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P·E·O·P·L·E·S
BULLETIN

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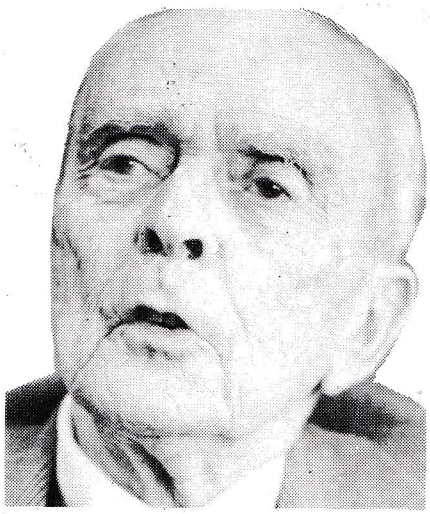
MacBRIDE CAMPAIGN CONTINUES

AS the race for American Presidential nominations enters its final stages, the pressure upon Britain's Apartheid Economy in the Six Counties has grown to an unprecedented level.

In response to the organisation of a Presidential Forum by the Irish American Unity Conference, the two front-running Democratic candidates for nomination, Michael Dukakis and Jesse Jackson have publicly endorsed the MacBride Principles for Northern Ireland and committed themselves to signing them into Congressional law should they be elected to the Presidency.

Simultaneously three Congressional Bills on job discrimination in Northern Ireland have been entered in the House of Representatives by Congressmen Fish, Kennedy and Donnelly. The Fish Bill seeks adoption of the MacBride Principles; the Kennedy Bill seeks to impose restrictions on the award of US Government contracts (with Shorts high on the list of target companies); while the Donnelly Bill aims at providing tax concessions to new investment in the Six Counties, with deprived areas being given priority.

Surprisingly, the SDLP leader John Hume, who has opposed the MacBride Principles, has endorsed the Donnelly



Bill despite its inclusion of economic sanctions and its implicit endorsement of quotas in employment.

This is viewed as an encouraging development by the Irish American Unity Conference groups campaigning in favour of the MacBride Principles, and is seen as a major shift in the SDLP leader's position on the exercise of economic sanctions to pressurise the British Government on job discrimination in the Six Counties. Unity Conference groups are now making arrangements to meet with all three Congressmen, with a view to exploring the possibility of unifying the efforts in the House of Representatives, and swinging the entire Irish American electorate behind their campaign.

Meanwhile the 26-County Taoiseach, Mr. Charles Haughey, has once again personally endorsed the MacBride Principles. In an unreported 'Question and Answer' session at the Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, on 22nd April, Mr. Haughey replied to a question from Ken Maginnis, Unionist MP for Fermanagh, in the following terms:

"I think also the MacBride Principles, which many legislators here throughout the United States are adopting, have immediate and direct bearing on democratic principles in the form of fair employment practices. Legislators throughout the United States in their own best democratic judgement are adopting these princi-

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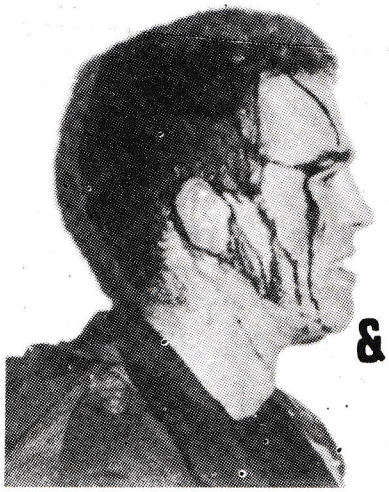

Harassment by RUC & British army

THE PHOTOGRAPH shows another victim of RUC/British army harassment — one of many in Strabane.

Seamus McCallion and his brother, Noel were brutally assaulted by British soldiers and RUC members.

Meanwhile in Aughnacloy team-mates of Aidan Mc Anespie are being harassed on the streets and at the permanent checkpoint. On Thursday May 19th after football training British soldiers and RUC arrested four club members Paul Stansfield, Sean McKenna, Michael Muldoon and John Cuddy and charged them with obstruction, resisting arrest and verbal abuse.

The Community for Justice asks nationalists to keep a record of harassment, to send a copy to us, and to your solicitor. You should also contact your doctor and priest.

● *(continued from page 1)*

ples and seeking to have them applied in Northern Ireland as a rule which will ensure the elimination of discrimination in employment and I think that it is a very valid straightforward democratic principle."

The Taoiseach's fresh endorsement of the MacBride Principles comes as a further series of successes are achieved by Unity Conference campaigners at state level, with the signing of MacBride Bills into law by the Governors of the states of Maine and Minnesota, and the passage of a Bill into the Illinois House of Representatives. Seven American states have now written the Principles into law, as have a dozen major City Corporations The campaign is also active in the States of New Hampshire, Ohio, Florida, California, Michigan, Kentucky, Texas and Iowa, whie 17 out of the 24 American companies located in the Six Counties will face Shareholder Resolutions at their Annaul Shareholder meetings in the coming weeks.

Six-County nationalists will have a fresh opportunity to educate themselves in the American campaign, and to endorse the MacBride Principles with the planned visit to Belfast in June of Sister Regina Murphy, a leading MacBride Campaigner, and Coprorate Repsonsibility Co-ordinator for the Sisters of Charity in New York.

Seminars on the MacBride Principles are to be held in Belfast's Conway Mill on June 22nd and Derry's Union Hall the following day. Speakers include Inez McCromack of NUPE and Sr Regina Murphy.

IT'S UP TO YOU

THE BRITISH ARMY murder of Northern nationalist, Aidan MacAnespie, while walking through a checkpoint on his way to a GAA match in February, points to the nature of the British presence in our six north eastern counties.

Over the years many GAA members and fans have been killed by British forces in our country. Nationalist-minded people in the North continue to be denied their rights by a system which the Belfast priest, Fr Des Wilson, has described as "an abominable tyranny."

Yet it is to this British regime that the present Fianna Fail Government intends to extradite Irish citizens.

First on the list to be handed over is Robert Russell, who escaped from the H-Blocks in 1983, and was arrested in the South on foot of a British warrant for his extradition. The Dublin Government plans to hand him over to the RUC and British army in August. Four other Irish citizens face imminent extradition: Dermot Finucane, Paul Kane, Sean McClafferty and Owen Carron (who was Bobby Sands' election agent and was elected MP for Fermanagh/South Tyrone after Sands' death).

Are you prepared to see these men handed over to the system which killed Aidan MacAnespie, framed the Birmingham Six, Guildford Four and the Maguire Family, condones shoot-to-kill policies, executed three IRA members in Gibraltar, made the PTA permanent, holds people in prison and is totally anti-Irish.

<u>If not you can help:</u>

- **Write to the Justice Minister, Gerry Collins, calling on him to stop Russell's extradition.**
- **Raise motions in your local GAA club, trade union, or other organisations against extradition and get them to write to Collins and your local TDs and councils.**

Contact your local anti-extradition committee.
Irish Anti-Extradition Committee
Basement Office, 29 Mountjoy Square, Dublin 1

Blame the people

by DES WILSON



The easiest way to get out of doing anything about people's problems — what is it?

Blame the people for their own misfortunes of course. All the best people do this.

The *Irish Times* writer named O'Connor for example; (writing for a U.S. readership needless to say) declares: *"The people of West Belfast are wildly paranoic at the best of times."*

The wife of a former Taoiseach, Joan Fitzgerald, said (speaking to a Canadian audience): *"Ireland is of course a violent place."*

A British member of Parliament, Mr Mallon, (speaking to an English audience mainly) said: *"One wonders what turns the people of West Belfast into savages."*

A journalist on the far right named Cruise O'Brien said (addressing anyone who would listen): *"They* (that is, the nationalist people of the north-east) *are some of the world's best conmen and con-women."*

So it comes as no surprise when the latest propaganda ploy is spoken (and widely reported by the British Information Services abroad, although spoken in a relatively obscure church, at least by world standards — after all it was not the Pope speaking in St Peter's Rome, or Cardinal O'Connor in New York or the Cardinal Archbishop of Paris), and when this speech also blamed some Irish people for the fact that government has systematically starved the people of industry for the past sixty years.

WHO'S TO BLAME?

Who do you think was to blame for sixty years of bad government by which whole sectors of the people were deprived of a livelihood?

The IRA.

And who do you think was responsible for the troops marching into the few small factories the people had created and destroying them at gunpoint?

The IRA.

And who do you think was responsible for the wholesale discrimination against the people of West Belfast by which they cannot even develop their own business because of lack of capital and expertise which would be readily available to a Dutch industrialist settling down in Ballymoney?

The IRA.

Now this is being said by a bishop, so let's recognise how serious it is, in spite of how inept it looks.

This interpretation of the low state of West Belfast's economy (an interpretation

COMMENT

SINCE August 1969 the British presence in the Six Counties has meant:

- In excess of 300,000 premises, mostly private homes, have been raided and searched by British forces
- In excess of 2,000 people have been subjected to internment without charge or trial
- In excess of 51,000 people have been detained for interrogation by British forces. Of these, only 10% were subsequently charged with any offence and many of those were found to have made self-incriminating statements under duress, including torture
- Torture and the maltreatment of persons detained by British forces have featured in various reprots, including those of Amnesty International
- The miscarraige of justice has become the norm in non-jury Diplock Courts, with convictions in most cases being determined solely on the basis of extracted statements of admission
- In the period 1069-87 there were 2,629 conflict-related deaths

Besides the above statistics, which are based on figures published by the British government's Northern Ireland Office, what else does British rule mean for nationalists?

- To be stopped on our roads and our streets at any time day or night
- To be held for up to four hours on the road without any reason being given
- To be beaten, humiliated and abused in our own country

This is the reality of life for working-class nationalists in the Six Counties under Britain's army of occupation.

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The Community For Justice
4 John Street
Omagh
Co. Tyrone
Ireland.

now officially accepted as authoriative in the Catholic Church) is that the British government, or the Stormont government, was not responsible for what happened. Even fairly biased commentators outside the churches do not say this. The stated policy of the Catholic church is to hold the IRA responsible for the low economic state of West Belfast. The state is freed from blame.

PEDDLED

This interpretation is so inept that one wonders whether it is right to refer to it at all – better let it die of its own intellectual malnutrition. But on the other hand the words of Catholic bishops are being peddled round the world by British Information Services (that is, when they are criticising their own people). So when anyone misrepresents the situation in our areas of Belfast or elsewhere and lessens the guilt of the British government and thus damages our own people or any section of them, then we must ensure that such misrepresentation is countered. No matter who is doing the misrepresentation. Sad, but in our circumstances absolutely necessary.

It happens in other countries. Bishops in Nicaragua for example upholding the right of people who misruled for generations to keep on ruling, attacking people who opposed them in the only way they could. If the bishops really want to stop a military campaign then let them meet those involved, let them understand the reasons for what they do, let them give up some of the control they themselves have of the people's affairs, let them spend on industry some of the money they have (or could get by selling property) and let them treat with respect the decisions and the choices of their own people. Governments can look after their own interests, they don't need clergy to do it for them.

The easiest way to get out of doing anything about people's problems is to blame the people for them. But it is not the most honourable way.

Where the government has created a situation leading to war the government is primarily responsible. The church's responsibility is to speak the truth, not to protect the government. If the church protects an unjust government at the expense of its own people's reputation then it will go the way of churches elsewhere.

That is, the most wealthy portion of the middle class supporting it and about 85% of the population having nothing to do with it. If that is what Catholic Christians want, then so be it.

But a Catholic Christian minority must not achieve that appalling goal at the expense of the rest of us.

UPDATE

GIBRALTAR INQUEST POSTPONED

THE INQUEST on Mairead Farrell, Danny McCann and Sean Savage shot dead by the British SAS in Gibraltar will not now take place on June 27th as arranged.

Meanwhile a British Minister has refused to say who in the Cabinet sanctioned the killings.

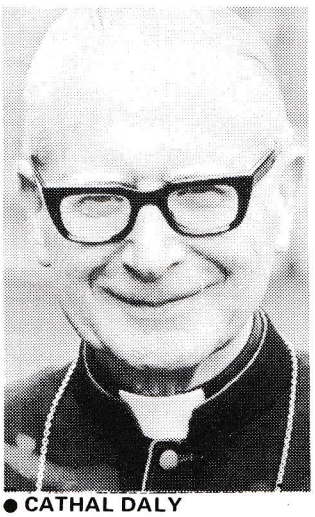
BEING USED

BRITISH government Minister at the NIO Brian Mawhinney is fond of getting his photograph taken with Catholic priests and nuns – and occasionally with a Catholic Bishop.

This is all deliberate policy to make the British government and its institutions more acceptable to the Catholic Community. When are these clergy going to stop allowing themselves to be used.

WALKOUT AT FUNERAL MASS

MOURNERS at the funeral mass of one of the Avenue Bar victims walked out in protest when Bishop Cahal Daly launched into yet another attack on the IRA.



● CATHAL DALY

Afterwards one of the mourners said that the Bishop was *"out of touch with his people"*.

JOURNALIST SPEAKS OUT

FORMER *New York Times* London Correspondent, Jo Thomas, has written about how a British government official tried to bribe her to prevent her investigating the shoot-to-kill policy.

She says that she uncovered 47 cases where the British forces murdered people rather than arresting them

Low Inten

FOLLOWING the call by Bishop Cahal Daly of Down and Conor for economic investment in the West Belfast area, Bernard O'Reilly looks at the increasing role of the Catholic Church in deciding who works and who doesn't. And he reveals that the economic patronage which the Church has been allowed, is given at a high price.

FRANK KITSON, Guru of British counter-insurgency doctrine, could scarcely have conceived that within a decade of publication, his book, *Low Intensity Operations,* would have become the corner-stone of every element of British governmental policy in the Six Counties.

The single facet of Kitsonian doctrine which always presented major difficulties in its application was Co-Aptation. Kitson described this as an essential supportive element for subverting political or military opposition to the regime, by recruiting compliant elements of the rebellious population into active involvement with the regime through the acquisition of a share in the power and control (principally economic patronage) exercised by the state. Thus the rebellious population at large would be sucked away from support for its militant elements, who would be left exposed and isolated at the mercy of the regime. He described this process of Co-Aptation as *"drowning the revolution in babies milk".*

Essential to the success of this tactic was the ability of the British State to offer real power to constitutional nationalists who would be afforded the capacity to exercise economic patronage towards a client population on a significant scale, thereby weaning support away from militant republicanism, and acting as a stabilising force for partition.

The difficulty in delivering the Quid Pro Quo of Economic Patronage to the SDLP lay in the absence of cohesive political structures in the Six Counties through which such patronage could be dispensed to the best advantage. SDLP organisation was weak and often non-existent in many of the areas where the policy of Co-Aptation would be most needed. Another structure did exist, which was highly organised in every area and which mirrored the political interests of the SDLP – the Catholic Church.

With the Hillsborough Agreement of November 1985, a formalised framework for the introduction of Co-Aptation was created. Henceforth the Dublin government, the SDLP and the Catholic Church would ally themselves with Britain in combating republicanism, in return for political and economic power.

But even before the Hillsborough Agreement, British government money was being funnelled to the Catholic Church establishment in West Belfast albeit in a somewhat unco-ordinated manner, via umbrella organisations such as Cathedral Community Enterprises. This was one of almost two dozen enterprise groups formed by priests in West Belfast parishes with the approval of Bishop Cahal Daly to take advantage of the Action for Community Employment grants introduced by government in 1983. What was lacking, however, was centralised control and direction which could maximise the financial potential of the operations.

Thus Friars Bush Limited was conceived.



● FRANK KITSON



● *ACE scheme workers in Milltown Cemetery*

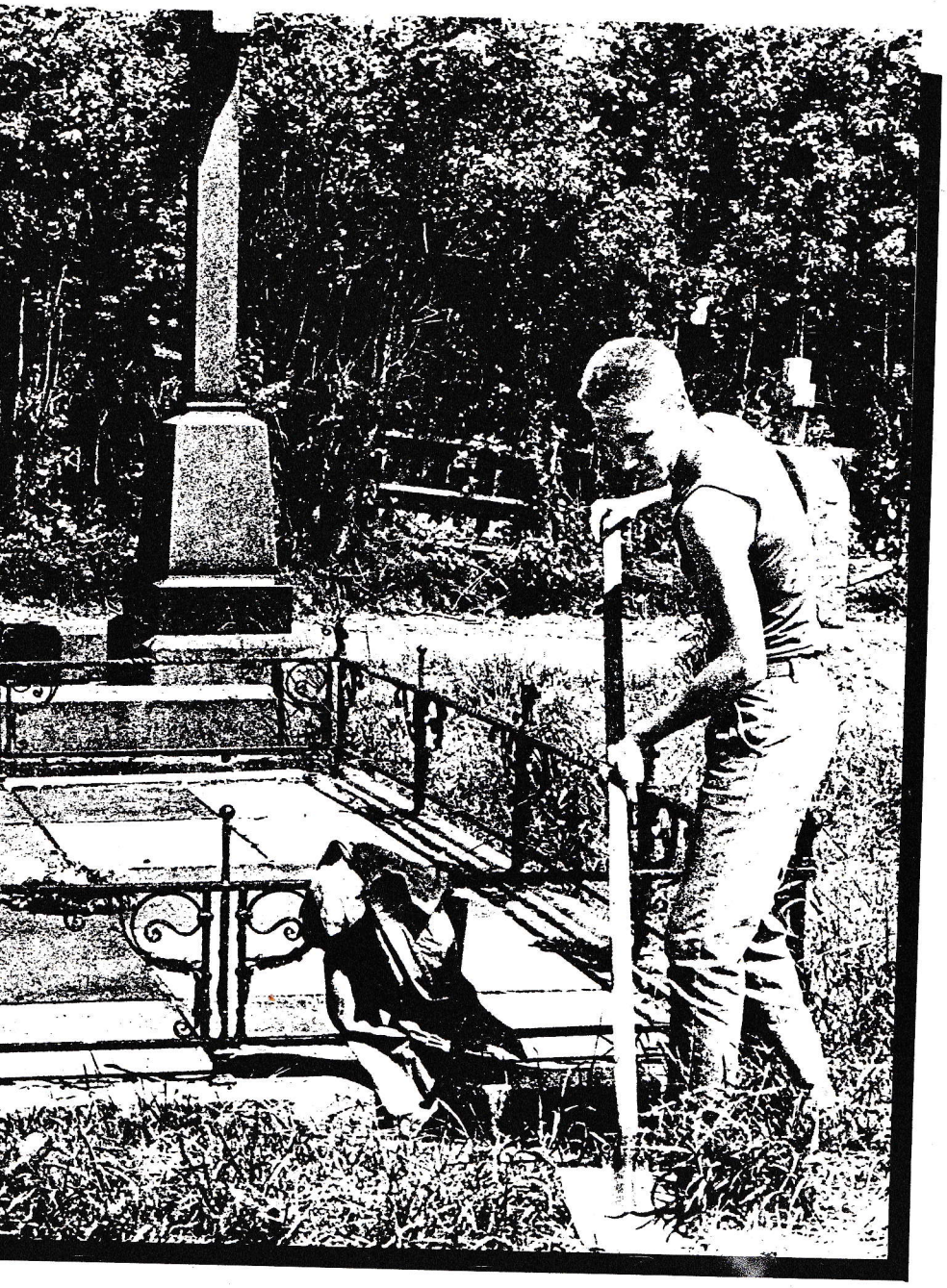
This company was incorporated on October 9th 1985, engaging in property dealing, estate agency, building and development, financing, credit control, lending, borrowing, and making grants to any charitable or public bodies, amongst its other innumerable objectives.

Its directors were Most Reverend Dr. Cahal B. Daly; Rev Professor James McEvoy; Most Reverend Patrick Walsh; and its company secretary was Mr. Vincent P. Fitzpatrick. Its registered nominal share capital on incorporation was £50,000.

Friars Bush Limited is legally empowered to control, direct and support any

sity Operation

Y BERNARD O'REILLY



financial activity which its directors consider fitting, including Cathedral Community Enterprises. To achieve effective results a 'business hustler' was required to co-ordinate all the Church's business activities in West Belfast. The Hustler was Father Matt Wallace.

Fr. Wallace was seconded from the Wexford Diocese in the early '70's at the request of Bishop Philbin, and after a brief spell as Chaplin to Nazareth Lodge, he was appointed Curate to the Oliver Plunkett parish in Lenadoon.

His first exercise in business management was in 1977 when three local community workers conceived a scheme to acquire and develop the abandoned Colin Glen factory in Lenadoon as a People's Co-Operative and Industrial Training Workshop. Within weeks Fr. Wallace cobbled together a committee of local businessmen and professionals and hi-jacked the scheme and the factory, which developed as Colinbrook Workshops, firmly under the control of Father Matt Wallace and the Oliver Plunkett parish.

Under the aegis of Colinbrook Workshops, the Oliver Plunkett Environmental Project was launched with the inception of the ACE scheme in 1983, and close personal relationships developed between Fr. Wallace and officials heading up the Enterprise Ulster Scheme for environmental improvement works.

With his business appetite whetted, Fr. Wallace conceived the West Belfast Development Trust which developed a scheme supported by the local Enterprise Development Unit and the International Fund for Ireland to acquire a Workspace Site on the Glen Road from the Industrial Development Board.

While this activity was taking place in Lenadoon, the Grosvenor Environmental Project had secured a cantract for the maintenance of Milltown Cemetry which would involve the employment of an additional two dozen ACE Scheme workers. This project is an offshot of the Lower Falls Youth Training Project established in March 1978, in Northumberland Street, an independent, cross-community enterprise funded entirely by the Department of Economic Development (DED).

The contract had scarcely been agreed before Grosvenor Environmental was notified that it could not be honoured, since maintenance of Milltown Cemetry had been assigned to Oliver Plunkett Environmental Project. Thus the potential for expansion of an independent community employment project was stifled at birth, and Fr. Wallace expanded his business empire to employ ACE workers 'in good standing' with the church.

Meanwhile other business enterprises were blossoming in West Belfast.

In mid-1986 the abandoned Peter Pan Bakery on Springfield Road was purchased by an Antrim farmer, Michael Hurrell. Hurrell owns huge tracts of agricultural land in Antrim, which include the former home and vast land-holdings of Alastair McGuckian, the international 'Massstock' agri-economist who sits on the Board of the International Fund for Ireland.

The Peter Pan complex was developed as the Peter Pan Social Club, with Hurrell as its landlord; the Clowney Workshops, administered by the Springfield Charitable Trust. Hurrell is also the chairperson of the Townsend Trust, established under the auspices of Cathedral Community Enterprises, and funded by LEDU and the International Fund for Ireland, to purchase industrial units at Townsend Street from the International Development Board.

Early in 1987, Fr. Wallace was transferred from Oliver Plunkett Parish by Bishop Daly, to St. Peter's Parish, with the brief of stimulating Cathedral Community Enterprises and co-ordinating Church-based employment schemes throughout West Belfast.

● *(continued on next page)*

Low Intensity Operation

● *(continued from previous page)*

Concurrently a campaign was instituted against independent community enterprises to deprive them of ACE funding and other forms of government grant-aid.

Springhill Community Education Project was deprived of Education grants; while *LEDU*, denied grants to business enterprises being established in Conway Mill. Twinbrook Community Association was deprived ACE funding, and MacAirt pre-school playgroup in Short Strand was also denied funding. All of these job-creation community enterprises were attacked on a co-ordinated basis by government agencies on the grounds that they were "republican front-groups", a canard publicised by SDLP spokespersons, who supported governmental economic repression.

Other well-established community enterprises, such as the Greater West Belfast Community Council, against which no such allegations had been made, also began to experience unexpected difficulties in obtaining additional *ACE* funding for job development; while a well-founded scheme by Grosvenor Environmental Project, supported by the Belfast Development Agency for the establishment of community workshops in the J.E. Ball building in North Howard Street has been frozen for two years.

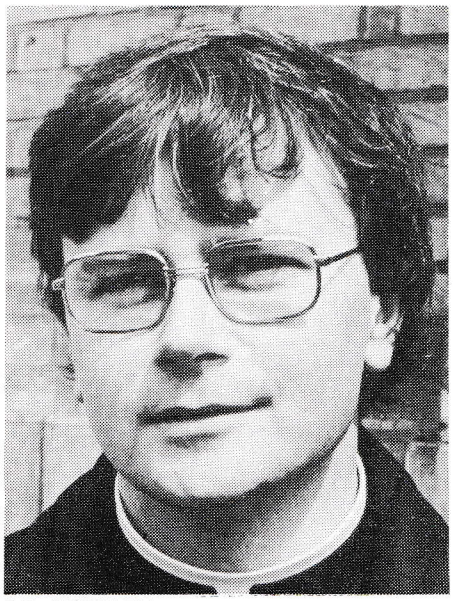
Divis Joint Development Committee, established by the Divis Residents' Association, formulated a similar proposal for the development of workshops in the Agnew Buildings in North Howard Street, which was rejected out of hand by the Department of Economic Development, and refused funding by the International Fund.

Simultaneously, however, Corpus Christi Enterprises in Ballymurphy, an off-shoot of Cathedral Community Enterprises was awarded 44 new *ACE* jobs in February 1988.

Fr Wallace's transfer to St. Peter's as the spear-head of Cathedral Enterprises, coincided with the establishment by government in April 1987, of the Belfast Area Action Team Project (BAAT). Heading up the *BAAT* is Hugh McCloskey, seconded from his role as co-ordinator of the Youth Training Programme in the Department of Manpower Services.

McCloskey administers development grant aid to church based groups under the control of Cathedral Enterprises through the Falls Development Trust, another Fr Wallace-controlled organisation, similar to the West Belfast Development Trust, of which he remains an ex-officio member.

McCloskey mounted a campaign of denigration against the Lower Falls Youth Training Project, funded totally by the DED for ten years, which prompted the DED to commission a Consultancy Investigation of the effectiveness of this project. In the event, the investigation has satisfied even the rigid criteria applied by the Department.



● Fr BUCKLEY

However, no such investigation has been instituted into the operations of Cathedral Community Enterprises; Clowney Workshops; Townsend Charitable Trust; Colinbrook Workshops; Springfield Charitable Trust; the West Belfast Development Trust; Oliver Plunkett Environmental Project; Corpus Christi Services; St. Teresa's Community Enterprises, or any of the innumerable other church-based employment enterprises throughout West Belfast, together accounting for approximately 500 ACE jobs and more than £3 millions of direct governmental funding, all being marshalled under the umbrella of Friars Bush Ltd.

Father Pat Buckley, Fr Wallace's predecessor on St. Peter's Parish, who was sacked by Bishop Daly, recently described this economic management programme as an exercise by government in policing West Belfast through the Catholic priesthood, with the reward being unlimited government funding of Catholic church enterprises, and unrestricted control of Catholic Church education.

A respected community worker in West Belfast enlarged on Buckley's propisition thus:

"In the early seventies the Catholic Church discovered that it had lost its grip on the population of West Belfast, with decreasing church attendances and shrinking collections. So it solved its financial problems by becoming a major business consortium supported by the government. It controls the people's souls on Sundays; and their bodies for the rest of the week. If you don't appear at mass on Sunday, you don't work in West Belfast. The Catholic Church has become a prisoner of the Northern Ireland Office, and working class people have become prisoners of the Church."

A prisoner of the Church maybe; but it is a compliant and wealthy prisoner, effectively co-apted as a partner of government in stifling all independent community employment initiatives in West Belfast.

The current Governmental-Church strategy has evolved through a sustained process of direct communication between government ministers and officials and members of the clergy and hierarchy over a period of years, culminating in a large-scale programme of dinner engagements for a high proportion of priests from West Belfast at Stormont House in October/ November 1987.

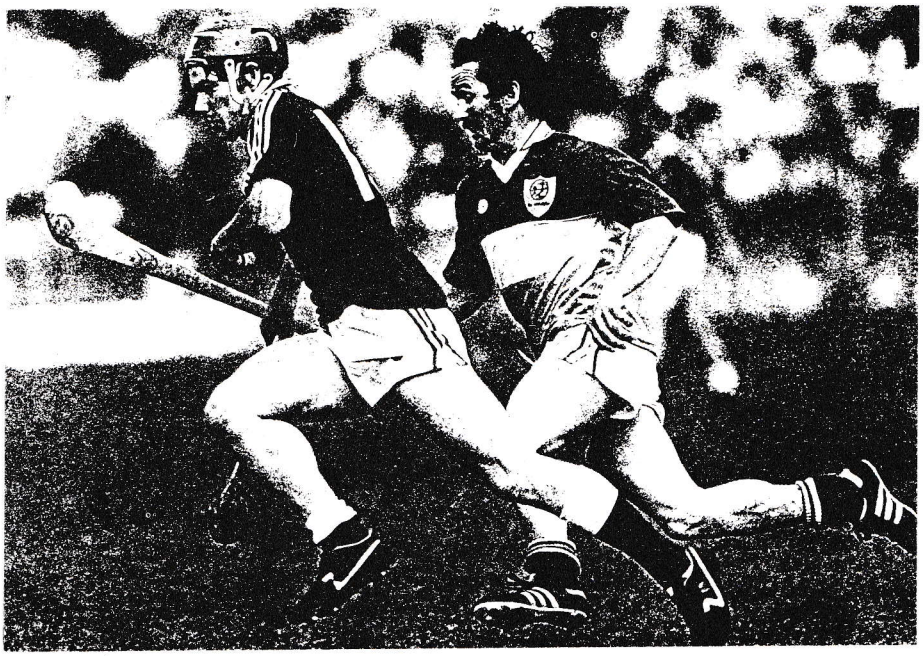
At these dinners, Richard Needham, Minister for the Environment, supported by other ministers and senior NIO civil servants expressed the concern of government at the failure to erode the electoral support for Sinn Fein. The dinners were also attended by leading Catholic businessmen – notably members of the Knights of Columbanus, of which Fr Wallace is a chaplin.

An integrated strategy was developed to enrol the Catholic business community and the clergy in the large-scale economic management of West Belfast, and unlimited funding was assured through government agencies and the International Fund.

In return, the infrastructure of econimic apartheid would remain in tact and the Catholic business and clerical community would be enrolled in the government's campaign to oppose the MacBride Principles in the United States, aimed at undermining the system of Economic Apartheid.

Thus it was with the blessing of the Church, state and the Catholic business community that Sr. Genevieve, headmistress of St. Louise's Comprehensive School on Falls Road travelled to Minnesota to testify against the MacBride Principles on behalf of the British Government.

Dr. Joe Hendron may well describe West Belfast as *"the Soweto of these is*lands," but Soweto it will remain, so long as the Catholic Church authorities remain financial prisoners of the Northern Ireland Office, as the Anglo-Irish accord falls apart under the weight of the Gibraltar executions and the judicial torture of the Birmingham Six, a palliative for the SDLP and Father Matt Wallace is currently being prepared at Stormont in the form of another £10 million 'Development Grant Aid' for West Belfast – to be administered by Cathedral Community Enterprises.



The GAA policy

Ulster Council President Peter Quinn has hit back at recent press criticism of the GAA.

He said that in a society as ideologically diverse as current Irish society, it is inevitable that not everyone will be happy with an organisation which has as its basic aim the strengthening of the national identity in a 32-County Ireland.

But he is adamant that almost the entire membership of the Association is unequivocally committed to that aim and he reveals that in a recent survey of youth in Ireland the vast majority understand and support the aims of the Association.

"We weren't founded nor is it our role to bring about a pural and unified country nor are we a political organisation.

"The strength of our national identity is our only concern, a concern that has increased as the attempt to bury or supress our national identity has grown."

And he insists that the GAA, contrary to a recent editorial in *The Irish News,* is neither smug nor self-righteous. *"We're constantly re-examining our role in Irish life, constantly concerned about the nature of our appeal to the youth, striving to make our views known in a progressively more hostile environment."*

And he strongly denies that the GAA believes that is is forever right, does everything right and should never change. *"Nor as an Association have we ever argued that ours is the only true form of Irishness.*

"We accept that there are and must be other views, but our vision is the one to which we are committed and of which we endeavour to persuade others.

"That vision isn't narrow, it isn't elitist, it isn't self righteous or stultifying, but it is valid and it has as much validity and relevance in 1988 as it had in 1888 or 1884."

And he argues with conviction that there is no valid reason why the GAA should change its ideals or vision to accommodate cranks or those who see no value in what the Association stands for.

"We've no intention of adapting for the benefit of self professed theorists whose theories ignore reality or whose political ideologies prompt the propagation of the impossible or impractical.

"To suggest that our finances could be better employed in bringing many GAA grounds out of the stone age is to ignore the reality that since the start of this decade over £60 million has been spent on the develoment of facilities and that in 1987 alone, the four provincial councils and central council allocated a total of £1.12 million for physical development exclusive of social centres."

And Mr Quinn claims that other sporting bodies spend their resources paying players or providing prize funds while the GAA devotes its surplus funds on developing facilities.

Defending the GAA's policy of barring membership to members of the security forces the Ulster Council President comments:

"I cannot understand how anyone would believe that those who take an oath of allegiance to a foreign state or who swear to impose foreign rules on the people of this country can be seen as committing themselves to the strengthening of our national identity."

And he expresses the view that it is not just the GAA who must blow away the cobwebs never to return, but certain members of the media who would wish the GAA to become the agents for their type of non Irish development of Irish society.

Mr Quinn's comments were prompted by an *Irish News* editorial on GAA which appeared the morning of the Annual Congress in Burdoran.

EXTRADITION — a moral issue

TO EXTRADITE an Irish citizen into the hands of a state in which discrimination and injustice are inherent is immoral. Given the whole history of political, religious, economic and social oppression that this island has suffered at the hands of Britain, no Irish person — North or South could condone the handing over of Irish citizens to a corrupt regime.

Indeed it is most dangerous to believe that Britain can treat Irish citizens with justice.

Our advice is — don't give a vote to any politician who fails to oppose extradition nor a penny to any clergyman who does not publicly condemn this immorality.

The Dublin government is duty bound to protect all Irish citizens under the Constitution. In the light of the Birmingham Six Case and the Stalker Affair their duty is even more urgent.

To consider extradition to such a regime is a national scandal and must be opposed by anyone claiming to be concerned about justice.

A republican analysis by Derry Sinn Fein Councillor Mitchel McLaughlin

WE HAVE THE RIGHT TO BE FREE



IF, under British rule, all vestiges of inequality were eradicated, if every adult of working age had secure, well-paid employment, if every person had well-heated and weatherproof accommodation, a basic injustice would remain. Irish people would still be denied that absolute right of all peoples, all nations, the right to national self-determination. Therefore, all other issues are secondary issues, in so far as they are concerned with alleviating the hardship and the oppressive characteristic of British colonial rule in Ireland.

The primary issue, the one issue on which Irish people, whether nationalist, republican, socialist or whatever, must not be ambivalent, is that Britain has no peaceful role in Ireland. Britain has always acted out of selfish interest in all its actions and policies towards Ireland. Britain, by its military campaign, by its economic control and by its political interference prevents the Irish nation achieving self-determination.

The British government has been waging an undeclared war in Ireland since 1971. Since the mid-1970's they have tried to portray the war as an internal religious conflict, irrational and incomprehensible. There is a planned and systematic campaign to terrorise the nationalist community. And while nationalists must live with all the paraphenalia of repression Britain is still publicly denying that they are at war!

We must continue to bring forward the campaign to inform the British public of the unpalatable fact that their government is waging a war against a section of the Irish people who refuse to accept that Britain has any legitimate right to be in Ireland. We must always emphasise that Irish people do not want this war, that it has been forced upon us. It was the British who occupied our country, who partitioned our country, who established an artificial statelet in the Six Counties, to maintain their interests in Ireland. They armed a sectarian militia, they approved its anti-Catholic pogroms, and in return they granted loyalists a marginally economically privileged position within the statelet.

After the uprising of 1969 in the working class areas of Belfast, Derry and other nationalist areas of the North, Britain's puppet parliament in Stormont could no longer fulfil its role as an oppressive buffer and the British Army was put on the streets, not to defend Catholics as has been claimed, but to defend and maintain British interests. Since then we have had curfews, internment, massacres, state assassinations, child-killings, all the classic techniques of colonial repression. But repression breeds resistance and no-one on the outside has the right to criticise the methods of freedom-struggling peoples. In Ireland, like other forms of struggle, the armed struggle is about achieving the political demands for national self-determination, an end to partition and the demands for national self-determination, an end to partition and the creation of a 32-County Irish republic. Armed struggle is seen as a political option. Its use is considered in terms of achieving national political aims and the efficacy of other forms of struggle.

The basis for the use of armed struggle arises from the view, that other forms of struggle on their own cannot bring about the political changes which would lead to a British disengagement and an end to the political nightmare that Northern Irish nationalists have had to endure for over 60 years.

This need to wage an armed struggle arises from within the political experience of the Northern nationalist community. This experience has clearly taught them that the inherent undemocratic nature of the Union is maintained through the use of overwhleming force by the British state; that the British state still acts against the democratic wish of the majority of the Irish people by its commitment to maintain the Union; and that Britain has no intention of withdrawing its political, military and economic interests from the Six-Counties. Add to this sixty years of ineffectual leadership by constitutional nationalist politicians whose unwillingness to confront the British helped lock the northern Catholic population into a state of second class citizenship. We do not ask for unquestioning support from friends or observers, merely the acknowledgement that we, as a people, have the right to be free.