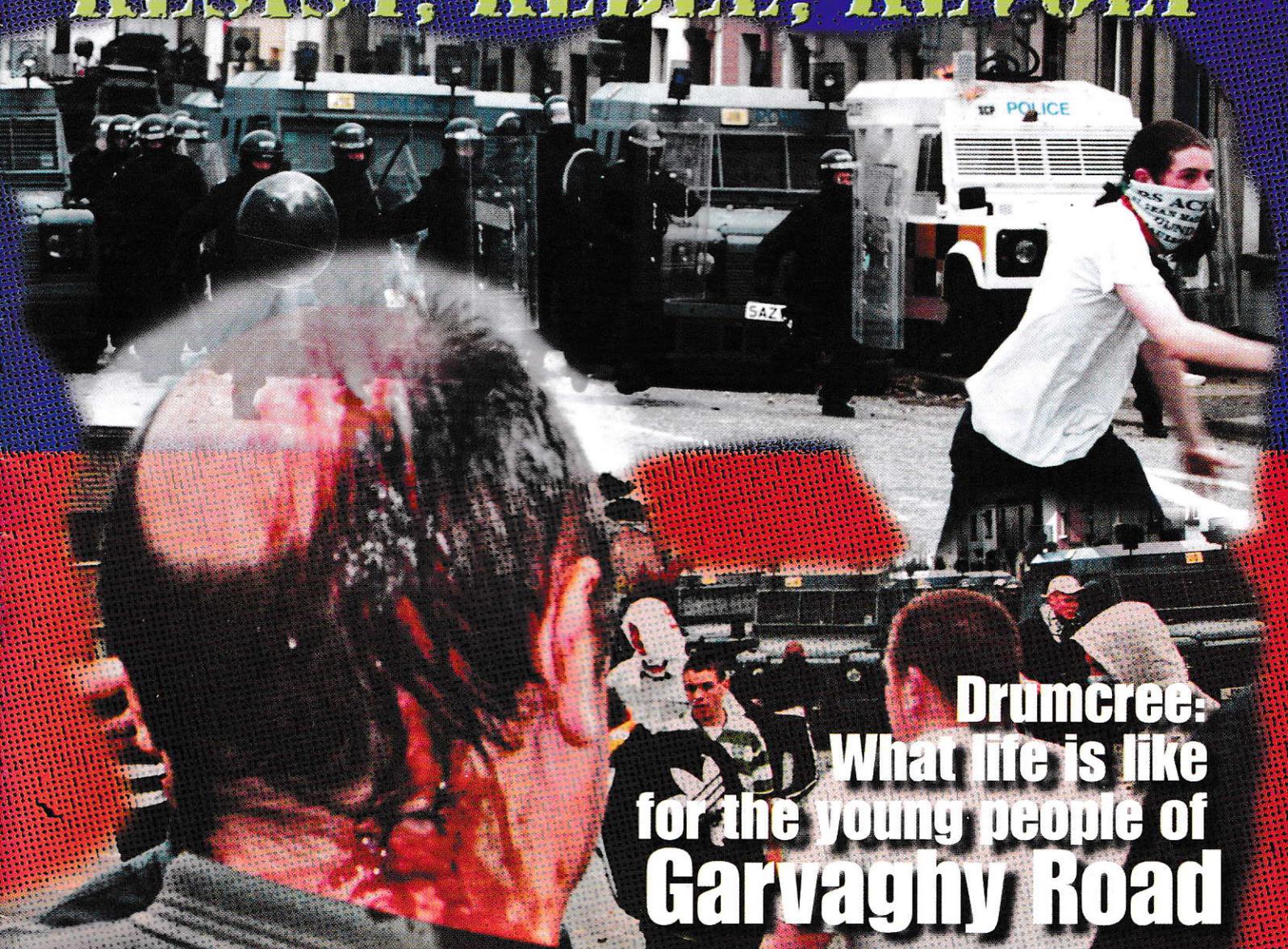


# spark

New political magazine for young people

SUMMER 2001

## RESIST, REBEL, REVOLT



**Drumcree:**  
What life is like  
for the young people of  
**Garvagh Road**



**FREE  
GLOBAL  
VILLAGE  
POSTER**

The sweet  
taste of  
success  
— see pages 10 & 11



**Leeches on the left - Sinn Féin strikes back** — PAGE 21  
Suicide — PAGE 2; GM Foods — PAGE 7; Hunger Strikes — PAGE 5;  
Alternative Justice — PAGE 7; Pacáistíocht détheangach — LEATHNACH 19

# CONTENTS

LEATHNACH 2/PAGE 2:

Focus on Suicide

LEATHNACH 3/PAGE 3:

GM Foods and combatting starvation worldwide

LEATHNACH 5/PAGE 5:

From Russia with love: a Russian perspective on the Hunger Strikes

LEATHNACH 7/PAGE 7:

CRJ - the alternative to the 'formal' and 'informal' justice systems

LEATHNACH 10/PAGE 10:

Up and running - The aftermath of an election

LÁR/CENTRE:

## PULL-OUT POSTER: THE GLOBAL VILLAGE

LEATHNACH 14/PAGE 14:

Garvaghy - the shadow of an Orangeman

LEATHNACH 16/PAGE 16:

Revising the past

LEATHNACH 19/PAGE 19:

Packaged Gaeilge: Bilingualism in action

LEATHNACH 22/PAGE 22:

Parasites on the Left!: A republican response to the not-so socialist attacks on Sinn Féin

LEATHNACH 24/PAGE 24:

Getting your greens - the importance of environmentalism in politics?

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Articles contained in this magazine do not necessarily express the views of its editorial staff.

Ógra Shinn Féin is Ireland's fastest growing and most radical youth movement. With members throughout the 32 Counties, we are organised on a whole range of social issues, from removing the presence of British imperialism in Ireland, to tackling poverty, social exclusion and corruption.

We are a movement that stands out against the inequalities that exist in our society. We stand against discrimination, whether it be sectarian discrimination or racist discrimination against travelling people or refugees. We stand for the foundation of a society where, to quote the 1916 Proclamation, "all the children of the nation are cherished equally."

Join us in the struggle for freedom.



Ainm/Name: .....

Seoladh/Address: .....

e-mail: .....

Fón/Tel: ..... Aois/Age: .....

Send this form to: Ógra Shinn Féin, Árd Oifig, 44 Parnell Square, Dublin 1.



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Articles are welcome: They should be around either 500 or 1,000 words in length and written in a way that is amenable to young people. Suggestions for, or actual illustrations would also be of help.

# A LETTER FROM PRISON

LAST OCTOBER, two members of the National Executive of Haika, the youth section of the Basque national liberation movement, visited Ireland.

They spoke all over the country, alongside Ógra Shinn Féin activists, and met with Irish language activists, other political activists and many others. Their youth movement in the Basque country enjoys massive support. Last year, at its youth gathering in Kanbo, 22,000 people turned out for a weekend of resistance, which included protests, concerts and political meetings. This year, the Spanish State reacted by arresting sixteen members of the national executive of Haika, while impounding all the organisation's buildings and property.

Arturo Viallanueva Artega was the International Officer for Haika and visited Ireland on many occasions. He has sent the statement below from his prison cell to Ógra Shinn Féin activists. Since it was written, Haika as an organisation has been banned by the Spanish government. In response to the Spanish, Franko-style repression, it had organised a festival on a month's notice, attracting almost 20,000 people.

Haika's arrested youth activists join Basque language activists, journalists and politicians in prison. The reason argued for their detention is their support for an independent Basque country. Those who detain them, by their actions, have conveyed their distaste for

democracy and antipathy towards those who are willing to defend it.

Statement by Arturo Villanueva Artega (Basque Political Prisoner)

“ A large demonisation campaign against our youth organisation has been orchestrated over the last year by the Spanish media. With our imprisonment, the Spanish State wanted to destroy the ability of young Basque activists to assert their rights and intimidate them into submission. But they have failed, because Haika continues alive and well and the answer in the streets to our arrest has been overwhelming.

We knew that any day we could be arrested. We know our enemy. We know that the Spanish and French states are ready to do anything to stop the national and social liberation of the Basque people.

Haika poses a threat to our oppressors. 20,000 young people attended Haika's youth gathering in Kanbo and more than 4,000 are taking part in organising and building the new national youth organisation. What the oppressors don't realise is that they cannot put a halt to the march of young Basque revolutionaries.

We are happy to know that Ógra Shinn Féin and young republicans are continuing their struggle. The work is hard but the fight is worthwhile. We extend solidarity and best wishes from our prison.

Gora Euskal Herria Sozialista!!  
Tiofaidh ar lá!!



Spark asks you to support political prisoners, both in the Basque country, Ireland and elsewhere. You can write to Arturo Artega at the address below:

Arturo Villanueva Artega,  
C.P. Madrid V,  
Carretera Comarcal, 611,  
28791,  
Soto Del Real,  
Madrid,  
Spain.

## Irish Political Prisoners of War Addresses

Name	Birthday	Prison	Prison # / Hometown	Sentence
Conor Claxton	09/04	FCI Allenwood	#55002-004	—
Martin Corden	02/04	Magilligan	—	—
Donal Fennelly	01/16	Castlerea	—	—
Ken Fitzgerald	—	Castlerea	Dublin	—
Pearse McCauley	11/09	Castlerea	Strabane	14
Martin Mullan	12/15	FCI Fort Dix	#53182-066	—
Michael O'Neill	12/10	Castlerea	Limerick	12
John Quinn	11/08	Castlerea	Limerick	6
Jeremiah Sheehy	06/15	Castlerea	Limerick	14
Anthony Smyth	03/12	FCI Miami	#55003-004	—
Kevin Walsh	04/16	Castlerea	Limerick	12

H.M. Prison Magilligan Magilligan Point, County Derry Ireland	Castlerea Prison County Roscommon Ireland	
F.C.I. Allenwood P.O. Box 1000 White Deer, PA 17887	H.M. Prison Miami P.O. Box 779800 Miami, FL 33177	H.M. Prison Fort Dix P.O. Box 2000 East, Unit Z02B Fort Dix, NJ 08640

Contact us at: Dublin (01) 8733611 or by e-mail:

mickpierse\_ap@hotmail.com

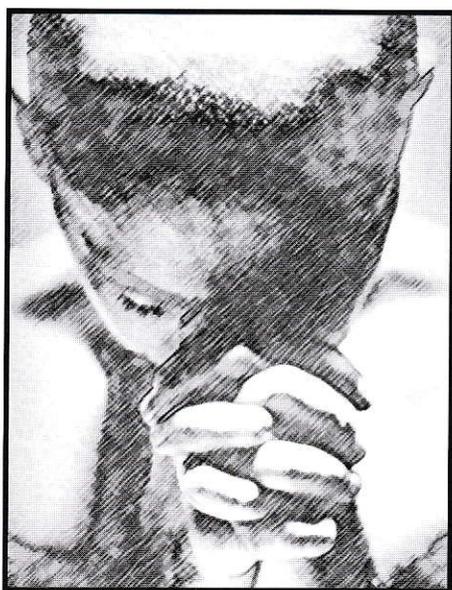
Spark, 58 Parnell Square, Dublin 1, Ireland.

# FOCUS

## Suicide and the culture of competition By Niamh Russell

'SHE NEVER SAID ANYTHING TO ANYONE', 'he seemed so happy', 'he was very quiet, but you never would have thought'...Phrases you are likely to hear in the aftermath of a suicide, betraying the shock, secrecy and lack of understanding that accompanies this all too common phenomenon in Irish society.

This is the dark side to our Celtic Tiger - a beast that seems to prey so much on the young. Young people though, are not the only victims. Suicide creates a fracture in society, in communities and amongst family members and friends. It suggests, insists, that we have, collectively, failed the victim, making death a more palatable option than life. But the question has to be asked: Why, in the middle of an economic boom, with immigration supplanting emigration and more opportunities than ever, are our young people committing suicide in larger numbers than ever? They have the chance to earn more money and get better jobs, but yet they feel failed by society.



Some of this, however, cannot be blamed on societal forces. Depression is not just something that is brought on by exterior social factors. Sometimes it is 'clinical' - and can be hereditary. This is a very serious illness and can strike at any age. However, this form of depression can also be treated with drugs that can help balance hormones in the body.

There is another form of depression, although, sometimes untreatable by prescription. This is more a mental, not hormonal, illness and can have many causes - from a tragic experience in life to a feeling of loneliness. It is also a little harder to treat, and notice.

So what are the main causes of depression? Well, the list is long, but loneliness, peer pressure, pressure of exams and college, drugs, fear of rejection, family break up and abuse are some, and the list goes on.

As unfathomable as it may seem, during times of economic boom the suicide rate increases and in times of economic depression or war the rate drops. During economic recession the rate goes down because people are not expected to meet the successes, or excesses, that are the focus of wealthy societies - celebrity, wealth, designer clothes and Barbie and Ken looks. Failure to emulate those images means exactly that - failure.

Also is the pressure to achieve academic success. Young people are brainwashed into thinking that the Leaving Cert or A Levels are the most important thing they will ever do in their lives and that their entire future happiness depends upon them.

Since the nineteen eighties, the rates of suicide have steadily increased and in every year the majority of victims were men. Also, over the years the age

group has changed. Now it is 15 to 24-year-olds, that seem to resort to suicide. In the eighties those at risk from suicide were mainly in their 20s or 30s.

Turning back this tide will require not only institutional change, or PR-friendly awareness schemes, but a cultural change, in how we evaluate young people and how we evaluate success.

For those who are suffering from depression, there are many ways to get help - from a counsellor or local doctor and even the 24-hour help line set up by the Samaritans, which is open all year round. Many times it helps just to talk about personal problems aloud, to someone that is willing to listen.

**As unfathomable as it may seem, during times of economic boom the suicide rate increases and in times of economic depression or war the rate drops**



International debate on the subject of GM foods has tended to focus of the possible dangers posed by one of our newest and most controversial technologies. But, if allowed, GM foods can save lives and alleviate suffering in the poorest parts of the world, writes genetics graduate,  
**CONOR POWELL**

## THE RECENT DEBATE ON Genetically Modified (GM) foods has not been a rational debate, about the benefits and risks of the technology. Headlines, such as 'Frankenstein Foods', have had more to do with increasing newspaper sales than encouraging an informed and considered debate.

In fact, some of the current opposition to GM foods seems to be mainly motivated by anti-corporate or anti-American sentiment. Beneath the exaggerations and misinformation on the subject, there are genuine concerns about the lack of consumer benefits, about the ethics of genetic manipulation, and about the potential impact on the environment and on human health.

### Getting our facts right

Importantly, there is as yet no scientific evidence that GM foods are inherently more dangerous than conventional foods, although there are a number of uncertainties about the full effects of such foods, due to the fact that they are relatively new to the market.

In relation to food safety, it is important to note that conventional plant breeding techniques (as opposed to genetic modification) have on more than one occasion come close

to producing plant varieties that could pose serious health risks. For example, higher toxin levels were inadvertently introduced into celery and the potato in the past. Such varieties never reached the market, as they were detected by the quality control procedures that were in place at the time. However, the moral of the story is that there are hidden risks in any form of plant breeding, not just with genetic modification. Since GM foods must undergo generally stricter approval procedures, the likelihood of any potentially toxic GM food reaching the market is minimal.

Assessment of GM foods is conducted through the concept of 'substantive equivalence'. Under this guideline GM foods are compared with analogous conventional foods in terms of their toxicity, nutritional qualities and other characteristics. They also examine, in minute detail, the properties of the introduced gene(s), the pro-

teins that these genes express and any possible negative interactions that may occur with the normal proteins present in the GM plant.

In short, GM foods must pass stringent health and safety tests before ever reaching the consumer. However, it is acknowledged by scientists that the failure to prove, scientifically, that a new food is dangerous is not the same as to have proved it is safe. The best that science can do is to narrow down the limits of uncertainty, not totally eradicate them. Hence the need for continued research to monitor the long-term health effects, and to carry out field trials to study the impact of GM crops on the local environment.

### Effects on the Third World

The acrimonious arguments between supporters and opponents of GM crops that have been raging in Europe and the USA, have also served to obscure the deeper ramifications of genetics for the poor countries of the world, where agriculture is the predominant economic activity.

Something that has been ignored during the 'safety' debate, is that many develop-

ing countries are keen to exploit GM crops. This is because they offer to increase yields, reduce pesticide and herbicide use (thereby they are potentially cheaper, and introduce less toxins into the environment), increase the nutrient value of basic foods such as rice, and provide farmers on less fertile land with crops better able to tolerate harsher conditions.

However, although companies such as Monsanto claim to be 'feeding the world', in reality they take little interest in poor farmers' food crops and instead channel their expertise into developing highly efficient cash crops (e.g. cotton). Therefore, it is left to national governments, various international research centres, and a variety of western donors which are and will continue to be the primary supporters of research that helps benefit poor farmers.

### A GM vision

The incredible potential of genetic engineering is already being glimpsed. For example, in Mexico scientists have added genes to rice and maize that confer tolerance to high aluminium concentrations. This helps the crops survive in trop-

ical soils, as these soils usually have a high aluminium content.

As well as generating new traits that enable the plant to grow better, which is of benefit to poor farmers, genetic technology can also generate plants with improved nutritional features, to benefit poor consumers. The best example is the introduction of a Vitamin A gene into rice. This enables people to obtain their Vitamin A requirements from rice alone. This GM rice is called 'Golden Rice', due to its golden-yellow colour, and it offers enormous benefit to the 100 million children under five who suffer from vitamin A deficiency in developing countries. The deficiency often results in blindness and can even result in death. Scientists have also added genes to rice to increase the iron content by threefold in each grain of rice. This technology has the potential to benefit the 400 million women in developing countries who suffer anaemia due to iron deficiency. Anaemia can result in them having stillborn children and leaves them more likely to die during childbirth.

### Big business gets in the way

However, the potential benefits of this genetic technology are unlikely to be realised unless plant seeds are provided free of charge or at a nominal cost. Essentially, this will require heavy public investment by national governments and donors. Other problems include the use of 'terminator gene technologies' by multinational seed companies. This technology ensures that farmers cannot save seed from one crop and sow it to produce the next crop (i.e. the GM crop is modified so that it is not capable of reproducing seeds). At the moment, approximately 1.4 billion farmers still rely on saving seed for their planting

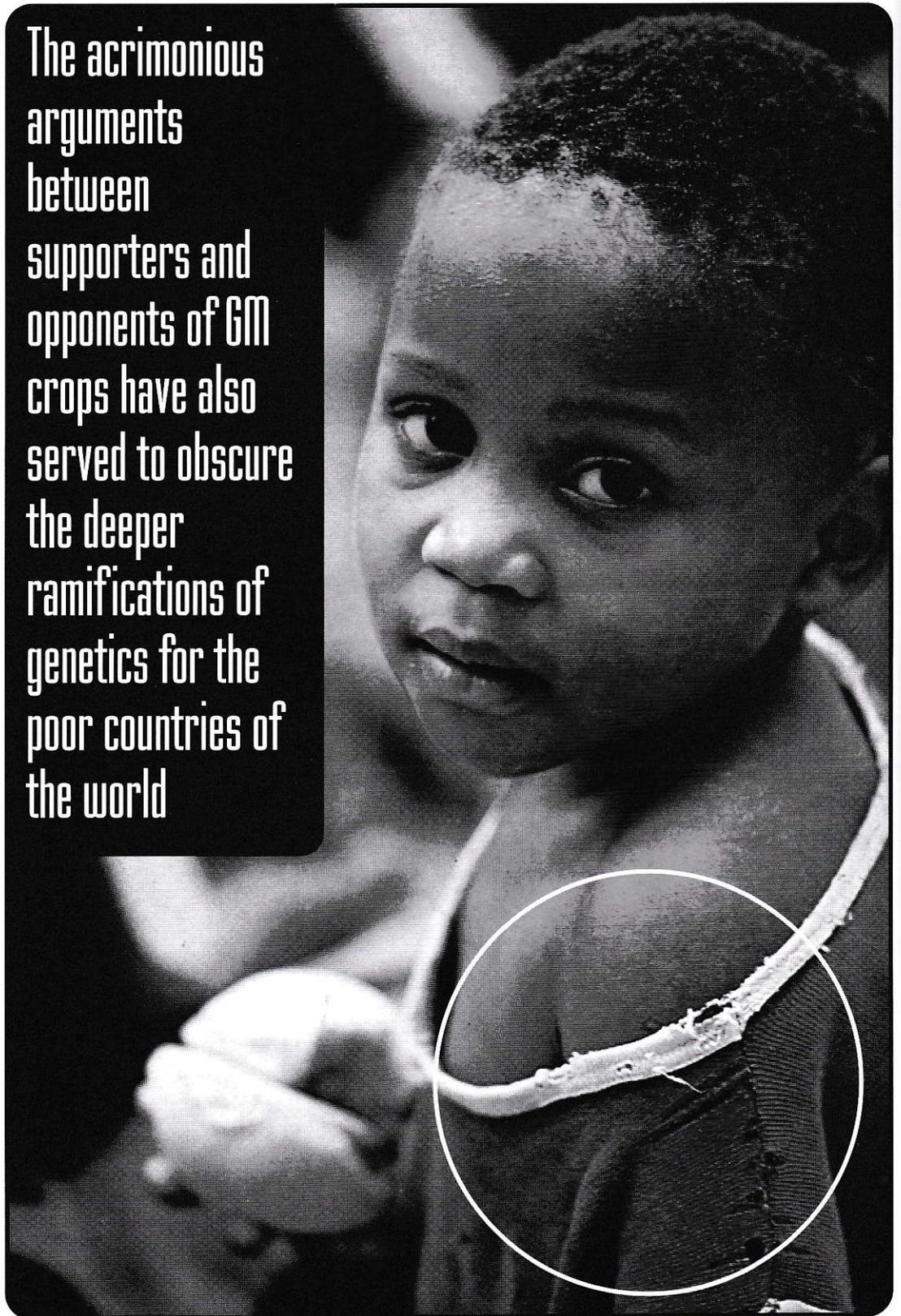
The acrimonious arguments between supporters and opponents of GM crops have also served to obscure the deeper ramifications of genetics for the poor countries of the world

materials. Multinational seed companies are also restricting access to this plant genetic technology due their patent monopoly on the various techniques and gene sequences required to engineer GM crops. Therefore, there is a severe constraint on the public sector

in using biotechnology to meet the needs of poor farmers and poor consumers in the developing world.

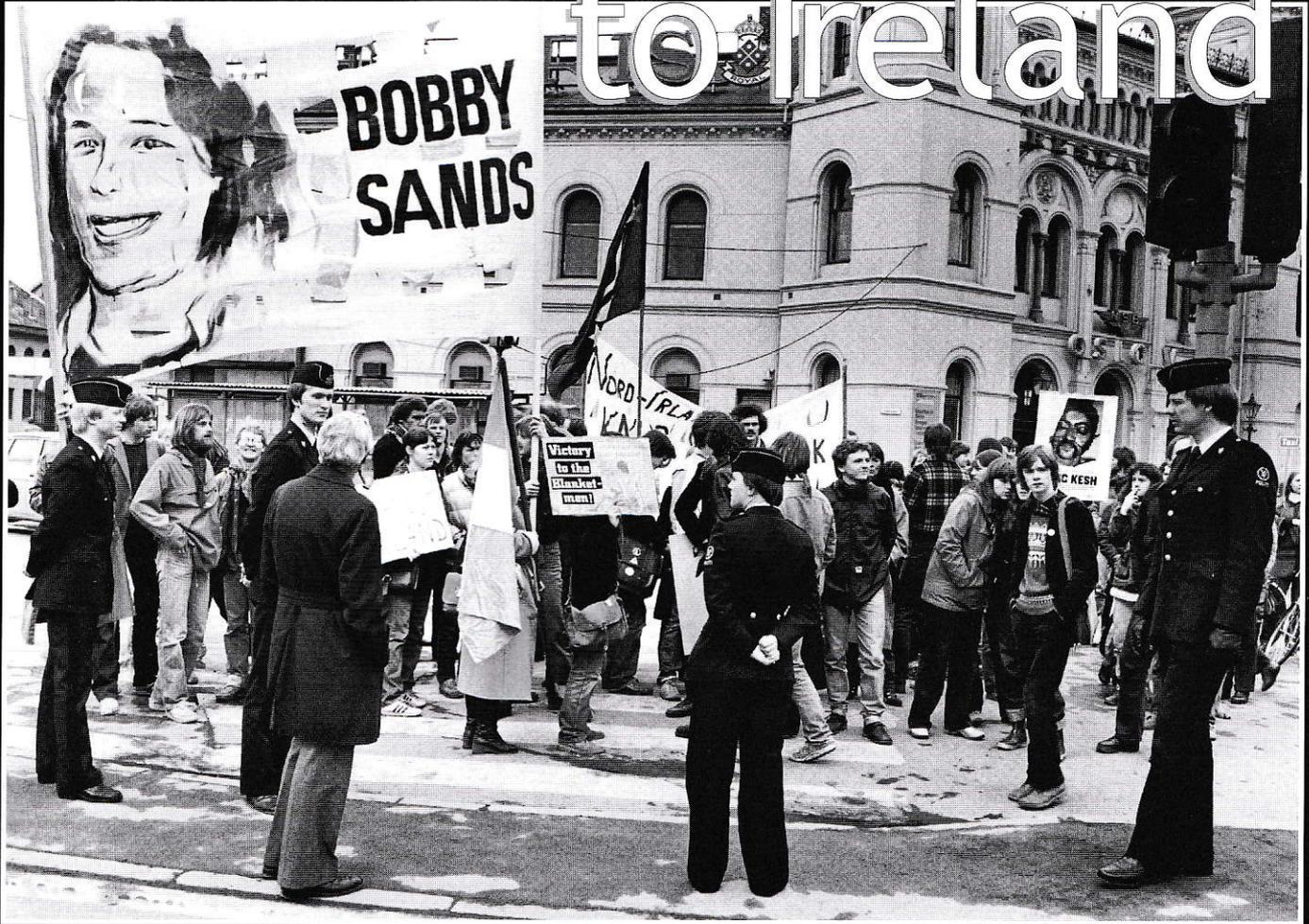
The power of genetic technology to help the poorest in the developing world and their countries' economies should not be underestimated. In the

near future, as the fears about the safety of GM foods are allayed, the next battle will be to ensure that those who pose to benefit the most from this technology are able to access it freely and easily without becoming dependent on big business or western donations.



In 1981, the agonising deaths of ten IRA Volunteers would resound around the world. One young Russian girl, **IRINA MALENKO**, was among those profoundly touched by their sacrifice.

# From Russia to Ireland



● The 1981 Hunger Strike mobilised massive support for the H-Block struggle, both at home and abroad.

## WHEN BOBBY SANDS

and his comrades went on Hunger Strike, I had just gone 14. I was living in the Soviet Union, going to school and preparing to become a Komsomol member - just like all the other kids. Ireland was in the news all the time when I was growing up, and my very first memory of it was Bloody Sunday - even though I was just five then. I also had quite a few Irish childrens' books translated into Russian, with a foreword on Irish tragic and heroic history - so it wasn't totally unfamiliar territory.

However, it was the Hunger Strike that made the deepest impression on me of all the things I heard or saw from Ireland. It was something that seemed to be happening on another planet - I simply could not believe that somebody could be as cruel as the British politicians were, to allow these

brave men to die - just like that. After all, it was the year 1981 - not the Middle Ages.

In fact, I refused to believe that Bobby and his comrades would die, until the shocking revelations of their deaths resounded around the world. I also couldn't simply sit and watch it on TV and read the bulletins about their health in the papers every day. I wanted to do something to help. But what could I, a Russian, possibly do in a state where everything was decided for us from above?

Yet, I tried. I started to collect signatures from amongst fellow pupils at school in support of the Hunger Strikers, in order

to send them to Thatcher. At first, some of my teachers panicked, because it wasn't the initiative of our Komsomol Committee or local Party Committee - it was just

**In Russian papers, he was never called Bobby: to us, he was always 'Robert' Sands. I suppose, it was because 'an adult man and a hero can't be called by his short name, like a child'**

something I decided to do myself. They found it very unusual and couldn't really understand - "isn't the official support for it enough?"

That was my first realisation of the fact

that my own country wasn't exactly what it was supposed to be either. I could get into quite some trouble by doing this "partisan work", but fortunately, there was a teacher - also a party member - who understood my young idealism for what it was. We collected about 1000 signatures - I also asked my pen-friends from all around the country to sign up. There were Estonians and Chechens, Tadjks and Siberian aboriginals. I sent the petition to Margaret Thatcher's office personally - but I will most probably never find out if it ever was delivered. In the USSR, at that time, there was virtually no mail going abroad and reaching its destination - unless you knew your addressee personally. And in this case, I'm glad I didn't.

In Russian papers, he was never called Bobby: to us, he was always 'Robert' Sands. I suppose, it was because 'an adult man and a hero can't be called by his short name, like a child'. The first time I discovered 'Bobby' was when I came to Belfast, years later, with a bunch of Australian tourists and saw his mural on Sinn Féin's office wall. "This is Bobby Sands", - the guide told us. To me, it was like meeting a good old friend. I was smiling there and nearly talking to him. "How can you not know who he is?", I asked the Australians (it was probably because most of them were much younger than myself!).

One thing we were never told about the Republican struggle, not a single word, was of "The Dirty Protest". Again, I suppose, that was the culture of our society at that time - one wouldn't talk about things like that, it was considered to be so disgusting that it might have given the people who were forced to this action by the British, a bad image. Russians of the early 80s, living quite comfortable and very quiet life, couldn't possibly understand the kind of conditions the Irish Republicans were kept in, in prisons at that time.

But for us in USSR - unlike in the Western countries and their media - there was no questioning that Bobby was fighting for the right cause. There was no excuse for Britain to occupy this part of Ireland, and the IRA soldiers were modern revolutionaries and freedom fighters. At the time, I was preparing myself to go to Africa where, as an adult, I would fight for justice for the people there. Our own problems seemed to be minor at that time - and so they were, at least during my childhood. When the Hunger Strike began, I fully realised, for the first time in my life, that one doesn't have to go that far. That even in Europe there are people who are being subjected to barbarity on a daily



● Irina at 14 years of age

basis, and that the struggle here goes on. I remember the day when Bobby died, back in my native city of Tula. It was a beautiful sunny day, where everything around was so full of life - fields bright

was hurting double - how could such a wonderful person die on such a day? I remember myself sitting at the iron roof of our little house while the sun was going down - my place where I wanted to be alone - and crying there bitterly. I felt as if I lost a relative.



**I deeply believe until this day that Margaret Thatcher should be put on trial for this murder and her other crimes against the Irish people - and the same goes for her old buddy Pinochet in Chile**

I was very naive, as perhaps everybody at that age is, and was amazed and shocked that nobody, of those who had it in their power, did anything to prevent these tragic deaths. One must be truly inhuman, and I deeply believe until this day that Margaret Thatcher should be put on trial for this murder and her other crimes against the Irish people - and the same goes for her old buddy Pinochet in Chile.

To me, to be here in Ireland and to talk to those who were taking part in the struggle at that time, to those who knew the Hunger Strikers, to their friends and relatives, brings back that painful, but precious time of

with yellow flowers and gardens full with blossoming fruit trees. Nightingales singing at night. And because of that it

my life - the time when I made a choice for myself: that I want to be part of this struggle.

# Restoring justice



BY PADDY  
MOLLOY  
COMMUNITY  
RESTORATIVE  
JUSTICE  
IRELAND

PUNISHMENT BEATINGS  
HAVE ATTRACTED A GREAT DEAL OF  
NEGATIVE MEDIA ATTENTION TO COMMUNITIES  
WHERE INADEQUATE OR NON-EXISTENT  
POLICING AND MARGINALISATION ARE RIFE.

PADDY MOLLOY SUGGESTS A WAY  
FORWARD FOR THESE COMMUNITIES,  
NORTH AND SOUTH OF THE BORDER.

## TO LISTEN TO SOME COMMENTATORS,

and many victims of crime, you could almost believe that people who are involved in crime and anti-social activity in a community (we define a community as an area where all those living or providing a service feel they have a distinct local identity) have arrived from Mars. Terms such as 'scum', 'low-life' and 'animal' are regularly used to describe these individuals.

This is understandable, as it is hard for people to get their heads around the fact that these individuals have grown up in the same environment, yet they have become involved in this type of destructive behaviour. Most victims' initial feeling, again understandably, is for some form of justice or revenge. They want the problem removed from 'their' community and have offenders punished for their actions.

To achieve this, victims and other affected members of the community turn to those they have mandated to 'deal' with the problem on

their behalf. In the North many people turn to the 'informal' justice system in their area, while others, both North and South, turn to the 'formal' system.

Community Restorative Justice Ireland (CRJI) believes that this is enormously disempowering for a community, the victim and above all it doesn't work. Even after offenders have went through either system, more than likely they will re-offend.

"The health of a community improves when its



■ **EMPOWERMENT:** For communities that have been denied a policing service, and where the RUC is seen as an oppressive force, it is up to the people to empower themselves to deal with anti-social behaviour.

members participate in conflict resolution. When they leave the task to others, the quality of community life declines. Gone as well is the community's natural capacity to prevent crime, redress the underlying causes of crime, and rebuild the broken lives and relationships caused by crime."

The above quote, from Judge Barry Stuart from the Yukon Territories in Canada, is a good exposition of the CRJI philosophy.

We acknowledge that the bulk of socially harmful and criminal activities, which take place, and are directed against people in the community, are carried out by members of that community.

It is obvious that such activities undermine good community relations, frustrate the people of the

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community and its economic development and invariably lead to a downward trend in the quality of life for people in the locality.

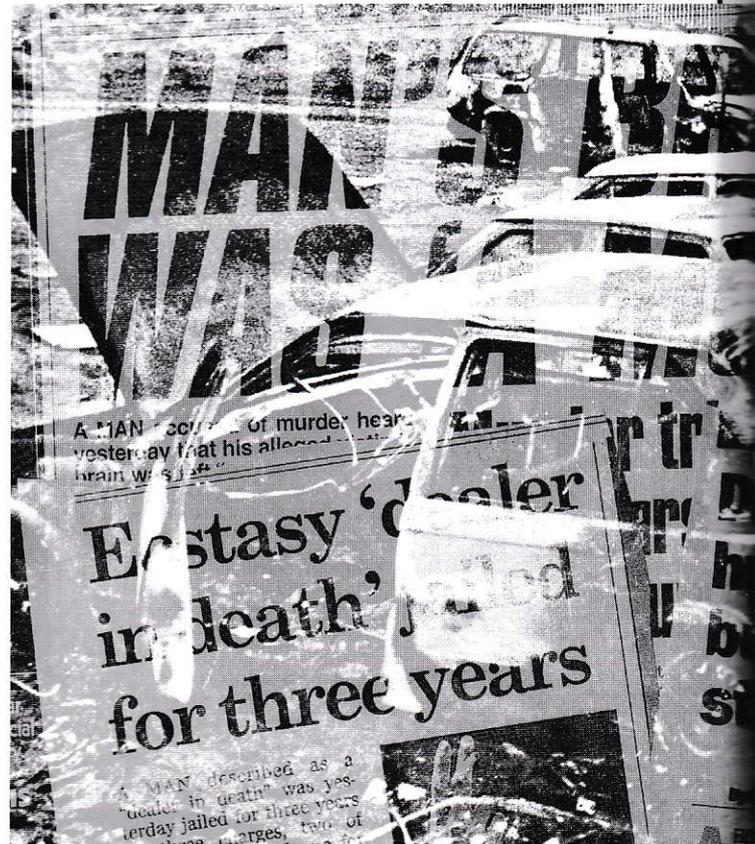
Dealing with socially harmful behaviour is therefore of prime importance to a community and demands a strategic community response.

CRJI helps provide such a response, in as much as we are community led and driven, rely primarily on local resources and adopt a holistic approach to the problem.

We believe that when a crime is committed, there is a breach of a three cornered relationship, between the offender, the victim and community. Our aim is not to punish people but to heal that breach and ensure that no further harm occurs.

To achieve this outcome we have a clearly defined process:

- A referral. This is usually from a victim or their family, neighbours or families in dispute or sometimes,

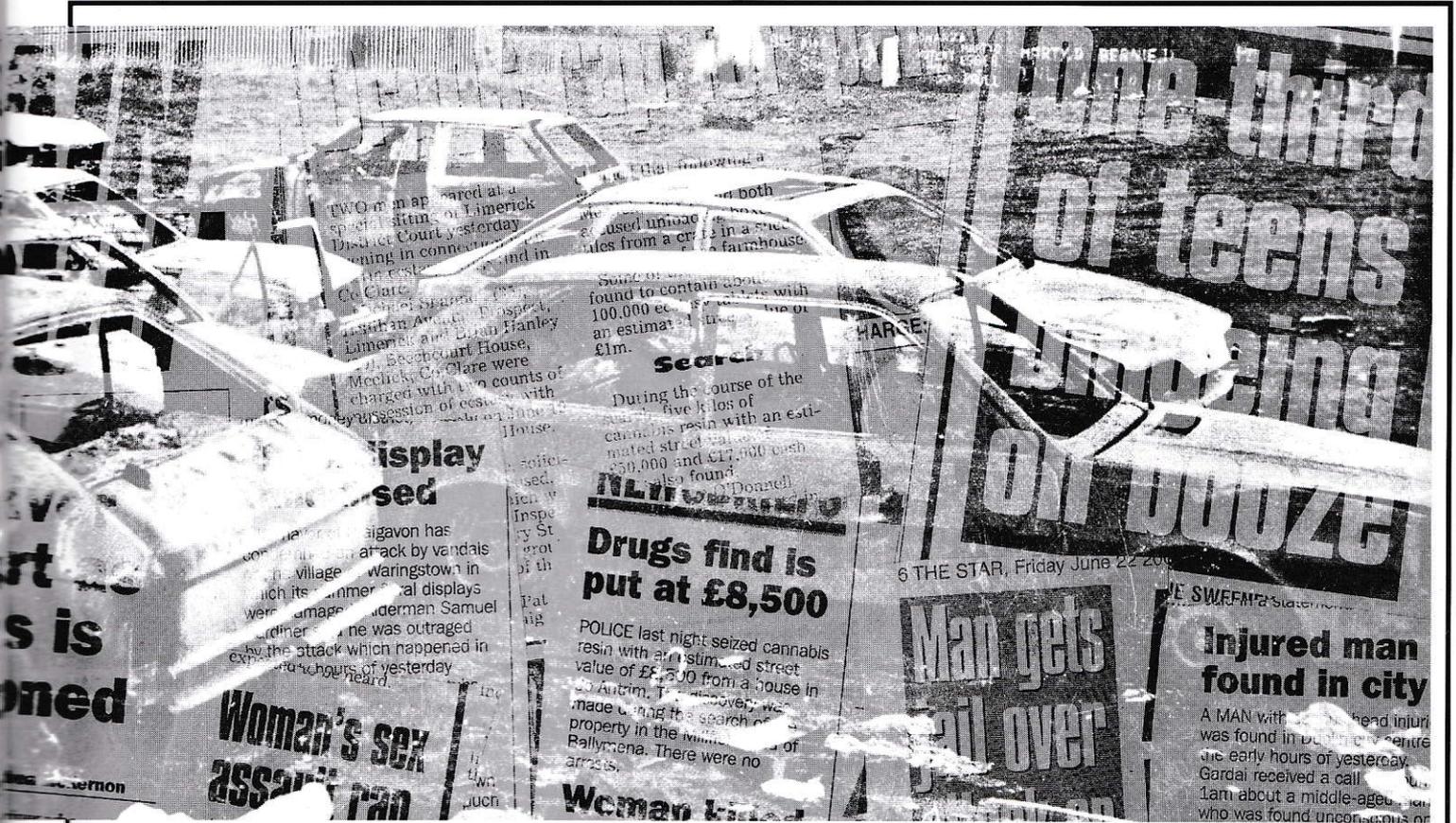


people who feel they are under threat from members of the community because of their own behaviour.

- A caseworker records the details and explains the CRJI process.
- The case is assigned to two workers who work out a basic plan of action, e.g. who else needs to be contacted, by who, etc, or should the case be referred to another agency, e.g., in a case of domestic violence.
- The caseworkers liaise with all concerned. This is to establish the facts, as far as possible, through a process of dialogue.
- Articulation of the restorative justice process, people's responsibilities within this process and the potential outcomes are central at this stage. Equally so is the identification of the needs of all those involved and the type of support that may be necessary.
- Caseworkers then take stock of the situation to date and prepare for mediation. With the agreement of all of the participants, information is then shared with a view to sitting down, either formally or informally, to resolve the given issue(s).

At this stage the process may proceed in one of the following forms:

**INDIRECT MEDIATION.** This is when the parties are not prepared to sit down together face to face. Separate rooms are used, sometimes separate buildings! The problem with this approach is that it can impact



negatively on the dynamic of the process, while also being very time consuming for the caseworkers.

**FORMAL MEDIATION.** This is when all parties are prepared to sit down together within the framework of an agreed format. This is a dynamic process. All parties can take ownership of the issues(s) and, on the basis of their shared experience and understanding, engage positively to tell their stories and work towards the resolution and closure of the issues and conflict between them.

**VICTIM - OFFENDER CONFERENCING.** During a victim offender conference there is an understanding that both parties are not on a level playing field. Rather, it is accepted that one party has been wronged and that the other is there to accept responsibility and try to repair the hurt caused.

During this process the victim will tell the offender of the physical/mental hurt they have caused and the consequences this has had for themselves and their family. They will also have many questions answered by the offender. Some common examples are; why were they, their family, their home, their property singled out? Why did they do it? Will the offender do it again?

At the end of the conference, a contract is usually drawn up and the offender is asked to give guarantees as to their future intentions to make right the hurt they have caused. For example, they may agree to pay back money they have stolen or the cost of repairs. They will also apologise, etc. Perhaps, if one of the underlying causes of their behaviour has been drug/alcohol related, they might agree to go on a drug/alcohol rehab/awareness course.

For offenders this type of conference is not an 'easy' option, as they are faced with the people they have harmed and must take responsibility for their actions.

For the above process to succeed it is essential that the CRJI group in an area is truly representative and acting with the full consent of the people of that community. There are quite a number of ways of achieving this level of confidence, but one of the main means CRJI uses is the promotion of a Community Charter. The charter sets out basic rights and obligations for all members of the community and seeks the endorsement of the whole community for its basic principles. When this is achieved, it provides a degree of legitimacy for the project in the area.

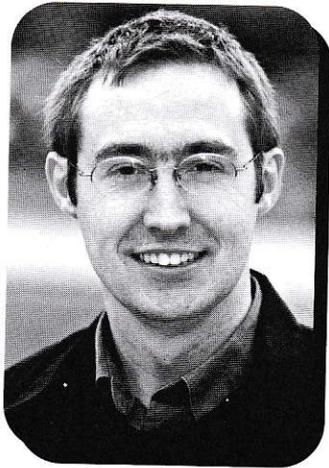
As was stated earlier, CRJI takes a holistic approach to the problems caused by crime and anti-social behaviour. During the process our members quite frequently engage the services of other community-based organisations, voluntary bodies and statutory agencies. We believe that the resources controlled by these groups should be more targeted within the community. They must work in partnership with the community rather than following their own separate agendas.

We believe that CRJI's mission statement, "Through a process of empowerment to build a just restorative community that is tolerant, responsive and inclusive", points to one of the ways forward for communities. Intolerance, unresponsiveness and exclusion perpetuates the problem.

While this continues, young people in particular will find their own identity, not as valued members of their community, but as a distinct group on the margins, many of whom are proud to be known as The Hoods! Can any community allow this situation to continue?

# TWO MOMENTOUS MONTHS

JUNE AND JULY 2001 will be remembered as two of the most momentous months in recent years. Momentous, because in the space of only eight weeks, three very important milestones were reached in Irish politics. These milestones took many years and a great deal of struggle to realise. They are turning points in the struggle for independence and socialism in our country.



BY EOIN O'BROIN

## NORTHERN ELECTIONS

**THE FIRST AND** most obvious turning point took the form of Sinn Féin's electoral results in the northern council and Westminster contests. The result, a further increase in the party's vote and the overtaking of the SDLP, was indeed significant. More important, however, is that it confirms a trend which has emerged over the last number of years and looks set to continue. By all accounts, Sinn Féin will continue to grow, and political pundits have already begun to identify which seats the party can hope to pick up next time round.

The importance of these election results is both symbolic and political. Defeating the SDLP for the first time in 30 years, albeit by a small margin, will further expose the contradictions within that party, and demoralise a stagnant and flagging

organisation. The impact on Dublin and London, though less dramatic, is none the less significant.

The consequent morale boost to republicans assists the process of accelerating our own electoral gains. Hard work and energy in recent years at a grass-roots level has come to fruition. In turn, each increase generates more energy and determination, injecting further dynamism into the party.

On a more important level, the electoral success for Sinn Féin means that the party has more political strength, both inside and outside the political institutions. Its mandate is stronger and its ability to deliver meaningful change in the quality of peoples' lives is greater. The republican project is strengthened, though the risk of failing to deliver is ever-present.

June 7th marked a turning point in terms of the balance of power within the nationalist bloc of party's on this island, with a decisive shift in Sinn Féin's favour.

Equally, it marked a watershed, from which point onwards the re-criminalisation of Irish republicanism becomes impossible.

## NO TO NICE

June 7th was also the date of another significant poll - the Nice Treaty referendum. The southern Irish electorate was presented with a clear choice. Ratifying Nice meant less democracy, less neutrality and less sovereignty, and offered the solidification of a two-tier militarised European super-state. The winners would be big business and the major power centres. The losers would be smaller member states and European citizens in general.

The Dublin government, supported by a pliant media and a sycophantic trade union leadership, believed their own campaign hype and thought victory was inevitable. Even when opinion polls indicated a closing of the Yes campaigns' lead, and a general confusion amongst the electorate as to

the issues involved, they continued celebrating their victory before a single vote was cast.

And even after the southern electorate had decisively rejected the treaty, the establishment, unable to comprehend its own loss, offered every excuse imaginable, before beginning a second referendum campaign - mere hours after the first had reached its conclusion.

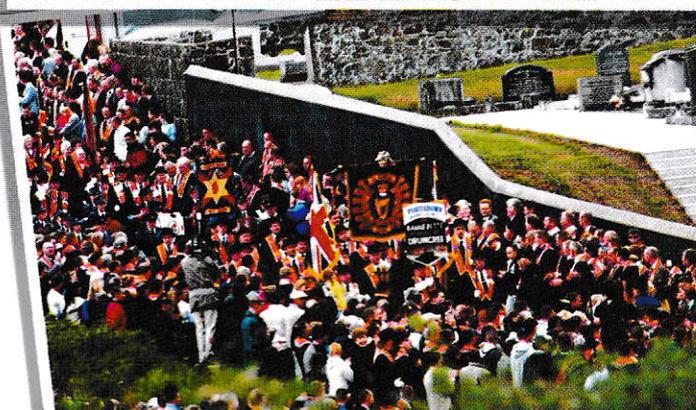
The significance of all of this must be examined. A devastating blow was dealt, by a defiant electorate, to the entire Irish political establishment. The No vote confirms a long-held contention by republicans that a political vacuum has opened up in the south, and that the electorate is open to persuasion as to what alternatives are on offer.

The political ground is ripe for a new kind of politics to enter fray. The forces that led the No campaign were able to build a temporary alliance, which was able to defeat the entire political establishment. If it can happen once, it can

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**THE DEATH OF ORANGISM. MUCH AKIN TO THE NORTHERN ELECTIONS AND THE SOUTHERN REFERENDUM, IT WAS NEITHER SUDDEN NOR CONCLUSIVE, BUT RATHER THE CLIMAX OF A LONG SLOW PROCESS**

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Serious blows were dealt this summer to the political establishment North and South

happen again, and not just for a referendum.

### THE DEATH OF ORANGEISM

The third, and no less significant, event which took place this summer, was the death of Orangeism. Much akin to the northern elections and the southern referendum, it was neither sudden nor conclusive, but rather the climax of a long slow process.

While many Orange

marches continue to pass through nationalists areas, and loyalist and RUC violence continues to accompany these 'celebrations' of Orange tradition, this summer's marching season is seeing a radical drop in support for the Irish equivalent of the Ku Klux Klan. The tensions and contradictions, which have plagued the Order for many years, are finally finding their way into the public domain.

The political significance

of this is part and parcel of the broader crisis, taking place within unionism. Fragmentation, loss of direction, and the inability to respond positively to a changing political landscape, has left unionism drifting aimlessly into oblivion. This, and the declining influence of the hegemonic force of Orangeism, is one more piece in the process of dismantling partition.

However, this decline does not mean that the

Orange Order, or its supporters within unionism and loyalism have simply disappeared. Loyalist paramilitary violence is increasing in direct proportion to the deepening crisis within unionism, and the number of contentious parades continues to rise as nationalist communities are plagued by sectarian attacks.

However, all of this simply proves rather than undermines the argument that we are witnessing the death of Orangeism. Its final throes may well be drawn out, violent and unpredictable, but they are final nonetheless.

### TAKING STOCK

Thus, as we move into one of the most serious crises in the peace process to date, Irish republicans have much to be confident about. Our mandate is strengthened, our nationalist 'allies' have less room for manoeuvre and unionism is in a greater state of disarray than ever before. With elections to Leinster House set to take place within the next 12 months, and Assembly elections due some time after that - albeit dependent on the immediate actions of David Trimble and Tony Blair - republicans can be assured of further and more dramatic gains.

The lessons of this summer have been clear. The Irish republican project remains on course, our gains are significant, and our vision is being endorsed by an increasing number of people. Our response must be more of the same. We must renew our commitment to the struggle and to the radical political, social and economic project at the heart of that struggle. Much has been gained, but there is a long road yet to travel and, as always, only hard work and determination will enable us to achieve our goals of independence and socialism in Ireland.

# UNITY: A VILL



If we could shrink the earth's population to a village of precisely 100 people, with all the existing human ratios remaining the same, it would look something like the following:

57 Asians

21 Europeans

14 from the Western Hemisphere, both north and south

8 Africans

52 would be female

48 would be male

70 would be non-white

30 would be white

70 would be non-Christian

30 would be Christian

89 would be heterosexual

11 would be homosexual

6 people would possess 59% of the entire world's wealth and all 6 would be from the United States.

80 would live in substandard housing

70 would be unable to read

50 would suffer from malnutrition

1 would be near death;

1 would be near birth

1 (yes, only 1) would have a college education

1 would own a computer

When one considers our world from such a compressed perspective, the need for acceptance, understanding and education becomes glaringly apparent.

The following is also something to ponder...

If you woke up this morning with more health than illness... you are more blessed than the million who will not survive this week.

If you have never experienced the danger of battle, the loneliness of imprisonment, the agony of torture, or the pangs of starvation... you are ahead of 500 million people in the world.

If you have food in the refrigerator, clothes on your back, a roof overhead and a place to sleep... you are richer than 75% of this world.

If you have money in the bank, in your wallet, and spare change in a dish someplace... you are among the top 8% of the world's wealthy.

If you can read this, you are better off than over 2 billion people in the world who cannot read at all.

# GET ACTIVE

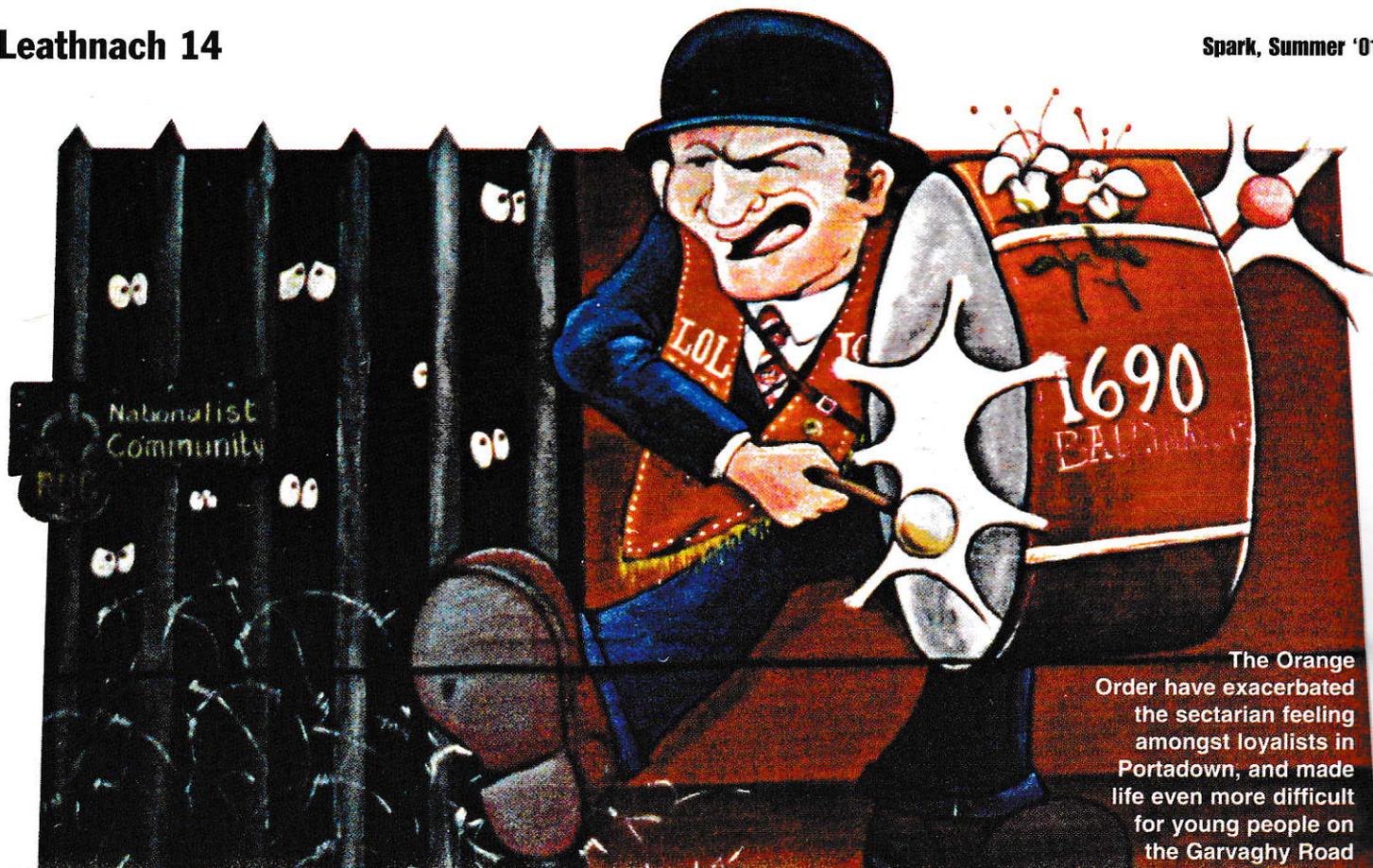
age of 100 people....



RESIST  
REBEL  
REVOLT



E, GET INVOLVED



The Orange Order have exacerbated the sectarian feeling amongst loyalists in Portadown, and made life even more difficult for young people on the Garvaghy Road

# POSTCARD FROM GARVAGHY

BY JUSTIN MORAN

**THERE ARE NO BANKLINK MACHINES on the Garvaghy Road, or in the nationalist estates off it. Compared to the discrimination nationalists have suffered in the past at the hands of the British government and before that Stormont, it doesn't sound like a big deal. But in Portadown, the location of something as common and as familiar as an ATM can be the difference between life and death.**

"If people want to use the bank machines they have to go into the centre of town to do it and at night that could get you killed. A lot of young people have to take a taxi from the Garvaghy into the centre of town, tell the taxi to wait, rush out, use the bank machine and then get back into the taxi to go home," says local community activist Seán Dunbar.

The danger comes from

groups of loyalists who have long proclaimed the centre of Portadown a no-go area for nationalists at night. The most potent evidence of this is the infamous brutal murder of Portadown nationalist Robert Hammill, while RUC officers looked on from the safety of their Land Rover. Four years on and little has changed. Loyalist youths, whipped up by paramilitary elements spoiling for a fight

and with The Orange Order turning a blind eye, as it insists on its 'right' to march down the Garvaghy Road, regularly prowl the borders of the Garvaghy estates looking for prey. Attacks on nationalists homes and areas are an almost nightly occurrence and can be anything from rocks, to petrol bombs to blast and nail bomb attacks.

Standing behind the massive fence erected by British Forces in a small estate off Obins Street, the scorch marks of previous attacks were clearly visible. It is an eerie place to be. The metal fence stands almost as high as a lamppost. Fluttering just above the top of the fence are the flags and colours of loyalism. A Union Jack here,

UVF colours there. The houses nearest the wall have been boarded up and abandoned as a result of the constant attacks. It's impossible for anyone standing on the other side to see what they're throwing at, but the 'any Taig will do' philosophy ensures that difficulty doesn't stop their attacks.

As we stand there, dusk slowly turning into night, my companion and I fall silent at the harsh rattling sound of drums from the other side. This drumming is a regular feature of the harassment suffered by nationalists. A nightly refrain reminding residents that they're second class citizens, that they're surrounded, that they'd better let the march down Garvaghy or the sound of

drums won't be the only thing coming over the wall. It is this close proximity of loyalists and nationalists that is first noticeable about the area. The two communities live almost on top of each other. Less than a minute's walking distance apart, the threat to residents in the Garvaghy area is very real. Shortly before my visit, loyalists had come across waste

*A nightly refrain reminding residents that they're second class citizens, that they're surrounded, that they'd better let the march down Garvaghy or the sound of drums won't be the only thing coming over the wall*



ground at the end of Corcraín Road and attacked nationalist houses in the area. And where is the new, improved, Taig-loving RUC to be found when these kinds of attacks are taking place? Often they just monitor the situation while community activists try to prevent nationalist youths from getting caught up in the violence. After all, if they sat in their vehicle while Robert Hammill got beaten to death they're hardly going to get out because of a few petrol bombs.

**FERGAL**, in his fifth year of secondary school has grown up in the Garvaghy estates and has had first hand experience of the RUC. "They're fairly biased towards loyalists when it comes to rioting, more inclined to attack nationalists than loyalists - be tougher on nationalists." Most young people on the Garvaghy Road try to get by without getting involved in trouble, but it isn't all that easy. There are few jobs available in nationalist areas and

young people looking for work often find themselves going into the town centre for evening or Saturday jobs. They are always conscious that there are large areas where they're not welcome and no-one walks home at night alone. It's even more dangerous for people who go out for a drink. "If you go up town and come out of the pub after a drink and see a gang of Protestants you could be in trouble," said Fergal. "If you're caught with all the alcohol in you, you're not going to be able to defend yourself."

"It's the little things that get to you sometimes. You give your kid a Celtic top or something like that and you have to explain to him why he can't wear it outside of his street." Seán Dunbar is a long-time community worker and a retired Sinn Féin activist. He now helps to run a youth club based around a pool hall on the edge of the nationalist area. Throughout his years in the area he's seen the damage loyalist attacks have inflicted on young people. As he takes

me on a tour of the estate, I can't help but notice how many people stop for a chat. One of them, Brendan, has come a long way since he was 19 years old. "I was just walking along the street and I saw a bunch of lads coming towards me. I asked for directions and without a word, they just lifted me up and put me through the shop window. I spent three weeks in hospital." It's a common theme running through stories from the Garvaghy. Every corner is the site of some attack, every intersection a potential battleground and yet there is a perverse normality to life here for young people. They have jobs, they go out whenever they can, they go to school, worry about exams like young people anywhere else in Ireland. But the jobs they get depend on what business will hire nationalists and what areas they have to go through to get to work.

On leaving the Youth Club, having done my interviews, I noticed that bicycles belonging to a few of the lads are left outside without

locks or chains on them. It's not uncommon in Dublin to see people carrying the front wheel of their bikes away with them or putting padlocks the size of a fist on their bikes to protect them.

*It's the little things that get to you sometimes. You give your kid a Celtic top or something like that and you have to explain to him why he can't wear it outside of his street*

When I mention it to Seán he seems almost surprised at the question. "Sure we wouldn't have any real problem with crime here. There'd be no thieving or anything like that. Maybe if drugs start to come into the area we might see an increase in it in the future," he says. He goes on: "we're a community here. If we don't look after one another who's going to do it? The RUC? The British Army? We take care of our own because no one else will."

# R

# evísíon OR

Many revisionists of Irish history contort the past to bolster the

## REVISIONISM IN IRELAND

is taking on an entirely new meaning these days. While Republicans challenge the myths concocted by the 'Fourth Estate', media sharks unpack the envelopes of misinformation they themselves once helped to seal.

'Sources unknown' are often identified as origins for new information on fraudulent politicians - corruption being an issue that has captivated the media over recent years. However, what they don't want you to know is that this, in fact, is really old news that the establishment media tried to obscure for decades. Everyone knew of Haughey's entrepreneurial pursuits during his reign as Taoiseach. He bought the nation's resources, and a mansion in Kinsealy, while the unemployed were left in poverty. We had our belts well tightened in a society where emigration and recession were the signs of the times.

Revisionism has played havoc with the facts from the start of modern Irish history, continuing to do so to this very day. The current Peace Process and the 20th anniversary of the Hunger Strike are contexts that have sent the astute editors of reality into a flurry of activity. As we commemorate the Hunger Strike, Fianna Fáil's Martin Mansergh tries to persuade us that Haughey recognised the five demands of the hunger strikers in 1981 as valid, while Garret Fitzgerald, the Fine Gael leader and one-time Taoiseach, claims a key role in history through the auspices of the Anglo Irish Agreement of '85. Facts are manipulated and redrawn to fit neatly into their partisan analyses.

A combination of revisionism and the republican culture of silence routinely writes the Republican Movement out of the equation. The omission of the facts, or the instalment of halftruths, is nothing peculiar to the current Irish political landscape. This is largely for the reason that the makers of history are seldom afforded the space to chronicle that history. The culture of republican silence has reinforced our invisibility in this respect.

The makers of history are those who instigate the historical moment. The 1916 Rising in Ireland was one of those major historical events which inevitably project onto and shape the future with powerful insistence, and the signing of the 1921 Treaty was a direct aftermath of that all-inflaming moment.

Dublin in the year 2001 again reverberates with the revitalised project of a united and independent Ireland. However, the city is also home to various historians and academics who miss one basic point. That point is that it is not in the gift of such academics to 'know' the past, since they miss the moment and recoil from the event. The visionary dynamic of moments like the 1916 Rising and the 1981 rebellion of republican prisoners pre-empt the future.



BY ELLA O'DWYER

Sometimes, the people who inhabit that future tend to interpret the event against the backdrop of their own prejudice.

The future is flagged up and housed in the historical moment and the makers of history like Mickey Devine or Robert Emmet are, by extension, the visionary architects of the future. Journalists like Ruth Dudley Edwards, Edmund Delaney and Conor Cruise O'Brien are, on the other hand, the reviewers and revisionists of those moments, with little vision on the delivery of tomorrow.

In the context of Dublin in the year 2001, therefore, the academics and journalists reporting on a moment of distinction like the 1981 Hunger Strike, or the Peace Process, claim the power to orchestrate reality on demand. Relying on the word and world of theory, they assume the historians role. While language is a power-loaded entity, theorists like Terry Eagleton point to the helpless inadequacy of words in the face of a strategically applied materiality.

**In the twenty first century, resistance and struggle will not be enough, and while the strategy of nineteen-twenties hunger striker, Terence Mc Sweeney was perhaps appropriate to the time, it will never again be a matter of those who "can endure the most"**

What is meant by this? The conflict between 'reality', as recorded by words, and 'reality' as in the actual substance of events, is a contradiction, or split at the core of the common perception of reality. It is where the making and writing of history are fundamentally divided.

The Treaty, that is the ultimate of charged events crucially impacting upon the course of modern Irish history, vividly segregates the writing from the making of history. Against the backdrop of fear that accompanies the moment of historical change, this context is open territory for disjunction and split, and 'the split' is the trump card of Revisionism.

An inheritance of intentional silence and anonymity long pursued on this island and for long thwarting the doc-

# R evolution

opinions, and have little grip on the future, writes ELLA O'DWYER



**Revisionist journalists like Conor Cruise O'Brien and Ruth Dudley Edwards rely on fear and a disfigurement of the past, but have little to offer for the future**

umentation of the facts, is largely the bequeathal of crucial events like the signing of The Treaty. The message and lesson of that event alerted the Irish to the threat of enforced statement and signature; 'Sign nothing and whatever you say, say nothing'.

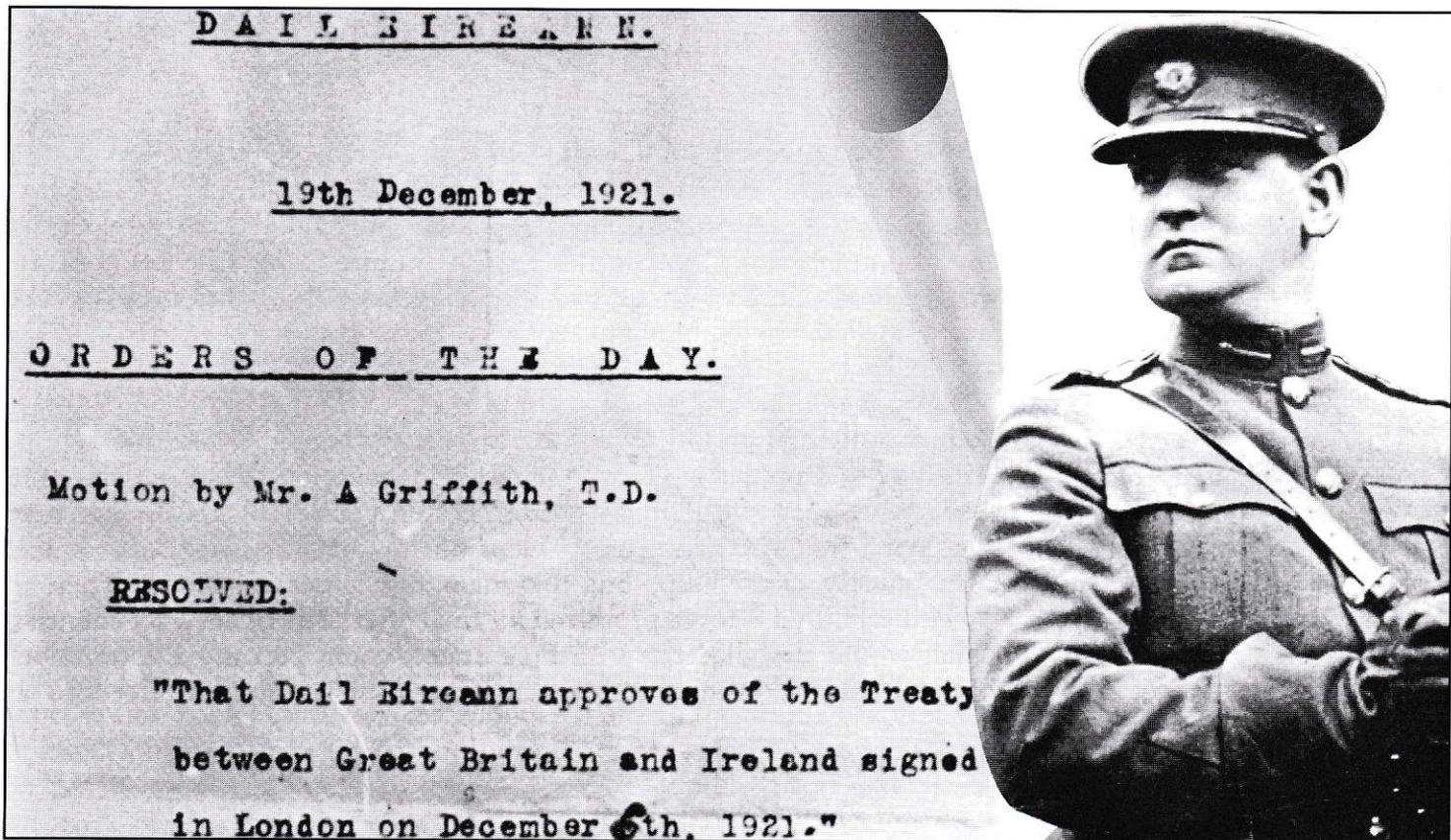
Sometimes our own language can inhibit us. The silence and anonymity imposed through oppression, are the hallmarks of infiltration, where 'Empire Speak' corals us into silence and repetition. We diligently repeat the same sad songs and bitter tales, persuading ourselves that resistance is enough. In the twenty first century, resistance and struggle will not be enough, and while the strategy of nineteen-twenties hunger striker, Terence Mc Sweeney was perhaps appropriate to the time, it will never again be a matter of those who "can endure the most". We've been there and done that. The challenge to this generation is to harvest the legacy of earlier times and to turn it into victory.

While Michael Collins, in 1921, negotiated and scrutinised the measure of his opponent at the negotiating table, vision and empire exchanged unnerving awareness.

Where the coloniser searched for the next sod or ground of colony, vision caught sight of the "immediate and terrible" ideological infertility of Empire. In a similar context, the visionary thrust of Revolution is regularly confronted with the dead hand of revisionism. Revolution gives itself to the historical moment, with the sharp edge of vision.

Revisionism and colonialism scavenge the worn ground of the past, while the visionary pre-empts the pastures of the future; never the twain can meet.

Revisionism has visited every moment of historical significance in this country, playing on the fear and uncertainty of the time. As Rex Taylor points out in his 'Biography of Michael Collins', the occupants of the room where the Treaty was negotiated "will go down in history



The treaty signed by Collins has left a legacy of debilitating fear

not so much for the agreement which they made" as "for the legends which they created which run contrary to one another". The Treaty, therefore, provided a scavenging ground for revisionism, aggravating the already tense moment of change.

The agents of change - the revolutionaries; the key players and architects of the future, bear a heavy load. An enormous challenge shadows the makers of history and part of that baggage presents itself in the inevitable aspect of fear. A point around which debate revolved in the aftermath of 1921 was whether the Irish delegation was actually threatened, by Lloyd George, with "immediate war". The February 4th edition of the newspaper the 'Republic of Ireland', to which Taylor refers, cites an important statement of Collins' evaluation of the prospects of imminent war:

"The position never appeared to me to be that. I did not sign the Treaty under duress except in the sense that the position as between Ireland and England, historically, and because of superior forces on the part of England, has always been one of duress. The element of duress was present when we agreed to the Truce, but there was no and could not have been any personal duress. The British would not, I think, have declared terrible and immediate war upon us."

According to Gavan Duffy, another signatory of the Treaty, Lloyd George did issue an ultimatum to sign or face immediate war. In a Dáil debate on the Treaty, Duffy commented that "...the ultimatum might have been bluff, but everyone of those who had heard the British Prime Minister believed beyond all reasonable doubt that this was not play acting, and that he meant what he said". Collins however, as Taylor points out, did not think so and he was in fact present at the time, while Duffy was not.

If fear was a key player in this historical engagement,

then fear factored in interpretation of its unsatisfactory outcome. Revisionism plays on the fears of its target constituency, fostering silence and split at the subtlest of levels. The question is not whether the Treaty was signed under terrible duress, but the acute symptoms of silence and suspicion that it delivered. The debilitating fear that was the legacy of that Treaty had nothing to do with agreement and today's conditions are the research ground for that event. Fear, at the outset, was a legacy of that period and fear is the feeding ground of Revisionists; those who proactively engage in the thwarting of the revolutionary thrust.

Revisionism has targeted Republicanism at every stage and level in modern Irish history. The historical

### **We must dilute the censorship and revisionism that has fed off our prolonged inclination to silence and anonymity**

moments, with their key players, are routinely obstructed by the agency of the media. It's time for us to address the depth of challenge facing the republican negotiating team and to train for the victory that is clearly there for our taking. We must dilute the censorship and revisionism that has fed off our prolonged inclination to silence and anonymity.

In the Irish context, revisionism is sheer 'in your face' reaction and the challenge to penetrate that bloc is another challenge to revolution. We have the players, agus go n'éirídh on bóthar leo. The challenge to the rest of us is to stay in key. While history is sometimes the edited version of the ideological voyage, we must remain attuned to what Bobby Sands termed 'The Rhythm of Time'.

# An Dátheangachas sa Mhargadh

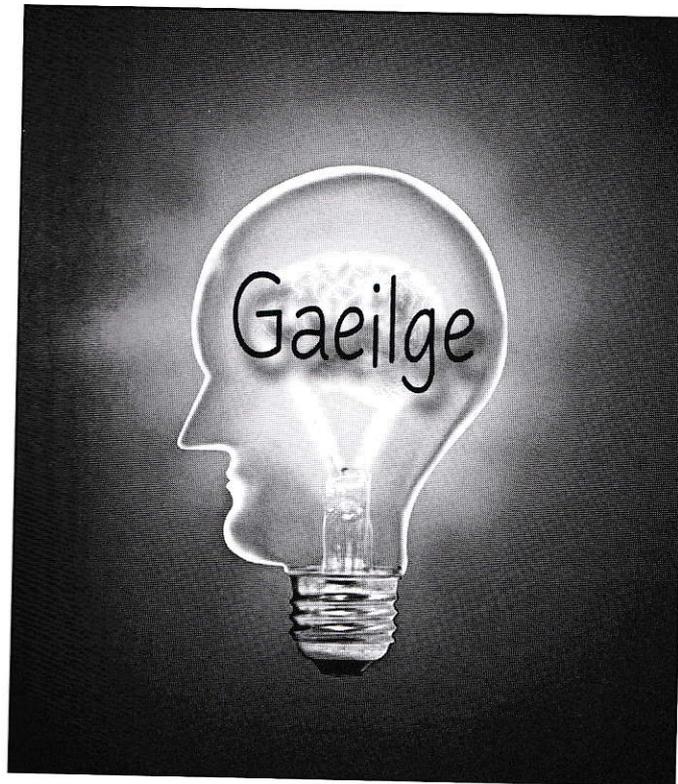
LE Daithí Mac An Bhaird

**I**S ón aos óg a shíolraíonn réabhlóidí. Ní foláir don ghlúin óg a bheith láidir agus inniúil chun go ndéanfaí an saol a chur ina cheart. B'shin mar a mheas Jake Jackson, réabhlóidí a chaith na blianta i ngéibhinn sa Cheis Fhada ar aon am leis an deichniúr mórlaoch a chuimhnítear orthu go mórmhór agus an bhliain 2001 linn. Réabhlóidí Gaelach atá i Jake Jackson, an cogadh um chur chun cinn na Gaeilge fós á throid aige, mar ba léir ag Slógadh Ógra Shinn Féin 2001.

Is fada ó chogadh na Gaeilge a bheith thart. Go dtí go bhfuil cead ag duine ceist a phlé leis an stát-seirbhís sa chéadteanga oifigiúil, nó go dtí go bhfuil fáil ar gach cúrsa ollscoile trí Ghaeilge beidh gá fós le díograiseoirí teanga in Éirinn. Go dtí go bhfuil scoil lánGhaelach ar fáil don uile tuismitheoir ar mhór leo a ngasúir a oileadh trí Ghaeilge ag an mbun agus ag an meánleibhéal, beidh obair romhainn. Go dtí nach luaifean an focal 'críchdeighilt' agus cúrsaí Gaeilge sa tír seo á bplé beidh gá le tuilleadh fuinnimh ón Ghael.

Mar Ghaeilgeoir óg, mothaím bródúil as an obair atá déanta ag réabhlóidithe le blianta anuas. Fáiltím freisin roimh an chuireadh um smaointe eile a chur chun cinn, óir tá glúin eile de Ghaeilgeoirí ag teacht ar an bhfód, agus fuadar fúthu an ceann scríbe a bhaint amach.

Is cuimhin liom alt a léamh breis is ceithre bliana ó shin i 'Foinse' faoin Ghaeilge sa mhargaíocht agus an deis a chonaic an t-údar roimpi. Mheall an smaoinemh mé agus tá an t-alt ós mo chomhair agus m'alt féin á scríobh agam. An smaoinemh



a bhí ann ná gur chóir gach a bhfuil scríofa ar lipéid agus ar phacáistí earraí in Éirinn a bheith go dátheangach.

Sa Bheilg, áit a bhfuil dhá phobal teanga, lucht na Francaise agus lucht na Flamandaise, feictear an leagan Flamandaise ar thaobh amháin an bhosca pizza, an t-eolas ceannann céanna ar an taobh eile, ach i dteanga dhifriúil ar fad, an Fhraincis. Agus Kerrygold á dhíol sa Bheilg 'Ierse Boter' agus 'Buerre Irlandais' a bhíonn mar chinnteidil ar an lipéad. Sin mar atá sé de réir an dlí óir tá dhá theanga oifigiúil sa stát. Is amhlaidh atá an scéal i gCeanada leis.

Tá dhá phobal teanga in Éirinn chomh maith, pobal an Bhéala agus pobal na Gaeilge. Ba chóir go mbeadh sé de chead ag an phobal Ghaeilge éirí ar maidin agus a chuid 'Callóga Arbhar Kellogs' a ithe trí

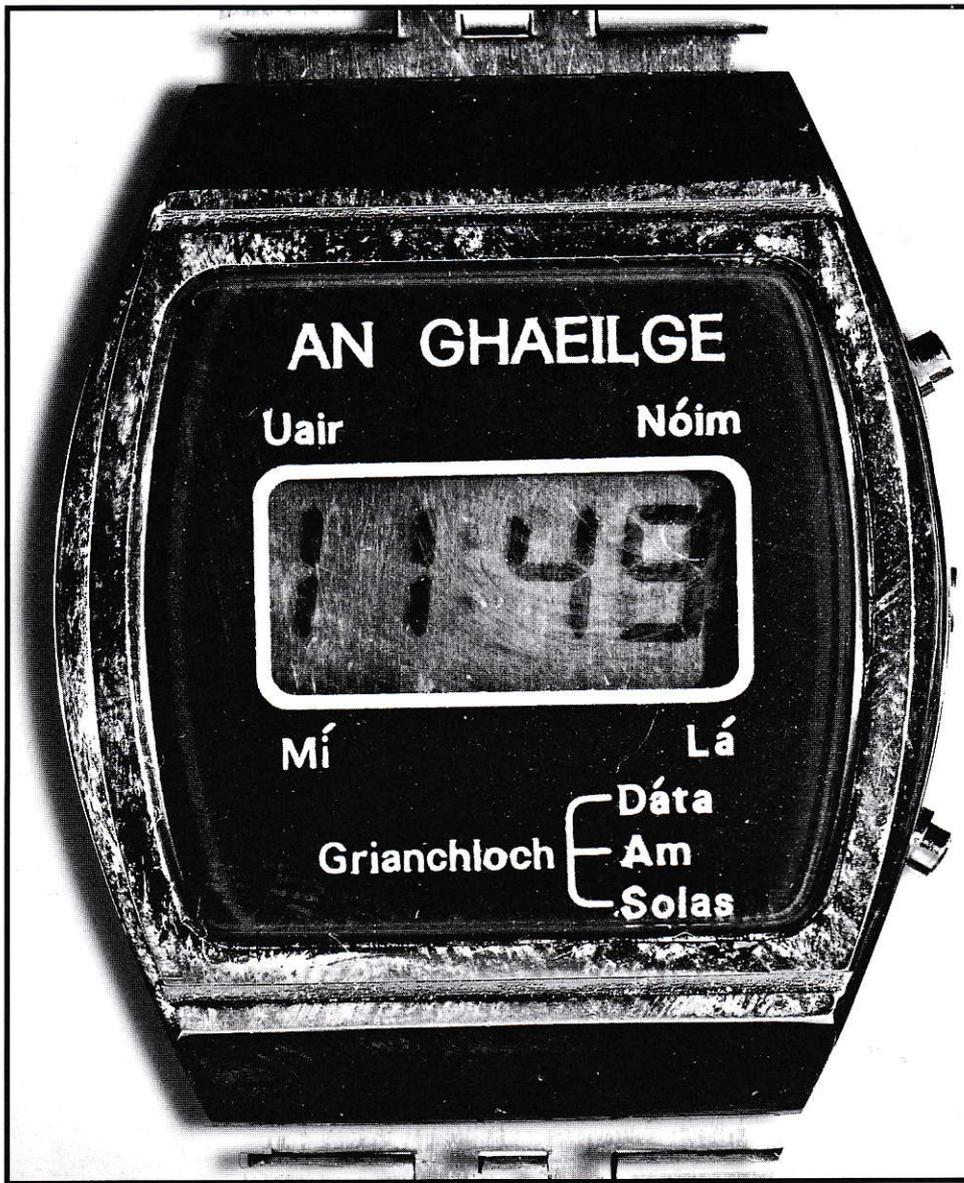
Ghaeilge. Is cuma uibheacha, scuab fiacal, arán nó teilifís ba chóir go mbeadh duine in ann eolas ar na hearraí ar mian leis a cheannach a léamh ina rogha teanga.

Mar seo a mhol-fainn tabhairt faoi. Ó tharla go bhfuil an Bille Teanga sna Sé Chondae is Fiche á dhreachtadh cheana féin (de réir na ráflaí), ní mar chuid den Acht Teanga a tharlóidh go mbainfean an t-athrú seo amach. Acht úr neamhspleách an rud a bheidh de dhíth. Ach bíodh úire ar leith ag baint leis seo - bíodh feidhm uile-Éireannach leis. Tá sé

leagtha síos i gComhaontú Aoine an Chéasta, conradh ar ghlac rialtas na 26 Chondae agus rialtas na Breataine leis, go n-aithnítear go bhfuil pobal Gaeilge ann, go bhfuil sé éagsúil, go bhfuil cearta aige agus gur gá caitheamh leis ar bhonn cothrom agus ar bhonn uile-Éireannach. Trí Fhoras na Gaeilge, tá eagrais Gaeilge uile-Éireannach ann le cur chun cinn na Gaeilge a chothú agus a stiúradh. Ní mór an nasc uile-oileánda seo a dhaingniú. Déanfar é seo trí bheartais láidre cheannródaíocha mar dhátheangú mhargadh na hÉireann.

Mholfainn gur chóir don bhForas foireann oibre a chur le chéile chun an coincheap, 'An Dátheangachas sa Mhargadh', a phlé. Thabharfaí trí mhí di le gur féidir léi tuairisc a chur ós comhair cruinniú de chuid an Fhorais. Thiocfadh sí ar ais le moltaí

# Bilingualism in the Marketplace



soiléire chomh maith le clár ama do chur i bhfeidhm an bheartais. Ba ghá plean an Fhorais a chur os comhair an Tí, thuaidh (Stormont) agus theas

(Teach Laighean). Ó tharla gur bunaíodh an Foras le tacaíocht ón dá phobal ó thuaidh ba chóir go n-éireodh leis. (Léiriú maith a bheadh ann

**Cúpla Focal :**

Réabhlóidí .....	revolutions
Inniúil .....	innovative
Mórlaoch .....	hero
Díograiseoirí teanga .....	language enthusiasts
'críchdeighilt' .....	Partition
tuilleadh fuinnimh .....	Further efforts/energy
ag teacht ar an bhfód .....	Coming into being/ arriving on the scene
ceann scríbe .....	destination
lipéad (lipéid= pl) .....	label(s)
ceannteideal (cinnteidil= pl) .....	title/headline(s)
bille á dhreachtadh .....	a bill being drafted
Acht úr neamhspleách .....	a brand new independent Act
Feidhm uile-Éireannach .....	All-Ireland remit/function
Trí Fhoras na Gaeilge .....	Through FnaG (All-Ireland Language body set up under GFA)
trí bheartais láidre cheannródaíochta .....	Through strong visionary undertakings/ decisions
comhlachtaí .....	companies
stór maith focal .....	a good store of vocabulary
Ceist chearta agus chomhionannais .....	A question of rights and equality
ó lá go lá, ó mhaidin go hoíche .....	From day to day, morning 'til night
Sin é ár gceart, déanamís é a éileamh .....	It's our right, let's demand it.

ar an meon um chomhionannas a chothú san ionadaí tofa a chuirfeadh ina choinne. Thuigfí cuid mhór ón easpa tuairime ó dhaoine eile sa dá theach.)

Ba ghá seirbhís aistriúcháin agus téarmaíochta a chur ar bun chun go mbeadh áis ag comhlachtaí idir comhlachtaí dúchasacha agus iasachta, leis an athrú a chur i gcrích. Bheadh sé mar aidhm ag an oifig seo leagan nádúrtha dátheangach de phacáistiú a chur ar fáil do gach earra atá ar an margadh sa tír seo roimh an bhliain 2005, mar shampla. Ar an bhealach seo chothófaí caighdeán árd cruinn ón tús. An stát a d'íocfadh as an tseirbhís seo. D'fhéadfaí na postanna seo a lonnú i gceantar ar nós Ceatharlaigh nó Béal Feirste, nó in áit ar bith a bhfuil obair mhór déanta aici ar son na teanga.

Is mór an buntáiste a bhainfeadh lena leithéid d'fhiontar. Chomh maith le postanna a chruthú ba bheart ar son an oideachais é. I dtosach chuirfí foclóir leathan ós comhair a súl ag an uile dhuine sa tír. Bheadh an Ghaeilge á feiceáil ag cách ó éirí na gréine go titim na hoíche, agus an teanga á foghlaim nó á hathfhoghlaim i ngan fhios. Sula rachadh páiste ar scoil in aois ceithre bliana bheadh taithí aige/aici ar dhá theanga agus stór maith focal aige/aici trí bheith ag ithe a chuid mílseán go dátheangach. Níos tábhachtaí arís b'fhéidir, ná go dtuigfí ag cách, go bhfuil dhá phobal teanga ar an oileán.

Ní raidiceach an smaoineamh é seo thuas. Ceist chearta agus chomhionannais is ea í. Is léir ó bhunreacht na Sé Chondae is Fiche an stádas ar chóir a bheith ag an Ghaeilge. Tugtar aitheantas nach beag di i gComhaontú Aoine an Chéasta ar vótáladh go mór ar a son trí bliana ó shin. Cé nach réabhlóideach an smaoineamh é mar gheall ar an bhunchloch atá againn, is ollmhór an difir a dhéanfaí dá rithfí a leithéid d'acht. Is iontach an t-athrú a thiocfadh ar mheon mhuintir na hÉireann dá bharr. Ní mór dúinn a chur in iúl dóibh siúd nach eol go fóill dóibh, gur teanga bheo í an Ghaeilge, go bhfuil pobal mór aici, go bhfuil an pobal sin scaipthe, gur mian leis an phobal Gaeilge feidhmiú trí Ghaeilge ó lá go lá, ó mhaidin go hoíche. Sin é ár gceart, déanamís é a éileamh.

BY THE COVEY

**THERE ARE POSSIBLY**

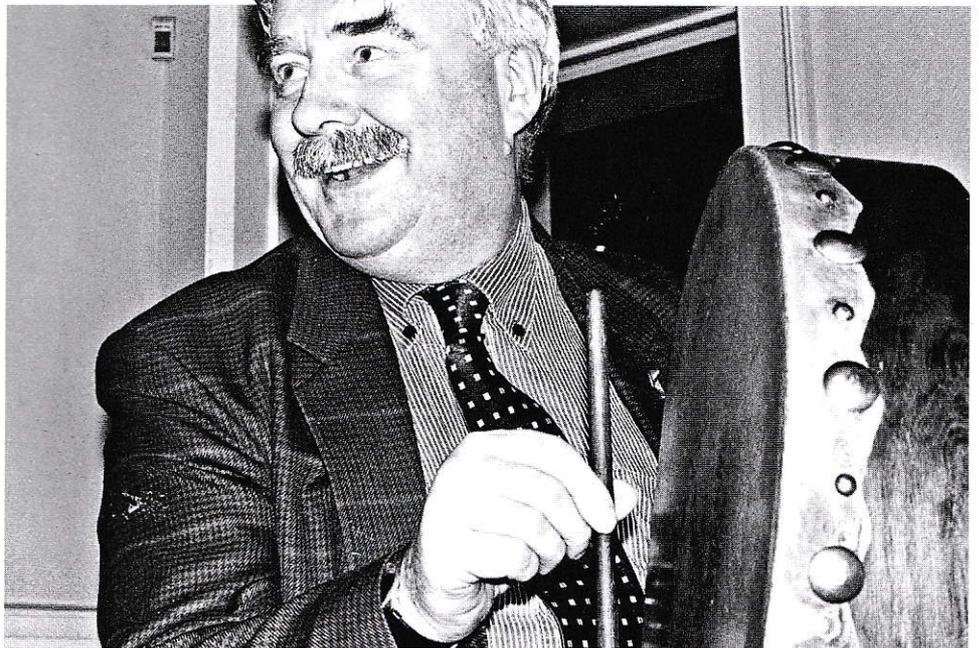
as many definitions as to what constitutes the Irish Left as there are groups which claim to be socialist, socialist republican, communist or whatever other label they attach to themselves.

For the Trotskyite groups the Left is a fairly narrow and sparsely inhabited place, defined by one's devotion to the writings of Leon Trotsky on events in the first four decades of the 20th century. The political equivalent of the Seventh Day Adventists, Trotskyites are often so doctrinaire that the only people admitted to be of the one true faith are themselves and their sister sects in other countries.

But even where they have attempted to break out of their self-imposed isolation, as has been the case with the Militant-dominated Socialist Party and the Socialist Workers Party, they find it difficult to abandon their old habits. Theirs' is a universe peopled by heretics, backsliders and spies. Swap the buzz words of 'class', 'party', and 'revolution' for 'God's chosen people', 'Church' and 'salvation' and you could be kicking up your heels in Geneva in 1540 instead of moping over pints in the corner of the Students' Union.

The Irish ultra-left is defined by a number of principle features; Firstly, it has no genuine roots in the Irish revolutionary movement. It is true that the founders of Irish Trotskyism were former members of the Republican Movement, but they were also self-conscious imitators of the Trotskyite fringe which grew up around the student movement in Britain in the 1960s. Unlike republicans, left-wing elements in the Labour Party, and the Communist Party, their focus was on glamorous and safely distant struggles in Vietnam or China, rather than the mundane work of trade unions, tenant associations, and issues around the national question.

Little has changed over the intervening period, most of them choosing to act as spectators to the struggle in the Six Counties but reserving the right to lecture republicans from the sidelines on the morality of killing "workers in uniform", or urging that the movement's politics be tailored so that we wouldn't be an embarrassment to whatever ridiculous



**• ...deluded workers and youth who - damn their ignorance! - can't see beneath the cunning façade to the rotten reactionary heart that beats within the breast of Councillor Larry O'Toole**

Mary Poppins "International" they belonged to. Now that the struggle has moved into a different phase, some of these erstwhile revolutionary pacifists accuse us of having sold out because the IRA is on ceasefire! We are also told that Sinn Féin has sold its soul for American dollars and the chance to cosy up to respectable people like Bertie and Blair. They can't wait for us to go into coalition so that they can shout 'told you so!' and assume the mantle of the leadership of the Irish working class. For the Trotskyites, the world of politics and power is a Grimms' Fairy Tale; there are no grey

areas and subtleties, only bad witches and good fairies.

Thus, the very fact that Sinn Féin has ministers in the Six-County Executive is proof positive that we have sold out. So completely have they missed the plot that they insist upon comparing the current set up at Stormont to every other government, and claim that Sinn Féin is part of a right-wing cabinet. What they totally fail to understand, as they have consistently done over the past 30 years, is that this is most certainly not a case of 'normal' bourgeois democratic politics. The executive, and

republicans' place in it, is part of the ongoing, and unfinished business of dismantling the British connection. Sinn Féin ministers are not in Stormont to run the health service or the schools as part of some permanent settlement. They are there to pursue our revolutionary objective, not by infantile gestures and grandstanding, but by the patient exposure of the real nature of power in the Six Counties and of the logical necessity to bring about a British military and political withdrawal and real self-determination for the Irish people.

Only then can we move towards the objectives of social and economic liberation. Failure to understand this

**THE TROSKYITES:**  
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has led the Socialist Party and its predecessor to follow other anti-national elements on the 'left' into the most bizarre coalitions. Armed with a Disneyland model of class struggle, these so-called revolutionaries have cosied up to genuine reactionaries and fascists in the trade union movement and the loyalist paramilitary organisations in the pursuit of 'Workers' Unity'. But of course they were not acting entirely without some form of logic. In the case of the Militant/Socialist Party, that logic was (is?) the strategic goal of a 'Socialist Federation of the British Isles'. Now doesn't that sound like a good plan! This is the same type of nonsense that has led left-wing revisionist historians to argue that the arrival of that progressive republican, Oliver

Cromwell, to our shores was a good thing really. So instead of Whitehall securocrats we could look forward to being ruled by chaps immersed in the classics of scientific socialism and who at the end of the day agree with Dame Thatcher that Finaghy - and sure why not Finglas for that matter - is as British as Finchley. After all, workers have no country.

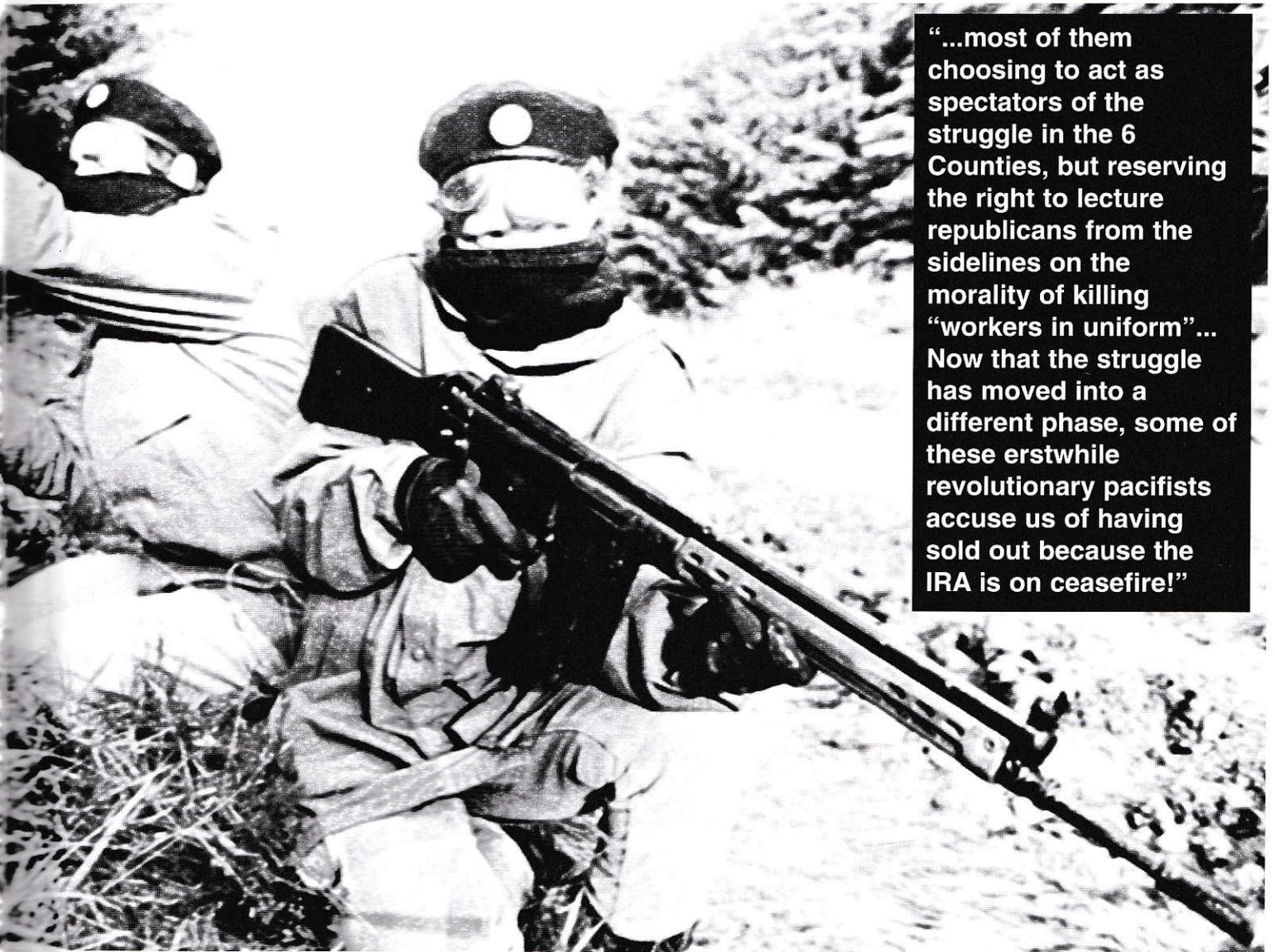
Why bother to even discuss these people? Well, for one thing, they appear to be obsessed with us. Their 'theoretical' journals devote much space to dissecting the politics of the Republican Movement and their tactics in the 26 Counties are to 'expose' Sinn Féin. What this means is that they are trying to use campaigns such as the current Dublin anti-bin charges movement to promote either Socialist Party or Socialist Alliance candidates to contest certain constituencies in the next general election. What all their target constituencies have in common is that they are areas in which Sinn Féin has sitting councillors and where Sinn Féin has opportunities of winning seats in Leinster House. It is a cynical and petty tactic, where the optimum result for the ultra left would be to prevent Sinn Féin taking seats by attracting a couple of hundred votes away from our candidates to some modern day Lenin, who will make the scales fall from the eyes of the deluded workers and youth who - damn their ignorance! - can't see beneath the cunning façade to the rotten reactionary heart that beats within the breast of Councillor Larry O'Toole.

A cunning plan? Well, it might be were it not for the fact that its implementation is in the hands of proven political incompetents. Already, the Socialist Alliance shows all the signs of going the way of the Socialist Labour Party of the 1970s, which was torn apart by Trotskyite bickering over the most ridiculous and trivial issues. As for the Socialist Party, well if they enjoy the same success in 'exposing' Sinn Féin as they did in taking over the Free State Labour Party, I think our directors of elections may sleep soundly in their beds. Expecting Trotskyites to actually bring something to a successful conclusion is akin to asking a committee of three-year-olds to drive a train from Dublin to Cork. The danger is of course, that serious campaign issues will be lost if such groups are allowed set the agenda.



That is why it is crucial that Sinn Féin is on top of matters like the bin charges and that we do not allow these people to dictate our actions. Ignore their childish accusations and as far as possible keep them on the far end of the barge pole. They are political parasites who feed off the genuine movements of ordinary people and who have neither the basis of support nor the cop-on to organise these things themselves.

So to return to our initial question; what constitutes the Irish Left? Historically, that has been defined by two main issues, an anti-imperialist position on the national question and a programme of radical social change. Only the Republican Movement has consistently held to this over the past 200 years of revolutionary struggle. As Connolly understood, the two are inextricable, and the only genuine progress towards the political and social freedom of the Irish people has been made when they have been in tandem. This was the case in the



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revolutionary period from 1913 to 1922, and even to a lesser degree in the early years of Fianna Fáil power, when the more blatant symbols of the defeat of 1922/23 were jettisoned and some steps were taken towards creating better living conditions for ordinary people.

That is why Fianna Fáil rather than the Labour Party has commanded the bulk of the constituency that in other countries forms the basis of what are

more commonly considered to be left-wing parties. The Labour Party compounded its failure to make any significant breakthrough in the revolutionary period by being consistently to the right of Fianna Fáil on the major national and social issues of the day. And I mean social as in to do with the living conditions of working people rather than the spurious liberal agenda so dear to the heart of the Labour Party and its true

constituency, the urban middle class.

The Republican Movement is now in a position to challenge for this leadership of progressive forces in Ireland. In doing so we should not allow ourselves to be distracted by the gad-flies of the ultra left. Confident of our revolutionary credentials, which certainly do not require the imprimatur of any self-appointed revolutionary elite, we can bring this new phase of struggle to a successful conclusion.

# Sinn Féin

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What are  
they doing  
to 'our'  
world?



### Corporate Control of Science

There was a time everyone thought that science held all the answers. Then Hiroshima and Nagasaki blew that. Science is a marvel. It split the atom. But what was the use to which this was put, and by whom?

They frazzled hundreds of thousands of human beings - leaving just imprints on a wall: they built nuclear reactors all over the world which left carcinogenic residues that no one yet knows how to dispose of; they left little depleted uranium shells all over Iraq and Kosova for the children to play with as they tick away.

Now in the year 2001, we watch the progressive desertification of the 3rd world, along with its increasing impoverishment; we watch with dread the exhaustion of the world's natural resources. They are simply running out, as fast as we throw them away.

Drought of the world's water threatens. We witness the disappearance of the ozone layer; the rapid advance of global warming; of pollution of the very air we breathe and the water we drink; the growth of diseases unheard of

in previous centuries; the failure, because of over-prescription, of medicines that were successful in the past, and the virtual wipe out of whole species, following the destruction of their habitat.

The huge fall off in average testosterone levels amongst males, over the past 20 years, hints that our very species itself may join that list.

These things make you wonder. What are we doing to our world?

Or we thought it was our world, until we bothered to look and see that it isn't the power of science that has done all this, but the power of those who employ the scientists. He who pays the piper calls the tune.

### Corporations playing God

And who pays the piper? Sure it's the companies subsidised by government, especially in the case of weaponry, which pays the scientists. Control of scientific research is money. Big money. How big? Look at Monsanto. Scientists messed about with the DNA of plants, in particular rice, which is a staple food especially in the third

**BUT SOME OF THE COMPANIES THAT JOINED THE RACE OF DISCOVERY OF THE DICTIONARY OF HUMAN LIFE, WANT TO GET PAID FOR THEIR RESULTS. IT MEANS PATENTING HUMANITY**

world. They developed a seed that would not propagate itself, until the genes were turned on by a chemical product sold, in monopoly of course, by Monsanto. Monsanto replacing the hand of God, as it rakes in a profit.

There is a cut-throat battle going on right now about ownership of the DNA chain, or the knowledge of it. John Sulston in Cambridge, England, wants to ensure that no business interests get the monopoly on the make up of the human DNA chain. But some of the companies that joined the race of discovery of the dictionary of human life, want to get paid for their results. It means patenting humanity.

There is a lot of profit in that, and a very high price for the downstream medicines and gene technology, which is anticipated to hold the cure for most diseases and human disorders. Holding humanity to ransom is very profitable business.

And when there is so much money at stake, for he who pays the piper, then all sorts of irresponsibility creeps into to the tune.

### Medication of a nation

Look at Fluoridation. Most of Ireland's water supply is fluoridated, by law. The fluoride is a highly toxic chemical that is a bi-product of the fertiliser industry - which no one knows how to get rid of. But when it's diluted sufficiently, its toxic effects are spread more widely. So they

put it in the water supply, for all of us to drink. It's enforced, involuntary - medication of the nation.

But scientists, some of them, will tell you that this is very good for children's teeth, even though it takes off the enamel coating when applied in big doses. And they will even produce statistics to prove it. "Statistics, statistics and more lies." But it is a handy way to dispose of a toxic waste product, which could be very expensive to dispose of by another method.

### Crazy notion of incineration

Scientists will tell you that incineration is safe, even

though they know that dioxins, one of the most toxic chemicals known to man, are emitted. They will tell you that new technologies make scrubbers to clean the emissions, far more effective, although they also know that there is no continuous monitoring system of the emissions available, and efficiency declines rapidly over weeks.

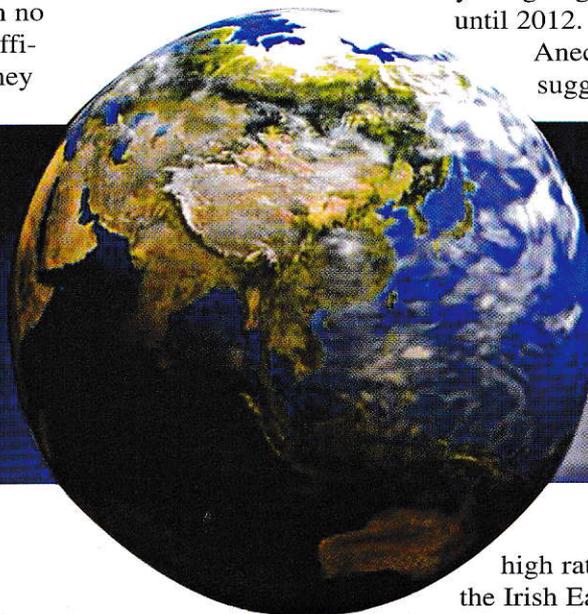
But then big money is involved in incinerator contracts, and if Mr Burke's CV, submitted to the Flood Tribunal, is anything to go by, politicians are not averse to a cut on the contract.

Why else is 26-County Minister, Noel Dempsey, so set on forcing incinerators on Ireland, when everyone knows that Ireland's agricultural exports rely on the green, clean image. Because Ireland has no incinerators to speak of, Ireland's dioxin rates are far below levels in Western Europe.

### Deliberate Pollution of the Irish Sea

Everyone knows that emissions from Sellafield cause cancer. Despite a united call by other EU countries on the British Government to stop pumping radioactive waste into the Irish Sea, the Brits continue to claim that it's safe, and they are going to go on doing it until 2012.

Anecdotal evidence suggests extremely



high rates of cancers along the Irish Eastern seaboard, yet the cancer registry is always 3 years behind with their figures.

Yes. It is criminal. It relies on people believing in the God of science, and believing that God is not heavily under the influence of Mammon, in the form of multinational companies, which would find it profitable to take his place.

It is them and us, and maybe it is a race for survival of our species in what was once a pleasant world - for some. But it is a race to get knowledge and power, a race which people need to win.

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***“OUR REVENGE  
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LAUGHTER  
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CHILDREN”***

**— IRA volunteer,  
BOBBY SANDS**

