



An Phoblacht

REPUBLICAN NEWS

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Pull the other one

WHEN THE ENGLISH police chief John Stalker got too close to the truth about RUC killings and was set to blow the lid on the whole shoot-to-kill affair his masters in Whitehall helped to get rid of him by engineering a scandal that led to his removal from the inquiry. The 'scandal' which was completely manufactured and sensationalised in the media centred on his connection with a business friend who was facing criminal charges. The man beat the charges, but it was too late for Stalker.

This week British war minister in the Six Counties Michael Mates survived the revelations of his links with fugitive tycoon Asil Nadir. This multimillionaire crook donated hundreds of thousands of pounds to Tory Party funds and Mates sent him a watch inscribed

"Don't let the buggers get you down". Mates is still in his job.

Patrick Mayhew, the British Direct Ruler in the Six Counties, former Solicitor General and member of the Privy Council, and Attorney-General for England and Wales stood accused last week of trying to suppress vital evidence that confirmed that the British government was aware of the plans to supply Iraq with a 'supergun' as early as 1988, two years before British ministers have admitted.

At the Scott inquiry hearing last week Mayhew said it was "inconceivable" that he would suppress evidence. This was from the man who as attorney general ordered the suppression on the grounds of "national security" of the Stalker-Sampson report and the non-prosecution of the RUC killers of six people in Armagh in the 1982 shoot-to-kill incidents.

Having armed Saddam Hussein of Iraq for years when it suited their strategic interests and brought huge profits to their friends in the arms manufacturing trade, the Tory government joined the Bush administration in turning on Iraq and unleashing a full-scale war in the Gulf.

Such is the hypocrisy of the British ruling class and its two chief representatives in the Six Counties Patrick Mayhew and Michael Mates. But then lying, double-dealing and hypocrisy have always been essential qualifications for anyone sent to rule the Orange state in Britain's name.

— See page 7



● The hypocrisy of the British ruling classes has been further exposed through the revelations about ministers Mayhew and Mates



British soldier killed

THE GROWING PRESSURE being applied by Ogligh na hEireann against the British crown forces has forced British military planners to increasingly use their locally recruited sectarian militia in selected areas of the Six Counties.

This is the context in which IRA attacks on the Royal Irish Regiment (formerly the UDR) take place. In the latest such attack at Moneymore, County Derry, on Monday, 31 May an RIR soldier was killed.

The East Tyrone Brigade of Ogligh na hEireann said of the attack in a supplied statement that Volunteers under their command attached an anti-personnel mine to a vehicle owned by a member of the Royal Irish Regiment.

Following an IRA intelligence operation the movements of the RIR member, who served in the

South Derry and East Tyrone area, were pinpointed. As the soldier drove along the narrow Carrydaragh Road at 2.30pm on Monday afternoon the mine detonated seriously injuring him. He died within hours of the blast.

Private Christopher Wren joined the Ulster Defence Regiment in 1988, and continued his membership of British military forces when that sectarian militia became known as the RIR.

■ SOLDIER INJURED IN SHOOTING ATTACK

Another member of the RIR

became a casualty when IRA Volunteers shot and seriously wounded him in the city's Markets area last Wednesday evening, 26 May.

The Belfast Brigade said that the RIR soldier was one of several British soldiers guarding a permanent road checkpoint at the junction of Stewart Street and East Bridge Street beside Belfast's main Central railway station, near the city centre.

The Volunteers fired a total of 20 rounds, shortly after 11.15pm at the British position hitting one British soldier in the face. Others rapidly took cover behind two armoured personnel carriers. Badly wounded, the RIR member was later taken to a military hospital where his condition was described

as serious. There was no return fire from British forces.

■ SOLDIER ESCAPES ON FOOT

On the same evening as the Markets attack Volunteers operating in the north of the city narrowly missed another member of the RIR. The British soldier, who lives in Ligoniel escaped out the rear of a house when the Volunteers entered by the front door. One Volunteer fired a round at the British soldier during the operation but no injuries were reported.

■ 600LB BOMB DRIVEN INTO BELFAST

Following these two operations the IRA again brought Belfast to a complete standstill with 25 hoax devices in commandeered vehicles. As British army technical officers were kept busy dealing with these alerts IRA Volunteers calmly drove a 600lb car bomb into the city centre, parking it outside the offices of the Liganside Development, less than 500 yards from Musgrave Street RUC Barracks. This prestigious commercial building opened at great cost last year by British ministers only escaped devastation when several British army technical units blew the firing mechanism off the main charge.

■ CHECKPOINT UNDER FIRE

Maintaining the pressure in and around the city centre, causing great consternation to senior NIO and British military officials, the IRA again launched a rifle attack on another permanent British checkpoint, this time beside the studios of Ulster Television on the Ormeau Road.

This attack saw a number of Volunteers approach the checkpoint from the city centre in a commandeered vehicle just after midnight. As they slowed down to pass the checkpoint the Volunteers opened fire at an RUC member

providing cover in a nearby doorway. As 25 rounds poured from the IRA vehicle the RUC took cover behind a personnel carrier. This was then fired upon also. With the speed of the operation taking them by surprise no return fire from the shocked RUC was reported.

■ TRAIN BLASTED

Sunday afternoon saw Belfast Brigade switch targets again.

As the 4.20pm Portadown-to-Belfast train pulled into Finaghy Halt in South Belfast at 5pm a lone armed Volunteer boarded the train and placed a 15lb bomb with a gallon container of petrol attached in one of the carriages.

The Volunteer gave a warning about the device and the train was evacuated. The device detonated at 5.25pm causing extensive damage. The scene of the attack is less than 150 yards from a permanent British checkpoint on Finaghy Road North.

■ RUC MEMBER TARGETED

Belfast Brigade also claimed responsibility for another attack on a serving member of the crown forces, once again in the north of the city. Several armed Volunteers attempted to gain entry to a house in Springvale Gardens owned by an RUC member on Monday evening, 31 May.

The IRA said that after failing to gain entry they began to withdraw. As they were doing so the RUC member opened fire through a front window of the house. The Volunteers returned fire.

■ CRIMINAL GANG WARNED

The East Tyrone Brigade issued a warning to a criminal gang operating in the Killdress/Dunamore/Creggan areas of the county. The IRA said that this gang have been responsible for a number of recent break-ins. The IRA have given the individuals concerned seven days to come forward or face direct military action.

More questions than answers in Moore case

THE INQUEST into the RUC killing of three nationalists and the wounding of two others in the Sinn Féin centre on the Falls Road in February of last year ended on Wednesday, 26 May.

Nationalists should be concerned that so much of the background to this case remains in darkness. It is unlikely, however, that that background will ever be brought to light as the only other form of investigation into the attack is to be an internal RUC inquiry.

On Monday 3 February 1992 Moore attended the funeral of an RUC friend Norman Spratt who was killed in a domestic incident. Afterwards Moore got drunk and returned to Comber Cemetery and fired shots from his personal issue gun over Spratt's grave.

He was taken into RUC custody although not arrested and was later released into the 'personal custody' of an RUC friend. While with this officer Moore made phone calls to other RUC officers during which he threatened to kill Armagh republicans. Other evidence revealed that Moore had a history of making threats to republicans.

On 4 February after killing the three nationalists in the Falls Road Sinn Féin centre and wounded two others Moore drove away and

RUC replied credibly to inquest evidence that connected Moore to three pipe bomb attacks on nationalists.

After Moore shot dead the three men in the Sinn Féin centre and then killed himself, bomb-making equipment, similar to that used in attacks in Belfast, Carnlough and Rosslea, was found in his parents' home in Ballymena.

Even though Moore's car was impounded and supposedly searched after the cemetery incident, bomb-making material was found in his car along with the

suit carrier he had used to ferry the shotgun.

Why did the RUC withhold information about the bomb-making equipment and his involvement in the bomb attacks until the Inquest? Was it an attempt by the RUC to cover any tracks which might have led observers to the conclusion that Moore was involved with the UFF?

Given the RUC connections with loyalist paramilitaries it must be asked if Moore was briefed to pass on his bomb-making expertise to the death squads. These gangs have used explosive devices on numerous occasions in the past year.

It was further disclosed during the inquest that Moore had previously made death threats against republicans to other RUC officers. Yet nothing was done. It leads to the belief that death threats are as normal a part of conversation among members of the force as they are in their dealings with nationalists who regularly receive death threats from RUC members. The most frequent type of threat is that information on them will be passed on to loyalist assassins.

Though much of the Moore case still remains obscure the details that were revealed at the

inquest have exposed the campaign of disinformation that took place after the killings at the Sinn Féin centre. In almost all the media the image was created of a 'crazed' RUC man who acted under intolerable stress, in the heat of the moment. The facts showed Moore's cold calculation, his filling of the shotgun cartridges with glass, his bomb-making for months prior to the shooting.

A number of reports of the killings and the funerals were accompanied by features about the stressful lives of RUC members, thus diverting attention from Moore's victims. What should have been a political and propaganda disaster for the RUC was turned around and became a publicity opportunity. Very few posed the obvious questions. If Moore was 'crazed' what does it say about the collective mentality of a 'police' force that when one of its members lashes out in a political party people sitting in a political party advice centre? If, as the inquest revealed, he was acting in a more calculated fashion and had been carrying out his vendetta against nationalists over a long period how did his activities go unchallenged?



● The scene of Allan Moore's suicide

Jordan killing whitewashed

SINN FÉIN PRESIDENT Gerry Adams has revealed that he has been told that the RUC officers involved in the killing of unarmed IRA Volunteer Pearse Jordan on the Falls Road in November 1992 will not be prosecuted.

Adams also revealed that the so-called Independent Commission for Police Complaints (ICPC) is to endorse the RUC decision.

The disquiet that followed the RUC's killing of the unarmed Jordan forced Chief Constable Annesley to announce an internal RUC investigation. This decision was ridiculed at the time by the father of Pearse Jordan. He said it would be no different from any other RUC inquiry that exonerated their wrongdoers.

Indeed, such was Hugh Jordan's skepticism that he instigated a private legal action to investigate his son's killing. The facts of the Jordan killing quite clearly point to a shoot-to-kill operation and subsequent cover-up.

As with all previous shoot-to-kill operations by the crown forces the RUC sought to set the guidelines for any discussion about the killing and justify it. After they shot Pearse Jordan the RUC press

office saturated the media with leaks and claims about the incident. They claimed:

- That the RUC were in pursuit of Pearse's car as he drove towards the city centre when he rammed them;
- That gloves and masks were found in his car;
- That he was shot running away;
- That a second man was arrested at the scene;
- That an explosive device was found nearby and that this was linked to the killing;
- The RUC misnamed Jordan, telling journalists and an SDLP councillor that he was a former republican remand prisoner charged in 1991 with possession of explosives.

All these claims were untrue yet they were regurgitated without question by a compliant media. This was the story the world was given and the RUC's

media-manipulation strategy worked until the true facts emerged.

What actually did happen on Wednesday night, 26 November 1992 was that Pearse Jordan's car was boxed in by two RUC vehicles. There was no car chase, no gloves, no masks, no one arrested, no explosive device, and certainly no warning. Pearse Jordan had never been imprisoned.

As he staggered from the car Jordan was shot in the back at pointblank range. Despite these clear discrepancies the RUC, having again investigated itself, has determined that its own officers should not be prosecuted and the ICPC has again accepted the RUC version of events.

Condemning the RUC decision Gerry Adams said "once again the institutions of the state have connived at protecting members of the RUC from criminal prosecution".

"The investigation into the killing of Pearse Jordan is a whitewash that joins the long list of similar cover-ups which we have all witnessed over the years."



● Vol PEARSE JORDAN

Power hungry Annesley asks for more

■ BY LAURA FRIEL

"SIR HUGH ANNESLEY appears to have taken leave of his senses" ran the editorial of the *Irish News* in the wake of the RUC chief constable's presentation of his annual report in which he called for even more draconian powers for the RUC. According to the *Sunday Tribune*, even British officials were privately describing the RUC chief's proposals as "right off the wall".

Speaking at a Belfast press conference on Thursday, 27 May the RUC chief complained that the legal process which proclaims one is innocent until proven guilty was "heavily loaded" against the prosecution and called for the burden

of proof to be shifted onto the accused:

"It is my firm view, supported by my most senior and experienced colleagues, that the criminal process in Northern Ireland is heavily loaded in favour of the accused."

Annesley also called for it to be an automatic offence for a defendant to exercise the right to silence. Courts in the Six Counties are already allowed to draw 'adverse inferences' from such silence.

The RUC chief said that past convictions should be used as evidence in court as well as transcripts of telephone taps. He also called for a return to the use of paid purjurors. Annesley claimed that his proposals had already

been outlined to Patrick Mayhew and are now being considered by an NIO committee.

The RUC chief's attempt to portray the RUC as beleaguered by legal restrictions stands in sharp contrast even to figures presented in the RUC's own annual report. Of 4,663 official complaints lodged against the RUC in 1992, 2,164 of allegations were of assault. Out of the thousands of complaints made last year against

the RUC only 46 were upheld by the less-than-Independent Commission for Police Complaints. All complaints made against the RUC are investigated by the RUC and are only considered by the ICPC after being vetted by the RUC chief.

The RUC chief's proposals brought swift condemnation from human rights, legal and political circles. The Committee for the Administration of Justice said that the recommendations represented a "dangerous shift" and if implemented would result in wrongful convictions. Solicitor Barr. McGrory said that the catalogue of alterations to criminal law in the Six Counties appeared to be unending:

"Not only have we had to deal with the Emergency Provision Act, lengthening periods of interrogation and limiting access to legal advice, but we have also had the virtual removal of the accused's right to silence by the Criminal Evidence Order of 1988."

Sinn Féin's spokesperson on legal affairs, Paddy McManus described the RUC chief's proposal as "interment by the backdoor".

"This sectarian, paramilitary force, the RUC, already has at its disposal unprecedented powers of arrest and detention. Restriction on detainees' access to legal advice and the erosion of the right to silence are coupled with systematic brutality during interrogation and the framing of innocent defendants before being brought before non-jury courts. The implementation of Annesley's proposal would strip away the last vestige of defence available to the accused, facing already unprecedented legislation weighted in favour of the prosecution."

"The RUC always has been an remains today a sectarian paramilitary force, deployed in a court-insurgency role by the British government. Annesley's proposal throw away the even pretence that he heads a 'normal' police force."



● RUC Chief Constable Hugh Annesley at the announcement of his annual report in Belfast where his proposals brought swift condemnation from human rights, legal and political circles

News

Justice groups respond to Robinson

RECENT COMMENTS by Mary Robinson regarding deaths of nationalists in the Six Counties have led to number of responses from justice groups in the North.

Speaking on RTE radio's *This Week Programme* on Sunday, Robinson said: "A great many people have died in Northern Ireland and I'm very conscious of the fact that, in the nationalist community, there's a sense that deaths there don't seem to have the same value. They do with me, and if I have opportunities to show that I'll take those opportunities."

In a statement issued in reaction to Robinson's remarks, John Kelly of the Bloody Sunday Justice Campaign has stated that on three occasions in 1992 his group had asked to meet with Mary Robinson to discuss Bloody Sunday. "We received two refusals from her secretary who emphasised that the president did not become involved in 'political activity'. This was despite the fact that we had expressly intimated that the group was not interested in politics and was concerned only with justice and basic human rights."

"Since the inception of the campaign we had anticipated hostility

and suspicion from the British government and its supporters who have most to lose by the emergence of the truth regarding Bloody Sunday. However, we were quite unprepared for the prevalent attitude among officialdom in the Republic which was exemplified by the snub we received from the president in September last year when she visited Derry and would not acknowledge Bloody Sunday yet she laid a wreath at the Enniskillen War Memorial the next day.

"It now appears that the president is having a change of heart in relation to the deaths of nationalists here. If that is so then it should be welcomed. I now intend writing to her again with a view to providing her with an opportunity to meet with us. It is vitally important that we help reverse this awful situation which reduces those killed in the North by the state or loyalists to non-status."

The Relatives for Justice Group



● Elizabeth Windsor and Mary Robinson

also reacted to Robinson's comments stating that in September 1992 President Robinson refused

to meet women members of Relatives For Justice, who wished to express their deep concern at the

widespread use of lethal force in the Six Counties.

These women were not seeking the president's support but stated in their letter that they wished "the opportunity to meet and speak with you about our campaign for justice". The letter was signed by three women who had close relatives killed by British forces. A reply on behalf of the president declined the meeting because she could not be involved in "political campaigns".

Responding to Robinson's latest comments Martin Finucane of the relatives group said: "When we first approached the president for a meeting and she refused, we were disappointed and believed we were being discriminated against. We further believed it was because we were accusing the British authorities of a blatant injustice."

"This latest shift of attitude by the president regarding the deaths of nationalists here in the North is very much welcomed by myself and our group. I now hope that our group can make approaches to her with a view to meeting with her, where we can both share an opportunity to discuss another part of the violent equation that is often excluded — that is British state violence."

Cork comrades honoured

THE 20th ANNIVERSARY of the deaths of two Cork Volunteers who died on active service in the Six Counties was commemorated by Cork republicans with a testimonial dinner in the city on Saturday 29 May.

The dinner in memory of Volunteer Tony Ahern and Volunteer Dermot Crowley was addressed by veteran republican Joe Cahill. He praised the sacrifice and selflessness of the two young men who had travelled north when the nationalist community was in dire need. It was a reminder that the struggle for freedom belonged to all our people and in stark contrast to those in power in this state who deserted the people of the Six Counties and so have contributed

to prolonging the conflict. At the risk of seeming overoptimistic, he said he felt the dawn of freedom drawing closer. He appealed for all those committed to our struggle to redouble their efforts in the coming period.

The following day a wreath-laying ceremony was held at the Republican Plot in St Finbarr's Cemetery in memory of Volunteer Tony Ahern and Volunteer Dermot Crowley, Cork Sinn Féin activist James McBarron chairing

the proceedings. A wreath was laid by Gerry Loughran whose brother died on active service with Dermot Crowley. Jason Murphy sounded the Last Post and Don O'Leary delivered the oration.

In his address O'Leary, the Cork Sinn Féin representative, attacked the 26-County government for its failure to even attempt to build a future for our people close to that envisaged by Ahern and Crowley. He said that not until the British occupation was ended and the wealth of Ireland was controlled by the working class would our struggle be over. The Ahern/Crowley Memorial Flute Band then played Amhrán na bhFiann.



● Gerry Loughran laying a wreath at the Republican Plot in St Finbarr's Cemetery during the Ahern/Crowley

Section 31 condemned at Writers' Week

THE DUBLIN GOVERNMENT's operation of political censorship through Section 31 of the Broadcasting Act came under severe criticism during a Freedom of Expression Seminar which formed part of Writers Week in Listowel, County Kerry, on Sunday, 30 May.

In an unusual departure a Supreme Court Judge commented publicly on the recent changes in Section 31. Referring to the outcome in the Larry O'Toole case Judge Hugh O'Flaherty said: "I think RTE, probably due to over-zealous bureaucracy, I am not saying that in any offensive way, decided the way they could not go wrong would be to say that there would be no interview with any person from Sinn Féin, even if they wanted to talk to a person on something such as trade union relations, book-keeping, rose-growing or whatever."

Also at the seminar was Sinn Féin Urban District Councillor Billy Leen. Addressing those present he said: "Sinn Féin was registered by the government of this state and fulfilled all criteria to be registered as a political party.

"This government has ratified a convention at the United Nations in 1979 guaranteeing political freedom to all political parties within the state yet, it deprives this party and its representatives and the people that they represent from speaking on the airwaves."

"We have at the moment in this county, a first class radio station which is becoming very relevant to the people of this area. I contested the last local government election in the Tralee area securing 8% of the votes, being eliminated at the fourth count. Possibly if we had 30 or 40 more votes I would have been elected. But I am the only candidate of 48 in Kerry who was not allowed the use of the airwaves. So you have in effect a perversion of democracy. It is a

disgrace in 1993 to see a developed state conducting its affairs like this.

"Section 31 is being used to curtail the development of this party. I would like to ask the panel, could anybody say that any party could develop with restrictions like this?"

Sunday Tribune Editor Vincent Browne said of Section 31: "This is improper censorship and should be stopped. The censorship is a denial of the liberties of the people involved in Sinn Féin but in my opinion, more significantly, it is a denial of the rest of society to know fully what is going on in Northern Ireland."

The Section 31 Campaign has in recent months been conducting a high-profile poster and leaflet campaign in Dublin city. The campaign is urgently in need of funds if it is to continue. Contributions can be made directly through the TSB in Abbey Street, Dublin. The sorting code is 990601 and the account number is 21366730, or by writing to the Section 31 Campaign, c/o 72 Offaly Road, Cabra, Dublin 7.

"We call on the Minister to revoke Section 31..."

IT SERIOUSLY INFRINGES DEMOCRACY... INSULTS THE INTELLIGENCE... POLITICAL DEBATE IS DEFORMED... FAIRNESS AND EQUALITY UNDERMINED"

From National Union of Journalists petition Sunday Tribune 21.10.90

SIGNED **Michael D. Higgins TD**
NOW Minister for Broadcasting

WE'RE WAITING...
REPEAL SECTION 31

News

Clones workers fight to defend jobs

■ BY ART MAC EOIN

PETER McALEER, secretary of the Monaghan and District Council of Trade Unions and a Sinn Féin representative on Clones UDC has called on the Irish Congress of Trade Unions (ICTU) to put its weight behind the defence of 200 jobs at a company which is the area's biggest employer. McAleer has pointed out that the company, Container Pressure Vessels (CPV), has not gone into liquidation.

CPV which is involved in making bulk liquid tankers and which has provided employment in the Monaghan town of Clones and its surrounding region for 25 years is facing closure involving 200 layoffs. Already more than 100 workers were on protective notice and laid off temporarily.

CPV was taken over in September by Dugannon-based multinational, Powerscreen. The scale of the lay-offs is proportionally more devastating than the Digital closure in Galway.

Peter McAleer has said that new EC regulations mean that in future all liquid must be transported in the type of tanks made at the Clones plant and so there was the

definite prospect of increased business opportunity.

CPV, he added, was the biggest employer in Clones and closure would be a tragedy for the many people working there, especially with house mortgages to pay and young families to rear. The town he said had already suffered greatly because of the effects of the British-imposed border.

Following a meeting of the CPV workforce and trade union officials on Tuesday, 1 June, called to discuss the situation, workers issued a statement calling for talks between management and workers to resume. They said that they wanted a meeting involving a third party, preferably the Labour

Relations Commission, which would have an open agenda with no preconditions.

Speaking to AP/RN following Tuesday's meeting, TEEU shop steward at CPV, Bill McLoughlin said that the morale of workers was "very high under extreme circumstances".

"Our members have given union officials a firm mandate to pursue all avenues to secure present and future employment for the people of Clones and surrounding areas. We will fight tooth and nail any attempted layoffs", McLoughlin said.

A meeting is being sought with Employment and Enterprise Minister Ruairi Quinn to discuss the problem. Approaches have already been made to the IDA and Kieran Mulvey of the Labour Relations Commission.

Sources at the Monaghan plant have said that orders for 120 pressure tanks, considered normal volume for the time of year, are currently on the books.



● PETER McALEER

Strikes are workers' only option

■ BY NEIL FORDE

NEGOTIATIONS BROKE DOWN, 51 drivers were suspended and Dublin Bus had its first industrial dispute for seven years. In the same week 280 maintenance workers at Dublin Bus began a strike over productivity agreements involved in changing work practices. The disputes have generated daily coverage on television and in the print media. Camera crews and radio journalists chased the public for opinions on the dispute.

The disputes have now entered a second week, the unions involved have lobbied over the week for Dublin Bus to return to the Labour Relations Commission. Dublin Bus responded by putting 3,000 workers on protective notice. An RTE camera crew and a stream of journalists stood in the rain outside Dublin Bus headquarters in O'Connell Street last Sunday, 30

May. They were there to cover a protest by Dubliners at the disruption of bus services by the unions action. Three people turned up.

The Dublin media showed an interest in the Dublin Bus dispute that has been remarkably absent from a range of other disputes in the 26 Counties over the past five months. When they did decide to cover the dispute, the central

points of the suspensions, the ballots and Dublin Bus' refusal to negotiate through the Labour Relations Commission, were completely overlooked. It was only the effect on the passengers that mattered.

They have refused to recognise that the whole arbitration process in the 26 Counties has effectively collapsed at local and national level. There were no official negotiations at the Pat the Baker dispute where 25 workers have now been made redundant. There were no negotiations even started in the now 15-week-old B&I dispute.

The Dublin government has refused to reappoint the arbitrator

for the public service workers. Now 40,000 members from IMPACT and the CPSU are to be balloted on industrial action following the government's refusal to pay public sector workers pay increases agreed under the 1991 PESP agreement. Industrial relations in the state are reaching crisis point.

Pat the Baker is a successful company with 15% of the 26-County bread market. The company employs over 400 people and won't recognise unions at any of its plants. Workers from the Cherry Orchard plant who joined SIPTU have been on strike since before Easter.

Now Pat the Baker has announced the closure of the Ballyfermot plant, citing "poor economic performance" which they claimed was "exacerbated by industrial action". Workers at the plant earned £139 a week before tax with no pension scheme. This could not be negotiated as the management would not recognise the union. There were no Labour Court hearings and the Labour Relations Commission has been silent on the whole dispute. The workers have been abandoned while the employer carries on with business as usual.

B&I maintenance workers have been maintaining a picket at the Dublin offices of B&I over the past 15 weeks. Their jobs have been taken by a British maintenance company. They were offered no negotiations only the threat of instant dismissal if they did not sign contracts with the new maintenance contractor.

It seems that the Labour Court and the Labour Relations Commission can do nothing for the B&I workers. B&I's owners seem to enjoy better relations with government structures. Irish Continental and B&I were both state run companies sold at a knock-down price to the private sector.

Irish Continental, the company which owns B&I is creating a new private sector Irish shipping

industry. The company is now branching out into freight shipping, armed partly with the cash funds it inherited in the acquisition from the Dublin government.

It seems that that the Dublin government has only two alternatives when it comes to deciding how best to run state-owned companies. One, is seen in the case of the Irish shipping industry — sell it off no questions asked. Two, is hire outside managers, offer them a free hand, again no questions asked.

Dublin Bus got option two. I turned a profit last year of £3.2 million, overturning deficits of previous years. The company is being reorganised. The Dublin government decided that privatising this public utility was not an option. Dublin Bus would maintain its franchise, while the government would buy in 'expert management'.

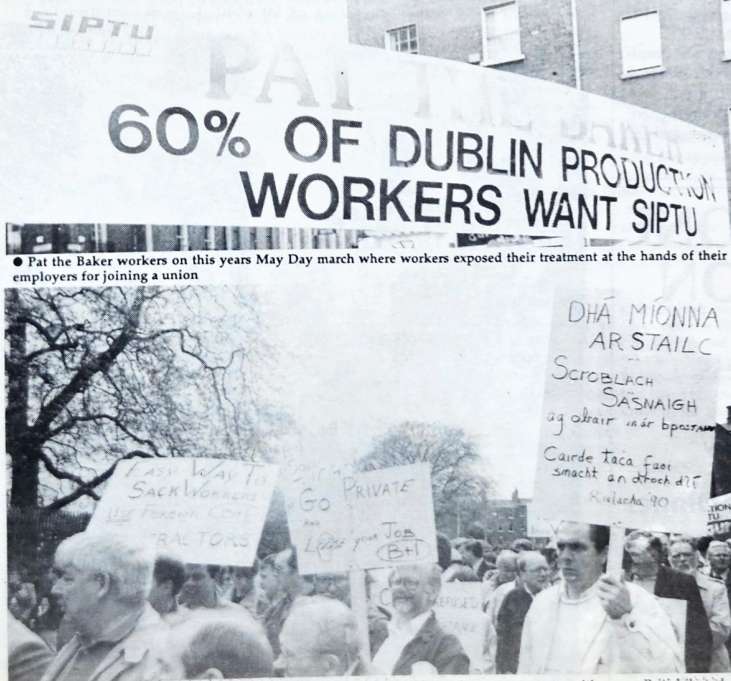
Bob Montgomery a 44-year-old Scot was drafted in from South Yorkshire Transport in 1991 to oversee Dublin Bus' overhaul. Change in work practices and reduced rates of pay have been his hallmark. In Dublin Bus his work is done with the constraint that the company receives the lowest subsidies of any public metropolitan bus company in Europe.

Trade union leaders in the 2 Counties have taken a back seat through the monetarism of the last eleven years. They have engaged in wage constraint and endless productivity agreements. As Bi Attley said at last week's SIPTU conference:

"We have aspirations for improvements, and there is disappointment when they are not delivered. But it is appalling when existing benefits are being chipped away."

The truth is that changes in the employer/worker relationship through the 1990 Industrial Relations Act have rolled back the rights of workers, while allowing employers to act with impunity.

The ICTU are holding a conference in September, discussing an alternative to the PESP. The even of the past five months has shown not only what a failure the PESP is but also the whole arbitration process.



● Pat the Baker workers on this years May Day march where workers exposed their treatment at the hands of their employers for joining a union

● B&I maintenance workers who were sacked because they would not sign new contracts with a new British-based contractor



An Phoblacht

REPUBLICAN NEWS

3 JUNE 1993

■ FORTRESS EUROPE BEGINS TO BURN

IT WOULD BE EASY to blame resurgent neo-nazism as the sole motivation behind the burning to death of five Turkish people in Solingen Germany last weekend. Yes racism is alive and deadly active in Germany. Yes there have been hundreds of attacks on immigrants within Germany over the past year. But it is a false comfort to blame last week's arson on what is a minority of the German population.

Last week the German parliament met in Bonn to amend their 1949 Basic Law constitution. The aim was to tighten immigrant asylum laws — 440,000 emigrants arrived in Germany in 1992. Ten thousand people protested outside the parliament. However the focus on Germany is misleading. It is an EC objective to create a Fortress Europe and make the precious Single Market a closed market. If you don't come from one of the select 12 states you don't count.

The French and British governments have been preparing their own versions of the new German laws. The French government has prepared legislation to allow the police to conduct mass sweeps to hunt for illegal emigrants. The EC Commission has been preparing a common policy on immigration.

The unelected committee dealing with this problem has named itself the "Expulsion Sub-Group of the Ad Hoc Group on Immigration". It was under the Dublin government's presidency of the EC in 1990 that the 12 states agreed to prevent immigrants "shopping around the EC".

The racist comments of Tory MP Winston Churchill last weekend about immigrants in Britain gave vent to what many in his party privately think. In powerful circles in Britain and in the rest of the EC such views are not as marginalised as some would like to think. Churchill said "We must call a halt to the relentless flow of immigrants to this country" to protect the British way of life.

The EC has become a powerful trading block, an economic superpower. It is the first group economically powerful enough to thwart the US dominance of GATT. This economic dominance within Europe has been threatened by the collapse of Eastern Europe and former Soviet states' economies. The free market exists only within the EC.

The EC has banned most food imports from the former Warsaw Pact states. It has put limits on their industrial exports, tariffs on those imports that are allowed into the EC from East Europe and other less-developed states. Now as the economic crises in these states mount they put the final block up against "economic immigrants". The EC is open to Sweden, Norway, Finland, Austria, maybe to Slovenia and the Czech republic. It is closed to those who don't have the economic clout.

This is a form of racism.

The June EC summit in Copenhagen will discuss the next phase in securing the economic citadel of Fortress Europe. Economic exploitation of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union is helping the growing racism in the EC towards the 15 million EC citizens whose ethnic origins lie outside the EC.

It was easier when the economies of the Asian, African, Central and South American states were the target for Western economic expansion. Now that the economic "Third World" is actually at the borders of the EC a policy of exploitation, isolation and exclusion still exists and is being strengthened. This, allied to the growing unemployment crisis within even the strongest EC states, is fuelling fascism.

News

Unionists hang on to power

■ BY HILDA Mac THOMAS

THE FIRST MEETING of Belfast City Council saw the two main unionist parties collude to hang on to the two main council posts, with Reg Empey of the Official Unionist Party as Lord Mayor and Hugh Smyth of the Progressive Unionist Party as his deputy.

In the run-up to the first council meeting the OUP had met several times with the Alliance and SDLP in a well-publicised attempt to agree on the sharing of top posts with 'non-unionists' — a label which the media are applying to Alliance as well, in spite of that party's support for maintaining British sovereignty over the Six Counties. Press reports made abundant use of clichéd words such as 'mould breaking', and the Belfast edition of the unionist daily, the *Newsletter*, opened with the headline: "Belfast's first Roman Catholic mayor on the cards". (Shock horror?)

There were disagreements within the unionist group about such moves, with several OUP councillors walking out of an internal party meeting in the City Hall last Saturday, and DUP councillors walking out of an OUP/DUP meeting on Monday night. Words like "sell-out" and "betrayal of the loyalist people" were used. Within the OUP a proposal to have an Alliance Deputy Lord Mayor was narrowly defeated. Yet on Tuesday night, after initially abstaining, the DUP councillors voted for the OUP candidate for the Lord Mayor's office, Reg Empey. Their token protest was a "warn-

ing" that the OUP could not rely on their unconditional support.

After the meeting Reg Empey declared to the press that the OUP would not do deals with the SDLP while the SDLP leader John Hume continued his talks with Sinn Féin. The OUP's brief flirtation with the idea of 'power-sharing' had after all been no more than a PR exercise. The OUP and DUP had in effect continued their policy of bloc-voting, excluding other parties from positions as much as they could get away with. For example of the 14 council positions on the Belfast Education and Library Board the unionists awarded themselves eleven, with three going to the SDLP and Alliance, none to Sinn Féin.

In the sharing out of committee positions, previous court action by Sinn Féin forced the council to apply the principle of proportionality, and as a result Sinn Féin now holds four posts on the two top committees, the Policy Resources and the Client Services Committees, and three posts on all other committees. The Policy Resource Committee, formerly known as General Purpose and Finance, supervises the running and financing of all council

areas of responsibility, and up to now had never had any nationalist members.

The SDLP could not disguise their anger at the outcome. Not only had they failed to form an alliance with the OUP, thus excluding Sinn Féin, but their representation on committees was reduced since they now hold fewer council seats than republicans. The SDLP clearly hoped for a council pact which marginalised their nationalist rival, but now will have to wait a while longer on the opposition benches.

There are those in the OUP who would have liked the idea of a pact also. It might have served to demonstrate to the British government that the OUP 'blueprint for stability', which proposes an internal arrangement for the Six Counties with increased council powers, enjoyed what the British government likes to call 'cross-community support' (the code for 'a few jobs for the SDLP').

The OUP are aware that the proposals which the British government plans to unveil to party leaders in the coming weeks in an effort to restart inter-party talks, are not a million miles away from their own. A pact with the SDLP on Belfast City Council would have strengthened the OUP position considerably.

But the inexorable logic of unionist domination won the day. When it is done whinging, the SDLP should take note of the fact that the only democratisation on Belfast Council occurred, not because of some back-room dealing, but because Sinn Féin took the unionists to court over their unjust exclusion of other parties from council positions.



● Belfast City Councillors leave City Hall after the first meeting of the new council

ANNUAL WOLFE TONE COMMEMORATION

Bodenstown 1993

Speaker Martin McGuinness

Sunday, 20 June

Areas should begin organising buses now

An Cumann Cabhrach Testimonial Dinner

8pm Friday, 18 June

REGENCY HOTEL, DUBLIN

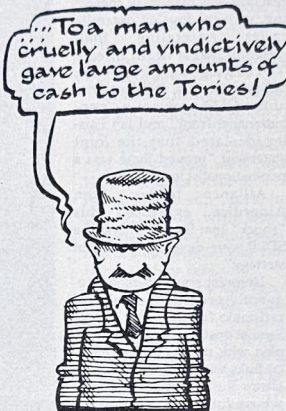
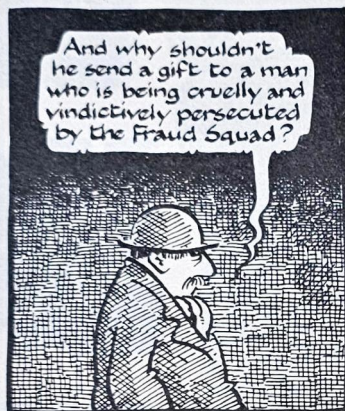
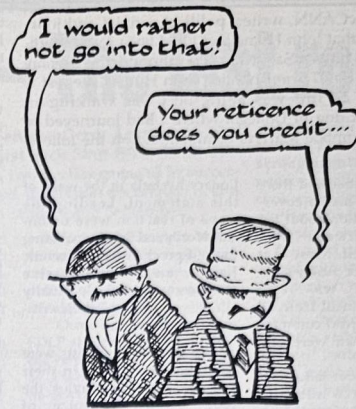
Music and bar extension

Dinner will be served at 8.30pm sharp
Tickets must be paid on or before 13 June

Táille £15.

News

NOTES



CONTROVERSY STALKS MAYHEW AND MATES

■ BY LAURA FRIEL

THE TOP Northern Ireland Office (NIO) ministers were stalked by controversy last week when allegations that British Direct Ruler, Patrick Mayhew, in his former role of attorney general, attempted to suppress vital evidence which threatened to expose yet another British government cover-up. This time it was in connection with the arms for Iraq scandal. These were quickly followed by revelations of Security Minister Michael Mates' connections with the fugitive business tycoon Asil Nadir.

Mayhew's role in the Iraq "super-gun" controversy came to light when a senior member of the British Tory Party, and former MP, Hilary 'Hal' Miller gave evidence at the Scott Inquiry which is currently investigating collusion between British ministers and civil servants in illegal arms exports to Iraq.

Miller told the inquiry that Mayhew, the then attorney general, had urged him to suppress crucial evidence about how the British government misled MPs about its knowledge of the Iraq "super-gun" project. The former Tory MP and party vice-chair, told the inquiry that in 1990 he had approached the then Attorney General Patrick Mayhew with documents which could have cleared the two men accused of illegally exporting weapons to Iraq.

Miller claims that Mayhew urged him not to produce evidence that confirmed that the British government was aware of the Iraqi "super-gun" as early as 1988, two years before ministers have admitted. According to Miller, when the attorney general was warned that he intended to give evidence on behalf of the

arrested businessperson, Mayhew tried to persuade him not to.

"You wouldn't do that would you?" he said, to which Miller replied "Just watch me".

In the event, apparently rather than risk further revelations likely to embarrass the British government, the case was dropped. As attorney general, Patrick Mayhew also played a pivotal role in ensuring that the case did not come to trial. The decision to drop the prosecution's case was taken at a private meeting in the British House of Commons in November 1990.

At the meeting customs officials anxious to bring the case to court are reported to have clashed with government officials, including Patrick Mayhew. Four thousand pages of evidence were dismissed as Mayhew told the customs officials that he did not think there was sufficient evidence to proceed with the prosecution. After what has been described as a stormy meeting, the customs officials agreed to drop the case.

At a hastily arranged, special hearing of the Scott Inquiry, specifically called to allow a swift response, Mayhew confirmed the

lobby conversation with Miller, but denied that he had attempted to deter Miller from giving evidence as "inconceivable". It apparently also appeared "inconceivable" to presiding Judge Scott who was only too happy to accept Mayhew's account.

Despite the British minister's protestations of innocence, the cornerstone of Mayhew's career has been built on suppressing information likely to embarrass the British government. One of his first acts, following his appointment as attorney general by the then British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in 1989, was the banning of a television documentary featuring a reconstruction of the Birmingham Six appeal.

Clearly the arms-to-Iraq businessperson was not the first person Mayhew was prepared to incarcerate in order to protect the interests of the British government. On the other hand Mayhew is just as prepared to let guilty people go free as long as it is in British interests.

It was Mayhew who announced the decision not to reveal the details of the Stalker/Sampson Inquiry into the allegation that the British government was involved in a shoot-to-kill policy in the Six Counties. As attorney general he not only suppressed the findings of the inquiry but he also refused to act on the evidence unearthed by the Stalker team which could have led to the prosecution of RUC officers involved in the Armagh shootings.

Playing a pivotal role in the ensuing British government cover-up, Mayhew used his position as attorney general to block the case coming to trial on the grounds of "national security". At the time even the then Dublin Foreign Minister, Gerry Collins, felt driven to say that a person who took such a view was "not fit for public office".

Mayhew was also attorney general during the trial of British intelligence agent Brian Nelson whose cover was unwittingly blown during the Stevens Inquiry into allegations of crown force collusion with loyalist death squads. On the eve of the trial, a deal was struck in which the prosecution dropped ten major charges against Nelson, in what can only be seen as a desperate attempt by British intelligence and their paymasters, the British government, to cover-up their role in the reorganisation, rearming and directing of loyalist terror gangs in the Six Counties.

For many the allegation that Patrick Mayhew attempted to suppress evidence which would have revealed the British government's role in the illegal sale of arms to Iraq is far from "inconceivable" — it's simply a matter of the British minister running true to form.

Meanwhile Mayhew's lieutenant at the NIO, Security Minister Michael Mates, is facing calls for his resignation following the revelation about his links with fugitive business tycoon Asil Nadir. The former Polly Peck chairperson jumped £3.5 million

bail and fled to northern Turkish-controlled Cyprus while facing charges of stealing £30 million from Polly Peck at the time of fleeing. Initially he was charged with stealing £100 million from the company.

Three days before Nadir's flight, he received a gift from the NIO minister, a watch with the inscription "Don't let the buggers get you down". As news broke of Mates' role as a persistent advocate on behalf of Nadir, both with the Serious Fraud Office and the attorney general, Downing Street attempted to play down the affair by saying that Michael Mates had been acting as a constituency MP and not as a minister.

However, Nadir was not a constituent of the NIO minister and it remains unclear how Mates came to know Nadir. Coincidentally, while Nadir was never a constituent of Mates, the aircraft broker Peter Diamond, one of two people who helped to spirit Nadir away from Britain, lives near Petersfield, which is a part of the minister's Hampshire East constituency.

The British Conservative Party is believed to have received secret political donations of at least £400,000 from Nadir who has claimed to have given £1.5 million to the party.

Ironically, an association with a businessperson facing criminal charges was used, arguably even orchestrated, by the British establishment to discredit and swiftly remove John Stalker from the shoot-to-kill inquiry.

EAMONN McCANN, writer, political activist and journalist heard that John Hume and I had been seen together in Derry on Easter Saturday. He phoned the *Sunday Tribune*. The *Sunday Tribune* phoned John Hume. The rest is history. While all this was going on I was walking an almost-Labrador dog in Donegal where I had journeyed to speak at the Drumboe Martyrs commemoration the following day.

In the days that followed there was widespread media coverage of the revelation about the discussions between John Hume and myself. Most of it was ill-informed or purely speculative. There was also widespread comment from all the usual widespread commentators. Many of them were critical.

Rumours that our talks were a Catholic Church initiative were fuelled by comments from Cardinal Cahal Daly. The fact that he knew nothing about the matter and had no involvement in the initiative did not prevent him from speaking at length about it. The RTE programme which did a live telephone interview with the Cardinal about the SDLP/Sinn Féin dialogue also carried an interview recorded earlier in which he criticised republicans and questioned our desire for peace!

The following week John Hume and I met again and released a joint statement which outlined the reasons for our discussions, the main issues, and the objectives as we had committed ourselves to.

We pointed out that we were meeting in our capacities as party leaders of the SDLP and Sinn Féin and not as intermediaries. We were reviewing the current political situation and picking up where the talks between our parties ended in 1988. At that time we engaged in a political dialogue aimed at investigating the possibility of developing an overall political strategy to establish justice and peace in Ireland.

In all of this we accepted that the most pressing issue facing the people of Ireland and Britain is lasting peace and how it can best be achieved. We ruled out an internal settlement as a solution and accepted that the Irish people as a whole have a right to national self-determination. We did not disguise the different views held by our parties but committed ourselves to the task of reaching agreement on a peaceful and democratic accord for all the people on this island.

The furore which greeted the initial *Sunday Tribune* revelations rose to a frenzy of reac-

tionary hysteria in the wake of this statement. Leading the wave of reaction were unionists, North and South, including the self-proclaimed Democratic Left and Progressive Democrats. Fine Gael, initially silent, were to add their criticism sometime later.

The northern unionists were predictably scathing in their remarks with John Taylor, the lone dissenting voice of approval.

The Dublin government gave qualified support while London were non-committal. The news was of course dominated at this time by another event, the IRA bombing of London's financial centre. Senior British Tory, Peter Temple Morris, the joint chairperson of the British/Irish Inter-Parliamentary Tier, commented that "this business of isolating one's enemies is now always the best. Hopefully these contacts will be useful." He was giving voice to what he described as a significant section of opinion in the British Conservative Party. Exclusion of Sinn Féin had not worked, he said.

Ironically this view reflected Irish public opinion more accurately than the reactionary pronouncements which dominated the media. Right across the board grass-roots opinion favours inclusive dialogue and I have received many messages of support for our discussions from people throughout the country.

Speaking on Easter Tuesday in Swatragh, Tom Hartley acknowledged this and criticised those media and political comments which misrepresented the Sinn Féin position.

He said: "Republicans seek a lasting peace. In our published documents, *Scenario for Peace* and *Towards a Lasting Peace*, we have identified the major obstacles to peace in Ireland and proposed a political formula which we believe can bring peace.

"In our discussions with the SDLP in 1988 and in our public comments since then we have urged the SDLP and Dublin governments to join with us in developing a nationalist agenda which would tackle the problems of partition and Britain's

territorial claim over this part of Ireland, and which could lead to a demilitarisation of the conflict.

"That is the context in which we engage in dialogue and that is the political project which we seek to advance in any discussions in which we are engaged."

By now the northern unionists were saying that they would not be involved in any talks with the SDLP or Dublin while the Hume/Adams talks continued and just in case anyone had forgotten, they weren't going to talk anyway while Articles Two and Three remained, Mr Paisley grumbled.

In some cases the unionist reaction was extremely menacing, with the loyalist paramilitaries reiterating their pan-nationalist death threats. This language was picked up by political leaders. William Ross of the OUP spoke of a "pan-nationalist front" and Ian Paisley declared that the joint statement "proved there was a pan-nationalist league".

Alliance leader, John Alderdice expressed his "shock" that Sinn Féin and the SDLP were developing a "joint strategy".

Unionist spokespersons frequently provide the political rationale for the activities of loyalist death squads. This, coupled with their well documented links with loyalist groups — Ulster Resistance for example, whose founding meeting the DUP leadership officiated at — puts a sinister light on their condemnations of the talks between John Hume and myself.

Undoubtedly, our joint statement is a significant statement. We represent the anti-unionist electorate of the Six Counties. It is right that we should talk, especially about how to achieve a lasting peace. Those who oppose this initiative have clearly revealed the undemocratic nature of their agenda.

All of these begrudgers consistently refuse to uphold the rights of Sinn Féin to be heard or the need for a just and democratic peace process. Many of them were involved in, or supportive of, a British sponsored "talks" process. That failed to come to any significant agreement and ended in acrimony and recriminations. This charade had more to do with the British government's need to create and sustain the illusion of movement towards a settlement

than with the reality of the need to create an inclusive peace process aimed at a negotiated settlement.

The nationalist agenda has been strengthened in the recent local government elections. The strength of the Sinn Féin vote, remarkable given the obstacles imposed upon our voters, sends a clear and positive message to the London and Dublin governments and to the unionists.

The British "talks" were not a genuine effort to bring about peace. Any future

resumption, if such is possible, will suffer the same fate. It will not be a genuine peace process either. The dialogue between John Hume and myself is. That we have come to agreement about the basics should be applauded. It should be built upon, not undermined.

The process of building a lasting peace is a problematic and difficult one. That project is a central part of Sinn Féin's function as a political party. The talks with John Hume may or may not move us

towards the end out in our That remains

the people of Ireland share that view or agree on how to give meaningful expression to it. Indeed we cannot disguise the different views held by our own parties.

As leaders of our respective parties, we have told each other that we see the task of reaching agreement on a peaceful and democratic accord for all on this island as our primary challenge.

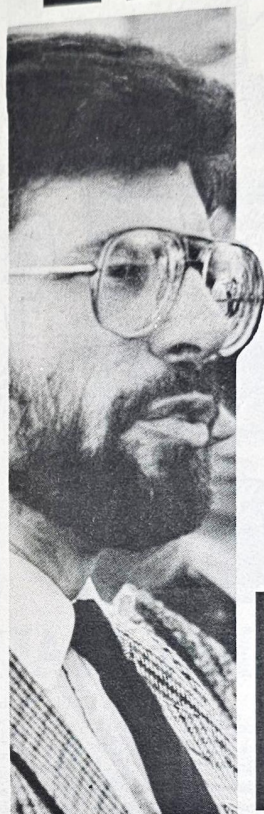
We both recognise that such a new agreement is only achievable and viable if it can earn and enjoy the allegiance of the different traditions on this island, by accommodating

diversity and providing for national reconciliation.

We are reporting our discussion of these matters back to our respective parties. They have fully endorsed the continuation of this process of dialogue.

We will be picking up on where the talks between our parties ended in 1988 and reviewing the current political situation.

At that time, we engaged in a political dialogue aimed at investigating the possibility of developing an overall political strategy to establish justice and peace in Ireland.



The Joint Statement

A MEETING between us held on Saturday, 10 April, in our capacities as party leaders of the SDLP and Sinn Féin has given rise to media coverage, some of which was ill-informed or purely speculative.

We are not acting as intermediaries. As leaders of our respective parties, we accept that the most pressing issue facing the people of Ireland and Britain today is the question of lasting peace and how it can best be achieved.

Everyone has a solemn duty to change the political cli-

mate away from conflict and towards a process of national reconciliation which sees the peaceful accommodation of the differences between the people of Britain and Ireland and the Irish people themselves.

In striving for that end, we accept that an internal settle-

ment is not a solution because it obviously does not deal with all the relationships at the heart of the problem.

We accept that the Irish people as a whole have a right to national self-determination. This is a view shared by a majority of the people of this island, though not by all its people.

The exercise of self-determination is a matter for agreement between the people of Ireland. It is the search for that agreement and the means of achieving it on which we will be concentrating.

We are mindful that not all

● Cahal Daly has had no involvement

KING WITH JOHN HUME

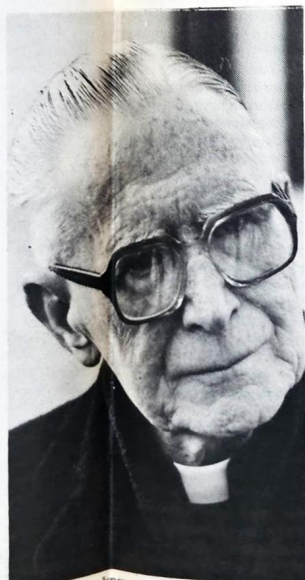
■ BY GERRY ADAMS



towards the objectives we set out in our joint statement. That remains to be seen. We

have already made progress and one thing is certain, we will exhaust every possibility

for such movement. Better that than the begrudery of our detractors.



● Cahal Daly knew nothing about the matter and had no involvement in the initiative



● Ian Paisley criticised recent discussions between the two nationalist leaders along with his fellow unionist counterparts in the southern political establishment

1988 — The last round

THE RECENT TALKS between Gerry Adams and John Hume have been the first such Sinn Féin/SDLP dialogue since 1988, when the two parties engaged in successive meetings and exchanged discussion documents over a nine month period between January and September.

A third party initially invited both parties to meet "to explore whether there could be agreement on an overall nationalist political strategy for justice and peace".

On 11 January 1988 the two party leaders met for several hours and exchanged analyses. Political reaction to this meeting from predictable quarters was immediate and fierce, all the fiercer when plans for further meetings were announced. Media reaction was more mixed.

In mid-March the first two of eight documents or letters were exchanged (four from each party) and on 23 March two delegations met. John Hume, Seamus Mallon, Seán Farren and Austin Currie for the SDLP met with Gerry Adams, Danny Morrison, Mitchell McLaughlin and Tom Hartley of Sinn Féin.

The delegations met again on 19 May. On 11 July, Hume and Adams met in private. Hume presented the SDLP's fourth paper, a response to questions raised by Sinn Féin in previous papers. In it, the SDLP appeared momentarily to move towards support for the case for national self-determination: "We are accepting the Sinn Féin statement," it said, "that it is the Irish people as a whole who have the right [to self-determination] and the Irish people should be defined as those people domiciled on the island of Ireland". The SDLP also repeated that a precondition for any conference convened by the Dublin government, which it had mooted in its first paper, would be that the IRA would have ceased its campaign.

On 14 August Sinn Féin handed over its letter of review of the talks to Hume, who made an oral response.

All the parties' papers were published between 6 September and 26 September, creating considerable political and media interest.

Following the conclusion of the meetings, Sinn Féin issued a statement explaining its position during the talks. Summing up, Gerry Adams said: "It is to be regretted that Sinn Féin and the SDLP are unable to agree, at this time, on 'an overall strategy to establish justice and peace in Ireland'."

He said that Sinn Féin had welcomed the opportunity for face to face talks "between the two parties which represent the nationalist population of the Six Counties despite intense external pressure aimed at prohibiting the talks".

He emphasised Sinn Féin's position from the outset, of putting forward "the consistent republican and democratic view that the root cause of the

conflict in Ireland is to be found in the British government's denial to the Irish nation of its right to national self-determination.

"Our discussions with the SDLP elicited the shared political view that the Irish people as a whole have the right to national self-determination and that the Irish people should be defined as those people domiciled on the island of Ireland. In that context it was accepted that an internal Six-County settlement is no solution."

Adams said though, that the Sinn Féin delegation was perplexed at the SDLP's continued claim that "the British government is now a neutral party to the conflict".

Adams pointed to the evidence of British domination in Ireland and the events of the previous 20 years:

"In the face of British government injustice and oppression the SDLP, to substantiate claims that the British are neutral, can only point to Article 1 of the Hillsborough Treaty, despite the fact that the loyalist veto is explicitly contained within this article, despite the fact that the British government asserts that the Treaty is a 'bulwark against a United Ireland' and despite the fact that even Charles Haughey recognised the Treaty to be a 'copperfastening of partition'."

He was critical of the SDLP's acceptance of the loyalist veto, saying that this acceptance of the right to veto of a national minority was "untenable for a party which claims to act in the interests of Irish nationalists".

Adams emphasised the agreement among the two parties on the need to involve northern Protestants, saying that "every effort must be made to get their agreement

and involvement in the constitutional, financial and political arrangements needed to replace partition; and, that the civil and religious liberties of northern Protestants must be guaranteed and protected".

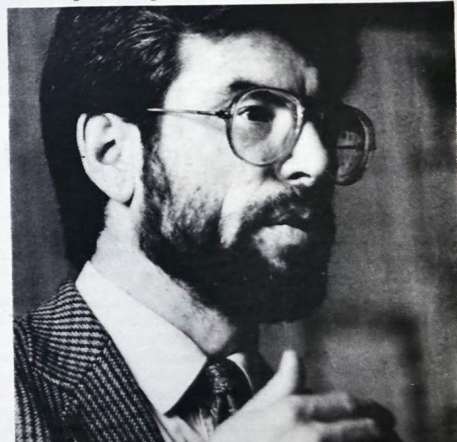
He said that Sinn Féin agreed with the SDLP that the real question was "how do we end the British presence in Ireland in a manner which leaves behind a stable and peaceful Ireland", adding that Sinn Féin's position was that any alliances between the British government and sections of Irish nationalism had not and would not work and that "an alliance of Irish political parties and opinion" was what was really needed.

Sinn Féin agreed that a positive contribution would be a meeting of all political parties in Ireland, convened by the Dublin government.

The SDLP, Adams said, had refused an invitation for a joint call on the Dublin and London governments for them "to consult together to seek agreement on the policy objective of Irish reunification". The SDLP also rejected Sinn Féin calls for concerted action, nationally and internationally, to defend the democratic, social and economic rights of the Six-County population and expose transgressions of these rights. Adams expressed his hope that the party would work independently in this direction and exhort the Dublin government to do the same.

Adams emphasised the value of "the broadest possible alliance of nationalists, republicans, socialists and democrats" to pursue a political solution. He reaffirmed the party's commitment to dialogue to achieve a strategy and concluded:

"We consider our discussions with the SDLP to be an important part of this process and we look forward to further debate and discussion with all those genuinely interested in developing a strategy to establish justice and peace in Ireland."



● Gerry Adams — The last discussions between Sinn Féin and the SDLP were in 1988 when the two parties exchanged position papers

News

Gerry 'The Bird' Doherty

THE DEATH OF Gerry 'The Bird' Doherty of Derry, who was laid to rest last week, marked the end of an era and broke a republican connection going back to 1916 and beyond. One of the best-known figures among republicans in Ireland Gerry will forever be associated with his native Derry and with the good humour and tenacity that characterised his recollection of successive phases of the struggle in which he took part.

Born in 1911 in Eglinton, a few miles outside Derry City, John Gerard O'Doherty actually remembered the Easter Rising from the talk it generated in his home, and recalled his mother telling him the day Pearse was shot. His mother was an outspoken republican supporter, and his grandfather was involved in Fenian times. In the Penal days, his father's family was put off their land near Buncrana and driven into the hills above Gransha, where the family still have a farm.

Gerry formally joined the IRA at the age of 17 in Derry City, but he had already begun serving the struggle as a boy during the Tan War, carrying messages and running errands. He was first arrested in 1936, after the kidnapping of a Sergeant Harvey of the B Specials, but later all those accused were acquitted when the gun produced by the prosecution was found to have only the B Special member's fingerprints on it. On his release he went back to his trade as a tai-

lor and to his republican work. In 1938 GHQ appointed him organiser for Derry City, which was to play a major role in the English bombing campaign. Among his comrades were the late Neil Gillespie and Nora Ward. In November of that year, when internment was reactivated in the North, over 100 were arrested and following a premature explosion in Castlefin in which three Volunteers died, Gerry Doherty went on the run.

This did not prevent him from entering the Six Counties, and in 1939 he was arrested and charged with "seditious speech" at a Manchester Martyrs commemoration in Derry a month previously. He got nine months, and like many other republicans, he used his time inside well: He devised an escape plan which he later used successfully. Although he submitted the plan to the OC in Crumlin Road Gaol, and on his release to Charlie McGlade in Belfast, it was not used. Gerry reminded the Belfast republican of pending leg-

islation which would permit prisoners to be interned immediately on release, and stated "If I'm ever caught again, I'm not waiting to be taken out". On his release in August 1940, he went on the run again.

In March 1941, 21 RUC officers surrounded a house in Derry and he was arrested, although without the revolver he carried — he had quickly given it to his mother, who was not searched as she left the house. He was served with an internment order for the duration of the war and once again found himself in Crumlin Road Gaol. Using the same plan he made nearly a year previously, he and four Belfast internees (Liam Burke, Billy Watson, Eddie Keenan and Phil McTaggart) made the first escape from Crumlin Road Gaol by going over the wall with a rope ladder at dinner time on Friday, 6 June 1941. (Hugh McAteer's escape was six months later).

On the wall of his cell, just before leaving, he had written, "The Bird has flown", but contrary to popular assumption, this is not the source of his nickname 'The Bird'. Dublin HQ staff in the '30s, among them Moss Twomey, dubbed him 'The Bird', while he was working at intelligence duties, for whenever he was pressed for



● GERRY 'THE BIRD' DOHERTY

the source of his information he persistently refused to reveal his sources, saying only a "wee bird told me".

After his escape, with internment operating on both sides of the border, he successfully evaded capture until the following March, when he was arrested in Buncrana and served with a Free State internment order. An hour later, before he could be transferred to the Curragh, he created and utilised an opportunity to escape. Although he hurt his ankle during the escape, he made his way through heavy mid-winter snow, at one point wading across a river, to a relative's house. Lorry loads of gardai came to surround the house, and Gerry lay down between the boards and the chaff mattress of a bed. Although a detective actually put his hand on the mattress he failed to discover him. However, a week later he was captured and collected his third internment order and was taken to the Curragh Camp.

In 1943, a hunger strike began against the appalling conditions, and well over 100 internees volunteered. Leadership decided on two from each province, and Gerry Doherty and Séan McCool were chosen to represent Ulster. He spent 49 days on hunger strike until he was ordered off it. He refused to accept the first order as genuine and it was not until he got

a second, written order, signed by both Hugh McAteer and Charlie Kerins as joint chiefs of staff, that he came off hunger strike.

He was one of the last internees released in 1946, and continued his republican involvement, being national organiser for the Fianna. During the '50s campaign, he was involved in a quiet way. He was in Harvey Street, against bailiffs trying to evict the family.

They held the house successfully until the tenants called off the occupation. Gerry put his skills to use in electrifying a grill across an entrance, ready to be switched on if the bailiffs tried to break in.

On Bloody Sunday, Gerry Doherty was chief steward, using a loud speaker at the back of the lead van. When the shooting started, he was up at the platform at Free Derry Corner. Typically, he then ran towards the shooting, to the main barricade in Rossville Street. He was standing beside Barney McGuigan when the paras shot him, and it was Gerry Doherty who covered the slain man with the blue and white Civil Rights Association banner.

Gerry remained a committed republican throughout this final phase of the struggle, making many new friends and comrades. They and all who knew him will miss him greatly and always remember this unique man.

I measc laochra na nGael go raibh a anam.



● Gerry 'The Bird' Doherty laying a wreath on behalf of the Republican Movement at Bodenstown in 1986

Death of Séan English

TA sean Oglach marbh. Séan English passed away peacefully at his home in Castletown, Kinnitty, County Offaly on Saturday 15 May after an illness borne with fortitude. He was a retired farmer and a highly respected member of the local community.

A lifelong republican possessed of a keen intellect, he read widely on many subjects but his main interests were history and politics. He had a deep love of Ireland and all its people with their varied culture and tradition. A member of Sinn Féin, he was also a member of the Laois/Offaly Anti-Extradition Committee and was a familiar figure in the late '80s protesting out-

side Portlaoise Courthouse and Portlaoise Prison. He sold *An Phoblacht/Republican News* in his native Kinnitty and was prepared to enter into a lively but well researched and informed discussion with anyone on the complex history and politics of this country.

Séan hoped in his lifetime to see a free united 32-County Irish

Republic and was prepared to work for this ultimate aim, yet he did not see this as the triumph of one section of the community over the other. He was a true United Irishman in the Wolfe Tone mould who saw no difference between Protestant, Catholic or Dissenter and treated them all as Irishmen and Irishwomen of equal status.

The removal of his remains on Monday evening and his funeral on Tuesday were testimony to a very special person. His tricolour-draped coffin was borne with pride, respect and flanked on his

last journey by his friends and colleagues in the Republican Movement representing Offaly and the surrounding counties. More importantly he was accompanied to his last resting place by his neighbours and friends from near and far representing all shades of opinion. The state turned out in force and unintentionally honoured Séan by their presence. On both occasions a massive force of gardai and Special Branch members made a nuisance of themselves by blocking all approach roads and questioning people coming to the funeral. Sound recording equipment were used and the entire proceedings were videoed. Army personnel carriers were on standby on an approach

road. Séan would have smiled — he never considered himself as being that important.

The graveside oration was delivered by Jimmy Nolan, Nenagh UDC. In the course of his address he said "Séan was small in stature but great in heart, mind and spirit."

That is how we will all remember him.

His friends and comrades in the Republican Movement extend their deepest sympathy to his brother Frank and to his wide circle of relatives and friends. May the sod of Ireland and his native Slieve Bloom rest lightly on the remains of a true friend and comrade. I measc laochra na nGael go raibh sé.

Reviews

Academic merry-go-round ■ BY NEIL FORDE

WHEN YOU SEE A BOOK subtitled "understanding Northern Ireland", the alarm bells go off. There is a graveyard of books which claim to understand or offer a solution to what academia terms "the Northern Ireland problem". So the test for Brendan O'Leary's and John McGarry's book *The Politics of Antagonism* is whether or not it will follow that well-beaten track to the bargain basement bin.

First test is the book's tone. Does the book patronise the reader? Well no, the writers come across as being genuinely interested and concerned. Each chapter of the book is full of references, quotes and the bibliography is huge. So the book also passes the second hurdle. Factually it is generally spot on, dates, names and places all seem to be correct.

So how does the book tackle the "Northern Ireland problem"? Studious academia comes into play and the book offers us a nine chapter history of Ireland, complete with an analysis as to the meaning of each period and its impact on Ireland today.

First off however is a chapter titled "Auditing the antagonism". Here is the territory of Brendan O'Leary who is a noted social scientist in Ireland and Britain. The reader is treated to detailed graphs and flow diagrams charting the conflict of the last 24 years. The conflict is compared to other states, with the conclusion that the level

of violence is unprecedented in Western States.

What is notable about this chapter is that it is presented without analysis. Instead we have a snappy synopsis of all the "players" in the conflict. The authors could have been producing a run down on the teams for the All Ireland. Here is the first stumbling block of the book. There is no heart in this study. There is no attempt to get beyond the figures and the carefully constructed chronologies.

For instance the first chapter ends with a section titled "costs of the war". There is some interesting analysis on the financial costs to Britain of its occupation in Ireland. However there is also reference to the "human-rights costs". We are told that these are "easier to measure". So then we get figures on the PTA and the Emergency Provisions Act, but no analysis.

Surely denial of civil rights before and after partition is a prime factor behind the conflict in the Six Counties. No link is

made between the civil rights abuses perpetrated before partition, then by the Stormont regime and now by the British government under the guise of 'counterterrorism' measures.

Instead O'Leary and McGarry move rapidly on to the history books, offering chapters on the colonial roots of antagonism, the Stormont state, the O'Neill years and the return to direct rule.

Again references and sources abound as we move through the 17th Century plantations and the Williamite Wars towards the Act of Union. This, according to the authors, covers the "résumé of the historic roots of antagonisms".

Tellingly absent from the analysis is any serious treatment of the United Irishmen movement. No statistics are offered on the 1798 rebellion. No flow charts on the economic and political forces that created the political aspirations of religious toleration and equality for all. In their rush to move towards the 20th Century the authors overlooked this crucial period and this means that their final analysis is flawed.

When we reach the years of the Stormont

state, we hear of the electoral gerrymandering, the formation of the B Specials, the constitutional and administrative domination summarised in the phrase "hegemonic control". Missing from their analysis is the facts and figures that could tell of the terror unleashed by the Stormont regime. Little mention of the pogroms

or the relief riots of the 1930s. No figures are used at all to document this facet of the Stormont regime.

No, we are moved rapidly on the last 24 years, where space is devoted to the range of "solutions that have failed in the Six Counties". We are treated to considerable analysis, a whole chapter on the Hillsborough agreement. By this stage the authors have managed to reduce the conflict in Ireland to some nagging academic problem. This part of

the book is filled with references and sources.

However these cover only other studies of the problem. There is no study of political parties' documents and publications. It seems that those who study the problem in the Six Counties have more to offer than those actually involved, "players" as this book calls them.

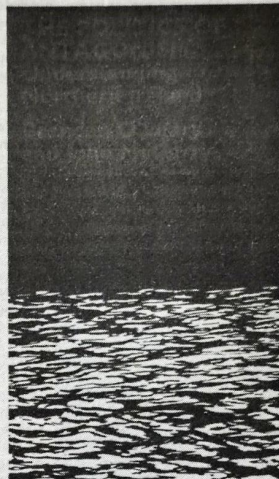
O'Leary and McGarry have taken the route favoured by many academics studying Ireland. That is, nobody is to blame. The British government is not a protagonist and only the intransigence of political parties in the Six Counties stands in the way of a solution.

This book could have put the authors' talents to better use. A narrower scope and a more clearly defined objective would have helped. The book does not come close to Michael Farrell's *The Orange State* which is the best study of the history of the Six Counties yet published and is the benchmark for all other studies.

The clever diagrams, the technical terminology, can't hide the fact that the book's conclusions read like a Frank Miller article in the *Irish Times*. This book will be sold to universities and colleges and only its valuable but selective statistics will save it from the bargain basement.

● *The Politics of Antagonism* is published by Athlone Press. Price £10.95 stg.

CONFLICT AND CHANGE IN BRITAIN - A NEW AUDIT



The Sunday Leitrim rose again

■ BY RORY DUNNE

A WET AND WINDY Hill 16 was where I found myself last Sunday as the All-Ireland Hurling Champions Kilkenny took on Offaly. Offaly started off in splendid fashion with their two midfielders Michael Corneely and Johnny Pilkington dominating, as well as getting some brilliant scores from play and frees. The tackling of their defenders was tenacious and by the 33rd minute they led by nine points to five. Up stepped All-Star DJ Carey to change that with a great goal for Kilkenny to leave the Cats with a fighting chance in the second half.

Offaly went three points ahead just after the restart but the champions improved on their first half effort and it was only the determination of Offaly, especially their defence that kept them in the hunt. With eight minutes remaining Offaly led by fourteen points to one goal and nine points, but their defender Roy Mannion was sent off for a dangerous challenge and Kilkenny took advantage. DJ Carey crashed a penalty in to the net with three minutes left and added a 70 yards free a couple of minutes later to seal victory. This was a great match which Offaly didn't deserve to lose, but Kilkenny's experience, especially Carey's, got them through in the end. The pity was that only 13,000 people turned up.

I retired to a local hostelry then to look at the Cork vs Clare Munster

Football clash. Colin Corkerry making his debut for Cork scored a point and a great goal to give Cork an early lead. Clare recovered but only temporarily as the Leesiders led by two points at half time after playing against a strong breeze. Clare fought back in the second half and levelled the game at one goal and eight apiece, but Cork's Shay Fahy who was brought in as a first half substitute was running the show at midfield, and Liam Honohan in attack provided the opportunities for the Cork forwards and the Leesiders ran out deserving winners.

Newry saw two of the country's top football sides Down and Derry battle it out in an eagerly awaited clash. The relentless rain didn't seem to bother Derry as they scored a few early points through

Damien Cassidy to take the lead.

Ross Carr pointed some frees for Down to leave four points between the sides at the break. Down narrowed the gap to two points early in the second half but Derry took over and a brilliant display by Anthony Tohill and Damien Barton saw them run out easy winners in the end. On this form it will take a very good team to stop Derry from going all the way to provincial and even national glory.

Derry's opponents in the Ulster semifinal will be Monaghan who overcame Cavan at Breffni Park, by five points. Once again it was Ray McCarron who was the pivotal figure with a first-half penalty, and a brilliant pass for Monaghan's third goal which sealed victory.

The county of Leitrim has a population of only 25,000 and the highest rate of emigration in the country, but those still there will never forget last Sunday's great victory over Galway in Tuam. It was 44 years since they last beat their bogey team. They never gave up and when Galway went four points up early in the second half they kept fighting and ultimately,

they prevailed. They now look forward to a home tie with Roscommon on 27 June.

The All-Ireland football champions Donegal should be too strong for Antrim this Sunday,

while Croke Park hosts Dublin vs Wexford in hurling and Kildare vs Wicklow in football. It's Tullamore's turn on Monday with Offaly vs Carlow and Dublin vs Westmeath in football.



● Leitrim captain Mickey Quinn after their shock victory over Galway in the Connaught championship

Nuacht

Tionóntaí feargach le nuachtán Sasanach ■ LE MARCAS Mac RUAIRI

TÁ CONAITHE i gceantar Chnoc na Ros i nDoire feargach i ndiaidh d'fhoilsiú tuairisce i nuachtán Sasanach, The Evening News and Star, a deir go raibh a n-agóidí i gcoinne an tús faire a thóg na Breataine ansin ar na mallabha, "foréigneach" agus go raibh caitheamh buamáí peitрил mar pháirt den sheachtas.

Deir na cónaithe go nglóiríonn an t-alt úsáid treallaimh ard-teicneolaíochta faire a bhrúinn isteach ar a saoil phríobháideacha.

Scriobh Cumann Tionóntaí Chnoc na Ros chuig an nuachtán, atá lonnaithe i gCarlisle, ag déanamh agóide i dtuairisc na tuairisce foilsíodh ar an 18 Bealtaine. Bhí an tuairisc scríofa ag an leas-eagarthóir i ndiaidh dó tamall a chaitheamh i nDoire le baill den King's Own Border Regiment atá i

nDoire faoi láthair.

Tá cuma ar an alt gur scríobh oifigeach preas de chuid arm na Breataine é. Cuireann sé síos ar Dhoire mar 'Danger Zone', agus ar mhuintir na háite mar dhaoine neamhsbhíalta ar gha faire le hord a choinneáil orthu.

D'ainneoin na tuairisce dúirt urlabhraí den chumann tionóntaí go raibh a gcuid agóidí i gcoinne an tús faire ina iomlán. Dúirt sé go raibh díomá agus déistín

orthu gur cuireadh an fhúinne as a riocht. Arsa an t-urlabhraí:

"Tá fearg orainn mar glóiríonn sé seo úsáid treallaimh faire ag arm na Breataine le teacht agus imeacht laethúil mhuintir na háite seo a scrúdú. Ní thráchtann sé ar bualadh isteach ar phríobháideachas nó go gcaithfidh daoine a gcuid cuirtíní a choinneáil druidite an lá ar fad leis an fhaire agus réabhadh seo a éalú."

Tá an cumann tionóntaí ag tabhairt cuireadh don scríobhóir teacht go Doire leis an fhúinne scáil i dtuairisc an tús faire Doire a thaispeáint dó. Tá siad ag ofráil dó eolas a chur chuige ar an sheachtas i gcoinne an tús faire.



● An tús faire ar Chnoc na Rós i nDoire



I bPríosún Chill Mhaighneán ar an Máirt 25 Bealtaine nochtadh an portráid seo de Sheán O Dúlaing le Robert Ballagh. Bhunaigh Seán O Dúlaing an coiste a thosaigh deisiúchán an phríosúin ag tús na '60í. Poblachtánach i rith a shaoil a bhí sé féin. Bhí sé ina mhac léinn i Scoil Eanna ag Pádraig MacPiarais, ghlac sé páirt in Éirí Amach 1916 agus sa streachailt ó 1919 go 1923. Bhí sé ar Foirceann Ceannárais Arm na Poblachta i rith an Chogaidh Cathartha. Chomh maith le sin scríobh sé drámaí agus rinne sé péintéireacht.



● PAT TIERNEY

Bruscar seachas Éireannaigh do málaí plaisteacha! ■ LE HOISIN O MURCHU

Féilire imeachtaí Meitheamh

4-6: Fleá Cheoil Dhoire, Bollaghy, Co. Dhoire; Fleá Cheoil Shligigh, Baile Iridh Dhá Abhainn, Contae Shligigh; Fleá Cheoil Luimnigh, Mainistir na Féile, Contae Luimnigh.
4-7: Comórtaí Peile na Gaeltachta, Ráth Cairn.
Féile le Chéile, Trá Lí, Contae Chiarraí (Micheál O Cinnéide, 066-25782).
5-13: Eigse Cheatharlach (Bríde de Róiste, 0503-31634).
6: Cúrsaí Samhraidh Concos ag tosú (01-4754780); Fleá Cheoil Chábháin, Call na Leice, Contae Chábháin; Fleá Cheoil Loch Garman, an Charraig, Contae Loch Garman.
Fleá Cheoil Laoise, Gluain na Sli, Co. Laoise; Fleá Cheoil na hIarmhí, Móta, Co. na hIarmhí.

7: Lá Oige, Baile Átha Cliath (01-475540, Conradh na Gaeilge); An Scandán Rua, Ostán an Harcourt, Sráid Fhearchair.
7-29: Cúrsaí Gaeilge do mhic léinn, Aras Uí Chadhain, An Cheathrú Rua (091-95101).
8: Tráth na gCeist Bunscoile, Scoil Naomh Mhuire gan Smál, Ceatharlach (Gael-Linn).
8-30: Cúrsaí Smahraidh, Coláiste Ríocaird Baireid, An Eochléim (Gael-Linn).
9-11: Comórtaí na bPubanna, gach Céadaon, pubanna éagsúla (067-32282, Tiobraid Arann ag Labhairt).
10: Einní i Mother Redcaps, Baile Átha Cliath.
11-13: Fleá Cheoil Lú, Cairlín.
12: Cruinniú poiblí de cheannairí gach

eagraíocht Gaeilge, Ostán Russell Court, Sráid Fhearchair, 3pm.
12-13: Fleá Cheoil Chill Dara, Fiodh Alúine, Contae Chill Dara.
13: Fleá Cheoil Fhear Manach, Ros Liath, Contae Fhear Manach.
14: Lá na bPáistí, Ard Cróine, Contae Thiobraid Arann (067-32282).
14-26: Dianchúrsa do dhaoine fásta, Ara Uí Chadhain, An Cheathrú Rua.
14-25: Cúrsa na nOg, Gael-Linn, 26 Cearnóg Mhuirfein, Baile Átha Cliath 2.
14-21: Cór Dhuibhlínne in Aras Bhord na Gaeilge, 8pm (01-960586).
15: Céilí-Mór le Gold-Ring Céilí Band, Friary Castle, Tiobraid Arann (067-32282).

RINNE an file Pat Tierney, a dhír-bheathaisnéis Moon on my back ar na mallabha, céalacain 24 uaire lasmuigh d'ospidéal Naomh Séamas i mBaile Átha Cliath, Dé hAoine, 28 Bealtaine. Bhí Tierney, a bhfuil HIV aige, ag déanamh agóide in aghaidh na húsáide leanúnaí de mhálaí plaisteacha coirp do dhaoine a gheibheann bás de ghailair a bhaineann le SEIF.

Thug Tierney bileoga amach ag minú fáth a agóide. Thug sé dúshlán don tuairim gur gha coirp de dhaoine a bhfuil HIV acu a chur i málaí plaisteacha ar chor ar bith. D'iarr sé an raibh na coirp níos tógálaí marb ná mar a bhí siad beo.

Dúirt Tierney nach raibh bun-táiste ar bith ag baint le húsáid málaí plaisteacha do mharbháin ach b'fhéidir ag suíomh taisme. Ar an láimh eile dúirt sé gur chuir

úsáid na málaí tráma maoithneach ar chlanna, ar ghaolta agus ar chairde na marbhán. Dúirt sé go bhfuil smál ag baint le húsáid málaí plaisteacha agus is iad gaolta na marbhán a bhíonn thíos le seo.

Chomh maith le seo creideann Tierney go spreagann úsáid na málaí plaisteacha romhuinín i measc oibríthe sláinte a láimhseálann coirp ionas nach leanann siad na treoirínte cearta le scaipeadh galrú a choscadh.

Dúirt Tierney "gur chóir dúinn bheith ag briseadh síos claontachta bunaithe ar eagla aingialta agus mí-réasúnta, in ionad bheith ag neartú claontachta a cuireadh daoine i gcoraintín mhaoithneach agus fhisiciúil".

Tá Tierney anois ag iarraidh ar dhaoine cur in aghaidh an pho-lasáí seo. Molann sé scríobh chuig Aire Sláinte na 26 Chontae, Brendan Howlin TD, Teach Uí Haicín, Sráid Uí Haicín, Baile Átha Cliath 2.

- 17: Einní i Mother Redcaps, Baile Átha Cliath.
18: An Ghaeltacht agus an Conradh, léacht le Prionsias Mac Aonghusa, Arus na nGael, 45 Sráid Doimín, Gaillimh, 8.00pm.
18-20: Fleá Cheoil an Chláir, Cora Finne, Contae an Chláir; Eigse Ríocaird Baireid, Ostán Syngé, Gaoth Sáile, Iorras (Conradh na Gaeilge); Fleá Amhráin agus Rinne, Baile an Chaistí, Contae Aontroima.
19-26: Cúrsa Cultúrtha (Peintéireacht), Oideas Gael, Gleann Cholm Cille (01-8213566 nó 073-30243).
21-13 Iúil: Cúrsa Samhraidh, Coláiste Mhachaire Rabhartaigh, Dún na nGall (Gael-Linn).
22-14 Iúil: Cúrsaí Smahraidh, Coláiste Bhaile Bhúirne, Contae Chorcaí (Gael-Linn).
25-27: Fleá Cheoil Chiarraí, Baile an Mhuilinn, Contae Chiarraí.
25: Ceolchoirm, Ara Mhuire, Bóthar Thír Chonaill, Inse Chór, Baile Átha Cliath.
26-27: Feis an nGleann (Aileen McCarr, 18 Craigh Rd, Baile an Chaistí, Contae Aontroima); Fleá Cheoil Chonnachta, Cathair na Mart, Maigh Eo; Fleá Cheoil Thír Eoghain, Fionntamhnach, Contae Thír Eoghain.
26: Fleá Cheoil an Dúin, Caisleán Uidhlin.
26-3 Iúil: Cúrsaí teanga, Oideas Gael, Gleann Cholm Cille (01-8213566 nó 073-30243).
27: Fleá Cheoil na Breataine, St Albans (01-2800295).
28: Taispeántas de leabhair Shairséal agus Dill, Baile Átha Cliath, léacht: Seán Séarsáil O hEigeartaigh agus litríocht na Gaeilge (01-4757401, Conradh na Gaeilge); Cór Dhuibhlínne, cruinniú cinn bhiliana in Aras Bhord na Gaeilge (Dónal O Cúill).

A lesson for Sir Hugh

■ BY LORD DIPLOCK

WELL NOW my legal eagle watchers, what is going on in our beloved little part of the Empire? It seems that everyone, but everyone, wants to poke their noses into my cosy system of justice which has sustained the appearance of fair play for almost 20 years now, to the extent that we've succeeded in pulling the wool over the eyes of most of the United States and European legal apparatus.

OK, it costs a bloody fortune but it's money well spent, unlike some of the court costs which Hugh Annesley's peelers, and General Wheeler's squaddies keep sending ever upwards.

It makes my blood boil when I find out that thousands of pounds are being spent by my legal offices in finding members of Her Majesty's forces guilty, but innocent, if you know what I mean! (Remember Coalisland? £95,000 to find six paras innocent, but guilty!)

Well, I at least know my area of remit, unlike that demented Dub, Annesley who has joined other buffoons in spouting off at the mouth about the price, the nature, and the reality of justice as it affects our province. Annesley really did bungle with his disclosure about the new committee sitting to consider his seven-point plan of action to end it all.

Not wanting to kiss and tell, I can only say that major eyebrows have been raised about Hughie's decision to go it alone and reveal all. The fool even mentioned internment (something we don't talk about in public).

As I approached the 19th hole of a well-known golf club the other day imagine my surprise when I bumped into Paddy Mayhew and Mickey Mates.

They were discussing recent events. Naturally at first I took them to have occurred in my jurisdiction, what with 'super-guns' (thoughts of South Armagh) and money-laundering (UDA building sites), but no! It was Iraq and Cyprus!

Murky waters there chaps. Old Paddy was laughing at his cheek going over a couple of weeks ago to the Americas to tell the yanks not to give any 'material' support to the Fenians. And Mickey, what a brass neck! He was chortling about old Nadir jumping £3.5 million bail — no bloody chance of that occurring in my courts Mickey!

So Hugh, please look at this little list of mine and remember PR is everything. Why are we wasting money prosecuting these cases when we already know the outcome?

In a Belfast court RUC Inspector Keith Lindsay (address given as RUC HQ) recently faced two charges of assault with intent to commit rape and two of indecent exposure. Inspector Lindsay was alleged to have committed the assaults in Counties Antrim, Fermanagh and Tyrone. Willful exposure is alleged to have taken place in Bangor and Belfast. A prosecuting RUC inspector applied to have Lindsay remanded into RUC custody, instead of

prison so he could be interviewed about 'other matters'.

RUC Constable Ian Geoffrey Moffatt, whose address was given as RUC Barracks, Glengormley, was up for killing a motorcyclist near the Fortwilliam junction on the M2 on 25 March 1992. He was described by his supervising RUC inspector as "a bit of a loner". The constable was convicted for manslaughter and gaoled for nine months on 26 May by former Stormont Home Affairs Minister Robert Porter, who said that he was satisfied that Moffatt's remorse was "genuine".

RUC Constable Alan Anderson, address given as RUC Barracks, Magherafelt, appeared at Cookstown Magistrate's Court last Wednesday, 26 May, accused of murdering 34-year-old nurse, Judith Anderson and her father, 74-year-old Rev Eric Davidson, in their Cookstown home on 15 December. Both bodies had been covered with petrol and it was alleged that a poker had been used to cause injuries to Rev Davidson.

Royal Irish Regiment soldiers, Andrew Bannister, Derek Lowe and William Patience, addresses given as Steele Barracks, Antrim town were charged recently with assaulting and unlawfully imprisoning a 15-year-old youth.

A Royal Irish Regiment soldier, address given as RIR Barracks, Ballykinnar, was charged in Downpatrick Court with the attempted murder of garage owner Joseph McGrath on 15 May, he was also charged with armed robbery.

Royal Irish Regiment soldier Private Brian Moore, address withheld on advice from Resi-

dent Magistrate Harold Hall appeared at a special court in Armagh on Monday, 1 June on charges of threatening to kill a local man last Sunday.

Lance Corporal Nicholas Wyatt of the 2nd Parachute Regiment, address given as Second Para HQ in Aldershot, England was charged with shooting dead Private Michael Lee of the same regiment. The court heard that on returning to their base after a four vehicle mobile patrol Lance Corporal Wyatt had pointed his rifle at Lee's mouth and then shot him.

Defence lawyers for Wyatt said that British soldiers were constantly under a great deal of strain and sometimes "fooled around" in an effort to relieve the tension. This "fooling around" was described by trial Judge Robert Porter as being stupid, but in the circumstances he did not feel the public would be served by gaoing him!

By freeing Wyatt on 14 May on a two-year suspended sentence, Porter follows that well-trodden path of ours which ensures no British soldier serves any time for ending another person's life, even if that life is another crown forces member.

As the number of loyalist A death squads roaming the streets and laneways grows every week, I have decided along with the other chappies that the time had come to do a bit of 'seasonal thinning' to allow room for newcomers to expand.

The joyous task of removing three separate long-serving loyalist death squads went to my old favourite, Lord Justice McDermott. Following several British army undercover operations last year, ten UDA members now find themselves locked up by their former friends.

Because they hadn't checked with their 'real masters' prior to

setting out on their missions, at ten heavily-armed loyalists found themselves running into surprise British checkpoints in Belfast between July and November 1992 as they attempted assassinations of nationalists at several locations along the Falls Road.

So, being harsher than usual for cases dealing with our 'Loyal' brethren, McDermott handed 16 years apiece to Samuel McCrory, John Thompson, and Thomas Potts, and 14 to fellow gang member Mathew McCormick. 15 years went to William Spence, Lewis Lyttle and Henry McIlvenna, and 14 years each to Frank Caldwell, Thomas Corry and Joseph Gorman. Maybe in future they will ensure clearance with the security services before setting out on a hit.

These UDA types (some of whom were UDA members and caught before it was banned) were joined in McDermott's court by UVF gang member, Kenneth Colwell who had lured a nationalist taxi driver to his death in March '91 and who shot and wounded another one a month later in the grounds of Belfast Castle.

Colwell was actually released by the RUC after explaining his UVF activities. He further explained in court last Thursday, 27 May that he told his RUC interrogators of his role in both the murder and attempted murder of Taigs, but they had wisely decided to "let him go, so long as he would work for them".

This 'work' would have obviously included collecting information on republicans, SDLP politicians, GAA figures, Papist priests etc. In court Colwell admitted that "these men had to be made accountable for their crimes". Well if they start to cause a bit of embarrassment and outlive their usefulness anyway.

Mála Poist... Mála Poist... Mála Poist... Mála Poist... Mála Poist...

Election success

A Chairde,

Since news began to come in that the Sinn Féin vote in the North was not just holding up but had increased, the excuses for this good Sinn Féin result started to gain momentum.

"Voter impersonation, British soldiers acquitted of violence, even Sinn Féin members and their elected representatives being killed formed part of the long litany used to explain away the Sinn Féin vote."

Politicians were queueing up to denounce Sinn Féin, and told us just how bad these people are. Did anyone wonder why it was that 12.5% of the total electorate voted for them, and not these politicians, most of whom were defeated in the election.

These so-called democrats who profess to believe in the ballot box, just couldn't accept the democratic choice of those tens of thousands of voters who want Sinn Féin to represent them.

Maybe these same commentators and politicians were comfortable in the knowledge that years of political censor-

ship, years of distortion and misrepresentation of Sinn Féin views, and the onslaught of loyalist deaths squads would see Sinn Féin crushed.

But they didn't count on the nationalist people of the Six Counties, who steadfastly voted for the election of 51 councillors throughout the Six Counties. They failed to recognise that the people of West Belfast for example are not the fools that these people would take them for.

As I sat there listening to these 'democrats' I wondered just how their respective parties would have done if the reign of repression and terror had been aimed against them?

Treasa Berry, Inchicore, Dublin 8.

Justice for the young

A Chairde,

The recent Tipperary tragedy, along with other incidents, has again highlighted the inadequacy of the juvenile care services.

Practising teachers in Dublin's inner-city reject out of hand the Garda Representative Association's (GRA) recom-

mendations for parental punishment and more goals as being the best means of dealing with the severe social problems confronting Dublin's poorer children and their families.

In one particular inner-city school, four past pupils from the same 1989 sixth class recently shared cells in St Patrick's Institution for criminal activity and drug related offences. The teachers who taught these children foresaw such a problem and have stated on numerous occasions that the only solutions are proper intervention at primary level and the development of parental awareness education.

The myopic proposals by Sergeant John Ferry of the GRA and spokespersons from victims' groups of opening more goals and having parents serving custodial sentences for their children's crimes are unacceptable to teachers as rational remedies for problem children who need a more caring response. These proposed solutions have simply addressed the problem too late in the day apart from the fact that they are economically wasteful. It must be emphasised that teachers and gardai have an extremely good rela-

tionship in dealing with these serious issues and have a mutual comprehension of the extreme demands made on both groups in working in the highly stressful environment of Dublin's inner-city and suburbs.

Many of the families whose children are out of control are not endemically criminal as has been claimed; they are families who are struggling for survival with the most meagre state assistance and guidance.

We call on the Departments of Education, Justice and Social Welfare to provide a coordinated approach to tackling these problems and ensuring that the proposed Juvenile Justice Bill is just that: the provision of justice for our younger generations.

We ask that: Resource teachers be made available to cater for the needs of children at risk in primary schools so that they can be involved in appropriate curricular activities that will increase their self-respect and positive attitude to society.

Parenting programmes should be made available so that these children can be brought up by parents who are fully aware of their obli-

gations and who are armed with an understanding and competence of how to deal with their troublesome children.

Agencies must tackle these problems in a cautious caring manner by adopting logical solutions rather than exploring dark-age mechanisms.

Teachers' Action Group, Inner-City Teachers United for Justice, Chairperson: Liam O'Cuinneagáin, Secretary: Finian McGrath.

Seamus G. O'Kelly

A Chairde,

Permit me to commend Peter O'Rourke on his tribute (6 May) to Seamus G O'Kelly, a founder of *The United Irishman* with Michael Traynor and Gearóid Mangan in 1948 and its first editor. Seamus continued to write for *The United Irishman* through the late 1950s.

I would correct upwards the circulation figures for the latter period as cited in the article. By September-October 1958 *The United Irishman* print run was 144,000 copies. This

required a rotary press and the Special Branch warned provincial newspaper publishers with such presses not to handle it. The late Dan Nolan of *The Kerryman* denounced such action as interference with press freedom and voluntarily contributed for the work until *The United Irishman's* printer could acquire its own rotary.

These circulation figures I believe were unprecedented for an Irish political journal with a semi-legal existence, edited on the run, sold non-commercially at chapel gates in the 26 Counties and smuggled into the Six Counties by dedicated people who risked internment for possession of a seditious document.

From that time, the names of three others who manned the public office of *The United Irishman* in Gardiner Row, Dublin, should get recognition: Micheál O'Donnabháin ('Pasha'), the late Séan Duffy of Derrynacreeve, County Cavan, and Gwen Jones, later Mrs Hugh Heaney, of Dublin.

Seán Cronin, Washington, DC.

Letters to: The Editor, AP/RN, 58 Parnell Square, Dublin 1.
PLEASE KEEP LETTERS SHORT

Notices

REMEMBERING THE PAST

James Connolly

■ BY PETER O'ROURKE

JAMES CONNOLLY, socialist republican, trade union activist, author, journalist and revolutionary, was born at Cowgate, in Edinburgh, Scotland in June 1868.

He stands as probably the most clear-sighted and politically astute of Irish revolutionaries this century. His enduring legacy is his linking of the struggle for national freedom and socialism which influenced anti-imperialists all over the world as well as in Ireland. He was before his time in analysing the effects that partition would have on Ireland.

At the age of 14 Connolly joined the British army and was stationed in Ireland in the Curragh in County Kildare. Seven years later he deserted and returned to Edinburgh where he married.

A committed Marxist, in Scotland he worked as a carter and became active in socialist and trade union circles. At the invitation of the Scottish socialist, John Leslie, he came to Dublin in 1896 as paid organiser of the Dublin Socialist Society. In May of that year he founded the Irish Socialist Republican Party, to secure 'the national and economic freedom of the Irish people'. Two years later, in 1898, he founded *The Workers*

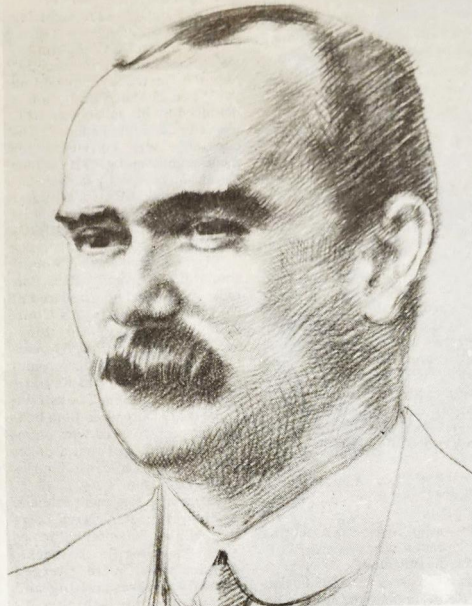
Republic, the first Irish socialist paper.

In 1903, an experienced journalist and lecturer, Connolly emigrated to America where he founded the Irish Socialist Federation in New York, and another newspaper, *The Harp*.

After seven years he returned to Ireland and in June 1911, Connolly became Belfast organiser for James Larkin's Irish Transport and General Workers Union (ITGWU). A co-founder of the Labour Party in 1913, he returned to Dublin the following year to assist Larkin in the struggle against the Employers' Federation in the Great Lock-out of workers in August.

Connolly led the workers when Larkin was imprisoned, and in November 1913, was one of the founders of the Irish Citizen Army at Liberty Hall, the headquarters of the ITGWU, to defend the workers. He returned permanently to Dublin in October 1914, and led the Labour Movement following Larkin's departure for America.

He revived *The Workers' Republic* after the *Irish Worker* was sup-



● JAMES CONNOLLY

pressed in December 1914. In *The Workers Republic*, he published

articles on guerrilla warfare, and attacked the Irish Volunteers for

their inactivity. In February 1915 the paper was suppressed by the Dublin Castle authorities.

In January 1916, alarmed that Connolly was contemplating a rising of the Citizen Army alone, he was taken into the confidence of the IRB's secret military council, who were preparing for an armed rising the following Easter, and informed him in detail of their plans.

During the following months he took part in the preparation for a rising and was appointed Military Commander of the Republican Forces in Dublin, including his own Citizen Army. He was one of the seven signatories of the Proclamation which bears evidence of his influence.

Connolly was in command of the Republican Headquarters at the GPO during Easter week, and was severely wounded. Arrested and court-martialled following the surrender, he was executed by firing squad in the yard of Kilmainham Gaol, propped up in a chair, being too ill to stand, on 12 May 1916.

Connolly's writings included, *Erins Hope* (1897), *The New Evangel* (1901), *Socialism Made Easy* (1909), *Labour in Irish History* (1910), *Labour, Nationality and Religion* (1910) and *The Reconquest of Ireland* (1915).

James Connolly was born on 5 June, 1868, 125 years ago this week.

Imeachtaí

ANTI-EXTRADITION MEETING: meets 7pm every Tuesday, Anti-Extradition Office, 29 Mountjoy Square, DUBLIN

BEECHMOUNT FIVE DEMONSTRATION: 12.30-2pm, every Saturday, O'Connell Bridge, DUBLIN

ANTI-EXTRADITION PICKET: Picket and leafleting, 2-3pm, every Saturday, GPO, O'Connell Street, DUBLIN

BEECHMOUNT FIVE TRIAL VIGIL:

Every Tuesday and Thursday, 5-6pm, GPO, DUBLIN

ARTICLES TWO AND THREE INFORMATION STALL: 12pm-2.30pm, every Saturday, GPO, DUBLIN

PUBLIC MEETING: Laying the Foundations for Peace, 8pm, Thursday, 3 June, ATGWU Hall, Middle Abbey Street, DUBLIN. Speakers: Canon Nicholas Frayling, Church of England, Canon of Liverpool, Dr Brian Murphy, Historian, Glenstal Abbey, Fr Joe McVeigh, Chairperson: Dr Mary Cullen, Maynooth College. All welcome

FOLK NIGHT: Featuring the Irish Brigade, 9-1am, Friday, 4 June, O'Neil Arms Hotel, Toome, COUNTY ANTRIM. Táiille: £3. Late Bar. Bus from Magherafelt

SOCIAL NIGHT: 8pm, Friday, 4 June, The Lantern, Linenhall Street, DUNDALK. Admission £1. Dundalk Sinn Féin Comhairle Ceantair

INFORMATION SEMINAR: A series of educational meetings with video showings, 7.30pm, Tuesday, 8 June. Video — "Sixteen Dead". The latest film about the victims of plastic bullets in Northern Ireland. Sparkhill Social and Cultural Centre, Stratford Road,

BIRMINGHAM. Near the park, next to baths. Buses: 4, 5, 6, 31. Organised by Birmingham Troops Out Movement, PO Box 817, Camp Hill, Birmingham B11 4AF

DUBLIN ANTI-EXTRADITION COMMITTEE AGM: 7pm, Tuesday, 15 June. Anti-Extradition Office, 29 Mountjoy Square, DUBLIN

INC TABLE QUIZ: 8pm, Thursday, 17 June, Teachers' Club, Parnell Square, DUBLIN

AN CUMANN CABHRACH ANNUAL TESTIMONIAL DINNER: And Republican Reunion, 8pm, Friday, 18 June. Regency Hotel, DUBLIN. Táiille:

£15.00. Music and Bar extension. Dinner will be served at 8.30 sharp. Tickets must be paid for on or before 13 June

PUBLIC MEETING: Sexuality — Church and State, 8pm, Tuesday, 22 June. Kinlay House, 2 Lord Edward Street, DUBLIN. Organised by the Dublin Abortion Information Campaign and the Gay Lesbian Equality Network. Everyone welcome

CLARE BODENSTOWN BUS: Leaves Shannon 9am, Limerick 9.30am, Nenagh 10.30am. Contact Mike McKee 061-361373/Eilis McGettigan 061-360936 for further details

I nDíl Chuimhne

DORIS, Tony; GAUGHAN, Michael; HEANEY, Henry; JORDAN, Francis; McCAULEY, Philip; McFADDEN, Philip; McKENNA, Séan; McNALLY, Lawrence; MULGREW, Colm; RYAN, Pete. In proud and loving memory of Volunteers Tony Doris (died 3 June 1991), Michael Gaughan (died 3 June 1974), Henry Heaney (died 4 June 1978), Francis Jordan (died 4 June 1975), Danny McCauley (died 4 June 1991), Philip McFadden (died 31 May 1986), Séan McKenna (died 5 June 1975), Lawrence McNally (died 3 June 1991), Pete Ryan (3 June 1991) and Sinn Féin member Colm Mulgrew (died 5 June 1976). "They may kill the revolutionary but never the revolution." — Che Geuvara. Always remembered by his friends and comrades in the Republican Movement.

DORIS, Tony (2nd Ann). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Tony Doris and his comrades Pete and Lawrence, who were brutally murdered by the SAS at Coagh. Always remembered by Johnnie and Una McGrath and family, Clonoe.

DORIS, Tony; RYAN, Pete; McNALLY, Lawrence (2nd Ann). In proud and loving memory of Volunteers Tony Doris, Pete Ryan and Lawrence McNally who were killed on active service at Coagh on 3 June 1991. Always remembered by Danny McLoughlan, New York.

DORIS, Tony; RYAN, Pete; McNALLY, Lawrence (2nd Ann). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Lawrence McNally who died on active service on 3 June 1991. Always remembered by Rosaleen.

RYAN, Pete; McNALLY, Lawrence, DORIS, Tony (2nd Ann). In proud and loving memory of Volunteers Pete Ryan, Lawrence McNally and Tony Doris who were killed on active service at Coagh on 3 June 1991. Always remembered by the Tyrone Brigade.

RYAN, Pete (2nd Ann). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Pete Ryan who died 3 June 1991. From Bridget, Shannon.

Comhbhrón

DOHERTY. Yet again the bird has flown. Deepest sympathy to the family and friends of Gerry 'The Bird' Doherty. Alas, 7,000 miles separate us but he is forever in our hearts. A revolutionary, a comrade, an example to all who struggle for freedom and justice in occupied Ireland and an inspiration for all prisoners who are held in durance vile by a foreign oppressor. Farewell, old com-

Buíochoas

LUNDY. The Lundy family would like to thank everyone who had sent in sympathy messages after the death of Allan.

FUSCO. The Fusco family would like to thank all those who so kindly sent messages of sympathy to us in our time of sorrow.

Beannachtáí

DUFFIN. Birthday greetings to my darling husband James. From your ever loving wife Bernie xxx. Happy birthday Daddy. Lots of love from your daughters Paula and Julie xxx. **McGETTIGAN.** To Pól McGettigan, H3 Long Kesh. Happy birthday, from Maurice, Bernie and family.

News

Pro-British death squads claim two more victims

ON THE DAY on which a victim of a sectarian murder gang was buried in Castleterragh, County Tyrone, after a funeral Mass near his East Belfast home, another loyalist death squad murdered a 29-year-old Catholic man in Comber, County Down.

The attack occurred as the man, a self-employed haulage contractor from Belfast, was driving his lorry near a quarry on the Hillhead Road, just outside Comber.

It was around 3pm when a lone UDA assassin, described as wearing a yellow coat, opened fire from an automatic rifle hitting the driver and vehicle over a dozen times.

The badly wounded man managed to get out of the cab in an attempt to escape his attacker but fell to the ground where he lay until an ambulance arrived. He was taken to the Ulster Hospital at Dundonald but was dead on arrival.

The car, used by the UDA, was later found burning in the predominantly loyalist Ballybeen housing estate where the killers of Eddie McHugh also fled.

In a statement claiming responsibility for the killing the UDA named another person as their intended victim.

Loyalist terror-gang the Red Hand Commandos admitted to the shooting dead of Eddie McHugh, a 65-year-old Catholic man who lived in the predominantly Protestant Dundonald area of East Belfast.

Eddie McHugh was shot dead as he watched television in his Canberra Park home on Sunday night, 30 May.

At about 11pm Eddie's killer pushed past Agnes McHugh and shot the retired painter a number of times. Eddie McHugh died in the home he moved to 23 years ago, as his killer made his escape on a motorcycle.

The loyalist statement admitting to Eddie McHugh's killing

and claiming that he was a republican activist was entirely without foundation or credibility. Speaking to reporters outside the family home, Eddie's son Gerard McHugh said:

"My father was an ordinary, hard-working man who lived for his family, his new-born grandson and his golf."

The murder of Eddie McHugh was hypocritically condemned by local loyalist politicians including Ian Paisley, directly responsible for the engineering of sectarian hatred and reaction in the Six Counties. These same politicians bear a great deal of responsibility for murders such as that of Eddie McHugh, through their political alignment with death squads and their regular provision of moral and political succour to those who pull the trigger on nationalist civilians. Paisley has recently echoed and has been echoed in turn by loyalist death squads with references to a 'pan-nationalist front'.

The UVF claimed responsibility for a gun attack on a Catholic railway worker in East Belfast on Saturday, 29 May. The attack was carried out at the Bridge End railway halt just over 24 hours prior to the killing of 65-year-old Eddie McHugh in Dundonald. The 32-year-old man escaped the death squad members by scrambling through a barbed wire fence.

In their statement the UVF named a different man from the one they attempted to kill.

Dr Brian Feeney of the SDLP who resigned his seat on Belfast City Council just prior to last month's local government

election was the target of loyalist firebombers on Sunday, 30 May.

An incendiary device was placed in a flowerpot at his home

on Bristol Avenue, North Belfast. The device failed to explode.

Feeney, who said in March that he was fed up with the political stagnation at City Hall, refused to put his name forward as an SDLP candidate for the May election.

The attack on Brian Feeney's house is the latest in a series of such attacks on the homes of SDLP councillors since pro-British death squads began issuing threats

against an imaginary alliance they describe as the 'pan-nationalist front' consisting of the government of the 26 Counties, the Catholic Church, the SDLP, Sinn Féin and the IRA. It has also at times included the GAA. What these statements really mean is that the rationale that "any Catholic will do" has only been qualified with "the more prominent the better".



● The scene of the murder of 65-year-old Eddie McHugh who was shot dead by loyalist assassins at his home in the predominantly loyalist Dundonald area of East Belfast



● Eddie McHugh who was shot dead by the loyalist terror-gang the Red Hand Commandos



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