a holdall containing a bomb was discovered at the front door. As the detonator went off, people scattered in various directions across Pearse Street, some fearing that killers had opened fire again. They crouched behind parked cars while the screams of friends and relatives of the injured man could be heard all around.

Anger erupted as members of

the Garda Special Branch came on the scene with people pointing out that the function had been under observation all evening and yet the gardai were nowhere to be found when the UVF assassins struck. Passions were inflamed even more when several Special Branch members were seen joking, laughing and making snide

remarks at the scene of the killing.

Stewards did their best to clear over 250 people from the function room and away from the building and successfully prevented any incidents developing between the Special Branch and patrons of Widow Scallan's.

It was then that it became clear to people just what Martin Doherty had

prevented from happening. Had the killers gained access to the function room their intent was to inflict death and injury on a massive scale. The bomb they were priming when Martin Doherty came upon them would have ripped through the building, killing and maiming a large number of people in the packed pub.

As 'Doco' was taken from the scene in an ambulance, still unconscious, people feared the worst for a man whose heroism had saved their lives.



● Floral tributes left at the scene of last Saturday's attempted massacre by the UVF. Hundreds of people paid tribute to the immense bravery of Volunteer Martin Doherty (right)



Opposition parties and gardaí slammed in wake of attack

■ BY ART Mac EOIN

THERE is widespread anger in Dublin at the actions of the gardaí in relation to the attack on Widow Scallan's pub, for which the UVF claimed responsibility in a statement on Sunday afternoon. The Garda Special Branch are constantly in evidence at Sinn Féin fundraisers in the Pearse Street pub and at every function, at least one Special Branch car with three or four Special Branch members in it sits outside taking note of all those who attend. Regularly, people are stopped and harassed on their way in.

As usual, the Special Branch were outside the Widow Scallan's on the night of Saturday, 21 May when the regular Sinn Féin function was subjected to a loyalist gun and bomb attack, but are claiming they were not there when the shooting took place. This account has been contradicted by others who say the gardaí were there during the attack, but did nothing to stop it.

Most sinister of all is that the Pearse Street attack took place against a background of threats made in recent weeks by Garda Special Branch members to Dublin republicans that there was a UVF

unit in place in the city and that their names and addresses could be handed to them.

It is clear that those who carried out the attack had detailed local knowledge and were most probably based in Dublin for a considerable period, and possibly acting with the help of criminal elements in the city. For one thing, the obscurity of the location where the getaway car was dumped points to local knowledge.

At a press conference on Sunday, Chief Superintendent Brian O'Higgins, the officer leading the investigation into the Widow Scallan's attack, said that the car



● The Pearse Street attack took place against a background of threats made in recent weeks by Garda Special Branch members to Dublin republicans of UVF attacks

used by the attackers had been found burned out on Marlborough Street and he asked for eyewitnesses to anything suspicious on Marlborough Street on Saturday night. But this was a basic error which entirely misled the public because the car was found burned out at Aldborough Place, half-a-mile away.

It has emerged also that gardaí on Pearse Street stopped a similar coloured car to that used by the attackers at around 9pm. The woman who was driving the car said the gardaí who stopped her car were in a very agitated state and that they let her go without telling her why she had been stopped. The gardaí admit that

they saw the car used by the attackers several hours beforehand in the Gardiner Street area, but that when they did a computer check on it, nothing unusual showed up and so the occupants were never challenged.

Commenting on the attack, Sinn Féin Dublin City Councillor Christy Burke said: "It raises once again the spectre of collusion. On every occasion that murders such as this have been carried out in Dublin there has been British intelligence involvement. This was the case in the 1972, 1973 and 1974 bombings. The fact that commercial explosives were used raises the question of who supplied them, as this is the first time they have been used by loyalists for many years."

Speaking at a vigil against collusion by over 150 people on Monday at the scene of Saturday's shooting and attempted bombing, Seán Crowe, Chairperson of Dublin Sinn Féin, said: "The UVF statement claiming this attack referred to the arms shipment 'seized' at Teesport last year. They said their 'setback' then had been overcome. As was revealed in several sections of the media, including the *Irish Press*, the Teesport operation was run from start to finish by the British security services, with the cooperation of the Polish intelligence service.

"It was in fact a propaganda operation designed to intimidate both the public and the government in the 26 Counties with the

threat of a massive loyalist backlash at a crucial time during the peace process. Together with what amounted to threats from RUC Chief Hugh Annesley about loyalist bombers coming South, this operation was meant to terrorise all nationalists into dropping their demands for justice and peace. Saturday's attempted mass murder had the same purpose."

"We call on the Dublin government to initiate an international public inquiry into the collusion of British state forces with loyalists. The report of the garda inquiry into the 1974 Dublin and Monaghan bombings should also be published immediately."

Commenting on remarks from Michael McDowell of the PDs and Fine Gael leader John Bruton, Crowe said: "Mr McDowell's statement that functions like Saturday night's should not be allowed to take place was disgraceful. Does he also maintain that GAA functions, Irish language events or even Catholic Church services should not be allowed to take place since all these have been attacked by loyalists?"

"John Bruton used the attack to criticise dialogue with Sinn Féin. His perverted logic represents capitulation to British-sponsored loyalist terror."

"Sinn Féin will not be intimidated. We are an open political party and will continue to function openly. We will not allow the peace process to be thwarted either by attacks such as these or by the narrow and exclusive political agenda of Fine Gael and the PDs."

And Sinn Féin's EU candidate for Dublin, Larry O'Toole lashed a decision by South Dublin Council in the wake of the loyalist attack, to threaten local communities with the withdrawal of funding should they allow their community centres to be used by Sinn Féin. He put the Fine Gael motion in the context of the loyalist attack saying both were aimed at denying Sinn Féin's right to exist, but he added that all such attempts would fail.



● The vigil outside Widow Scallan's at which Chairperson of Dublin Sinn Féin Seán Crowe stated that the attack was meant to terrorise all nationalists into dropping their demands for justice and peace

News

Second taxi depot victim dies

THE FUNERAL of the second Catholic teenager, Shane McArdle, shot dead by a loyalist death squad in an Armagh taxi depot on Wednesday, 18 May, took place in Ballymacnab on Saturday. McArdle lost his fight for life two days earlier in a Belfast hospital where he had been on a life-support machine following serious gunshot wounds.

His funeral came 24 hours after his friend Gavin McShane was buried in Keady, also in County Armagh. Attending the second funeral was the third victim of the attack, Malachy Donnelly, a taxi driver who had been shot in the neck and arm. Staff and school friends from Armagh College of Further Education also attended the funerals of their young fellow students.

At Shane McArdle's funeral St Patrick's Parish Priest Father Pól Mac Seain spoke out against the

crown forces' attitude to the nationalist community.

He questioned the vast amounts of money the crown forces spend on protecting themselves wondering if that attitude translated into them having "an acceptable level of violence".

Within hours of the burial of this second loyalist victim, another death squad targeted a bar in County Armagh in a further attempt to kill nationalists in a gun attack. At Aghagallon near Lurgan, County Armagh, two masked

and armed UDA assassins walked into the Derryhirk Inn just after midnight on Saturday, 21 May.

The loyalists sprayed gunfire around the function room where a birthday party was taking place. There were over 60 people in the room at the time. A 27-year-old party goer was hit in the chest and seriously wounded. Several others attending the party gave chase to the loyalists who fled the scene.

The manager of the bar said that it could have been a "massacre". He had been in the adjoining bar during the shooting and described the scene in the function room as one of "absolute panic and chaos".

After rushing into the function room, which was filled with a powerful smell of smoke and

cordite, the bar manager then helped the wounded man to a car which took him to hospital. The wounded man's condition was later described as being serious but stable in a local hospital.

Loyalists were also responsible for another sectarian attack in Belfast's city centre on the same night. During the attack, cousins Christopher Mayes (29) and Thomas Madden (26) both received slashes to the head, face, chest and hands. They were coming from a night out at a well-known traditional music bar close to the attack scene.

A loyalist gang, which numbered at least ten, used broken bottles to slash their victims' upper bodies. Mayes had broken bottles dug into his face and

hands, severing tendons in his face and fingers. The cousins were also kicked and beaten before Madden's girlfriend managed to run off and get help at the nearby Black Taxi rank. As other people arrived at the scene the loyalists ran off across Millfield towards Browne Square in the loyalist Lower Shankill area.

The two badly-mutilated men were taken to the Royal Hospital and Mayes was later transferred to Dundonald hospital for micro surgery. The father of two, who is on holiday visiting his cousin, underwent more than three hours of surgery after which two fingers of his left hand were still paralysed. His family are hopeful that the nerves will mend again in time. His return to Australia next week looks set to be put back because of the severity of his injuries.

Loyalists attack Sinn Féin City Hall office

JUST TWO DAYS after the attempted massacre in the Widow Scallan's pub in Dublin, loyalist bombers continued to pursue their campaign of slaughter when they attacked Sinn Féin's party office in Belfast City Hall. The blast happened around mid-afternoon on Monday, 23 May, and caused extensive damage to the building. Two building workers were left seriously ill when heavy scaffolding fell on them.

The device, which was thought to contain between two and five pounds of commercial explosives, was placed at the front western side of the building and caused extensive damage to the Sinn Féin office. Although the loyalists claimed that the bomb was detonated by remote control, it is still not clear how it was detonated or indeed if it was inside or outside the office.

Councillor Marie Moore had just left the office with another party colleague when the bomb ripped through it. Councillor Moore said: "If we had stayed in the office just a moment longer we

would have been seriously injured or even killed."

Party members concerned about the bomb are asking how loyalists could plant this bomb in one of the most secure buildings in Belfast city centre and said it raises a number of questions regarding security.

"Sinn Féin had been allocated one office in the building but on advice from the RUC we were moved to this one just a week ago", said Alex Maskey, leader of Sinn Féin on the council.

"Following on from the weekend attack in Dublin, the attack on



● The scene after the bombing of Sinn Féin's office in Belfast City Hall — questions have been raised as to how loyalists could plant a bomb in one of the most secure buildings in Belfast city centre

our City Hall office is clearly intended to intimidate and terrorise this party. It will not work."

Maskey also urged the RUC to release forensic findings as quickly as possible to establish whether

the bombs were inside or outside the room. "The RUC should release the forensic examination details so that proper security measures can be taken."

"This attack seriously injured

two building workers and could have taken the life of others. Sinn Féin will not be intimidated by these attacks and will not be swayed in its determination to advance the peace process."

Ballymurphy Seven — another released

THE BRITISH LEGAL SYSTEM was again discredited when a second member of the Ballymurphy Seven was freed. Nineteen-year-old Ciarán McAllister walked from Belfast Crown Court on Tuesday, 24 May when charges of attempted murder against him were dropped.

The only evidence against McAllister was a statement he made in Castlereagh Interrogation Centre. Arrested just two days after his 17th birthday, McAllister was pressurised into making the statement by the RUC after they had told him that they would not accept any alibi witness.

The Ballymurphy Seven were charged after a coffee-jar bomb attack on a British army footpatrol in 1991. The only evidence ever produced by the RUC in court was the statements that the seven made while being held in custody. But the seven young men only made the statements after they were physically and mentally tortured while held in police custody. McAllister had to receive psychiatric and psychological treatment

following his remand in custody.

McAllister is the second of the Ballymurphy Seven to be freed as charges against Brendan McCrory were dropped in March of this year. Statements made by McCrory while in Castlereagh were discredited resulting in the crown dropping all charges against him.

Speaking at a press conference after his release, McAllister said he was glad to be free and vowed to "continue to campaign for the release of the others".

He was critical of the trial judge who qualified his decision to release McAllister by claiming that his decision to discharge the case "was in no way a criticism of the RUC".

The pressure group, Voice of the Innocent, has hit out at the detention of the seven young men, who they



● Ciarán McAllister — the second member of the Ballymurphy Seven to be released. His false imprisonment and subsequent release has again discredited the corrupt British legal system

say should never have been arrested in the first place. Several international civil rights groups have

voiced concern over the case. The trial of the five other accused — Michael Beck, Tony Garland, Hugh

McLaughlin, Stephen McCullum and Danny Pettigrew, has been adjourned until 31 May.

RUC SET UP MAN WHO REFUSED TO INFORM

A YOUNG BELFAST MAN has gone to the media to highlight the threat posed to his life after he refused to work as an informer for the RUC. The crown forces have mounted a campaign of harassment and intimidation against the man, 26-year-old Joseph Armstrong, in an attempt to force him to spy for them. Armstrong has been the target of two loyalist murder bids which he says occurred as a direct result of crown forces harassment. Speaking to AP/RN, Armstrong said he believes the RUC have been instrumental in passing on personal information about him and his family to the loyalist murder gangs.

In some cases he believes crown forces have actually even assisted loyalists in these murder bids which he did not report because he feels that the crown forces are working hand in hand with loyalists.

Detailing the RUC harassment, Armstrong talked about being taken to Castlereagh Interrogation

Centre five weeks ago.

"The RUC pretended to quiz me about an incendiary bomb that they said I planted in a city centre store. I was in the store looking for a present for my child. The real intention of the detention was to try and force me to work for them."

"As I was being released from Castlereagh I was walked past a cell with an open door. Inside was a loyalist who had obviously been told that I would be walking past. The RUC have put my life in danger because they have lead this loyalist to believe that I was a republican."

"They mentioned the names of local republicans and asked me did I know anything about them."

"The Special Branch told me my name was on a loyalist murder list and said they knew when and where loyalists were going to carry out the murder and even told me how they would do it. They were trying to pressurise me into working for them. They told me

that things had changed since 'the early days', that I could afford to have two cheque books on the go with the money that they would pay me."

Armstrong was told by the RUC that his name was found on the hit list found in the house of loyalist Mark Rice in Dundonald. Rice was convicted for 20 years in March of this year for his part in the Ormeau Road betting shop massacre.

Members of the crown forces have harassed and threatened Armstrong in an ongoing campaign.

"I was stopped in Belfast city centre by an RIR (Royal Irish Regiment) patrol. I was questioned and harassed and told that 'it will not be long'. They were referring to the fact that my name had appeared on several loyalist hit lists."

He believes that the crown forces, with the assistance of local

hoods, have started a smear campaign against him.

"Slogans have appeared on walls in the Lower Ormeau area accusing me of drug dealing and being an informer, but I have never been involved in drugs. Not only that, I have been arrested on a number of occasions for minor criminal offences but I have been deliberately charged with lesser offences by the RUC in an attempt to make it look as if they are treating me leniently for services rendered."

Armstrong believes that several members of his family have had their details passed to loyalists as the RUC to attempt to increase the pressure on him:

"My brother was the intended target of an aborted loyalist attack in the Poleglass area of Belfast earlier this year. Now he is receiving a series of vicious phone calls during which his life has been threatened. The stress has recently taken its toll on my sister-in-law who suffered a heart attack."

"The callers even recounted details of his personal activity to my brother. They could only have that kind of information if they had access to RUC files," said Armstrong. He believes that the RUC implied during his interrogation that they could control loyalist killer squads and that his brother would no longer be targeted if he complied with their requests.

Armstrong has been the victim of several attacks by loyalist gangs over the years. In the most recent attack an RIR patrol looked on as several loyalists attacked him with bricks and bottles when he passed the Donegall Pass junction with the Lower Ormeau Road. "One of the RIR members had his gun trained on me throughout the incident and was challenging me to 'make a go for it' as I was being attacked," said Armstrong.

The latest approach took place on Wednesday, 18 May, when Armstrong appeared in court. An RUC CID Officer Lyons from York Road RUC Station approached him and asked him to follow two plain clothes Special Branch men out of the court. Armstrong refused and alerted his solicitor. He is now in the process of compiling a complaint and has made a seven-page statement concerning his plight.

"I am going to the media because the rumours circulated by crown forces have ruined my relationship with the local community. They're trying to push me into a corner, and I see the only way to release the pressure is to go to the media in the hope that the publicity will make the crown forces stop in their attempts to recruit me."



● Una Gillespie with Joseph Armstrong, victim of intense pressure from the RUC to become an informer. Since his refusal, the RUC has used the threat of loyalist death squad attempts on his and his brother's lives, among other tactics, to coerce him into informing

Home secretary slammed by judge

FORMER British Home Secretary Kenneth Clarke has been strongly criticised by the English Court of Appeal in the case of republican prisoner Ronnie McCartney. McCartney is the longest serving prisoner in the Six Counties, having served 18 years of a life sentence.

In the summer of 1992, Clarke made a decision that McCartney should serve at least 25 years before he could be considered for release. Clarke again confirmed this in April 1993, despite a recommendation from English Lord Chief Justice Taylor that the "tariff" be set at 20 years.

However, an Appeal Court hearing on Thursday, 19 May, found that Clarke was "unreasonable" when he rejected Taylor's ruling and raised McCartney's tariff to 25 years. The Appeal Court judge, Stuart-Smith, went on to say that it would be "very surprising if parliament intended him

(Clarke) to have a wholly unfettered discretion to set whatever tariff he thought fit..." and that it would "probably be contrary to Article Seven of the European Convention."

Sinn Féin spokesperson on prison issues Francie Molloy commented:

"This ruling is a victory for McCartney in that it challenges the ability of any British Home Secretary to set arbitrary tariffs in regard to Irish prisoners' cases. This practice amounts to arbitrary

political resentencing of prisoners who have no recourse to appeal or a defence.

"The British Home Secretary has egg on his face over the McCartney ruling. There was a power struggle between the judiciary and the Home Office with each trying to assert their right to set the tariff on the Irish cases. This ruling seems to assert the judiciary's autonomy and it may have positive repercussions for nine other Irish cases now being examined in the courts."



● KENNETH CLARKE



An Phoblacht

REPUBLICAN NEWS

26 MAY 1994

Government by force and threat

THAT THE SIX COUNTIES is governed by force and the threat of force was underlined in the House of Commons this week when Patrick Mayhew warned that the British government would not "hesitate to exercise internment" if circumstances should warrant it. Mayhew was proposing the renewal of the British government's repressive legislation, the Northern Ireland Emergency Provisions Act (EPA) and said the British government firmly believed in the "need to retain it [internment] in this act".

In the course of the three-hour debate, the British direct ruler also rejected calls to have RUC interviews with detainees video and audio tape recorded. Rejecting such proposals, Mayhew accepted the opinion of RUC chief Hugh Annesley who said that "any electronic recording of interviews would inhibit the chances of lawfully obtaining information".

At present, Annesley and other members of the British establishment are pressurising the British government to introduce more draconian legislation in the North. That Annesley is pursuing an agenda that will give the RUC unprecedented power and reinforce that force's impunity bodes ill for nationalists. That Patrick Mayhew is responding to this RUC prompting can only reinforce nationalist unease.

In the same Commons debate Ulster Unionist MP David Trimble effectively set three Belfast men up for assassination after he claimed that the three were high-ranking members of the IRA.

He invoked the rule of parliamentary privilege during his statement. This means that any MP can say whatever he or she likes without fear of being brought to court and leaves the three men mentioned with no form of legal redress.

In a similar incident several years ago, a member of the DUP, the Reverend William McCrea, used the same privilege to name Sinn Féin Councillor John Davey as a member of the IRA. Several weeks later, Councillor Davey was assassinated by loyalists. Trimble by his actions has, in reality, set these three men up for assassination.

One of those named has already been the target of an aborted loyalist gun attack earlier this year. British army marine, 23-year-old Charles Adgey, appeared in court last month accused of conspiring with a loyalist gang to kill the man. Another of those named was shot and seriously wounded when a British soldier fired on mourners outside the home of Thomas Begley, the IRA Volunteer killed in the bomb explosion on Belfast's Shankill Road.

Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams has described Trimble's remarks "as yet another example of unionist politicians hiding behind parliamentary privilege in an attempt to set up nationalists for assassination".

These comments are evidence of the direct and indirect links between the statements made by loyalist politicians and the activities of the loyalist death squads. This is not the first time that loyalist politicians have abused this privilege.

Ken Magennis has also named nationalists in the House of Commons. Only weeks ago John Taylor pointed loyalists in the direction of Dublin and last weekend, those death squads attempted massacre in a Dublin bar.



An Phoblacht

REPUBLICAN NEWS

26/5/94

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News

Two British soldiers executed

VOLUNTEERS acting on information gathered over a number of months by an IRA intelligence unit, arrested, and later executed, a British soldier as he emerged from his barracks in Armagh city.

North Armagh Brigade, Ogligh na hÉireann, said that the British soldier shot dead last Saturday, 21 May, had been captured by their Volunteers in Armagh city shortly after 1.45am and rowed to the rear of Fort George British army base. Having reached the rear of the base, the Volunteers moored alongside the British army jetty and placed an anti-personnel mine on a walkway used by crown forces patrols. The device was triggered at 4.10pm when a British soldier lifted it.

In their statement, the North Armagh Brigade also said that the British soldier had given details of other members of the Royal Irish Regiment and RUC who are based in Armagh before he was shot. The IRA statement said:

"Reginald Benson McCollum from 17 Crossgale, Sandholes, Cookstown, County Tyrone, was captured in Armagh city and, after being questioned by an IRA intelligence unit, was taken to the outskirts of the city and executed."

"We will shortly be taking action against other members of the crown forces based on information given by Private McCollum."

BRIT INJURED

INSIDE BASE

An example of the daring and ingenuity of Volunteers was displayed by the IRA in Derry on Monday. The IRA's Derry Brigade launched another waterborne operation against one of the main British bases in the Six Counties this week. During the attack a British soldier was seriously injured in an explosion which was heard across the city. It was the second explosive attack on the crown forces occupying the city in a two-day period.

Fort George Barracks, also used by the RUC to launch raids on the nearby Shantallow area, was targeted last Monday, 23 May, by Derry Brigade Volunteers. That the IRA carried out the operation in broad daylight is a major embarrassment to the British crown forces. And testament to their courage and determination

to carry the war to the occupying forces.

The Derry Brigade, claiming the attack, stated:

"Volunteers under our command launched a boat on the River Foyle and rowed to the rear of Fort George British army base. Having reached the rear of the base, the Volunteers moored alongside the British army jetty and placed an anti-personnel mine on a walkway used by crown forces patrols. The device was triggered at 4.10pm when a British soldier lifted it."

The seriously-injured soldier was transferred immediately to hospital where his condition was described as "grave".

MOBILE PATROL UNDER FIRE

Earlier in the week on Saturday, 21 May, an IRA active service unit launched a rocket attack on British forces close to Derry's city centre. The rocket was fired from outside the rear of the Guildhall shortly after 11.30pm at a British mobile patrol moving along the Foyle Expressway. In a statement, Derry Brigade said:

"Volunteers launched the attack, despite a heavy crown forces presence in the vicinity of the city centre, using a shoulder-held grenade launcher."

The brigade ended its statement saying that the crew of the armoured personnel carrier which was travelling at speed had a narrow escape when the rocket flew past the front section of their vehicle, exploding nearby on a grassy bank.

ATTACKS ACROSS BELFAST

Following an attack on the British observation post on the top of Broadway Tower last Friday evening, IRA Volunteers moved into Belfast city centre to execute a British soldier.

During the attack on the



British observation post, a number of shots were directed at British soldiers from firing positions in the Iveagh area just off the Falls Road. No hits were claimed and fire was not returned.

Striking just before midnight on Monday, 23 May, IRA Volunteers fired a rocket through a third floor window of the RUC's Tennent Street Barracks, situated between the Shankill and Crumlin Roads.

The IRA said that the rocket was fired from the junction of Courtria Street and Mill Street West at 11.50pm. It exploded inside the barracks causing considerable damage.

Earlier the same day a British soldier was shot dead in the city centre inside the former Anderson and McAuley buildings close to the Castle Street and Fountain Street junction.

The IRA said that their Volunteers shot dead Private Nigel Smith, a member of the Royal Irish Regiment, who also worked for a well-established private security firm.

"Smith had responsibility for overall security of the commercial premises which has been undergoing renovation work", revealed the IRA statement. "Private Smith, who came from the loyalist Shankill Road area, was carrying a firearm when he was shot at 1.30pm. This was later recovered by the crown forces who attempted to pass it off as a replica weapon. The carefully-planned attack took place as an RUC armoured car passed by on its way to the nearby barracks at Queen Street. All Volunteers returned safely to base."



● The scene of the execution of a British soldier last Saturday, 21 May, by the IRA's North Armagh Brigade

News

Unionist leaders and the loyalist death squads

■ BY HILDA
Mac THOMAS

AT THE END OF LAST WEEK, just as the British government moved to publish its answers to Sinn Féin's questions, the news broke that OUP leader James Molyneux had approached loyalist murder squads to ask them for a temporary ceasefire. The immediate reaction from the Combined Loyalist Military Command, the loyalist umbrella group, was that it would give Molyneux's appeal serious consideration.

The OUP leader argued that the clarifications given by the British government to Sinn Féin made it clear that all organisations involved in violence would, provided they stopped their actions, and after a three-month period, enter into exploratory talks with British government representatives, with a view to discussing their entry into the 'democratic process'. This showed, Molyneux said, that those "ordinary people on the street" who "felt they had been excluded from the Downing Street Declaration" could now have their say.

The speedy response of loyalists to Molyneux suggests that the contacts between the OUP and loyalist organisations had been going on for a while. During all that time, unionist politicians were multiplying condemnations of SDLP leader John Hume and the Dublin government for talking to Sinn Féin.

Unionist politicians have always had an ambivalent attitude to loyalist paramilitary actions. They have occasionally issued half-hearted condemnations, often coupled with some rationalisation of loyalist killings. These range

from John Taylor's comments after Seán Hughes' killing: "In a perverse way this is something which may be helpful because they [Catholics] are now beginning to appreciate more clearly the fear that has existed within the Protestant community for the past 20 years", to Ian Paisley and Reg Empey's comments on the UVF attack on a Dublin pub last Saturday.

According to DUP leader Ian Paisley: "If they hadn't had the Downing Street Declaration, and the clarifications, we wouldn't have had this incident." And Belfast Lord Mayor Reg Empey, from the OUP, said: "I don't want to be uncharitable but I can't help thinking that it seems to be concentrating the minds of London and Dublin more than if the same sort of thing had happened in Lisbon."

And on Monday, after the joint loyalist command dismissed a report that a loyalist ceasefire was imminent, James Molyneux commented on the Dublin attack by the UVF that it was the inevitable and predictable result of "the perceived threat to the union".

And so the UVF, and all loyalist

organisations, which have since the beginning of 1993 decided also to target what they call the 'pan-nationalist front' — Dublin, the SDLP and Sinn Féin — have received the green light to pursue their attacks, and continue to plan the mass murder of scores of nationalists, in their homes, in their workplaces, in pubs. All this in the hope to intimidate the Dublin government, put pressure on the IRA to retaliate, and force nationalists to lower their expectations and dilute their demands.

Unionist politicians have always been quick to warn the British government about a possible increase in loyalist violence whenever there seemed to be a potential for political movement. They may well have couched their warning in cautious terms, and expressed them in concerned tones, but their comments afterwards always ring like veiled threats. Loyalist murder squads have always formed part of the arsenal used by the unionist politicians to get their way.

In spite of a general agreement that loyalists are obviously working to a pro-union political agenda, the 'reactive violence' debate has been revived. Some British and 26-County politicians have described the latest incidents as 'tit-for-tat' killings. The premise of this warped theory is that the IRA would be the 'main obstacle to peace', and that should it cease

its actions, so would loyalists. This dangerous illusion was peddled last week by the *Irish Times*, which wrote: "It is hard to avoid the conclusion that Sinn Féin's prevarication over the past five months has been the engine driving this murderous campaign, not just by the IRA but by the loyalists as well." A columnist in the *Sunday Business Post*, replying to the editorial, pointed out that an IRA ceasefire might well, on the contrary, be the signal for loyalists to begin a final putsch — shades of Algeria.

But if unionists are now trying to use the leverage of loyalist terror to thwart the peace process, the British government has also a history of manipulation of the death squads, whether it means allowing leaks of intelligence files or helping to organise arm shipments.

In the warped political setup of the Six Counties, unionists are constantly fearful that they will be abandoned by Britain. They react at the slightest sign that Britain might be speaking with nationalists or planning some reforms. This in turn creates the illusion for nationalists that change is on the way, but that it is thwarted by unionist opposition. Meanwhile, the British government will be making noises about the need to keep unionists 'on board', the need for unionist consent. The fact is that unionism has acted as a means to lower nationalist expectations of what political change is achievable.

Loyalist death squads have served the British political agenda in much the same way. Whenever nationalists are perceived to be making some headway — the abolition of Stormont in 1972, IRA talks with the British government in 1975 and also in the 1992-93

talks, the Hillsborough treaty, the Hume-Adams talks — out come the loyalist dogs of war. And if this does not suffice, the British are not averse to wielding the loyalist threat to intimidate the Dublin government. In the summer of '93, RUC Chief Constable Hugh Annesley announced the imminence of loyalist attacks in the South. Last February, British intelligence produced a Polish ship full of arms, allegedly destined to loyalists, which they said they had managed to intercept. It is now common knowledge that the shipment had been organised by the British for propaganda purposes.

Irish nationalists may well ask themselves why James Molyneux decided to approach the loyalists at this time. Molyneux, as a member of the Privy Council, as the leader of the nine OUP MPs at Westminster, whose votes John Major has been courting for nearly a year now, gets regular briefings from the British prime minister, and his decision to approach the loyalists was certainly discussed at that level.

A loyalist ceasefire at this time would have assisted the British in putting pressure on republicans, at a time when they are reflecting on the declaration and the answers the British government has given to their list of questions.

The fact that the joint loyalist command has refused to do so simply indicates that loyalists are preparing to flex their muscle on their own behalf, and that while the British can turn on the tap of loyalist violence to intimidate nationalists, it may well take a greater effort on their part to turn it off.

Election campaigns swing into gear

■ BY LIAM O COILEAIN

THE PAST WEEK was the busiest yet in the European election campaign as the crucial 9 June polling date looms ever closer. Sinn Féin candidates were busy throughout the country canvassing and campaigning.

In Limerick city on Thursday, 19 May, Sinn Féin Munster candidate Kieran McCarthy visited the controversial city dump at Longpavement, which has been opposed by local communities as a health risk.

"I was shocked at the state of the dump, which poses such an obvious environmental and health hazard to the surrounding residential areas and to the river Shannon," McCarthy said afterwards. "The fact that Limerick Corporation maintains this awful facility and even plans to extend it in the face of strong opposition from the local people and elected representatives, is a clear negation of local democracy."

McCarthy condemned Limerick Corporation's use of court injunctions "to stifle legitimate protest" and expressed his confidence that the wishes of the community would eventually prevail against the "high-handed and undemocratic attitude of the city authorities."

On Monday, 23 May, Connacht-Ulster candidate Pat Doherty welcomed the official opening of the new Erne waterway.

Commenting on the opening ceremony, performed by Dick Spring and Patrick Mayhew at Ballyconnell, County Cavan, Doherty said:

"As well as being a valuable boost to tourism on both sides of the border, the new Erne waterway is an excellent example of the benefits, both economic and social, of opening the border. Patrick Mayhew should apply this example to the many cross-border roads closed by his troops. Great hardship is caused to ordinary people's lives and livelihoods, both North and South, by Britain's continued fortifying of the border."

Doherty also extended Sinn Féin's hope "that today's uniting of the waters will be a prelude to the uniting of our country and our people as a result of the current peace process."

On Tuesday, 24 May, Doherty wished outgoing independent MEP Neil Blaney a speedy recovery and passed on his best wishes to his family. Doherty pledged that Sinn Féin in its campaigning would continue to highlight many of the issues which Neil Blaney has traditionally raised in Europe on behalf of the people of the constituency.

Doherty said: "Our policy of supporting small farmers, of protecting our beleaguered fishing community and campaigning for an improvement in roads so that peripheral areas can compete with countries in the centre of Europe, mirror those of Neil Blaney during



● Sinn Féin EU candidate for Munster Kieran McCarthy condemned Limerick Corporation's plans for the new city dump, which went totally against the wishes of local residents

his years representing the people of Donegal and Connacht/Ulster.

"I would particularly recognise Neil Blaney's opposition to the injustice of extradition, his work on the border roads issue, his strong opposition to the Single European Act and, of course, going back some years, his support on the H-Block campaigns of the late '70s and early '80s."

Leinster candidate Lucilia Bhreathnach was canvassing in Wicklow and Wexford at the weekend. In Wicklow on Friday, 20 May, she emphasised the need for an alternative to the undemocratic nature of the EU. "Democratic control of the EU's resources is the essence of a free Europe," she said, challenging the Dublin

government to publish its plan on structural fund spending before the elections.

On Friday 20 and Saturday 21 May, Larry O'Toole, Sinn Féin candidate in Dublin, was canvassing in the inner city. He met with a number of street traders and afterwards called for the Dublin government's Casual Trading Bill to be scrapped.

"The livelihood of hundreds of families in Dublin's Inner City is threatened by this bill," he said. "It makes no distinction between big operators selling expensive material like video equipment in bulk, and a woman selling fruit or wrapping paper from a pram."

He said that one of the most alarming provisions in the bill was the requirement that a person who

receives a trading licence or is convicted of illegal trading, must be reported to the Department of Social Welfare. "This provision exists under no other legislation and applies to no other section of society," he said. "Drug pushing is a severe problem in the areas where most of Dublin's street traders live and there is anger that a conviction for heroin pushing carries no such legal requirement."

On Saturday, 21 May, O'Toole pointed out, as yet another EU-funded scheme, 'Youth Start' was unveiled, that such initiatives are futile without job creation.

"EU-funded schemes are being used to take young people off the live register, disguise the real jobless levels, and often supply a form of cheap labour to employers," he said. O'Toole called on Albert Reynolds to "act on his criticism of the banks and force them by legislation to use their huge profits to foster employment for young people."

Derry-based Six-County candidate, Dodie McGuinness, addressing the Sinn Féin Women's Department on Monday, 23 May, said that on the whole, Irish women have had little cause to celebrate the EU.

"Admittedly, the European union has legislated on a number of key issues such as equal pay for work of equal value and maternity leave provision," she said. "However, this has to be balanced against the fact that more than 30% of Irish women are living below ESRI poverty thresholds and less than five per cent of children have access to publicly-funded childcare provision."

Sinn Féin's 20 questions

Below are the 20 questions on the clarification of the Downing Street Joint Declaration which was transmitted to the British government through the Dublin government by Sinn Féin. In their reply given on Thursday evening, 19 May, the British government changed the order of the questions and grouped them in separate categories. We carry them here in their original order as they were sent by Sinn Féin.

1 The long-term political objectives of the two governments are of crucial importance if we are to move out of the conflict situation caused by the present failed political structures. The taoiseach has clearly stated the long-term objectives of the Irish government in the search for a lasting settlement. It is essential that the British government displays the same honesty and frankness in outlining its long-term attitude towards the Irish people. What are the British government's long-term interests and objectives in relation to Ireland?

2 Given that the document put to you in June 1993 was welcomed by the IRA leadership which commented, on 3 October 1993, that it "could form the basis for peace", could you clarify the differences, if any, between this document and the Downing Street Declaration?

3 The British and Irish governments have said that political structures cannot be predetermined, now, or in the future. How do you reconcile this with your adherence to the partition of Ireland and the maintenance of the union?

4 The British government says in the Downing Street Declaration "that they will uphold the democratic wishes of a greater number of the people of Northern Ireland". What is the British government's precise definition of "a greater number of the people of Northern Ireland" and how would this be measured in practical terms?

5 The British government has said it has "no selfish strategic or economic interest in Northern Ireland". Would it not be more in accord with democratic principles for the British government to base its Irish policy on the objective of ending the union?

6 The British government has said that its primary interest is to see agreement reached between all the Irish people.
(a) Given the continued intransigent attitude of the unionist leaderships, how, in real terms, is such agreement to be reached, particularly if the unionist leadership refuses to engage in the search for agreement?
(b) What does the British government consider to be a 'reasonable time-scale' for agreement to be reached?
(c) What is the framework which the British

government intends to create for the achievement of agreement?

(d) Does the British government accept that, given the weight of nationalist opinion throughout Ireland in opposition to partition, that substantial movement on constitutional issues by the British government and the unionist parties will be required if democratic agreement is to be reached?

(f) How is agreement to be measured in practical terms and at what stage does the withholding or absence of agreement on the part of one section of the Irish people become a veto over change?

7 Given the British government's statement in the Downing Street Declaration that it is for the Irish people to exercise our right to self-determination, what is the basis for the British government's qualification of this right in Paragraph 4 of the Downing Street Declaration?

8 In the Downing Street Declaration the British government gives a commitment to allow the Irish people to freely determine our future without external impediment or interference, to encourage, facilitate and enable agreement on this basis and to introduce the necessary legislation to give effect to this agreement. Does this mean that the Government of Ireland Act, Section 75 of which states "the supreme authority of the parliament of the United Kingdom shall remain unaffected and undiminished over all persons, and things in (Northern) Ireland and every part thereof", would be ended as part of an overall agreement?

9 How does the British government reconcile its stated objective of maintaining the union with its declared lack of strategic or economic interest in Ireland?

10 Given the British government's declared lack of "selfish strategic or economic interest in Northern Ireland", what is the British government's political interest in 'Northern Ireland'?

11 Given the commitment by the two governments that everything will be on the table for negotiation.
(a) Will the union between Ireland and Britain be on the agenda for negotiation?
(b) Will the Government of Ireland Act be on the agenda for negotiation?

12 Given the statement by the British government in the Downing Street Declaration that "it is for the people of the island of Ireland alone, by agreement between the two parts respectively, to exercise their right of self-determination on the basis of consent";
(a) Is the continued operation of the Government of Ireland Act subject to agreement on this basis?
(b) Is the continued existence of the union subject to agreement on this basis?

13 Does the British government accept that while the consent of a majority of the people of the Six-County state to constitutional change, as referred to in the Downing Street Declaration, may be desirable it is not a legal requirement in international law?

14 Given the commitment in the Downing Street Declaration to work towards a balanced constitutional accommodation does the British government accept that the present structures and arrangements do not represent a balanced constitutional accommodation?

15 Given the commitment in the Downing Street Declaration to work towards a balanced constitutional accommodation, what constitutional options does the British government see as being consistent with this objective?

16 The taoiseach has said that unionists possess a veto only in regard to whether to belong to a sovereign United Ireland or the UK, that they do not possess a veto over the policy of the two governments or over interim measures which may be adopted. Is this also the position of the British government?

17 The taoiseach has said that political parties need not accept every phrase or word in the Downing Street Declaration. In fact the DUP have rejected the declaration in total and the OUP have said that it has run its course.

(a) Does absolute rejection of the declaration by a political party exclude that party from involvement in talks on the development of new political arrangements?
(b) Do parties which are opposed to aspects of the Downing Street Declaration have the right to dissent from it and yet be engaged in

talks on the development of new political arrangements?

18 Exploratory Dialogue.

Sinn Féin, as a matter of policy, advocates inclusive dialogue without preconditions. We do not accept the imposition of preconditions on our party or on any other party. However, in the interests of clarity we wish to explore the British government position on these matters as outlined in the Downing Street Declaration.

(a) The British government has called upon Sinn Féin to renounce violence. What does this mean?

(b) Patrick Mayhew is reported as saying that a permanent cessation of violence "is the way in which full recognition can be accorded to the mandate which Sinn Féin candidates are accorded at the polls" (*Irish Times*, Thursday, 14/4/94).

How does the British government reconcile its refusal to recognise our democratic mandate with its stated commitment to democratic principles?

(c) The British prime minister has referred to a period of decontamination for Sinn Féin. What does this mean?

(d) What would be the purpose of the exploratory dialogue between Sinn Féin and the British government?

(e) How long would this exploratory dialogue last?

(f) Within this process, when would negotiations about the future constitutional and political shape of Ireland take place.

19 (a) Given the declared opposition of both governments to coercion, how will the coercion of northern nationalists into the Six-County state be addressed in real terms?

(b) How will the denial of nationalist rights be redressed in real terms?

(c) When will repressive legislation be ended?

20 The Downing Street Declaration is described as "the starting point of a peace process designed to culminate in a political settlement". What are the subsequent steps which the British government envisages as part of a process of dialogue, reconciliation and demilitarisation leading to peace and a political settlement?

THE BACKGROUND TO CLARIFICATION

Five months in a week

■ BY NEIL FORDE

The end of February and the beginning of March saw Major himself travel to the United States. On Friday, 4 March 1994, Mayhew addressed the issue of the unionist veto, raised he said by Martin McGuinness, in his ardent speech. Mayhew said: "The two governments agree, and are determined, that it is self-determination, in other words democracy, that shall prevail. It is in democracy that we find the supreme concept in which the ideas of national identity can be accommodated. No one should claim a veto to override that."

Both Major and Reynolds travelled to the USA in March, followed by Mayhew in April. The last weeks of March were dominated by the IRA announcement of a three-day cessation of offensive military operations.

In early April, John Major published a written response to a 30 March letter from Gerry Adams and a 6 April written request for clarification handed in to Downing Street by Sinn Féin. Major's letter claimed that the issues Adams' raised in his letter were fully addressed in the declaration. On the previous day a British government spokesperson said: "The situation remains the same. We are not going to get involved in anything like this."

So by the end of April we had had megaphone interpretation by Major and Mayhew, followed by a series of lengthy interpretations and the exchange of brief letters, but no real clarification.

Sinn Féin maintained their commitment to advancing the peace process and sought avenues to break the impasse. A Sinn Féin initiative with the Dublin government breached the clarification impasse created by Britain. The visit by Patrick Mayhew to the US, where he came under strong pressure to give clarification, was also significant.

The list of 20 questions printed here in their original format were given to the Dublin government and passed to the British cabinet.

Commenting on the subsequent response from Britain, Sinn Féin Ard Chomhairle member Martin McGuinness said:

"The decision by the British government to respond to this Sinn Féin initiative represents a small step in the slowly evolving peace process."

"Sinn Féin has long accepted that small steps rather than unilateral grand gestures are the real substance of a developing peace process."

McGuinness also said that "dialogue is a crucial element in any conflict resolution programme" and that "an effective peace process must embrace everyone and exclude no one. Sinn Féin is determined to play a full and positive role. It is in this context that Sinn Féin will scrutinise the replies from the British government."



● Martin McGuinness — "dialogue is a crucial element in any conflict resolution programme... an effective peace process must embrace everyone and exclude no one"

significant issues raised by Sinn Féin about the declaration. Specifically Mayhew addressed questions about his definition of self-determination, Britain's role in the peace process as potential persuaders and what outcomes are possible from the declaration.

Two days later in an *Irish Times* article on Monday, 14 February, Mayhew elaborated on self-determination.

He wrote that self-determination "can lead to a range of possible outcomes, one of which could be a united Ireland". Mayhew also said: "To those who are uneasy about certain aspects of the Joint Declaration, I would emphasise that it is a balanced document. The interests and aspirations of both main traditions are promoted by it."

The second half of February was dominated by the Sinn Féin Ard Fheis and the moves at Westminster to establish the Northern Ireland Select Committee. Days before

"NOTHING MORE TO TELL" was how John Major asserted his position on clarification of the Downing Street Declaration in a TV interview on 9 January. Thus John Major and his cabinet embarked on a five-month process of stalling that last week culminated finally in a written British response to Sinn Féin's queries about the declaration.

Now the clarification issue has been moved significantly forward in less than a week after months of Sinn Féin initiatives and pressure to bring about this step.

At the time of Major's rejection of clarification, it was only three weeks since the declaration's launch. Both governments had made a range of significant and lengthy speeches on the declaration. However, it was clear that the two governments had different interpretations of the meaning and intent of the declaration.

Nowhere was this more in evidence than in the contrast between speeches by Major and Reynolds on the actual afternoon of the 15 December launch of the declaration.

Major had said no to Britain joining the persuaders; no to any timetable for a united Ireland; no to joint authority; no to any change in the unionist veto; no to a Dublin say in the affairs of the Six Counties.

Albert Reynolds' address to Leinster House contained no such constraints. Reynolds asserted that "for the first time ever, the right to self-determination of the people of Ireland is acknowledged subject only to the question of consent". He said "there is no unionist veto, only the requirement for the consent of a majority".

Major's 9 January statement came when he was speaking on the BBC's *Breakfast with Frost* television programme. He rejected Sinn Féin's call for clarification, repeating his claim of a week earlier in another BBC interview that "there was nothing more to tell". He told Frost that republicans were trying to muddy the waters and were seeking to effectively enter negotiations without "ending violence".

His comments came only a day after Patrick Mayhew's 8 January assertion that "there was no need for further clarification of the document". He said "if you get into the coun-

try of interpreting, putting qualifications on, putting glosses on, and so on... then that inevitably becomes a continuing process".

This was in contrast to Albert Reynolds' statement the following day on 10 January, while addressing the Irish Association in Dublin, Albert Reynolds stated that his government would give "continuing clarification" of the declaration.

Despite the refusal by the British government to offer clarification to Sinn Féin, both Mayhew and Major took a different tack after that weekend.

It involved a series of staged speeches and newspaper articles from Mayhew and Major. Mayhew was the main exponent of British policy and in these public statements he would take particular elements of the declaration and give lengthy elaboration on them.

In some cases the Dublin government would also use the same day for a significant statement. Both Reynolds and Mayhew delivered significant speeches on the same night, 20 January.

Mayhew in London seemed to pull back from Major's commons' statement on 15 December. Mayhew said that: "No outcome is ruled out. We accept a binding obligation to introduce the necessary legislation to give effect to any measure of agreement on future relationships in Ireland."

The aftermath of Gerry Adams' US visit seemed to bring a new mood from the British government as in mid February Patrick Mayhew gave a major speech to the Association of American Correspondents in London. Mayhew's speech was described by John Hume at the time as "a significant piece of clarification".

The speech addressed three

News

Local power a democratic right

WE CONTINUE our profile
this week of Sinn Féin's
candidates in the urban

district council and town
commission elections in the
26 Counties.



Lydia Cumiskey

Trim UDC, County Meath

A Sinn Féin member for 20 years, Lydia has also held positions as the party's National Treasurer and has been a member of Meath Comhairle for several years.

Lydia has also been active in the trade union movement having served on Meath Trades Council, including a two-year stint as vice chairperson. As a member of the council she was actively involved in the anti-service charges campaign. Lydia was a shop steward in Trimfold for four years. Lydia is also secretary of Trim Boxing Club and delegate to the Leinster Council.

Michael Fitzgerald

Kinsale UDC, County Cork

Married with eight children, Michael has been a lifelong republican. He is also involved in the local GAA club and a former player with Kinsale Rugby Football Club.

Being unemployed, Michael is very conscious of the need for job creation in the area and will campaign to have the newly-elected UDC focus on developing locally-based employment initiatives.



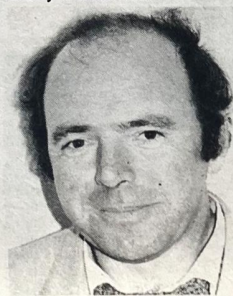
Donnacha O Sé
Skibbereen, County Cork

A secondary school teacher and community activist, Donnacha has been actively involved in republican politics since 1981. He has a keen interest in all aspects of Irish culture and is actively involved in Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann and Conradh na Gaeilge. He is also a member of Bol Chumann na hÉireann.

Donnacha highlights unemployment, service charges, local democracy, housing, culture and heritage as the issues he is campaigning on in this election.

Donnacha proposes a radical change in the direction of national economic strategies. He will be encouraging local communities to

take the initiative through discussion and education to identify the immense human and natural resources within that same community to create work.



Billy Leen

Tralee UDC, County Kerry

Councillor Billy Leen is well known in Tralee as a strong outspoken councillor. He has pledged that he will ably represent his voters for the next four years.

Billy will campaign for meaningful job creation programmes. He believes that Tralee Regional College must be allowed to expand to its full potential. He will demand an adequate housing programme and will continue to resist service and water charges.



Dermot Connolly

*Ballinasloe UDC,
County Galway*

A SIPTU shop steward at a local factory and trustee of the Ballinasloe SIPTU branch, Dermot Connolly is also heavily involved with the local GAA club both as a player and as an official. Twenty-five-year-old Dermot is also chairperson of Ballinasloe Camogie Club. Dermot has also been active in local preservation campaigns.

The top priority of Dermot's campaign is the urgent need to create local employment opportunities. Recent redundancies make this even more urgent. Also important, he believes, are faci-

ties for the youth of the area, particularly sporting facilities.



Mike McKee

Shannon TC, County Clare

Mike McKee is a native of Armagh but is a well-known face in Shannon where he has lived for the past 20 years. He has been in business in the town centre for over 13 years and is an active member of the Shannon Town Traders' Association.

Currently chairperson of Shannon Sinn Féin, Mike was elected to the Shannon Town Commissioners in 1985, and is presently vice chairperson of the local authority, a position he also held in 1991.

Mike has worked relentlessly on behalf of the local community. He has been actively involved with the youth of Shannon for many years and believes that most

politicians have failed to deal with the many problems encountered by young people, particularly those of unemployment and the very serious shortage of local authority housing.



Brian Stanley

Portlaoise TC, County Laois

Married with two children and living in Knockmay, Brian has first-hand experience of the problems facing ordinary people living in Portlaoise. Over recent years he has been actively involved in campaigning on a range of issues affecting working-class people, including unemployment, housing and the local community.

Brian has been active in campaigns opposing service charges and took an active part in tenants' rights campaigns. He is a member

of Knockmay Residents' Association and the Laois Resource Group since its foundation.

Announcing his candidature, Brian said: "Sinn Féin is contesting this election to put forward a clear alternative to the failed and dishonest politics which have had a stranglehold on local government in this country for too long."



**Cionnaith
O Súilleabháin**

Clonakilty UDC, County Cork

Cionnaith is actively involved in a number of local organisations including the local branches of Glór na nGael of which he has been PRO since it was founded in February 1991. He has been a member of the Clonakilty Singing Club and the parish choir and is presently chairperson of the Easter Commemoration Committee.

Clonakilty Sinn Féin will highlight the neglect of many issues facing the ordinary people of the town. In particular Cionnaith highlighted issues such as local unemployment, community television and the provision of local services.

Twenty-seven-year-old Cionnaith is also a prominent member of Sinn Féin. He has been a member of the Clonakilty cumann since 1990. He was director of publicity for West Cork in the 1991 local elections and 1992 Leinster House elections and is currently secretary of the Cork Comhairle Limistéir.

URGENT ELECTION FUND APPEAL

THE EUROPEAN, UDC/Town Commission and Leinster House by-elections come at a historic phase in the development of the republican struggle, with Sinn Féin's peace strategy at the centre of the political stage. It is essential that the party's vote is sustained and built upon throughout Ireland on 9 June.

In the 26 Counties, the European election is the first election Sinn Féin has fought without the handicap of Section 31 of the Broadcasting Act. For the first time, the people have the opportunity to hear the full

range of views offered to them and Sinn Féin needs your support in order to use this opportunity to the full.

In the Six Counties, a strong vote for Sinn Féin will once again confront the British government with the republican mandate and show that the nationalist people are determined to uphold their civil and national rights and move forward to freedom, justice and lasting peace.

Make your contribution to ensuring a strong all-Ireland vote for Sinn Féin on 9 June. Financial help is

urgently needed NOW to fight the campaign. Send your contributions to: Sinn Féin Election Fund, 44 Parnell Square, Dublin 1.

Name

Address

Telephone:

Tick if receipt required ☐

SUPPORT SINN FÉIN

News

Collusion evidence cannot be denied

THIS WEEK, we reprint an article from the *Irish News* by Sinn Féin national chairperson Tom Hartley. It is a 'right to reply' to former SDLP Councillor Brian Feeney who had rejected claims of widespread collusion between British forces and loyalists.

I doubt if even Brian Feeney would accuse Amnesty International of wanting to "spread fear, alarm and despondency in the Catholic community" or "to portray the security forces as biased and sectarian" yet collusion remains a fact of life and that the British government is not prepared to confront it. Two months ago, it called for a full inquiry into collusion and the murder of Pat Finucane.

"The word 'collusion'," your columnist says, "implies a directed conspiracy." He should look at the case of Brian Nelson, the British army agent in the UDA who organised the shipment from South Africa of the arms that are now being used by loyalists to murder nationalists on a daily basis. When Nelson was brought from Germany in 1987, his British army handlers left him in no doubt as to his job.

"I was," he said, "to build an efficient intelligence network to enable the association to properly target known republicans for possible execution." The director of intelligence, the British army GOC, the RUC Chief Constable were all aware of what Nelson was doing. Nelson reported to his handlers at least once a week and the information was relayed to the RUC via the Special Branch officer who liaised with military intelligence. When he was picked up as a result of the Stevens Inquiry, the matter was discussed by the British cabinet and the attorney general at the time, Sir Patrick Mayhew, was personally involved in the decision to prosecute.

If there was any doubt that the British approved of Nelson's activities in directing the killer squads of the UDA and the other loyalist gangs (and the increasing death-toll among nationalists after 1988) the facts prove otherwise. Colonel J, who had been in charge of military intelligence in the North from 1986 to 1989, appeared in court to testify on Nelson's behalf; Defence Secretary Tom King sent a letter to the DPP saying that Nelson had been a valuable agent; Colonel J and the woman who had been Nelson's main handler were given meritorious service awards. Nelson was able to strike a deal with the DPP. He was to plead guilty, therefore remaining silent, not just about details of his day-to-day activities but about the fact that his arms-buying trip to South Africa in 1985 had been sanctioned by the Ministry of Defence and a British government minister. Two murder charges against him were dropped. He received derisory sentences on the remaining charges and he was secretly moved out of the North less than a year after his trial.

Experienced lawyers pointed to the unusual role played in Nelson's trial by Mr Brian Kerr, the attorney general's representative in the North. He presented most of the crown's submission, a task normally performed by counsel for the DPP. Part of the submission covered the dropping of murder charges — in "the interests of justice" — proof that the deal with Nelson was authorised by the attorney general.

Nelson's trial exploded the myth that loyalist gangs are independent of outside direction and control. They have been an integral part of British army strategy since the early 1970s and the evidence of this has been largely ignored.

British general Frank Kitson had used pseudo-gangs in Africa and

Malaysia; during his two-year tour of duty in the early 1970s, he set up the Military Reaction Force. Other the value of using local groups whose activities would achieve Britain's political aims but whose actions would not be attributable to them. The MRF was at the centre of the creation of such pseudo-gangs in the North. Soldiers with northern connections were brought from various regiments to train the pseudo-gangs; many of the gangs members were still in the British army. At one stage, the UDA had within its ranks in Belfast at least six alleged deserters from the Royal Irish Rangers alone.

A former British military intelligence officer, who has written authoritatively about murder-gangs in the area that came to be known as the murder triangle, explained that one way of recruiting gang members was "to use whatever means, legal or illegal, to blackmail the source into acting out of fear of his or her own safety, then force them to carry out operations that cannot be traced back to the handler".

Most recruits, however, needed no such inducement and while some in the UDA or UVF did not know who their political masters were, others clearly did. There have been four separate claims by members of loyalist killer gangs of the period that their controlling officer was Captain Robert Nairac.

While refusing to acknowledge that they were at war in the Six Counties, the British military and political establishment authorised the use of pseudo-gangs as a military tactic. Employing loyalist gangs as their surrogates has enabled the British to wage war invisibly in the Six Counties and when it suits, in the 26 Counties as well. The Dublin and Monaghan bombings carried out by loyalists under British guidance, caused the highest death-toll on one day in Ireland in the last 25 years, yet successive Dublin governments have shied away from ordering a thorough investigation of those bombings.

The fiction that Brian Nelson was a British army agent only in the late 1980s has been carefully fostered. The official version of his life is that at 17 he joined the Black Watch regiment, that he went absent without leave, was medically discharged in 1970, joined the UDA in 1972 and rejoined it in 1977 when he was released from jail. His story bears a remarkable similarity to that of Albert Baker who deserted from the Royal Irish Rangers in July 1971, joined the UDA and also ended up in jail. However, in October 1990, Nelson's sister revealed on Ulster Television that he had been recruited while serving with the Black Watch. In court, Colonel J said that in 1987, "it was decided that it would be best to infiltrate him into the UDA's intelligence structure where he had been involved before."

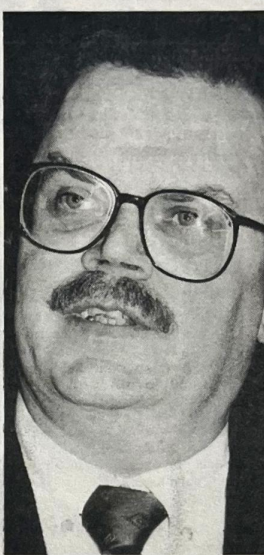
Albert Baker worked for an MRF unit based at British army married quarters in Holywood Barracks. For years, Baker was treated with scepticism because of the allegations he made when he was arrested. Almost 20 years later, nationalists recognise as "normality" the claims that Baker made. He alleged that RUC officers were involved in loyalist killings, that an Inspector F handed over machine-guns and other weapons to the UDA and that they were used for assassinations. He said that an RUC officer handed out files, complete with photographs of known republicans to the UDA. At least one man was identified for assassination from the files. Baker was brought back to Ireland with remarkable speed after he threatened, in September 1989, to divulge all he knew about RUC involvement with loyalist gangs in the 1970s; he alleged that an RUC officer was second-in-command of a UDA battalion in 1972-3. Baker served 19 years in jail; Nelson will be free in 18 months (if he has not been secretly released already). All that appears to have changed in 20 years is that the British now reward their agents publicly — although it must not be forgotten that the Royal Prerogative was invoked in the 1970s by James Prior to free Anthony O'Doherty, also a member of a pseudo-gang.

Nelson was not the first to have material passed to him. John McMichael said that when the UFF was set up, "we were constantly receiving intelligence files from contacts in the RUC, UDR and British military intelligence..."

Fifteen years later, nothing had changed. In September 1989, the *Observer* reported: "Sources close to the Ulster Defence Association... have long claimed that they have access to a steady stream of information from all branches of the security forces..." When the Stevens Inquiry was in progress, the *Independent* quoted a loyalist spokesman as saying "He [Stevens] hasn't come across any high grade intelligence, the stuff that is actually coming out of Knock [RUC headquarters] or Castlereagh. He is floundering around with photomontages that are a dime a dozen. Put it this way, for some reason or other they haven't come across anything that could embarrass the police."

If Stevens had originally intended to carry out a thorough-going investigation, obstruction from various quarters soon made it impossible. Senior RUC officers admitted that they withheld security files from RUC headquarters, even after they had been ordered to hand them over. Despite the presence of guards on an already secure police-controlled building at Seapark, Carrickfergus, a fire on the only floor occupied by the Stevens team was not noticed until it was well alight and all the Stevens documents were destroyed. Had they not been duplicated on a computer in Britain, the inquiry would have ended at that point — only a few hours before the expected arrest of Brian Nelson.

Newspaper reports revealed that the UDA (and the other loyalist gangs) had details about people arrested by police and army, material supplied from surveillance videos at republican commemorations and RUC checkpoints, details of the movements, names, addresses, employment, car registrations and photographs of a large number of people. Personal and security information collected by the gardai had been passed on to loyalists also. A long-serving RUC officer, inter-



● TOM HARTLEY

viewed in 1990, said that for 15 years it had been customary for photomontages of suspects, with names and addresses, to be freely distributed to every operational group of British soldiers, UDR and RUC members. "Some," he said, "would inevitably make their way into loyalist hands". Unionist MPs regarded it as routine to receive unmarked envelopes with confidential police lists of IRA suspects.

At least a dozen RUC officers were questioned by the Stevens detectives but no action was taken against any of them. When the team presented a list of 100 UDR members to be arrested, the RUC persuaded them to limit the number to 25. Of the 28 UDR members arrested on 8 October, 1989, 26 were released without charge. Eight UDR, one British soldier and one prison officer were charged — but with minor offences, the majority of them relating to the possession of bullets and, in one case, a pistol. A number of loyalists were charged with possession of documents likely to be useful to terrorists; charges against five were suddenly withdrawn without explanation by the DPP. Where the prosecutions went ahead, the defendants, like Brian Nelson, pleaded guilty, thus preventing cross-examinations which might have revealed how the information was passed to loyalists.

The terms of reference of the Stevens Inquiry were never made public but its report exonerated the RUC completely, even though information had been leaked to loyalists by every branch of the security services, and even though N Division in Derry had to be taken off the inquiry while it was in progress; the futility of the entire exercise was aptly illustrated in the announcement by Ulster Resistance on 13 May that the report had been passed to them by police officers during the previous week.

During the period when it is acknowledged that Nelson was keeping British army intelligence and the RUC fully informed of the activities of the UDA, UVF and the other loyalist gangs he had contacts with, Michael Stone was an active loyalist assassin, operating in Derry, Belfast and five of the Six Counties. He was in touch with major figures in the UDA, UVF and Red Hand

Commandos. Yet the RUC stated that before his murderous attack in Milltown Cemetery, he was only known to them for non-terrorist offences. When Stone faced three murder charges, four attempted murder charges and three charges of conspiracy to murder, he said of each of his victims:

"I read his file; he was a legitimate target." Stone's silence in court and his refusal to allow his own counsel to speak ensured that no further light was cast on his assertions. When Cameron Hastie and Joanne Garvin were charged, three months after Stone's conviction, with passing information that could be of use to terrorists, Stone's claims were not referred to.

Collusion is a system whereby one section of this community — whether in or out of uniform — is effectively given the power of life or death over another, for the benefit of British interests.

Nationalists are not the only victims of the sordid network which has developed as part of Britain's "counterinsurgency" policy over the last 25 years. When scapegoats are needed, individual loyalists end up with long prison sentences. There is no guarantee for any loyalist killer that he or she will not be sacrificed when the political needs arises. Punishment for collusion, however, is the exception rather than the rule and the extraordinary leniency (not to say myopia) with which the courts deal with the subject is a measure of the distortion and corruption of a judicial system which has become totally subservient to the "emergency legislation" ethos. When the representative of the chief legal officer of the United Kingdom announced that a list of charges, including two of murder, against Brian Nelson, were being dropped "in the interests of justice" it was clear that the very idea of justice had been abandoned to political expediency. No matter what the cost, Britain's role in organising death-squads is denied.

That collusion exists is a fact of life — and death — in the Six Counties; too many nationalist families know it from personal experience. Since the arrival of the South African arms shipment, the murder campaign against nationalists has been unremitting. It is not accidental that killings by the British army have been dramatically reduced in the last few years. As the death-toll in the campaign of intimidation against nationalists has increased, Britain appears to have "clean hands" as far as public opinion and the international community is concerned. No serious attempt has ever been made to curtail the activities of the killer-squads and any investigations into the links between RUC, UDR/RIR, British army and loyalists have proved to be little more than public relations exercises.

What is most disturbing about Brian Feeney's article is the underlying assumption that the situation should not cause unease, disgust or outrage among his readers — rather that they should accept it. They should not, he implies, expect things to change and they certainly should not demand higher standards of behaviour from RUC, British army or the courts. He does a grave disservice to the entire nationalist community by trivialising the subject of collusion. Casting aspersions on the integrity of anyone who exposes injustice is nothing new; it is the classic approach of the defender of the indefensible.

Nuacht

Breithimh ag comhoibriú le feachtas clipthe

Dúirt an Comhairleoir Sinn Féineach i nDoire, Cathal Crumley, go bhfuil breithimh sna cúirteanna náisiúla sa chathair ag comhoibriú le feachtas leanúnach an CRU chur isteach agus clipeadh a dhéanamh ar náisiúnaithe.

Dúirt Crumley go raibh breithimh áitiúla ag gearradh fineálacha tro-ma agus próisúntacht ar dhaoine i ndiaidh fianaise a ghlacadh gan cheist ó bhaill den CRU fiú nuair a bhréagnaíonn finneithe neamhspleácha an fianaise sin.

Chuir Crumley i leith aonad amháin den CRU i nDoire go bhfuil siad freagrach as 90% de na cúiseanna d'ionsaithe agus de chos a cuireadh i leith náisiúnaithe le dhá bhliain anuas.

Tá droch chlú ar fad ar na baill den aonad seo i measc dlíodóirí Dhoire mar gheall ar a mhíneac agus a bhíonn baint acu le cáisanna den sórt seo sna cúirteanna.

Ach níl an t-aonad seo sásta a thuilleadh le cúiseanna bréagacha amháin a thabhairt in aghaidh náisiúnaithe.

Tá sé de nós acu anois cuairt a thabhairt ar thíthe na bhfinneithe neamhspleácha i gcásanna lena bhfuil baint acu in iarracht leis na finneithe a scanrú gan fianaise a thabhairt in aghaidh an CRU sna cúirteanna. Le linn na 'gcuariteanna' seo tugann siad rabhadh foirmeálta do na finneithe gur

féidir leo bheith cúisithe as na himeachtaí a chonaic siad.

Tháinig casadh tuathalach eile ar ghníomhach an dreama seo mí ó shin nuair a thug baill den aonad CRU bagairt do sheanfhear míchumasach le linn ruathair ar a theach. Trí sheachtain ina dhiaidh sin d'ionsaigh na dlíseoirí an teach.

Ach d'ainneoin gníomhachas agus droch chlú an aonaid seo, i gcuid mhór cáisanna a tháinig os comhair na gcúirteanna i nDoire ar na mallabhaigh glacla na breithimh gan cheist le fianaise a bhí go soiléir iomlán bréagach ó bhaill den CRU fiú nuair a chuala siad cuntais bhréagnaitheacha ó shinnaithe neamhspleácha.

Dúirt Cathal Crumley go bhfacthas don phobal náisiúnach go raibh an córas dlí ina arm eile d'fheachtas láithreach clipthe an CRU. Arsa sé:

"Tá an CRU ar an phéasfhórsa is lú creidiúna san Eoraip. Cúisíodh iad as achán sórt sáru de chearta daonna ó dhrochíde go

dúrmharú. Ní ghlacfaí gan cheist lena fhianaise i gcúirt ar bith sa domhan.

"Níl muinín ag an phobal náisiúnach as an chóras dlí nuair a chítear dóibh nach bhfuil sa chóras sin ach arm eile d'fheachtas láithreach clipthe an CRU."

Dúirt Crumley go bhfuil ceistanna le freagairt ag na meán chumarsáide mar gheall ar theip s'acusan an oiread uaire a scor breithimh le fianaise finneithe neamhspleácha a ardú go poiblí.

Tá Sinn Féin i nDoire anois ag ullmhú comhaid ar ghníomhachas na mbail seo den CRU. Tá Cathal Crumley ag iarraidh ar dhaoine sa chathair a d'fhulaing de thoradh gníomhachas an CRU teacht chun tosaigh chuig oifigí Shinn Féin leis an eolas.

Beidh Sinn Féin ag soláthar na monitairí ar fad do ghrúpaí cearta daonna mar Amnesty International, Helsinki Watch agus an CAJ agus beidh an páirtí i dteagmháil le dlíodóirí chun dúshlán dlíthiúil a thabhairt do ghníomhachas an CRU.



● Tá córas dlíthiúil na Sé Chontae ag cosaint fórsaí seicteacha an CRU

Comóradh Oglach Francis Hughes i mBaile Achaidh

BHAILIGH poblachtóirí Chontae Dhoire i reilig Naomh Muire, Baile Achaidh, Dé Domhnaigh, 15 Bealtaine, do chomóradh bliantúil Francis Hughes.

Bhí an comhairleoir as Machaire Fiolta Margaret McKenna ina cathaoirleach ar an chomóradh a thosaigh le tost bomaite i gcumhne an deichniúir a fuair bás ar stailc ocrais sa Cheis Fhada i 1981.

Leagadh bláthfheisce ansin ó Ghluaiseacht na Poblachta agus ó Chumann Hughes/Connolly/McElwee de Shinn Féin.

Sheinn an banna cheoil áitiúil, South Derry Martyrs Flute Band, éagaoineadh Slán le Baile Achaidh sular chuir Margaret McKenna iarrthóir Shinn Féin do Dhoire/Lár Uladh i dtoghcháin na hEorpa, Dodie McGuinness, in aithne don slua. Thug McGuinness an óráid.

Dúirt McGuinness go raibh Frank Hughes ina laoch ina chon-



● DODIE Mc GUINNESS

sula dúchais agus ar fud na tíre sae ndeachaigh sé ar an stailc ocrais.

Dúirt sí gur fear cróga Francis a thug a raibh aige do shaoirse, do chóir agus do shíocháin sa tír seo. Dúirt sí nach ndéanfaí dearmad d'fobairt Francis agus a chomrádaithe nó de neart agus de dhigníocht a gclann.

Dúirt sí go raibh imthoscaithe an stailc ocrais le mothú go fóill i bpolaíocht na hÉireann. Arsa sí:

"Inniu de thoradh fobairt

Francis agus a chomrádaithe, tá an streachailt phoblachtach ag dul ar aghaidh ar roinnt fronta — ina measc an próiseas láithreach síochána — a tháinig amach as an taithí fhionta leathan ó na feachtais do na Blocanna-H a d'athraigh polaitíocht in Éirinn go deo."

Dúirt McGuinness go raibh sí de dhualgas ag Sinn Féin an ceart do fhéinriail a chur chun cinn agus é ag tógáil cur in aghaidh díothacht shóisialta agus eacnamúil i measc an lucht oibre.

Dúirt sí gur gá éileamh d'aonghuth ar rialtas na Breataine

deireadh a chur le críochdheighilt na hÉireann.

Chríochnaigh sí a gráid ag cur i gcumhne do phoblachtóirí go bhfuil tábhacht lena ngníomhachas inniu in athghabháil na tíre.

"Caithfidh amharc taobh thall d'impiríúlachas le sochaí úr a chruthú. Lena ngníomhachas inniu tosódh poblachtóirí a thógáil an náisiún úr den todhchaí."

Cuireadh deireadh leis an chomóradh le seinneadh Amhrán na bhFiann.



● OGLACH FRANCIS HUGHES

DREAPADOIRI RÉIDH ARIS

Tá dreapadh urraithe bliantúil Roinn an Chultúir Shinn Féin ag dul ar aghaidh i gCuailgne, Contae Lú an bhliain seo ar an 25 Meitheamh.

Tá na dreapadóirí le teacht le chéile in O Méith ar 11m ar an 25ú. I gceantar O Méith a mhair an Ghaeltacht is deireanaí i gCúige Laighin sular bunaíodh Ghaeltacht Rath Cairn.

Beidh an t-airgead iomlán a ardaíonn na dreapadóirí ag dul chun an oideachais trí mheán na



Gaeilge. Is féidir foirmeacha urrafochta a fháil ó Bhaire Bre de Brún, Teach Uí Chonghaile, 147 Br Baile Andarsáin, Béal Feirste 11 agus deir Bhaire neamhaird a dhéanamh den dáta atá folistithe ar na foirmeacha mar beidh an dreapadh ag dul ar aghaidh an bhliain seo agus chan i 1993!

News

British obstacles preventing peace

■ BY EUGENE EGAN

SINN FÉIN'S parliamentary candidate for Mid-Ulster, Barry McElduff, and Irish community activist Fr Joe Taffe addressed a well-attended public meeting in Birmingham's Shaheed Udham Singh Centre on Thursday, 12 May.

The meeting was organised by the Troops Out Movement, with the support of the Irish in Britain Representation Group, Irish Republican Prisoners' Campaign and Women in Ireland Group.

Speaking at the meeting, Fr Joe Taffe said the conflict in the Six Counties was not a religious, sectarian war, it was about the British presence in Ireland and the British government's denial of the right of the Irish people to national self-determination. He added that just as Rabin talked to Arafat and De Klerk to Mandela, the British will have to talk to Gerry Adams if there is to be peace in Ireland.

The Chairperson, Mary Pearson, said the meeting was part of their ongoing work to mark the 25th anniversary of the redeployment of British troops onto the streets of Ireland.

"Because of the Broadcasting Ban on Sinn Féin, and media prejudice, we thought it was important that people should be able to hear what Sinn Féin are saying," she said. "It's not just about the right of Sinn Féin to speak, it's about the right of us here to know. That is why we've headed this

meeting, End Censorship — Talk to Sinn Féin."

In his opening address, Barry McElduff said Sinn Féin have a real peace message which we want to be heard.

"In 1987, Sinn Féin took a very conscious decision to politically

engage our opponents on the issue of peace", he explained. "With that we came forward with a document A Scenario For Peace which was then followed with the document Towards a Lasting Peace in Ireland." He added, "we are very serious about peace".

However, McElduff said: "Although we are serious about peace, that doesn't mean surrender. When we say we want peace, we are also saying we want an end to injustice. It's a real peace we

want, not just an absence of armed conflict."

He explained how the evolution of Sinn Féin's peace strategy had led to a joint agreement with John Hume on a broad set of principles which for the first time address the core issues such as the right of the Irish people to national self-determination.

The Hume/Adams proposals, very importantly, receive the endorsement of the IRA, said McElduff, because they can create

the conditions for peace.

"What do the British mean by demilitarisation? What do they mean by peace? These are issues which we need clarified, particularly when John Major is contradicted by Albert Reynolds," said McElduff.

Barry McElduff also spoke about the links between loyalist death squads and British intelligence, and their role in undermining the peace process. He pointed to the Polish arms shipment discovered at Teesport, which was supposed to be destined for loyalist death squads. It later transpired that British intelligence had imported the arms, as part of a 'psy-ops' plot. The aim was to terrorise the nationalist community into lowering their political demands, while simultaneously putting pressure on Albert Reynolds to sign the Downing Street Declaration on British terms.

Concluding his address, McElduff said republicans were willing to be positive and flexible and are serious about peace. Sinn Féin wants to move the peace process forward, but can't because of British imposed obstacles. He urged the British government to remove them, by giving Sinn Féin the clarification it seeks, if the peace process is to move forward.

McElduff also addressed meetings of Birmingham city councillors and the Birmingham Trades Council. On Friday, 13 May, he met with members of the Asian and West Indian community before continuing his speaking tour via Nottingham.



● Barry McElduff addressing the meeting in Birmingham organised by the Troops Out Movement and IBRG to highlight and publicise Sinn Féin's peace process

McKnight meets Glasgow groups

ATTENDING A MEETING of the newly formed Irish Bands Association and the Central Coordinating Committee in Glasgow, Seán McKnight congratulated the people there on their work for the republican struggle.

McKnight addressed a meeting of the Bands Association and the Coordinating Committee on Friday night, 20 May.

"The work done in Scotland on behalf of the republican prisoners and

their relatives is extremely important," McKnight told AP/RN. "I expressed the thanks and good wishes of the Green Cross, the Transport Committee and Prisoners' Welfare, the National Graves Association and AP/RN for the commitment the Scottish solidarity groups have shown."

The Sinn Féin representative called on republicans in Scotland to support the work of these groups and extended an invitation to them to attend the march marking the 25th anniversary of the redeployment of British soldiers on the streets of Ireland.



● SEÁN MCKNIGHT

Successful fringe meeting by Irish workers

THE UNISON IRISH WORKERS GROUP held a successful Irish fringe meeting at the Tralee Hotel in Bournemouth on Monday, 16 May, during the Unison Annual Conference. The keynote speaker at the meeting was Oliver Kearney, who congratulated British trade unionists for their support against Apartheid in South Africa several thousands of miles away.

Kearney, however, questioned why so many British trade unionists were unable to discuss the system of economic apartheid in the northeast of Ireland. A motion on the MacBride Principles had been put forward for the annual conference from Southwark Unison AGM, but

had been blocked by Unison officials. Unison Irish Workers are making a formal complaint on this discrimination to Alan Jinkinson, general secretary of Unison. For the second year an Irish motion had been blocked from going to conference. Last year a motion on recognition for Irish

self-organised groups was blocked from going to the Nalogo Conference.

The fringe meeting was attended by trade unionists from Ireland, Scotland, England and Wales as well as members of the Black Workers Group. Geraldine FitzGerald addressed the meeting on the difficulties facing Irish workers in Britain and of raising the issue of democratic rights in Ireland within British trade unions. Kevin Hayes of the West Midlands PTA Welfare Association spoke of the effects of the PTA

upon the Irish community, including the cases of Kate Magee and the McNultys.

The Unison Conference failed to discuss even one of the three Irish motions on the agenda, including one on Irish self-determination from Greenwich, South London. Unison now place Irish

motions within the 'domestic' British agenda whereas Nalogo used to place Irish motions with the international motions. The Unison Irish Workers will be back next year demanding Irish self-determination for the Irish people and equal rights for Irish workers in Britain.

Imeachtaí

BALLYMURPHY SEVEN PICKET: Every Saturday, 2-4pm, O'Connell Bridge, DUBLIN

PUBLIC MEETING: Peace in Ireland: A European Issue, 8pm, Thursday, 26 May, Powers Hotel, Kildare Street, DUBLIN. Speakers: Gerry Adams and Dublin Sinn Féin candidate Larry O'Toole

COMMEMORATION: Neil O'Boyle Plunkett Commemoration, 3.30pm, Sunday, 29 May, Knocknadruice, VALLYMOUNT, County Wicklow. Prominent speaker

FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT MARCH: Assemblée 2.30pm, Sunday, 5 June, in McGovern Drive, COOKSTOWN, County Tyrone. Organised by the Tyrone Nationalist Rights Committee

COMMEMORATION: 20th Annual Michael Gaughan Commemoration and Picket, 1.30pm-3.30pm, Sunday, 5 June, Whitmoor Prison, Loughill Road, CAMBRIDGE PE15 0PR

BENEFIT GIG: In aid of Bosnia. Music by: Eleanor McEvoy and her band, 8.30pm, Thursday 9 June, Silver Granite Pub, Palmerstown, DUBLIN. Adm: £5, tickets from Claddagh Records, Cecilia St, DUBLIN 2. Organised by the Ireland Bosnia Solidarity Campaign

CRUINNIO POIBLE: Uain don Siócháin — Uain chun Imeacht An Tuaisceart — 25 Bliain gan Feabhas. Dé Cheadaoin 15 Meitheamh. Teach an Ard Mhéara, BAILE ATHA CLATH. Cainteoir: Gearóid Ó Calrailláin; Eamon Ó Cuir. An IATH: Seasamh Mac an Bheatha; Maria Nic Fhearchair. Cainteoir-leach: Ita Ní Chionailth.

1994 Bodenstown 1994
Assemble 2pm Sunday, 19 June
Sallins, County Kildare

SPEAKER: Lucilita Bhreatnach
(Ard Rúnaí Sinn Féin)

All bands taking part in this year's parade are asked to inform the National Commemoration Committee in advance.
Areas should encourage a large attendance and buses should be booked now!

Notices

I nDil Chuimhne

ENGLEN, Martin; FITZSIMMONS, Joseph; FULLERTON, Eddie; MAGUIRE, Charles; McCREARY, George; McDONNELL, Edward; McILHON, Jackie. In proud and loving memory of Volunteers Martin Englen (died 28 May 1972), Joseph Fitzsimmons (died 28 May 1972), Charles Maguire (died 28 May 1981), George McCreary (died 28 May 1981), Edward McDonnell (died 28 May 1972) and Sinn Féin member Eddie Fullerton (died 24 May 1991). "The price of freedom is a terrible price and tragically it is so often paid by great sacrifice. Many suffer so that some day all Irishmen may know justice and peace. Many die fighting oppression so that future generations may live in freedom and prosperity. All of us must pay the price of freedom in some way." — Bobby Sands. Proudly remembered by their friends and comrades in the Republican Movement.

CASEY, Gerard (4th Ann). In sad and loving memory of our dear son, Volunteer Gerard Casey who was murdered on the 4 April 1989. RIP. Our Lady of Lourdes Pray for him. Remembered always by his Mum and Dad.

CASEY, Gerard (4th Ann). In sad and loving memory of my dear brother, Volunteer Gerard Casey who was murdered on the 4 April 1989. St Martin pray for him. Never forgotten by Kieran, Moira and family.

CASEY, Gerard (4th Ann). In proud and loving memory of my dear brother, Volunteer Gerard Casey. RIP. St Gerard pray for him. Never forgotten by Bernie.

FULLERTON, Eddie (3rd Ann). In proud and loving memory of Eddie Fullerton, Sinn Féin Councillor (DCC and BUDC). A loving husband, devoted father and caring grandad who was brutally murdered by pro-British forces on 25 May 1991. A tireless worker for the people and a dedicated republican. Some day the winds of freedom will blow across Ireland then Ireland's sons and daughters will greet it with outstretched hands. Mary Queen of Ireland pray for him. Proudly remembered by his loving wife Dinah, sons, daughters, sons-in-law, daughters-in-law and grandchildren.

FULLERTON, Eddie (3rd Ann). In proud and loving memory of my dear brother, Sinn Féin Councillor Eddie Fullerton, assassinated by British agents on 25 May 1991. Quickly and quietly came the call, of British agents, they did it all, your sudden death surprised us all. All our lives we will miss you, as the years may come and go, but only God can tell you, how much we miss you. So, mother of Ireland, pray for him. Remembered always by Susan, Denis and family.

FULLERTON, Eddie (3rd Ann). In proud and loving memory of my dear brother Sinn Féin Councillor Eddie Fullerton, murdered by UFF on 25 May 1991. They say that time will heal the pain for us yet that's not true. Three years have passed and not a day that we don't think of you. Always remembered by Eileen, Patrick and family.

FULLERTON, Eddie (3rd Ann). In proud and loving memory of Sinn Féin Councillor Eddie Fullerton, murdered by MIS/UDA/UFF on 25 May 1991. We'll never forget that Saturday in May, the faceless men in England's pay, murdered a man who longed for peace, and his nations chains to release. Ar dheis slán go fóill, to you murdered in a way so foul. Never forgotten by the Donegal people of Glasgow.

FULLERTON, Eddie (3rd Ann). In proud and loving memory of Councillor Eddie Fullerton, murdered by British agents on 25 May 1991. Remembered with love and pride by the Carty/MacGiolla Bhrighde/Fleming/MacManus Sinn Féin Cumann, Bundoran and Ballyshannon.

LYNAGH, Jim (7th Ann). In proud and loving memory of our friend and comrade Volunteer Jim Lynagh and his seven brave com-

rades, murdered by British crown forces on 8 May 1987. They may kill the revolutionary but never the revolution. Proudly remembered by the republican POWs, Portlaoise.

O'DONNELL, Thomas (21st Ann). In proud memory of Volunteer Thomas O'Donnell, GHQ staff member, who died as a result of an accident while on active service. Always remembered by his friends in the Republican Movement, Short Strand and Markets.

O'DONNELL, Thomas (21st Ann). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Thomas O'Donnell, GHQ staff, who died while on active service. Mary Queen of the Gael pray for him. Always remembered by Joe, Jacqueline O'Donnell and family.

REID, Billy (21st Ann). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Billy Reid, 3rd Battalion, Ogligh na hÉireann, who was murdered by British crown forces on 15 May 1971. For they didn't say why Billy Reid had to die for he died to free Ireland. Always remembered by the Billy Reid Republican Flute Band.

SANDS, Bobby; HUGHES, Francis; McCREESH, Ray; O'HARA, Patsy (13th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Volunteers Bobby Sands (died 5 May 1981), Francis Hughes (died 12 May 1981), Ray McCreesh (died 21 May 1981), Patsy O'Hara (died 21 May 1981) who gave their lives in the struggle for Irish freedom. Always remembered with pride by Div, Dun na nGall.

Comhbhrón

BRADLEY. We learn with regret and sorrow the death of our friend Martin, murdered by a pro-British death squad. We send our deepest sympathy to Hugh, Mary and the entire Bradley family. Sadly missed by his friends Dee, D, Baldy, Kells, Gavin and Paddy Mac, Crumlin Road Jail.

COLLINS. Deepest sympathy is extended to Bernie and Mick Collins on the death of their little son Brendan. From Cathy and Fra, Drive 1, Dundalk.

COLLINS. Deepest sympathy is extended to Bernie, Mick and Cláir Collins on the death of their little son Brendan. Mary Queen of the Gael watch over him. From Angela, Gerry and family.

COLLINS. Deepest sympathy is extended to Bernie and Mick Collins on the death of their son Brendan. Deeply regretted by the Mackin family, Dundalk.

COLLINS. Deepest sympathy is extended to Bernie and Mick Collins on the death of their son Brendan. Deeply regretted by Joe, Róisín and wee Orlagh.

COLLINS. Deepest sympathy is extended to Bernie and Mick Collins on the death of their son Brendan. Deeply regretted by Martin and Donagh.

COLLINS. Deepest sympathy is extended to Bernie and Mick Collins on the death of their son Brendan. Deeply regretted by Sean, Pat and Maria.

COLLINS. Deepest sympathy is extended to Bernie and Mick Collins on the death of their little son Brendan. Mary Queen of the Gael pray for him. Deeply regretted by John, Andrea and family.

COLLINS. Deepest sympathy is extended to Bernie and Mick Collins on the death of their little son Brendan. Mary Queen of the Gael pray for him. Deeply regretted by Martin, Sherry and family.

COLLINS. Deepest sympathy is extended to Bernie and Mick Collins on the death of their little son Brendan. Mary Queen of the Gael pray for him. Deeply regretted by Kevin, Andrea and family.

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son Brendan. Mary Queen of the Gael pray for him. Deeply regretted by Andrea, John, Fionnghuala and Tomás.

COLLINS. Deepest sympathy is extended to Bernie and Mick Collins on the death of their little son Brendan. St Brendan pray for him. Deeply regretted by Maria, Pete and Patrick.

COLLINS. Deepest sympathy is extended to Bernie and Mick Collins on the death of their little son Brendan. Deeply regretted by Liam, Bronagh and Clare.

COLLINS. Deepest sympathy is extended to Bernie and Mick Collins on the death of their little son Brendan. St Brendan pray for him. Deeply regretted by Kevin, Angie and family.

COLLINS. Deepest sympathy is extended to Bernie and Mick Collins on the death of their little son Brendan. St Brendan pray for him. Deeply regretted by Liam and Edel.

COLLINS. Deepest sympathy is extended to Bernie, Mick and Cláir Collins on the death of their little son Brendan. St Patrick and all the saints pray for him. Deeply regretted by Tommy Eccles.

COLLINS. Deepest sympathy is extended to Bernie, Mick and Cláir Collins on the death of their little son Brendan. Mary Queen of the Gael pray for him. Deeply regretted and forever in our thoughts by Christine and Christopher O'Donnell (POW Portlaoise Prison).

COLLINS. Deepest sympathy is extended to Bernie and Mick Collins and family on the death of their little son Brendan. From Derek Sweetman and family, Dublin.

COLLINS. Deepest sympathy is extended to Bernie and Mick Collins and family on the death of their little son Brendan. From David Hyland and family.

COLLINS. Deepest sympathy is extended to Bernie and Mick Collins and family on the death of their little son Brendan. From Ewen Morgan and family.

COLLINS. Deepest sympathy is extended to Bernie and Mick Collins and family on the death of their little son Brendan. From Brendan Curran, Harpo Marks, Brian McCabe and Gerry Hart.

COLLINS. Deepest sympathy is extended to Bernie and Mick Collins and family on the death of their little son Brendan. From Kevin Mulgrew, Tony Sloan and Jim O'Neill, Dundalk.

COLLINS. Deepest and heartfelt sympathy is extended to Bernie and Mick Collins and family on the death of their little son Brendan. From Ann and Seán, Belfast.

COLLINS. Deepest sympathy to Bernie and Mickey on the tragic loss of Brendan. From Dickie and Liz Garland and family.

COLLINS. Deepest sympathy to Bernie and Mickey on the tragic loss of Brendan. From Noel and Mary Sheridan and family.

COLLINS. Deepest sympathy to Bernie and Michael on the tragic and untimely death of Brendan. Deeply regretted by Sean, Pat and Maria.

COLLINS. Deepest sympathy to Bernie and Mickey on the tragic loss of Brendan. From the Peadar McElvenna Sinn Féin Cumann, Armagh city; From the staff of APRN.

DOHERTY. In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Martin Doherty, who willingly gave his life for others (that's the sort of me). "It is not those who can inflict the most but those who can endure the most who will conquer." — Terence. McWinney. Always remembered by Ann.

DOHERTY. In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Martin Doherty, who willingly gave his life for others. Always remembered by Donal.

DOHERTY. Deepest sympathy is extended to the family and friends of Martin (Doco). From Cormac and Pat.

DOHERTY. Deepest sympathy is extended to the family and friends of Martin (Doco). From Diane and family.

DOHERTY. Deepest sympathy is extended to the family and friends of Martin (Doco). From Marion, Séamus and family.

DOHERTY. Deepest sympathy is extended to the family and friends of Martin (Doco). From Tony and Phyllis Kearns and family, Dublin.

DOHERTY. Deepest sympathy is extended to the family and friends of Martin (Doco). From Tom Brawley.

DOHERTY. Deepest sympathy is extended to the family and friends of Martin (Doco). From Peter Rogan, Scotland.

DOHERTY. Deepest sympathy is extended to Ann O'Sullivan and the Doherty family on the murder of Martin (Doco) who died saving innocent people from a loyalist death squad on 21 May 1991. Always remembered by Martin Caldwell.

DOHERTY. Deepest sympathy is extended to Ann O'Sullivan and the Doherty family on the death of Volunteer Martin Doherty. He laid down his life for his friends. From Seán Mac Braidghaigh.

DOHERTY. Deepest sympathy is extended to Ann O'Sullivan and the Doherty family on the death of Volunteer Martin Doherty. From all his friends and comrades in Portlaoise Prison.

DOHERTY. Deepest sympathy is extended to the family and friends of Volunteer Martin Doherty. From Gerry McDonald, Mick O'Brien, Pat Kavanagh, Pat Magee, Tommy Quigley, Damien McComb and Paddie, POWs in SSU Full Sutton.

DOHERTY. Heartfelt sympathy is extended to the family and friends of Volunteer Martin Doherty. Combhbrón mo chraic chuig Ann agus Caroline agus clann uí Dhocharaigh. He died that others might live. From Fiontón.

DOHERTY. Deepest sympathy is extended to the family and friends of Martin Doherty. From the two Shays, Tommy and Frankie.

DOHERTY. Deepest sympathy is extended to the family and friends of Volunteer Martin Doherty. From Pearse and Catherine McAuley.

DOHERTY. Deepest sympathy is extended to the family and friends of Volunteer Martin Doherty. From Dermot and Noeleen Adams.

DOHERTY. Deepest sympathy is extended to the family and friends of Volunteer Martin Doherty. From all the families of Dublin POWs.

DOHERTY. Deepest sympathy is extended to all POWs, particularly those in Portlaoise Prison, and Scotch Martin, on the loss of a friend and comrade. From Chris Kelly.

DOHERTY. Deepest sympathy is extended to the family and friends of Volunteer Martin Doherty. From his friends and comrades Paul Slevin, Ann Beggs and Ken Bolger, Portlaoise Prison.

DOHERTY. Sincere sympathy is extended to the family and friends of Martin Doherty, gunned down by pro-British agents while defending his comrades. He was a good friend and comrade who will be sadly missed but never forgotten. Tíocfaidh ár lá. From Aran Foley, Portlaoise Prison.

DOHERTY. Deepest sympathy is extended to the family and friends of Volunteer Martin Doherty. From the wives, partners and children of all POWs.

DOHERTY. Deepest sympathy is extended to the family and friends of Volunteer Martin Doherty, who gave his life to save others. From Fergus and family, Dublin.

DOHERTY. Deepest sympathy is extended to the family and friends of Volunteer Martin Doherty, who gave his life to save others. From Seán and family.

DOHERTY. Deepest sympathy is extended to the family and friends of Volunteer Martin Doherty, who gave his life to save others. From Mayo Mick.

DOHERTY. Deepest sympathy is extended to the family and friends of Volunteer Martin Doherty, who gave his life to save others. From the Curran family.

DOHERTY. Deepest sympathy is extended to the family and friends of Volunteer Martin Doherty. From Chris Kelly.

DOHERTY. Deepest sympathy is extended to the family and friends of Volunteer Martin Doherty. From Rosie.

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McKee, Eugene McKee, Frankie Quinn, Kevin McMahon.

DOHERTY. Deepest and heartfelt sympathy is extended to Ann and the family and friends of Volunteer Martin Doherty who was murdered on 21 May by a pro-British death squad. Always remembered by: The Dublin Brigade, Ogligh na hÉireann; Sinn Féin Atha Cliath; By Sinn Féin Comhairle Limistéirí Atha Cliath; By Limerick Sinn Féin; By the Republican Movement, Limerick; By Waterford Sinn Féin; By Sinn Féin Head Office; By the Staff of APRN; By the Carroll/Ashe Sinn Féin Cumann, Cork; By the Malraed Farrell Sinn Féin Cumann, South Inner City; By the Ernie O'Malley Sinn Féin Cumann, Dublin Central; By the Cole/Colley Sinn Féin Cumann, Dublin North East; By the Logue/Marley Sinn Féin Cumann, Dublin; By the Russell/McDonnell Sinn Féin Cumann, North Inner City; By the James Connolly Sinn Féin Cumann, Ballyfermot; By the Republican Movement; By the Sinn Féin Cumann, Markets; By the Sean Martin/Sean Terry Sinn Féin Cumann, Short Strand; By the Tony Nolan/Joe Downey Sinn Féin Cumann, Markets, Lower Ormeau, Belfast; By the Wishaw Celtic Supporters Club, Scotland; By the Thompson Association and by the Republican Band Alliance.

DOHERTY. Deepest sympathy is extended to the family and friends of Volunteer Martin Doherty, who gave his life to save others. From Fergus and family, Dublin.

DOHERTY. Deepest sympathy is extended to the family and friends of Volunteer Martin Doherty, who gave his life to save others. From Mayo Mick.

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Beannachtaí

HEANEY. Birthday greetings to John A (H), Long Kesh. From Jenny, who loves you; From the Dougan and Kelly families; From Dymphna Martin.

Buíochas

CLINTON. Jim, Roseanne and Siobhán would like to thank all those who sympathised with them after the cruel murder of Theresa. Thanks to those who sent Mass cards, sympathy cards, floral tributes, gifts and who called to the house and also those who attended the funeral. Thanks to St Dominic's High School and my friends Terry and John for providing the music at Theresa's funeral Mass. To Canon McCann and Father Curran for all their help and support, also Bishop Dallat for attending the house and funeral Masses. Thanks to Healy's Social Directors for their perfect handling of the funeral arrangements. Thanks also to all republican POWs at home and abroad for their cards and letters of support. To my friends and comrades in the Republican Movement, to my friends in the West Belfast Taxi Association who helped and are still helping in so many ways, Thank You. Special thanks to Sean McKnight and Christy for their words of wisdom. To my brother Seán for taking a lot of the burden of my shoulders and to my mother, for his shoulder and sister, to my father, brother-in-law and my brother-in-law I am eternally grateful. Special thanks also to Theresa's friends at LORAG for everything they have done. Thank you girls. We hope that this acknowledgement will be accepted as a small token of our appreciation for everything that has been done for us, unfortunately it would be impossible to thank everyone individually. The holy sacrifice of the Mass will be offered for everyone's health and safety.

THE CONTINUING SAGA of the drunken 26-County Consul General in San Francisco finally ground to a halt this week with a \$1,200 fine but no jail sentence.

Declan Kelly was twice the limit when he ran a red light in his car earlier this month, causing an accident which injured five people and damaged six vehicles and a bus shelter.

On Tuesday, 24 May, the cannonball consul's attorney pleaded guilty to drunken driving at a Municipal Court hearing. The question of claiming diplomatic immunity had been dropped by the consul despite initial attempts by Kelly, claiming that he was on official business. Indeed, reports from the hospital where he was brought after the accident revealed that Kelly's behaviour had been somewhat less than diplomatic. They complained that he was surly, refused alcohol tests and tried to spit blood on them. In court his diplomatic status did, however, save him from having his licence automatically suspended for refusing to take the breath test.

But though he escaped jail, Kelly will have to serve five days in an alternative programme to be designated by the sheriff's office. He receives three years probation, a \$1,200 fine and his victims' out-of-pocket expenses. He will also attend a first offender's programme which may include mandatory driving school.

FAMOUS FIANNA FAIL — Parachutist and European parliament hopeful Olive Braiden is proving a less than enthusiastic wearer of the FF label, at least if her posters are anything to go by.

In fashionable areas of the southside the only reference to her host body is by

A FORMER Scottish Royal Marine commando, who was born in Dublin, has finally won a 20-year battle to prove that his time spent helping the occupation of the Six Counties left him mentally affected.

Derek McAdam joined the marines in 1956, but what he described as a "split in loyalties" affected him when he was sent to the Six Counties in the early 1970s. "I was a weapons instructor and I was training commandos to shoot my countrymen," he admitted.

McAdam got depressed and was sent to a military psychiatric hospital before being given a medical discharge.

For almost two decades the Ministry of Defence and DHSS in Scotland refused to accept that his time spent occupying Ireland had been the cause of his depression until a few weeks ago when he was awarded £25,000 and a £200-a-week pension.



PROGRESSIVE DEMOCRAT no-hoper in Dublin, Stephen 'Simply the Best' O'Byrne, has brought out a colour newsletter which he hopes will transform the candidate's current gloomy prospects.

The eight-page newsletter features endorsements from prominent PDs and their supporters but one in particular stands out from the rest. Prominently displayed in the centre pages is a piece, complete with photograph, titled 'Pat Cox Says "Oui".'

But of course in the interim Pat Cox has exclaimed "Mais Non!" and deserted his friends' sinking ship to launch his own independent invasion of Europe in Munster.

Pat Cox Says "Oui"

"Stephen O'Byrne and myself started working together in the Progressive Democrats early in 1986. Since then he has been one of the principal architects making the Party the force and influence it is today. He is a tireless, committed worker, who is utterly committed to improving the welfare of this country and its people. I believe Stephen O'Byrne will make an outstanding MEP for Dublin in Europe, and it is a privilege for me to endorse him."



'SIMPLY THE BEST' was also targeted this week on Monday night. *Sunday Business* Post editor Declan Kibred had commented on seeing many of his posters erected upside down. Q&A presenter John Bowman remarked that "it looks as if he has more hair that way".

THIS WEEK I WANT to highlight a letter from a lonely Scottish soldier, at present isolated in hostile territory.

Private Dawson wrote to the *Daily Record* on behalf of himself and his mates, complaining that "it always seems to be the soldiers who go to places like Bosnia and the Gulf who get all the praise, but everyone forgets we're fighting out here too". You will have guessed by now that Jock is only of interest to us because he and his fellow-countrymen are in the middle of a tour

of occupation in the Six Counties at the moment, in Whitehead, Belfast, to be exact.

Jock promises that all letters will get a reply and would be a great boost to morale. Should any, or indeed all of our readers like to write to these terrorising tourists with helpful advice for increasing their prospects for longevity, for example — "Go home!" this is the address to write to:

24788535 Private Dawson, 6 Platoon B Company, 1AeSH, Fort Whitehead, Belfast, BFPO 801, Ireland.

Dúirt Siad

If it wasn't for him we would have all been killed. — Woman customer of the Widow Scallan's pub, Sunday morning, 22 May, on the actions of Volunteer Martin 'Doco' Doherty, who died while tackling a UVF death squad.

Pub hero gives life to stop loyalist slaughter. — Front page headline in the *Irish News*, Monday, 23 May.

His death has shocked us all but by his actions he undoubtedly saved many lives when he attacked and stopped the British-sponsored death squad on Saturday night. — Finglas Sinn Féin representative Harry Fleming at Volunteer Doherty's funeral.

Many republicans are buried here in Glasnevin Cemetery but I doubt very much if there are any braver than Volunteer Martin Doherty. He was an exceptional man. — Sinn Féin Ard Chomhairle member Martin McGuinness, giving the graveside oration at the funeral.

These attacks are being carried out at a time when republicans are considering British government clarification. It would appear that the loyalists are trying to intimidate us but it will not work. — Sinn Féin Councillor Brendan Curran, Tuesday, 24 May.

He urged the teenager to put the past behind him and "profit from this experience". — Comments from Diplock Judge Kerr when finally acquitting Ciaran McAllister, one of the Ballymurphy Seven.

I feel great for Ciaran and his family and I hope the rest of the boys are free soon. They should be sitting here on those seats now, with us. If there had been audio and visual tape recordings made those kids would not be sitting in jail now. — Maura McCrory, mother of another of the Ballymurphy Seven who was previously acquitted. Like McAllister and the others, he was charged on the basis of an uncorroborated confession.

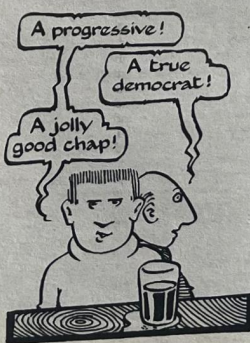
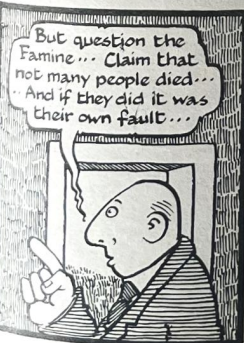
The government has published the first public exchange of views with the political wing of the IRA since the foundation of the Irish Free State in 1922. — Channel Four News, Thursday, 19 May.

Thatcher stoutly defended the sinking of the *Belgrano* saying that it represented a threat to British troops and that the sinking was totally justified. This, as it subsequently turned out was a blatant lie... The whole thing goes to prove that it's still possible to commit murder and get away with it even in this day and age. — Mick MacConnell in the *Kerryman*, Friday, 20 May.

Notes



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News

(continued from front page)

and factory workers had come out to see the cortege pass. The procession took over two hours to reach Glasnevin, where another very large crowd waited. Well over 2,000 people had joined in by the time the coffin was carried through the graveyard and the hillside overlooking the Doherty family plot was packed.

Chairing the ceremonies at the graveside, chairperson of Dublin Sinn Féin Seán Crowe announced the laying of wreaths on behalf of the General Headquarters Staff of Oglagh na hÉireann, the Dublin Brigade, the Northern and Southern Commands, the republican POWs in England, and his prison comrades in Portlaoise and Limerick. Sinn Féin General Secretary Lucilla Bhreathnach laid the wreath on behalf of Ard Chomhairle Sinn Féin and a wreath was also laid on behalf of Sinn Féin Atha Cliath.

Seán Crowe extended condolences to Doco's loved ones who had thrown their final floral tributes into the grave after the coffin was lowered. He thanked those who had come from all parts of Ireland, but especially those from Finglas, and those who were in the Widow Scallan's on Saturday night.

He then introduced Doco's friend, Finglas republican Harry Fleming. In a moving tribute, Harry Fleming said:

"I have known the Doherty family all my life. He was brought up in Finglas, part of a large and loving family.

"But he was a bit special. He could see the injustices going on in one part of our country. He set about doing something about it.

"At a time when many other young people of his age were out enjoying themselves, Martin Doherty was devoting his time to freeing his country.

"He spent many of his young years in jail here, but not as a criminal, as an Irish republican prisoner of war. He played his part in a struggle that was centuries old before he was born.

"I don't know when he made the decision to join the IRA and his family didn't either, but they respected his commitment.

"His death has shocked us all, his friends, family and community.

"His action undoubtedly saved many lives when he attacked and stopped that British-sponsored death squad.



● Martin McGuinness delivering the main oration at the graveside, praised the courage and quick-thinking of Martin, which saved so many lives

"What his friends will remember is the Doco who enjoyed a pint and the crack. Doco always enjoyed it more when you bought a jar for him."

Harry Fleming then said that he wanted to quote from the bible which vividly expressed Martin Doherty's actions: "Greater love has no man than he lay down his life for his friends."

Harry Fleming concluded by again praising the courage of his fallen friend and comrade:

"He lived as he died, a committed and brave republican. Martin Doherty, we salute you."

Sinn Féin Ard Chomhairle member Martin McGuinness gave the oration in which he said:

"Today is a sombre occasion for Irish republicans as we extend condolences to Volunteer Martin Doherty's family and fiancée on behalf of the entire republican family.

"It was my privilege to be here on Easter Sunday to give the republican speech at the Dublin Easter Commemoration, to honour all those republicans from this city who fell in the fight for Irish freedom.

"Many Irish republicans are buried here, but I doubt very much if there could be any braver than Volunteer Martin Doherty.

He was an exceptional Irishman."

McGuinness then spoke of the risks involved in being a republican before moving on to talk about the pro-British death squads who came to Dublin on Saturday night:

"Volunteer Martin Doherty was a man who knew exactly what the political situation was in this country. He had made a

commitment to the struggle for freedom.

"As a republican activist, he knew exactly what could happen.

"He prevented the deaths of many people on that night. I have no doubt of it.

"One man prevented that because he was quick-witted, and knew what was happening. He

decided that the only way to stop them was to lay down his life to prevent them.

"This loyalist death squad came to Dublin to do what they have always done, to kill Irish nationalists and to try to detach the present Dublin government from the peace process. I hope Albert Reynolds has the courage to continue with that process.

"But it had a dual purpose — to intimidate, to threaten, to scare and to cow Irish republicans. We will not be threatened, we will not be scared, we will not be intimidated or cowed by the British government and their death squads.

"They came because they want the gerrymandered, sectarian Six-County state to continue. They don't want change. They don't want peace. They are Ireland's answer to Inkatha in South Africa, to the Contras in Nicaragua and to the right-wing extremists in Israel.

"They are supported by British intelligence who everyone in Ireland knows was responsible for the Dublin and Monaghan bombings. This morning, John Bruton had Leinster House stood down for a half-an-hour. He was raising

a row about republicans escorting the body of Martin Doherty. When he is asked by reporters about the North he always starts by saying: 'I condemn the violence of the IRA.' When Mary Harney is asked by reporters she always starts by saying: 'I condemn the violence of the IRA.'

"But if you ask them how to bring about peace these people are speechless, they haven't got a clue.

"The opposition parties are nothing short of quislings and West Brits. They don't want to talk about the causes of the conflict. That's what we are at. Sinn Féin is trying to get all the parties involved in a peace process. We will not be distracted from that process."

In conclusion, he said that the British had to recognise that the settlement of 1921 had failed. That failure still effects everyone on this island as the events of the past days had shown. Of Martin Doherty, he said:

"We have come to bury a brave republican Volunteer. As far as I am concerned he was a freedom fighter, he was a freedom seeker. He was trying to bring about a democratic Ireland. He is up there with Bobby Sands, Pádraig Pearse and the rest of them."



● The coffin of Martin Doherty is carried by his fiancée and sister



● Finglas republican Harry Fleming, who spoke of the special place Doco held with Dublin republicans



● The loved ones of Volunteer Martin Doherty have suffered a tragic loss. He laid down his life to save hundreds of other lives