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POLITICAL WEEKLY



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A PRO-BRITISH DEATH SQUAD, undoubtedly acting on information from within the British forces, shot and killed IRA Volunteer Gerard Casey late on Tuesday morning, April 4th. He and his wife Una were in bed, with their baby daughter in a cot beside them, when his killers shot him dead. As a Volunteer in the Irish Republican Army, Gerry Casey was well aware of the risks that he took but that does not diminish the horror and terror that was visited upon him and his family as their home was invaded by the two masked loyalist gunmen who smashed down the front door before shooting Gerry Casey dead in his bed.

The gunmen arrived in a red Peugeot car which had been hijacked just after 11pm on the Finvoy Road, Ballymore. They broke into the Casey home at Shamrock Park, Rasharkin, and shot Gerry Casey twice in the head at point blank range before fleeing the scene. The car used by the killers was later found burnt out at the nearby Glenstall Road.

Initial condemnation of the killing was dropped from all news broadcasts after the North Antrim Brigade of the IRA disclosed that Casey was one of their Volunteers. In their statement the IRA said: "Gerry Casey was arrested and taken to Castlereagh last October. During interrogation, the RUC threatened that they would have him assassinated and that his killing would be claimed by loyalist paramilitaries." Those threats were fulfilled on Monday night and not for the first time.

The killing of Gerry Casey must be placed alongside and viewed against those of IRA Volunteers Larry Marley and Brendan Davison as well as the killings of Belfast solicitor Pat Finucane and Sinn Féin Councillor John Davey. All five killings were carried out in the direct political interests of Britain by gunmen whose inspiration and information came from within the British war machine. It is of little importance that the shots which killed all five were fired by unofficial British gunmen rather than official operatives, the intent behind the killings is to cow those who would resist British rule. This latest killing, like the 800 other loyalist killings before it, will do nothing to quell the desire of a risen people for freedom. Gerry Casey's death will diminish the Republican Movement but it will not deter it.

To his wife and his young children Paul (8), Kevin (6), Tara (4) and baby Geraldine, three months, we in the Republican Movement extend our sincere and heartfelt condolences, mindful that words of comfort will do little to offset their most tragic loss. They have been robbed of a loving and devoted father and husband, we his comrades in struggle have lost a trusted and dedicated friend whose untimely death leaves us all numbed.



VOLUNTEER KILLED IN RASHARKIN

**BRITISH
INVOLVEMENT SUSPECTED**

VOLUNTEER GERRY CASEY

WHEN LOYALIST GUNMEN, acting on information undoubtedly supplied by agents of the British government, burst into the North Antrim home of IRA Volunteer Gerry Casey and shot him dead in front of his horrified wife Una, and in the presence of his three-month-old baby Geraldine, they no doubt believed that their action would have some effect in cowing the community to which he belonged.

The measure of how wrong and misguided they were needs no other testimony than the short but active life of their victim. Gerry Casey was a young, happily married man. He could very easily have done without the suffering and ultimate death which his republican involvement brought him, yet like so many other ordinary nationalists he

felt compelled to become actively involved in a struggle for freedom and human dignity regardless of the very real risks posed by an enemy whose ruthlessness hasn't nor can never deter those who have the spirit of freedom.

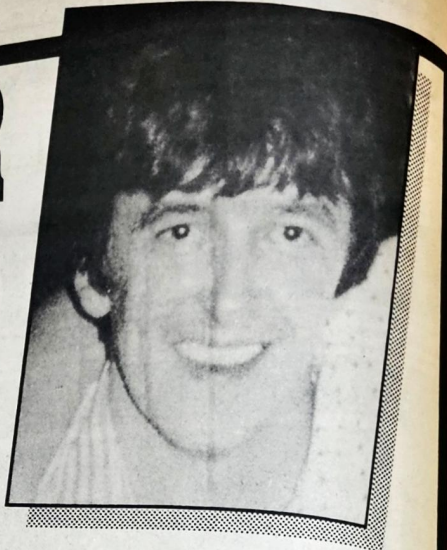
Gerry Casey was the fifth eldest child in a family of four brothers and four sisters, seven of whom survive him. His brother Liam was tragically drown-

ed, with his wife Geraldine and close friend Volunteer Peter Rodden in the River Bann on December 7th 1987. Gerry Casey was born in the family home at Lisnahunches Road, Rasharkin, to Kathleen and Hugh Casey. He grew up as part of a closely knit rural family.

His schooling began at Dreen primary school, Rasharkin, from where he went on to Our Lady Of Lourdes Secondary School, Ballymoney. At school, Gerry was a keen footballer, an interest and talent which outlived his school days and he continued playing with Rasharkin GAA. He started work as a joiner with his father, but in recent years the weight of his republican involvement coupled with his commitment to his young family left little time for paid employment.

Gerry was no stranger to the realities of British army and RUC harassment. He was a regular target of their attentions and had spent several periods under interrogation at the infamous Castlereagh torture centre.

Speaking of Gerry Casey, a comrade in arms described him



as: "A dedicated and resourceful freedom fighter, a natural leader who always insisted on taking his share of the risks, while encouraging younger Volunteers to reach their full potential as soldiers."

The overriding impression of Gerry Casey from both personal friends and comrades in the Irish Republican Army, is that he was a deeply committed family man whose republican involvement was only known to a very close circle.

The grief of the Casey family will undoubtedly touch republicans the length and breadth of Ireland, and to his grieving widow and children we extend our deepest sympathy, and are assured that local republicans will do all in their power to comfort them in the weeks and months ahead. For his comrades in struggle his death will serve only to deepen the commitment to ensuring that the cause for which he died will be pursued with even greater vigour.

BELFAST BARRACKS BLASTED

VOLUNTEERS of the Belfast Brigade IRA have again penetrated security around one of the main enemy bases in the city to launch a mortar bomb attack which has left crown forces red-faced.

The mortar attack took place shortly after 11.30pm on Sunday evening, April 2nd. Four mortars were fired from the back of a commandeered vehicle which had been left in Stanley Street, in full view of crown forces surveillance cameras. Damage was caused to the Grosvenor Road base.

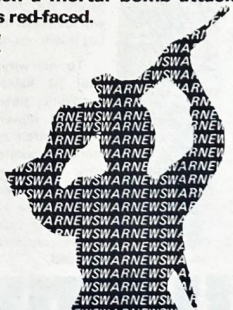
In a statement claiming responsibility the IRA said: "Armed Volunteers secured the area around the barracks in full view of surveillance cameras, before arming the mortars and withdrawing."

THREE RUC MEN INJURED

Three RUC men were shot and injured by Volunteers of the IRA in separate attacks in Belfast, County Down and County Fermanagh.

The Fermanagh Brigade of the IRA claimed responsibility for the first of the attacks which occurred on Saturday, March 25th. The injured RUC man was struck by a single shot fired by an IRA sniper in the border village of Belcoo.

Less than 24 hours after the



Fermanagh shooting a second RUC man escaped with his life when Volunteers of the South Down Command IRA opened fire on him in the holiday town of Dundrum. Claiming responsibility for the shooting the IRA said:

"Two Volunteers of the South Down Command IRA were involved in the shooting incident in Dundrum on Sunday morning, March 26th, when an RUC man was injured. A Volunteer armed with a shortarm knocked on the door of the RUC man's caravan. The RUC man pulled

the curtain aside and opened fire on our Volunteers. The second Volunteer then opened fire with a rifle to facilitate their withdrawal."

The third RUC man was injured as he travelled along the Springfield Road in West Belfast on Tuesday evening, April 4th. Two Volunteers of the Belfast Brigade armed with a Browning pistol and a Magnum revolver ambushed the RUC man as his car pulled to a stop at a pedestrian crossing at the junction of Cupar Street Upper just after 5pm. In a statement the IRA said:

"Our Volunteers, having identified their target opened fire at close range hitting him at least four times. The RUC man who had a civilian passenger in the car then raced from the scene pursued by the Volunteers. The presence of the civilian prevented our Volunteers from again opening fire. We would like to take this opportunity to again warn civilians that they should not allow themselves to be used in this fashion as protection for members of the crown forces."

KENNEDY WAY BLAST

Six hours after the Springfield Road shooting Volunteers of the Belfast Brigade slightly injured a British soldier when they detonated a small explosive device which had been left in a car beside the Kennedy Way roundabout in Andersonstown.

The bomb was activated as a joint British army/RUC patrol passed the booby-trapped car. Claiming responsibility for the attack the IRA pointed out that its Volunteers had been able to mount two attacks in the West

Belfast area despite an ongoing crown forces operation which meant the deployment of several hundred British soldiers and RUC who had mounted roadblocks and saturated the area with backup patrols.

TWO BARRACKS ATTACKED

Volunteers of the North Antrim and Tyrone Brigades IRA mounted gun attacks on British army and RUC barracks on Tuesday and Wednesday March 28th and 29th. Automatic weapons were used in both attacks. The first of the attacks was mounted against a joint British army/RUC patrol which was emerging from the main base at Toomebridge. In the other attack the target was an observation tower on the main barracks in Coalisland.

FALLS ROAD BOMB

Crown forces in Belfast mounted a massive three-day 'security' operation which resulted in the unnecessary inconveniencing of local people and the build up of huge traffic jams following warnings from the IRA that they had abandoned an explosive device in a derelict house on the Falls Road in the west of the city. The operation, which the IRA slammed as a "cynical exercise" is still in progress as we go to press.

TAX OFFICE TARGETED

A car containing 300lbs of explosives was placed outside the main tax office in Upper Queen Street, Belfast, on Wednesday, March 29th. The offices are still undergoing repairs following an IRA bomb attack four months ago.

Following a 20-minute telephone warning a British army bomb disposal squad moved in to defuse the bomb, which was in two beer kegs in a blue Ford Sierra. After numerous attempts the disposal squad partially detonated the bomb, blowing up a bomb-disposal robot and causing structural damage to surrounding buildings.

TYRONE STATEMENT

The IRA in County Tyrone issued a public statement denying any involvement in ordering families in Castlecaulfield/Coalisland to leave the area. The statement went on to say that appropriate action would be taken by the IRA against anyone using the organisations name for their own purposes.

PUNISHMENT SHOOTINGS

Belfast Brigade IRA have issued statements on punishment shootings carried out on Saturday April 1st and Wednesday April 5th on three young men, one from Turf Lodge and two from Andersonstown. All three, says the IRA statement, are persistent offenders against their community and have been punished before.

One of the men, from Stewartstown Park, was put out of the country and allowed to return after giving undertakings to desist from car theft and joy riding. And in spite of being involved in discussions with local republicans about stopping anti-community behaviour, the youth from Turf Lodge continued his harassment of the people of the area.

GOLDIN KEEPING CHECK

HARRISON GOLDIN the Comptroller of New York City, tipped to be the next mayor, was in Belfast at the weekend for a short but hectic visit. Organised by the Fair Employment Trust, the visit began with a private meeting lasting over an hour with West Belfast MP Gerry Adams, who later took Harrison Goldin on a walk around the area, including Milltown Cemetery.

The major focus of the discussion was on the issue of discrimination in employment practices and the role of the MacBride Principles campaign in the USA. Adams welcomed the thrust of the campaign and its importance in putting job discrimination back on the political agenda as a live issue. He labelled as spurious claims by opponents of the Principles that they led to or called for disinvestment and said it was attempting to divert attention from the British governments' responsibility for maintaining the whole structure of discrimination in the North.

Goldin then went to the Conway Mill complex where he met West Belfast members of OBAIR, the campaign

for work and discussed their indepth report on West Belfast, published late last year. He also met with the Conway Enterprises board of management who outlined to him in person the sectarian discrimination they and other community groups had suffered through political vetting.

Before leaving Belfast Goldin also met with Fair Employment Agency boss Bob Cooper and Bob Myers, the US consulate in the city.

Although he was available for meetings with the NIO, none transpired before he left for London to meet with members of the British Labour Party.

WON COURT BATTLES

As comptroller, Harrison

Goldin is in control of over \$30 billion in city funds. He has played a leading role in the MacBride campaign by introducing share holders resolutions to the boards of US companies operating in the North. In addition he has fought two successful legal battles in the US to prove the legality of the Principles; one against American Brands, the parent company of Gallaghers and the other against the Boeing Corporation.

Goldin said during his stay that the current 'new' fair employment legislation could not work in its present form and he questioned the genuine desire of the British administration to end the endemic discrimination. 'Until that is solved, US investment will not flow... there is no reason why the legislation cannot be amended and restructured' he concluded.

CAUSED PANIC

On his last visit in May 1985 he caused panic among British ministers which led to the promise of a new factory



● Harrison Goldin, New York Comptroller

for Shorts to be established in West Belfast, a promise never fulfilled, and a review of the fair employment legislation which has not been completed four years later.

His visit is the latest in a series of significant visits of major US politicians who are actively committed to the elimination of discrimination and the ending of abuses of

the International Fund for Ireland.

"The fact that such visits are being undertaken underlines the high degree of feeling now occurring in the Irish American community and the growing strength of the political effectiveness of bills at state and congressional level" said Oliver Kearney of the Fair Employment Trust following Goldin's visit.

SERIOUS IMPROPRIETY

"If St Patrick himself headed the International Fund for Ireland (IFI) as it is currently structured, it would discriminate against Catholics as a natural consequence." These words are part of a testimony to be given to a US Congressional Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East by Professor Gerald E. Coleman, National Information Officer of the Irish American Unity Conference on April 11th.



● IFI money is being used to make the life of the rich a little richer

representative of "people in areas facing serious economic and or social problems".

EXPERTISE

The Fund, by then relying on established bodies such as the Department of Economic Development for "expertise" in both assessment and budgetary projections was "absorbed into and controlled by the same agencies and individuals that have ruled, overtly and covertly, Northern Irish society for 70 years".

The testimony cites the fact that there is no arbitration process built into the Fund's management and, in fact, a veil of secrecy surrounds everything that the IFI does. There is no redress and indeed little if any information available to applicants.

What the Unity Conference calls "The

Master Stroke" is then detailed. Charles Brett, with an eye on Article 10 of the Hillsborough Treaty, ie "to promote those areas of both parts of Ireland which have suffered most severely from the consequences of the instability of recent years" declares all of the North "most disadvantaged". The beauty of this from his point of view is that applicants from skydiving schools in Coleraine would be categorised equally with a playgroup in Ballymurphy. The absurdity of this is clearly apparent when up until the latest announcement one project in Antrim, the Technology Park, received as much as the whole of West Belfast.

SEVEN PROGRAMMES

Seven programmes were set up by the Fund but only one of them has, in the Unity Conference's submission, any chance of reaching the people it was mandated to help. It is the Business Enterprise Programme which has £14.656 million at its disposal and even if all of it were allocated to needy areas would still only represent 23% of the Fund's budget. There is also, they say, the serious problem of "brokering financial aid almost solely through Catholic Church connected enterprises and consortiums." They view this as "particularly alarming".

The testimony is also very critical of the other programmes that provide such things as saunas, golf courses and projects to breed game birds and rabbits. They view the tourism programme as "an utter absurdity and a disgraceful lack of sensitivity to the needs and feelings of those who lie in the midst of tragic unemployment and social decay".

POLITICALLY VETTED

They feel that the legal action to be

taken by community groups that have been politically vetted will boil up into a scandal that will heavily involve the Fund and the US administration.

They are alarmed at the joint directorship of companies and clear conflicts of interest that exist in the Fund's management and suggest that the annual audit was compromised by the fact that a senior partner in the firm Coopers and Lybrand who did the audit was also the chief executive of the IFI (Southern) Investment Ltd.

Again and again abuses are documented, £30,000 to a riding school in Greystabbey/ £2,000,000 for a fishing boat in Lough Foyle which was then given to the British government; £250,000 given to the Catholic Church to give to the British government for Townsend Enterprise Park owned and built by the Department of Economic Development.

RECOMMENDATIONS

In concluding their submission they make several recommendations. Among them and most importantly of all, is one calling for a suspension of further funding until several conditions are met. These are:

● A proper assessment of the Fund to date;

● An expert and independent audit;

● The same care and legal protection be afforded to it as would be in the US.

They also call for the resignation of the current management, the replacement of the Fund's US observer, William Fine, and the allocation of monies that will create full time jobs with an industrial base that is accessible to both communities.

"Earmarking our contributions to specific projects may be the only way to exercise any degree of control."

The 21 pages of detailed and damning testimony examine how funds were allocated and what can now be done to rectify the situation. The testimony outlines the mandate that the Fund was given "to improve the quality and condition of life particularly for people in areas facing serious economic and/or social problems". It also points out that the £130 million plus from the Fund was contingent on two things.

The first was that "the board of the Fund must be representative of the communities in Ireland" and secondly that the money should "contribute to reconciliation and be distributed in a non discriminatory fashion".

What actually happened is then detailed and analysed. Three men were appointed to the board of the Fund, two of them British lords and the third mistakenly and, prematurely referred to in the Congressional Record as a sir, James Doherty, a Catholic businessman from Derry city. All three, plus Charles Brett, chairperson of the board, come from backgrounds in the civil services and public bodies that have been proven over many years to be discriminatory against Catholics. Hardly

RUC WITNESSES IN DUBLIN BRITISH LAW BY PROXY

THE TRIAL of the last of the eight Crumlin Road escapees to be captured began in Dublin this week. Gerard Sloan is being tried under the Criminal Law Jurisdiction Act for his part in the 1981 jail breakout which was one of the most daring ever undertaken by IRA POWs.

Six of those escapees, including Gerard Sloan's brother Tony, are serving sentences in Portlaoise Prison having been convicted in the 'Special Court' in Green Street. A seventh, Joe Doherty, remains a political hostage in the United States despite his numerous court victories against British attempts to have him extradited.

On Tuesday, April 4th, Gerard Sloan was brought before the Special Court in Green Street to stand trial under the cross-border law which allows the Dublin government to prosecute people in the 26 Counties for alleged offences committed in the Six Counties. Under the Act a person may opt for trial in the North and the hearing on Tuesday began with a dispute over this aspect of the case.

When asked by the presiding judge if he wished to avail of the option for trial in the Six Counties Sloan replied that he had been advised that that option was not open to him. His counsel

BY MARTIN MAC DIARMADA

said that this was the case since it had not been shown to the court that a warrant for his arrest existed in the Six Counties.

CONFUSION

This defence submission caused some confusion with the State initially saying that there were no warrants and then saying there were. The judges adjourned until Wednesday to allow the State to produce the warrant and to call the RUC man named on them.

This was done the next day. After Sloan said that he did not wish to avail of the option for trial in the Six Counties the hearing was ready to go ahead. Before it did so the judges rejected another defence submission which said that the court had no jurisdiction to try Sloan, since he had not been brought before a District Court.

The charges were next read out and are for escape from Crumlin Road Prison on June 10th 1981 and possession of a firearm on that date. The State outlined the case they would be making which relies almost solely on the evidence of a long succession of RUC and prison warden witnesses.

Many of those RUC members were in the Green Street courthouse to give evidence on Wednesday. The first on the witness stand was RUC member



● Garda van containing RUC witnesses leaves Green Street courthouse

Cathleen Allen of the force's mapping section.

MAPS

She had made maps of the jail and the surrounding area after the escape and these were shown to the court. Allen was followed by RUC photographer David Miller who had photographed the scene. Then came RUC Detective Inspector William Albert Graham who pointed out Gerard Sloan as the man he had interrogated and charged after his arrest in September 1980. He was charged with possession of an M60 machine-gun. He was awaiting the verdict in that case when he escaped.

Garda Special Branch member Joe Egan gave evidence of arresting Sloan at Dublin Airport last November. He was held under Section 30 of the Offences Against the State Act and later charged under the 1976 Criminal Law Jurisdiction Act.

The hearing on Wednesday ended early after the State ran out of RUC witnesses. They explained that some were unable to attend 'for security reasons'.

This made the presiding Judge Hamilton's earlier assertion that 'there is no difference between the trial and any other' sound like a tongue in cheek remark. The trial is continuing.



murder, assault, false imprisonment and possession of weapons.

Much of the prosecution case, including identification of the defendants, is expected to rely upon video film, stills taken from video film and photographs taken by journalists and from a British army helicopter. There is 14 hours of film footage to be shown in the courtroom including television newsreels which were seized by the RUC from the BBC and ITV. Four videos which form part of the prosecution case are being contested on the grounds of admissibility. The trial, which is to hear 150 witnesses, among them 27 from the media and eleven RUC personnel, is expected to last six weeks.

The prosecution of the 29 defendants and the plausibility of Britain's administration of justice in this case is largely dependant on a very literal acceptance of the notion, "the camera never lies" and the common belief in "the evidence of your own eyes". Yet there is nothing inherently incorruptible about photographic film. The prosecution has readily admitted to editing footage together "to give continuity" and presumably, to enhance

the interests of their own case.

Whatever 'evidence' is apparently revealed with the aid of video film, the events of March 19th, need to be placed in their proper context before a true interpretation, upon which all evidence rests, is possible. The funeral of Caoimhin Mac Brádaigh followed an established pattern of attacks by British crown forces on funerals of republicans who have been consistently denied the right to bury their dead in peace with honour.

Caoimhin Mac Brádaigh had himself been murdered while attending the funeral of the three Volunteers assassinated by the British SAS in Gibraltar. He died during the attack by loyalist killer Michael Stone in which three people died and over 60 mourners were injured.

On March 16th, the crowd that captured and detained Stone as he fired and tossed grenades amongst mourners, were recognised as heroes, their actions identified as courageous. On March 19th, as an unknown, unmarked car sped into the funeral cortege and an occupant drew and fired a weapon, the reaction of the crowd was inevitable.

VIDEO SHOW TRIAL

THE LATEST SHOW TRIAL began at Belfast Crown Court on Tuesday, April 4th, amid a publicity hype and the installation in the courtroom of £100,000 of special video equipment bought by the RUC. Two West Belfast men, Henry Maguire (29) of Fruithill Park and Alex Murphy (31) of Rosnareen Avenue are the first to appear of 29 people held for trial after the execution by the IRA of two undercover British soldiers following their assault upon the funeral cortege of Oglach Caoimhin Mac Brádaigh on March 19th last year.

Security was high along a series of five scheduled trials commenced. People en-

tering the courthouse were searched and asked for identification and at Court No. 1 where the case is being heard, there were further stringent checks.

The non-jury court is being presided over by Chief Judge Brian Hutton. The court proceedings were opened by prosecution lawyer Ronald Appleton. Both defendants deny all nine charges which include

How constitutional is constitutional?

BY HILDA Mac THOMAS

THE WORDS 'constitutional politicians' are used in the Irish context to describe politicians who advocate change through the existing political institutions. They are also described by some as 'moderates' in contrast to 'extremists' who support the use of force. Apart, that is, from the British crown forces.

Ken Maginnis, of the OUP, is such a politician. His urbane ways have endeared him to Gay Byrne and other hacks. Ken Maginnis has been a constitutional politician for ten years. Before that he was a major in the UDR. Before that again he was a member of the B-Specials. Two weeks ago, he was interviewed on the BBC in his capacity as OUP spokesperson on matters of 'security'. Speaking of the crown forces he slipped from "they" to "we" quite naturally.

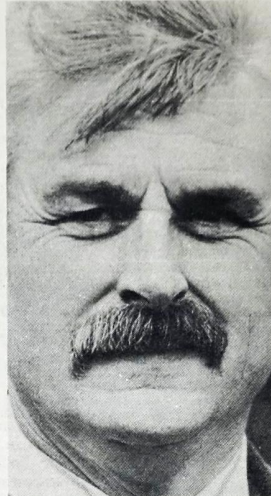
Now the *Irish News* editorials hail him as "a realist" and praise his "fluidity of thought". Maginnis made some noises last week about the Hillsborough Treaty, saying that dropping it altogether would alienate nationalists and that altering it would be acceptable to many unionists. The reason he was saying that is of course that the Hillsborough Treaty is no threat to the Union, and that with some "alterations" such as the removal of the Maryfield secretariat, unionists would not have much to complain about.

Maginnis claimed support for his outrageously moderate views from his deputy leader Harold McCusker and North Belfast MP Cecil Walker. But there is no room in unionism for verbal moderation, especially with two elections on the horizon, and the rival unionist party bounced in with harsh words: Maginnis is "eager to arrange terms of surrender", Paisley said, while the *Newsletter* called such declarations "foolish" and unionists like Maginnis, as well as Boyle and Hadden, the two academics whose *Fortnight* article Maginnis was responding to, "a small coterie of people susceptible to manipulation by the British government".

BLOOD & GUTS

Paisley and his deputy Robinson used the opportunity offered by Maginnis' apparent 'surrender' to occupy the high ground of traditional unionism, with yet another call for 'blood and guts' operations against the IRA. Their demands: capital punishment, tougher sentencing, search and seizure operations, tighter border security and more resources for the crown forces.

Paisley and Robinson are considered also to be constitutional politicians. In the early '70s Robinson was a member of the Ulster Protestant Volunteers. In 1981 Paisley and Robinson created the so-called Third Force. In 1986 Robinson flirted with Ulster Resistance, a paramilitary group formed to oppose the Hill-



◆ Ken Maginnis, a constitutional politician?

borough Treaty. Like OUP leader James Molyneux they often threaten the British government with their own 'men of violence' unless it agrees to their demands. Given the 'unconstitutional' nature of many British forces' operations any-

way, many nationalists, including SDLP supporters, would treat with contempt the unionists' claim to be 'constitutional politicians'.

SDLP

What of the SDLP? It claims, especially around election time, that it is the only party in the Six Counties which has never advocated violence. However unionists do not see it in that light. They see the SDLP advocating reforms which republicans have been campaigning for, urging, not that these reforms are the people's entitlement, but that by granting them the British government would wean support away from the IRA. Unionists see the SDLP publicly oppose certain repressive measures or actions by the RUC or British army, arguing, not that these are wrong, but that they are "counter-productive", that is they generate more support for the IRA. Unionists see the SDLP shirking from standing against a republican candidate during the H-Block hunger-strike, or last year engaged in talks with Sinn Féin.

Right-winger Conor Cruise O'Brien launched an attack on the SDLP along these lines last week. And while some like Garret Fitzgerald made indignant noises, there were others, like the *Sunday Tribune* columnist J.J. O'Molloy who saw some truth in the view that the SDLP was "riding on the back of the IRA".

Both views are correct: the nationalist view of unionist politicians, the unionist view of the SDLP. There is no such thing as a 'constitutional politician' in occupied Ireland. The status quo is enforced militarily as well as politically, opposed militarily as well as politically. And the tons of political slander which will be heaped on republicans in the next three months by self-styled 'constitutional politicians' should not obscure the fact that whoever supports British rule in Ireland is a man or woman of violence.

RUC FORCE DERRYMAN TO FLEE

"I'LL NEVER FEEL SAFE in Derry again. My life is shattered and my family are devastated. I can't come across the border as I'm afraid of being 'stitched up' by the RUC". These are the words of a 29-year-old Derryman and father of two, who fled to the 26 Counties this week following an RUC attempt to intimidate him into becoming an informer. The man appeared with his solicitor at a Sinn Féin press conference in Derry on Monday, April 3rd, and revealed details of the RUC manipulation.

Joe Doherty, from Circular Road in Creggan, was imprisoned on remand for two and a half years on the uncorroborated word of paid perjurer, Raymond Gilmour. Since his release in December 1984 after being found not guilty of the charges, Doherty has been a frequent victim of crown forces harassment and intimidation.

After the Easter Sunday parade in Derry last week, Doherty was arrested by the RUC in the grounds of Creggan cemetery and taken to Strand Road Barracks. From Sunday night until Wednesday night he was constantly interrogated for four hour sessions at a time by four sets of RUC interrogators. He was verbally abused and although he remained silent throughout, his interrogators continually wrote on a piece of paper and said that he didn't need to say anything as they could send him to

prison anyway.

Under this sustained psychological pressure, Doherty made verbal admissions to four robberies of which he is completely innocent.

Doherty told *AP/RN* "They told me that they were a force within a force, that they knew judges and crown counsel. They said they would stitch me up".

"The pressure got to me. The pressure on my wife and family, the threats the RUC made against them, I couldn't hold out. I didn't want harassment or to go to jail but I told them they could send me to

jail on the charges if they wanted, that I didn't care. They said it was enough to send me away."

INTERROGATED

On Thursday morning, Doherty was interrogated by two RUC plainclothes detectives who said they were from "the government". They asked Doherty to supply them with details of the movements of Derry republicans who they could then set up. Doherty agreed so that he could get out of RUC custody. He was given a telephone number and two contacts, Paul and Billy. He was shown a map of the Greavagh area of Creggan and told to go there for a walk with his dog at 7.30pm on Wednesday evening or at 7pm on Friday, where he would be picked up by the RUC.

Upon his release Doherty immediately contacted his solicitor and local Sinn Féin representative. "At no time had I any intention of informing on anyone, because I

had been myself a victim of Raymond Gilmour, and I know what it is like."

UNTRUE ADMISSIONS

Doherty now believes his wife and young family will be punished by the RUC and he fears they will attempt to frame him on the false charges. He has therefore decided to leave his home and native city. Joe Doherty's solicitor, William Hasson, said that the RUC knew when they released him that the verbal admissions were untrue. "They were trying to run Joe Doherty as an informer, and their behaviour cannot be condoned. They should not be putting him under this pressure".

Sinn Féin Councillor Hugh Brady said that "the ultimate intent of the RUC in manipulating Joe Doherty was the murder of republicans". He advised anyone who finds themselves in a similar position to immediately contact a solicitor or Sinn Féin.



◆ Sinn Féin press conference at which Joe Doherty gave details of RUC attempts to recruit him as an informer

CREGGAN COMMUNITY PUNISHED

FOR THE second time in a month, the residents of the Creggan Estate in Derry were subjected to systematic crown forces terror tactics when a 12-hour curfew was placed on a large area of the estate on Friday, March 31st.

The curfew around Lislane Drive effectively imprisoned over 100 nationalist families in their homes for the duration of the 'search and seal' operation. Over 30 armoured vehicles were used to block all transport routes into and out of the area and to obstruct the daily routine of the people of the estate. During the door-to-door raids, families were subjected to verbal abuse by the crown forces personnel and ordered to keep out of rooms that were being raided. Several homes and flats were damaged.

Anyone who ventured out on to the street during the military operation to go about daily business was punished by the crown forces for breaking the curfew and

subjected to humiliating and degrading body searches. Pensioners were stopped in the street and ordered to take off their coats, local children made to empty out their pockets, and workmen on the estate forced to remove their shoes.

Local Sinn Féin Councillor Dodie McGuinness has accused the British army and RUC of waging a campaign of terror against the Creggan community. "This is the sixth occasion in which this community has been victimised on a massive scale by the crown forces during the past year.

"On Friday I was subjected to thorough body searches on seven different occasions and I saw many others subjected to the same unnecessary treatment."



SET UP BY RUC

IN THE continuing attempts by British crown forces to intimidate and harass nationalists into acting as agents and informers, a young West Belfast man, Martin Price from the Lower Falls, was arrested last week and held at Castlereagh Interrogation Centre for 24 hours. He was told that unless he supplied the RUC with information he would be "set up" and shot.

During five interrogation sessions, Martin Price was told to give the names of possible defence witnesses in a pending High Court case, to watch three men from the Lower Falls and to report their movements at a series of meetings to be arranged in Belfast. Money was offered for information and Martin Price, who is unemployed, was offered a bank account into which cash would be

paid in regular instalments. Price told AP/RN:

"They said if I refused to meet them they would arrest me again and threatened they would have me shot as an informer or by a loyalist hit squad. They said 'the dole's no good to you, imagine what a difference £100 a month could do.'"

He was told to hand over information at a meeting on the Woodstock Road on Wednesday,

March 29th, and on the following Friday. He continued:

"They told me to go into the centre of town down the Grosvenor Road and 'uniforms' at the station there would see me and tell them I was coming. They even told me what bus to get."

Martin Price reported the threats and bribery attempts to Sinn Féin and did not go to the Wednesday meeting. Shortly after the time he was to meet the RUC men, his sister's house was raided. Martin Price, who lived with his parents up to the arrest, says that he is "in fear of his life" and can't stay at his own or any family members' house.



• PAUL MORRIS

PARAS INTENT ON PROVOCATION

THREE YOUTHS, the youngest only 13 years old, were arrested by British soldiers in West Belfast on Thursday, March 30th, and held in the Henry Taggart base for hours without their parents being notified.

Joe McManus (13), Martin Bell (15) and Paul Morris (16) were seized by British soldiers of the Second Parachute Regiment, which is stationed in the area, in different parts of Ballymurphy and Springhill. They were accused of throwing stones and rioting, although local people were adamant that there was no riot or any such disturbance and that the soldiers had driven round the area taunting and jeering at young people on the street.

After several hours of threats and abuse from both RUC and

British army soldiers, the frightened boys signed fabricated statements admitting rioting. Only then were their parents, who had gone to the Taggart base after local people informed them of their sons' whereabouts, allowed to see them.

Sinn Féin spokesperson for Ballymurphy and Springhill, Richard May, said that the Paras were deliberately trying to provoke young people in the area and that harassment was increasing. He advised the parents of any children arrested or harassed to seek legal advice about making a complaint.

TORIES MUZZLE THE TRUTH

AN INVITATION to West Belfast MP Gerry Adams to speak at a public meeting organised by the Labour group on Sheffield City Council has been withdrawn after a campaign by the city's Tories to whip up an atmosphere of hysteria.

The meeting would have been the fifth exchange between Sinn Féin representatives and Labour councillors from Sheffield since 1984. But the Conservatives once again denied the British public an opportunity of hearing the truth about their government's war in Ireland.

In 1984 a Labour Party delegation from Sheffield visited Belfast and met with Sinn Féin. In October 1986 Jim McAllister met with 16 Labour councillors in Sheffield's Town Hall as part of a Sinn Féin councillors' tour of Britain. Then in April 1988 a delegation from Sheffield, consisting of teachers, youth workers, educational and welfare officers visited Belfast, Derry and Crossmaglen, and most recently Jim McAllister spoke at a

public meeting in Sheffield on British withdrawal organised by the Labour Committee on Ireland in April of last year.

In an effort to pressurise the Labour group on the Council, local Tories organised a petition against the invitation, and eventually it was withdrawn. The move is the latest episode in Thatcher's anti-democratic backlash to stifle all debate on Ireland. It follows the Douglas Hurd TV broadcasting ban on Sinn Féin and the Conservative government's interference in TV documentaries. This latest example of Tory intimidation of debate on Ireland has been condemned by Richard McAuley, Sinn Féin's Six-County Director of Publicity, who said:

"We believe that the British public have been consistently denied the real facts about Ireland. Sinn Féin is convinced that peace is only possible if there is dialogue and discussion. It is regrettable therefore that an opportunity to discuss this important political issue has been lost, largely as a result of Conservative Party efforts to continue to hide the truth."

SOUND, SOLID AND UNBOWED



James "Punter" Bennett was released from Long Lartin Prison in Worcestershire on March 31st after serving 14 years in English prisons. He was arrested in 1975 on conspiracy charges and sentenced to 20 years in November 1976. Members of the Irish Republican POW Campaign Committee gave James a warm welcome outside the prison, complete with a bottle of champagne and a placard which says, it all, "Sound, Solid and Unbowed." Welcome home, James.

BORN TO EMIGRATE

A CONFERENCE in Falcarragh, County Donegal, was told on Saturday that the number of people emigrating last year was equal to half the birthrate. Among the 70 people who attended the conference in the Gaeltacht town were many speakers who condemned the Dublin government's active encouragement of emigration.

Paul Corrigan, Sinn Féin councillor on Fermanagh UDC concentrated on the effects of emigration in North West Ireland and on attempts made by his council to create jobs. The area suffers from a very high emigration rate and a recent GAA survey of eleven clubs showed that 189 active players have emigrated over the past two years. Around 115 miles of the border of County Fermanagh runs along the division between the Six and the 26 Counties and the potential of the area is seriously damaged by being cut off from its natural hinterland: "it cannot attain its full development until the British presence is removed" said Corrigan.

Speaking of economic underdevelopment and 1992 Raymond Crotty, the agricultural economist referred to the "50-30-20 factor":

50% youth emigration, 30% living below the poverty line and 20% unemployment. Calling for an alliance to campaign for the right of emigrants to vote, he stated that emigration helps remove radical opposition from the country.

Eugene Hartigan of Burtonport Fishermen's Co-op spoke of the potential of the fishing industry for the Irish economy and condemned government and EEC mismanagement which cripple the industry. In other European countries up to eight jobs are created on the land for each person at sea. In Ireland, where there is virtually no processing industry, the ratio is reversed. There is only 0.8 of a job on land for each person working at sea.

TREATMENT

Clare Doherty and Brigid Loughran from the Irish Mental

Health Forum in London detailed the effects of emigration, racism and colonialism which lead to Irish people in England being two and a half times more likely to need psychiatric treatment than the national average.

"The 26-County politician holding out the one month's dole money to encourage people to emigrate is the mirror image of the British soldier pointing the gun in the Six Counties," said Oliver Kearney of the Fair Employment Trust condemning the Dublin government's emigration bribe. He argued that both are exercising economic control over Irish people and the very nature of the two states, North and South was linked to the question of emigration.

The Irish Interest Group, which organised the conference, is made up of young emigrants in London and it organised a series of lively workshops to back up the main discussion. A further conference along similar lines is planned for Cork in July.



• PAUL CORRIGAN

999 DELAY PUTS LIVES AT RISK

LIVES have been put at risk in Dublin by the activities of scabs and collusion by the Eastern Health Board (EHB) which has handed over control of all 999 calls to inexperienced staff who were used in an attempt to break the firefighters' strike early last year. Vital minutes are being lost when people ring the emergency services and recently a child nearly died of poisoning.

Until the six-week strike, the Dublin Fire Brigade managed the emergency ambulance service, under contract from the EHB, answering all calls with speed. Its experienced staff were able to distinguish between genuine calls and hoaxes after years

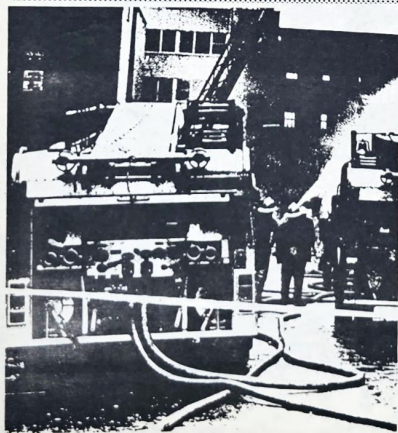
on the job. But during the strike the EHB hired a number of strike-breakers to do this job promising them they would keep their jobs, which involved high rates of overtime pay, after the strike. The strike-breaking staff were later expelled

from their union, the FWUI.

Although the agreement that ended the strike meant that the Dublin Fire Brigade should continue to run the emergency service, the Board has withdrawn the contract to the DFB over the past two weeks and firefighters who speak publicly on the matter have been threatened with the sack. The 999 caller is now put through an extra wait before the emergency is acted upon. Previously the telephone operator handed call-

ers who asked for an ambulance directly to the DFB. Now these callers are handed to a health board worker who takes details. Only then is the fire brigade notified.

For a child from Swords, County Dublin, this arrangement nearly meant death on April 1st. The child had swallowed bleach and another child rang for an emergency ambulance. The Eastern Health Board staff thought this was a hoax and refused to hand the call on to the fire brigade. The distraught child rang again eight minutes later and only then was the call put through to the emergency service. Other adults and children may die if the present arrangements are not changed.





● The unstable and "uxorious" Parnell getting pelted with stones as part of his ponderings on the "Irish experience" in the 1891 Kilkenny by-election

AN EXERCISE IN REVISIONISM

THERE IS TOO MUCH SIMPLISTIC railing against the 'revision' of Irish history. Revisionism — permanent revision — is, of course, the essence of historical writing everywhere, as new facts are uncovered and the significance of various events and personalities reinterpreted accordingly. The steady revision of Irish history that occurred between the '30s and the '60s fell into this category and was a necessary corrective to much of the inaccurate, establishment-serving, nonsense that had been published during the first flush of 'independence'. Nor is it essential to reinterpreting the past that there even be new facts.

That said, what has happened here in the past two decades has been truly astonishing. Beginning with the transparently inadequate 'Good-Old-IRA-Bad-New-IRA' view of history — of which Cork historian, John A. Murphy, is perhaps the best known exponent — it has ended with a fabulous consistency: the complete rejection of everything republican or even remotely nationalist — the latter, you see, wind up the former. Even the notion of Irish unity is "murderous".

This is not revisionism but the striking of a brand new moral attitude towards the history of British-Irish relations. The new-look history says that British rule was not a bad thing; that the British were more sinned against than sinning; and that we Irish were primarily at fault in our relations with them. Irish history is being reinterpreted, redesigned to serve the politics of the present. It is history as propaganda.

Foster's 688 page blockbuster, *Modern Ireland 1600-1972*, is its most towering accomplishment yet. Not surprisingly the book received huge accolades from reviewers in the establishment press and, particularly, the British 'quality' press. The *Sunday Telegraph* headlined their review "Rescuing Ireland from the webs of myth". For Cruise O'Brien it is a "magnificent book"; for Owen Dudley Edwards "a great book", with which Foster has "become one of Ireland's great-

tly underplayed, while embarrassments, like the Cromwellian clearances, are reduced to footnotes. The fact is that Foster, despite being one himself, doesn't think much of the natives, or their leaders.

"Exotic social behaviour, bizarre familial customs, the magical power of poetry — all predisposed the English to view the Irish as pagan", and a few pages later, "There was an heroic, bizarre, seductive and oddly subtle twist to Irish life". O'Neill, "at once the last Gaelic hero and the first temporizing Irish politician" represents "the Janus-face of Ireland whose ambivalence and elusiveness exhausted contemporaries and historians alike". This early entry pretty much sets the tone for what is to follow.

As for English leaders: Mountjoy turns out to have been 'a humane man', while following the Drogheda and Wexford massacres, Cromwell (only) "affected to see no need for excusing or palliating the actions of his troops". His account, you see, "betrays an un-

characteristically uneasy tone". Since Mountjoy was "humane", those "descriptions of starvation and cannibalism (that) made unbearable reading" following his devastation of Ulster in 1601 becomes a minor embarrassment to be explained away. And of course there was a reason: "rationalisations of the Irish as a population of beasts and vermin appear in the literature from the end of the 16th Century — feelings that escalated after the attempted Spanish invasion in 1601." Perfectly understandable. Poor Mountjoy was a victim of his times.

There's much more in this vein. My personal favourite concerns the Land War in the late 19th Century. This is what, in the midst of an otherwise fine analysis, Foster has to say: "Bands of young men imposed a kind of gang rule in certain areas. Land League activity can be correlated with the large numbers of frustrated single men in rural Ireland; the 1870s had seen a pause in the population drain while the age

of marriage remained late. Certainly, violent nocturnal group behaviour seems linked to machismo and sexual frustration."

Foster is particularly cutting when the natives attempt to handle ideas. Of the United Irishmen: "Ideologically speaking, 'French ideas' continued to be combined with the old commonwealthman doctrines of resistance to tyranny. They tended to hang back from direct incitement to immediate revolution: much of their rhetoric cautiously awaited the hour, in traditional Irish fashion."

Young Ireland's "Ideology bore a superficial resemblance to European romantic nationalism... Irish circumstances made adoption of European-style nationalism impossible". Translation: we're not a "real" nation. Irish nationalism in America was "racist... based on hatred of Britain". Its commitment to Repeal was "evidence of psychological displacement, and a failure to accustom themselves to actually being in America".

Feinian ideology, later, "revolved round the view of England as a static power upon earth, a myopic commitment to Ireland, and a belief that an independent Irish republic, 'virtually established in the hearts of men, possessed a superior moral authority. This was amplified by Blanquist and Mazzinian influences from Europe and a preoccupation with the revolutionary opportunities generated in the event of Britain entering a foreign war."

Nor do the Home Rulers escape: "(They) would institutionalise Anglophobia, play publicity politics by demonstrating ostentatious 'independence' on foreign policy issues, and emphasise the rhetoric of separatism when it suited them." Parnell "could hardly have been better designed to offend Ulster's most hysterical sensibilities".

IRISH EXPERIENCE

Parnell himself is dispatched as follows: he "inherited his mother's anti-Britishness, as well as instability". In (being)



● Foster wonders why Irish Americans view post-Famine emigration as "political oppression" and not "social necessity" — est historians"

Foster on the very first page says that "In 1600, as later, Ireland was characterised by a fragmented polity: varieties of peoples, defining their 'Irishness' differently". He ends, almost 600 pages later, and believing this to be still the case, with a 'hope' for a "more relaxed and inclusive definition of Irishness", whatever this bit of nonsense may mean. In between, despite much that is generally fair, we find British responsibility for the Famine, the Treaty and partition consistent-



● Cromwell not seeing any reason for excusing or palliating the actions of his troops in Drogheda "betrays an uncharacteristically uneasy tone"

"happiest in secret uxorious bliss with an Englishwoman, living under assumed names at genteel watering places along the Sussex coast ... he reflected more general aspects of the Irish experience". 'Uxorious', by the way, means "submissively fond of", or "dotingly infatuated with" one's wife. It's part of "the Irish experience" apparently. There you go now.

Connolly, prior to 1916, was "an apparent advocate of hard-headed Marxian international socialism". Sadly: "The nationalist rhetoric that had always attracted him won over Marxian analysis ... he opted in the end for Irish irrationalism... (he) had been effectively captured by the religious rhetoric of Pearse". Later, the Democratic Programme declared "a sweeping and woolly commitment to social and economic progressivism".

"The fact ... that the nationalist issue subsumed the labour issue has preoccupied Irish labour historians ever since", says Foster. Yet a few pages earlier he writes that Connolly's "main contribution was to argue that a nation-state must be established in Ireland as a necessary pre-condition for social and economic progress, not merely as a rather vague end in itself". Not much to be 'pre-occupied' by there — unless you're someone who wants to pretend to follow Connolly while ignoring his conclusions.

His chapter on the Tan War reads as if lifted straight from today's *Irish Times*. "The campaign of killing policemen was a deliberate assertion against the 'political' wing ... the tally of assassinated policemen mounted ... the army were in any case a less popular target for IRA squads". The 'brutal regime' (of the Tans and Auxes) "followed the IRA's policy of killing policemen ... IRA tactics provoked the necessary (to the IRA) reaction."

Later — in an echo of his remarks on the Land League (and no doubt ourselves) — "Civil disruption and local feuds provided as much gratification as actual military enterprises. Many marginalised and rootless people found a raison d'être; and many would cling to it by electing to fight against the Treaty in 1921." There you have it. It has little to do with politics.

Foster doesn't accept that Ireland was capable of sharing in the 19th Century phenomenon of nationalism at all. Or rather the type of 'nationalism' that century brought into existence here was exclusively Catholic. "By the 1840s" — under O'Connell's influence — "Catholicism had been securely identified as the national experience."

Davis, in the end, was forced into "backing Catholic nationalism against alien Protestantism." Protestant nationalists, and others, he grants, "articulated a theoretically non-sectarian nationalism, defined by living in Ireland rather than by being Gaelic or Catholic." But it was only 'theoretical'; they didn't mean it; and in any event they were "un-



● The Tans' burning of Balbriggan, part of the "necessary reaction" to the IRA's killing of RIC men Foster declares

representative". As Foster has put it elsewhere, "all the figures in the extremist-nationalist-Protestant pantheon ... are important as deviants, not as representatives of a latent syndrome."

This garbage is at the base of the thesis pioneered by Cruise O'Brien: the very mention of unity; any sort of appeal to unionists, the very fact of being nationalist, is intrinsically 'offensive'. Since nationalism is defined as Catholic, and by implication anti-Protestant, it is by definition sectarian. No matter what it says; no matter what it does. The Repeal movement depended on "pluralist rhetoric". The 1916 Proclamation contained "pluralist window-dressing".

PARTITION

Partition was inevitable seen in this light. Parnellism has already "offended Ulster's most hysterical sensibilities". By 1914 "the obstruction to the claims of Irish nationalism was ... located not across St George's Channel but in Ulster." The 1916 leaders "relied on an emotional and exalted Anglophobia". Their rising 'alienated' loyalists. (Well, it would wouldn't it?) Little attention is focused on the role of the British in the creation of par-

tition. The Curragh Mutiny; the senior Tory politicians who coined phrases like "Ulster will fight and Ulster will be right" and, the — for a senior Tory politician — treasonous, "There are things stronger than parliamentary majorities."

Foster is surprisingly good on the period since the Civil War — and equally hard on both partition states. Craigavon's warning to the Australian prime minister "to 'watch' his Catholic population — 'they breed like bloody rabbits'" is recounted. Craig's Cabinet is described as "geriatric, ... spending hours deliberating (during World War II) about how to protect Lord Carson's statue, at a time when (Belfast) still had no air-raid shelters, and issuing memoranda about the 'sub-human' habits of slum evacuees — 'unbillable' people who should be put in 'camps or institutions under suitable supervision'."

The O'Neill myth too is firmly debunked. Hewas "an unconvincing liberal" who wrote "appallingly condescending memoirs". There is "no evidence" that he stood for introducing civil rights reform. His infamous comment that if Catholics made money they would "live like Protestants" is quoted. The Provisionals are — nat-

urally — described as "fundamentalists". (Earlier Clann na Poblachta is described as "dominated" by "a powerful IRA clique").

On the South he says: "(The) obsession with enforcing public modes of Irishness owed much to the Free State regime's sensitivity about accusations that they had sold out on a separatist republic... Sinn Féin's air of innovation and experiment... was conspicuously absent. As the new power elite settled into place, a covert continuity with the values and priorities of the old Irish Parliamentary Party was ... more and more evident."

De Valera's Fianna Fail "re-defined republicanism yet again: this time as populist nationalism and a strong Catholic colouration and a strong commitment to Gaelic revivalist pieties". His government "took on the trappings of the old, while adapting the rhetoric". Articles 2 and 3 are "window-dressing" — "the 'Republic' appeased". Fianna Fail "highlighted the aspirational (and safe) aspects of republicanism as they had redefined it — notably language revival". "Official republicanism", he writes, "had been vampirised by de Valera".

This goes to the heart of things — and does Fisher's thesis no good at all. For the fact is that what he has set himself up to attack is a caricature, not even the palest shadow, of Irish republicanism. The statement that, "Many Irish people came to view emigration as a necessary evil. They were, of course, encouraged to see it like this by theoretical social engineers and improving land-lords, who presented it as a humane answer to the perceived problems of poverty and overpopulation", refers not to the 1950s or 1980s but to the 19th Century.

Foster is less 'revisionist' than some on the subject of the Famine. Saying that "the question that has preoccupied historians, far more than attempting to arrive at how many died, is: what could the government have done to stop it?", he finds that "Fundamenta-

lly ... relief was up to government initiative; and this, in the long run, was not up to the challenge." He concedes that "part of the analysis must concern itself with government policy; but equally important is the condition of the Irish economy in the years before the Famine". Precisely. But it does beg the question: who was responsible for those conditions? Who was in charge? Who was ruling Ireland in those "years before"?

"The Famine provided the rationale for accusing the British government of genocide but the roots went deeper than that", he writes. And still with the 16th Century option of 'To Hell or to Connaught' having been replaced in the 19th by 'To Hell or the US', he can wonder at Irish-Americans viewing emigration as "not a social necessity but a political oppression".

DEPLORABLE

Writing in the *Irish Times*, Owen Dudley Edwards occasionally takes Foster to task — on the Fenians, for example, saying that his "anxiety to distance himself from the superlatives of Fenian hagiographers ... can also result in him distancing himself from their facts". On his failure to even mention for instance John Charles McQuaid he suggests that this is "not revisionism (but) de-Stalinisation, which however welcome philosophically is deplorable historiographically."

David Fitzpatrick, writing in the *Sunday Tribune* describes Foster's "scholarly tussle against narrowness, polemicism, and deception" while forgetting he is part of a new polemic, a new pseudo-history, which is every bit as deceptive as the old one. Pointing out that the post-30s revisionists barely touched on public consciousness he wonders why they now do. Yet it's perfectly obvious: it's the times that are in it and the need of the establishment to 'debunk', once and for all, the 'myths' of Irish republicanism-nationalism in favour of the bogus pan-Europeanism they now espouse. All who were thought of as heroes were 'deviants'. The centuries-old struggle for freedom — always rooted in the circumstances of the time — was a tragic, appalling, mistake. Revisionism has been described as the "historiography of the Irish counter-revolution". With this work it has reached its highest point.

● *Modern Ireland 1600-1972*. By R.F. Foster, 688 pages, Stg £18.95.



CAMPAIGN FOR HOMELESS

SINN FEIN expressed disappointment with the contents of the long awaited legislation on homelessness in the Six Counties at a press conference in Belfast on Tuesday, April 4th.

Present at the conference were Sinn Fein Councillors Alex Maskey and Teresa Holland and Sinn Fein candidate in the forthcoming local elections, Richard May.

Councillor Holland pointed out the failure of the new legislation to establish the exact extent and nature of homelessness in the Six Counties saying that it is unlikely to benefit all, or even the majority of the homeless. It will employ definitions of priority and vulnerability and it will offer limited protection only to those mentally or physically disabled, those who face domestic violence, who have children with them, who are pregnant, or are young and at the risk of sexual or financial exploitation.

Welcome though such protection is, research by groups such as Shelter and the Simon Community show that for the majority of single homeless people in the Six Counties, the legislation offers little hope. Any legislation which excludes young single people is basically flawed.

Many equate homelessness with houselessness but this is a



gross over-simplification and is one of the reasons why the new legislation will not be adequate. Of those who use hostel accommodation, 81% are single persons, and under the new legislation they will not be considered as a priority group. Childless couples will

suffer the same fate.

Sinn Fein objected to the clause in the legislation which states that if the Housing Executive believe a person or family are homeless intentionally they need only provide temporary accommodation. This would be open to ab-



● (Above) Sinn Fein press conference on homelessness on Tuesday, April 4th

use and different interpretations, and could be used as an excuse not to provide accommodation.

FIVE POINTS

The conference concluded by listing five points which Sinn Fein will be highlighting and campaigning for the Housing Executive to implement:

1. The definition of homelessness in the new legislation should be affirmed as including those who reside in accommodation which is unfit, overcrowded, or otherwise seriously inappropriate to their immediate and long term

needs.

2. Those residing in temporary accommodation of all types, or through lack of housing are forced to remain in hospitals, homes and other institutions, should also be acknowledged by any definition of homelessness.

3. The Housing Executive must immediately investigate the level and nature of sharing in the Six Counties.

4. That single people and childless couples be awarded the same priority as other groups.

5. The intentionality clause be omitted from the legislation.



● Sinn Fein's Christy Burke talks with an evicted woman — another victim of the 26-County government's neglect

POOR LAW FOR WOMEN

A RECENT REPORT on homeless and battered women shows disgusting neglect by the 26-County authorities and that little care has been taken to inform women of their rights.

The report *Women and Children First* is a study of the Bru Chaoimhin shelter

by the National Campaign for the Homeless which has recently been moved and it

covers women from 12 to 70 years old. Around one half the women were settled people who suffered violence in the home and one third of them were travellers.

The report states that the

women were forced to live in "Victorian, Poor Law" conditions, consigned to a 16 person chalet in which children had to sleep in the same bed as their mothers and in which there were only two toilets and one shower.

The women have often been through shocking experiences and have great difficulty settling in the hostel. An NCH spokesperson said that there was significant need for a quality emergency hostel for homeless women and that conditions in existing services are clearly unacceptable. Serious questions were raised about the legal protection of women who suffer domestic violence. Of the 259 admissions, 179 were battered women, few of whom had any idea of their legal rights or entitlements.

CARDINAL'S PLEA FOR LIFERS

THE Archbishop of Armagh and Catholic primate of Ireland, Cardinal Tomas O Fiaich, has added his support to recent calls by Clones Urban District Council to have release dates set for four life-term prisoners currently in Portlaoise Prison. In a most welcome development, the Cardinal has asked that these men be immediately released as opposed to release dates sometime in the future.

In a letter read to the Clones Council on Monday, March 27th, O Fiaich states:

"I am happy to add my voice to the request which you have made on a number of occasions to the minister of justice to mitigate the life sentences on Michael Kinsella, James McPhillips, George McDermott and Sean McGottigan and shall write to him to this effect without delay.

"On my last visit to Portlaoise I learned about the serious mental condition of Mr Kinsella and I also met some of the other three prisoners.

"I agree with your Council's view that these have served their debt to society and that no useful purpose can

be served by keeping them in prison any longer. In fact I have already made the same point to Mr Hurd, Home Secretary of the UK and to Mr King, Northern Ireland Secretary of State in regard to a number of long term prisoners in each jurisdiction..."

The four prisoners are among the longest serving in Portlaoise. George McDermott and James McPhillips entered their 17th year of imprisonment last month. Sean McGottigan has served 15 years while Michael Kinsella has been a permanent patient at Dundrum Mental Hospital since 1984 having up till then served ten years of imprisonment. His mental deterioration has been a direct result of the denial of any release date

to which both he and his family could look forward to. Cardinal O Fiaich has recognised this and added his name to that of many other prominent individuals and groups in calling for a humane resolution to this situation. It remains to be seen whether Gerry Collins will pay heed to these calls.

A request from Clones Urban Council for a meeting with Justice Minister Gerry Collins was, according to the Department, receiving attention.

The Portlaoise Prisoners' Relatives Action Committee welcomed Cardinal O Fiaich's call in a statement saying: "The Cardinal's statement has served to highlight the plight of the men and their families, having spent upwards of 16 years in prison without a release date.

Clones Sinn Fein Urban councillors, Peter McAleer and Fintan McPhillips called on the justice minister to take heed of the growing numbers of people calling for an end to this injustice.



THE PRICE OF PROTEST

ALLEGATIONS by the gardai in Santry against members of the Concerned Parents Against Drugs (CPAD) led to four men, John 'Whacker' Humphries, Brian Kenna, Dan Connolly and Edward Green all of CPAD being bound over to keep the peace in Dublin's District Court on Tuesday, April 4th.

The allegations were in connection with a protest following a public meeting in Ballymun by the Concerned Parents organisation in June. The meeting was told that a number of people, including Christopher 'Geezer' Wright, who escaped from Pentonville Prison in England where he was awaiting trial for drugs offences and who was openly dealing drugs in Ballymun, were living in a flat there.

It was decided to send a delegation to the tenant, Ann Lawlor, to make her aware of the fact that she was housing a pusher and that he was to leave the area.

Detective Sergeant Aidan Reid of the Santry Drugs Unit claimed in court that he saw Humphries and Connolly removing furniture from the flat.

These charges were denied by the CPAD members who say that they were prevented even from gaining access to the veranda of

the Lawlor flat by gardai who had blocked off the stairwell.

Although Ann Lawlor did not directly implicate any of the four men in her evidence to the court, and said that there was no intimidation involved in the incident, the judge, District Justice Kotsouris accepted the breach of the peace charges and bound the men over for 12 months on £100 bail each.

The CPAD members are to lodge an appeal with the courts and are complaining at the way their cases are being dealt with. Although many of the charges are serious ones, none of the ten CPAD members charged with offences in connection with Ballymun's anti-heroin campaign were allowed trials in the Circuit Court where they would have a jury trial. All have been referred to either the District Court or the political 'Special Court', in Green Street, both of which are juryless.



Child Neglect

GOVERNMENT neglect dominated discussion at the annual conference of three Irish teachers' unions last week. Children are going to school hungry, teachers are being forced to emigrate and in spite of massive overcrowding in the classroom, the Dublin government refuses to reduce class sizes and is going to close secondary schools.

The 26-County birth-rate has been falling in recent years and within 12 years there will be 120,000 fewer children in Irish classrooms — a drop of 10,000 children a year. This drop provides the government with an opportunity immediately to reduce class sizes which are now among the highest in Europe, but no action whatsoever will be taken until 1990. Speaking at the Irish National Teachers' Organisation conference in Buncrana, Education Minister Mary O'Rourke gave little hope that this action would be effective when she warned "we must all



confront reality" — a coded message that little change would occur.

Similar messages were given at the conferences of the secondary teachers' unions, the

ASTI and the TUI. O'Rourke plans to axe 150 secondary schools with less than 300 children although the reduced school rolls will not hit the secondary level for another three or

four years.

Senator Joe O'Toole told the INTO conference that the extent of teacher unemployment while classes bulged at the seams was an "obscurity". Qualified teach-

ers were selling hamburgers in New York, building roads in Britain, seeking jobs in Europe or being exploited as half-paid instructors in London primary schools. It cost the Irish taxpayer £20 million to educate the 2,000 unemployed teachers yet overcrowding was so bad that 3,000 more teachers would have to be hired before class sizes could be reduced to the level in Margaret Thatcher's Britain.

Delegates from Cork told the conference how they had organised a whip round among staff to help feed hungry children. In some areas of the city 80 per cent of pupils come to school without breakfast.

The effects of inadequate social benefits and low wages mean that malnourished children are unable to concentrate during their lessons. Their basic right to a decent education is being denied by simple hunger while the government pays large sums of money to the private fee-paying schools so that the children of the rich can benefit.

'68 VIDEO SHOWS

TWO well-attended showings of the '68 Committee video *Off Our Knees* took place on Tuesday, March 21st, and Wednesday, March 22nd, in the Craighavon/Lurgan area, as a follow up to a photographic exhibition held in October, 1988.

Local Sinn Féin candidates, Sheena Campbell and John O'Dowd chaired the respec-

tive events in Tullygally and in the Kilwilkie Estate. Both showings were attended by civil rights campaigner, Bernadette McAliskey and by Dungannon Sinn Féin councillor Francie Molloy at the Kilwilkie showing. Bernadette McAliskey spoke briefly about the making of the video and the issues it raised before the meeting was opened to discussion and questions from the lively audience.



● Bernadette McAliskey, pictured with Sinn Féin's John O'Dowd and Francie Molloy at the Kilwilkie showing of *Off Our Knees*

Má ra Poist

AP/IN, 58 Parnell Square, Dublin 1.

DAIL UI CHADHAIN

A Chaire, Ba mhaithe linn leas a bhaint as d'ús le scéala a thabhairt do do chuid léitheoirí faoi Dháil Uí Chadhain a bheas ar bun den chéad uair ón Aoin go dtí an Domhnach, 7-9 Aibreán, 1989.

Is i Halla an ATGWU, 55-56 Sráid na Mainistreach Láir (trasa an bhóthair ó phictiúr-lann an Adelphi) a bheas an chuid is mó d'imeachtaí na Dála ar siúl agus is i gClub na Múinteoirí, 36 Cearnóg Pharnell a bheas Club na Dála ar siúl.

Is éard a bheas i nDáil Uí Chadhain ná fóram díospóir-eachta agus anailíse a mbheid scríbhinní polaitiúla Mháirtín Uí Chadhain mar fhoinse ionparáide aige. Sna blianta atá romhainn bheadh súil againn teamaí náisiúnta agus idirnáisiúnta a scrúdú ar mhaithe le smaoine a chur le chéile faoi gineál tíre atá uainn anseo in Éirinn; tá gá leis seo faoi láthair mar go bhfuil an eile dheis ag obair as láimh a chéile agus go bhfuil ag éirí leo an pobal a thabhairt leo ó go bhfuil an dhifhoir-aicht, an imirce, agus an bhoch-taimeacht ag dul i dtreise in aghaidh an lae. Is ón eile ché-le bhéim ag obair agus muid ag iarraidh smaoineoirí agus polaitiúirí na heite sin a thabhairt le chéile ar mhaithe le tuiscint nua a chur os comhair an phobail. Amach anseo bheadh súil againn scrú-dú a dhéanamh ar réimsé leathan teamaí ó Udarás na Gaeltachta agus an Ghaeltacht go dtí "Na ceachtanna atá le foghlaim ag Éirinn ó thíortha an Tríú Domhain".

Pé ar bith scéal é, is ar cheist na Gaeltige a bheas an chéad chruinniú de Dháil Uí Chadhain ag díriú agus ba mhaithe linn cuireadh a thabhairt do do chuid léitheoirí a bheith linn.

I measc na léachtaí a bheas a dtabhairt beidh "Máirtín Ó Cadhain — Poblaíoch agus Sóisialaí" le Proinsias Mac Aonghusa (8.30pm), Dé hAoine, 9 Aibreán. Dé Sath-airn, 8 Aibreán, tabharfar na léachtaí seo a leanas: "An Pholaíocht mar théama i Léachtaí Uí Chadhain" (Sraith Léachtaí UCD) ag 10am, "Scríbhinní Polaitiúla Uí Chadhain" le Pádraig Ó Snodaigh (10.30am); "An Currach agus ina dhiaidh" le Míchéal Ó Ríordáin, Cathaoirleach Pháirtí Cumannach na hÉireann (11am). Beidh seimínear ar bun ina dhiaidh sin: "Oidh-reacht Pholaíúil Uí Chadhain" (11.30am).

Is é mórtéama na Dála ná "Gluaiseacht na Gaeltige Gluaiseacht ar Strae" agus is é Tomás Mac Siomóin, Eagarthóir *Conhar* a thabharfaí i sin ag 2pm.

Beidh seimínear eile ar siúl ina dhiaidh sin: "Cad is féidir linn a dhéanamh?" (3pm). Seo a leanas cuid de na daoine a labhrós ag na seimínear: Joe Higgins (Páirtí an Lucht Oibre), Eoin Ó Murchú (Páirtí Cumannach na hÉireann agus iarbhail de Míneach), Peadar Kirby (eagarthóir *Alpha* agus údar *Has Ireland a Future?*), Máirtín Ó Muilleoir (comhair-

leoir cathrach de chuid Sinn Féin), Breandán Mac Gearailt (comhairleoir contae agus ball d'Udarás na Gaeltachta), Ite Ní Chionnaith (uasachtáin Chomradh na Gaeltige) agus Albert Fry (iar-uachtarán de chuid an Chonartha) a labhrós acu sin. Declan Kiberd (UCD) agus Séamus Ó Tuathail (iar-bhall de Míneach) a bheas ina gceathrúiligh ar na seimínear. Beidh seisiún oscailte don lucht éisteachta ann i ndiaidh an dá sheimínear.

Beidh Club na Dála ar bun oíche Dé Sathairn thuas staighre i gClub na Múinteoirí, Cearnóg Pharnell, atá a mbéidh amhránaíche, ceoltóirí, srl ag cur slamaíocht ar fáil.

Téim Pheadr Mac Diarmada, Cois Fharraigeach, agus seanchara de chuid an Chadhain a osclós Dáil Uí Chadhain ag 8.15pm. Dé hAoine, agus leagfaidh an fear céanna bláthfheasc ar uaigh an Chadhain ag 12 meán lae, Dé Domhnaigh, i gCnoc Jerome i gCrosaire an Ardaigh BAC 6. 28 an fáille i gcomhair an deiridh seachtaine má chlaíonn tú roimh ré nó ag an gClárú a bheas ann oíche Dé hAoine ag 7.30pm.

Máirtín Ó Cadhain, Rúnaí, 28 An Garrán, Arda Choill an Rí, Tamlacht, Baile Átha Cliath 24, (01) 525540

THANKS

An open letter to the republican prisoners in Portlaoise.

A Chaire, On behalf of my Mum and Dad I would like to thank each and every one of you for everything you all did for me during the first few weeks of my illness and confinement in hospital. I really appreciated the beautiful flowers you sent me and of course all the exciting cards and letters.

I want you to know that all these things and your every good thoughts and wishes helped me, and I strongly believe that was part of the treatment I needed.

I am feeling great since Christmas and during that time I've only spent three weeks in hospital. So please God, the worst is in the past.

I would love to meet you all and thank you in person but seeing that is impossible this is the best I can do. But maybe someday in the future I may meet most of you men under different circumstances and conditions. But for now I want you to know my thoughts are with you and always will be. Slán agus go raibí maith a gach.

Sandra Boyle, Killybegs.

IRISH COVERAGE

A Chaire, St Patrick's Day 1989 and New York's major papers once again patronize the Irish with green logos and caricatures of leprechauns.

The next 364 days until St Patrick's Day 1990, will



• RTE failed to mention that thousands of people attended Easter Commemorations in the South

find these same newspapers ignoring the Irish, unless of course they also find it appropriate to print the lies, distortions and inaccuracies that are put forth by the British propaganda machine concerning Northern Ireland. Attempts will be made to put Irish against Irish through divisive editorials about Northern Ireland. The "good" versus the "evil, misinformed Irish". The "evil, misinformed Irish" would be those who speak out against British rule in the north of Ireland or are those Irish who support the release of Joseph Doherty, an Irish political prisoner in America. The "good" Irish are those who are blind to the daily abuse suffered by their countrymen and women at the hands of the occupying British forces on Irish soil.

Recent months have seen a dramatic increase of British state-sponsored terrorism against the nationalist people of Northern Ireland. Prime examples of this terrorism are the upsurge of raids of homes of nationalists throughout Northern Ireland by the British army and the Royal Ulster Constabulary, the indiscriminate shootings of nationalists by these same so-called security forces and the collusion between the crown forces and the loyalist assassination gangs. By no means are these iso-

lated incidents, they are part of the lives of the nationalist people in Northern Ireland.

These same newspapers which once a year patronize the Irish do not find it necessary or newsworthy to report these atrocities. They will however, report news of IRA "terrorism" or supposed rioting by the nationalist people in Belfast or Derry.

New York's four major daily newspapers will proclaim, "St Patrick's Day, it's a great day for the Irish". It will be a great day for the Irish when these newspapers give fair and accurate coverage to the Irish and Ireland.

John Scanlon, New York.

EASTER COMMEMORATIONS

A Chaire,

On Easter Sunday RTE News broadcast that there were Easter Commemorations "all over the North today". That was being economical with the truth. There were commemorations of the 1916 Rising all over Ireland on Easter Sunday — attended by thousands of people.

How can RTE broadcast such a blatant manipulation of the truth? Are they an inept news gathering service or do they want to give the impress-

ion that people in the 26 Counties do not care about the Easter rebellion? Maybe it was because the vast majority of these commemorations were organised by Sinn Féin.

The Rising resulted in the southern part of this country being freed from the British military presence — though perhaps they are still in occupation of RTE's Newsroom and the aptly intitled *GB Show*. I see that the latter is holding a competition to write a new "national" anthem. He shouldn't bother to waste our time with this sham competition. Why not save the suspense, we know the winner already — God Save The Queen.

Pádraig Malone, 12 Delme Park, Moyross, Limerick.

CPAD APPEAL

A Chaire,

In November 1987 the Concerned Parents Against Drugs began a series of anti-heroin meetings in Ballymun on Dublin's northside. This followed representations to us from interested groups and individuals in the area. The decision by CPAD to mobilize in Ballymun was not taken lightly. Many felt the area was too problematic and voiced their objections at the time believing that the drug dealing in the area had already got out of hand.

It was the feeling on the ground was different. Areas where the CPAD had been successful and drug pushing stopped still had large amounts of addicts. This was because of an absence of proper treatment facilities and after-care services for addicts. While the drug pushing has been stopped, nothing had changed in the addicts to make them stop, so it was inevitable that they would drift to wherever drugs were available. Ballymun was just such a place. With its lack of community spirit, transient population and vacant flats (almost 500) the area was ideal for drug abuse, drug dens and drug dealing.

It should be stressed that the CPAD did not export its dealers from the suburbs to Ballymun. Rather there has been a virus sub-culture in Ballymun almost since its construction and a notoriety for "scoring" drugs, since the late '70s.

Having said the decision to mobilize in the area was not taken lightly it should also be noted that there was no hurry either. After the initial con-

tact was made by local people, meetings were held with interested bodies of the Ballymun Coalition, Sandhill Residents' Association, Shangan Tenants' Group, Sillogue Road Tenants' Association and more.

Drug dealing was reaching epidemic proportions, the shopping centre was like one big open air drug market, there were dealers operating not 15 yards from the Garda station. People were crying out for something to be done, and so the CPAD became active in the area.

The CPAD have never sought confrontation with the gardai. A policy of non-cooperation with the gardai was adopted a number of years ago to protect drug addicts who gave evidence at public meetings against pushers, mainly because what the addict was doing was illegal, and not because of some so-called subversive plot. But from the very first meeting in Ballymun the gardai showed an unusual interest in the CPAD. Arrests of leading CPAD members followed every event, even though the decision to evict a drug pusher is taken by all the people at the public meeting.

Another unusual aspect of all this is the fact that none of the ten CPAD members who were charged with the Ballymun anti-heroin offences have been allowed Circuit Court trials allowing them to be tried by a jury. All have been referred to either the District Court with one judge or the political 'Special Criminal' Court with three judges. The CPAD have decided to take a High Court case against the DPP's decision to refer CPAD cases to the 'Special Criminal' Court on the principle that we have a right to be tried by a jury of our peers.

Our legal expenses are expected to be high and we have started a fund to meet the cost. In the case of the CPAD the price of protest is certainly persecution. We find ourselves before the courts simply because we could not stand by and watch Dublin's youth being dragged into an ever widening net of drugs, disease and death. We accept that some aspects of our work may be criticised but if the people in the position to stop Dublin's worsening drug problem actually did their job, the CPAD would not be on the streets. Donations to our court fund can be lodged at any Bank of Ireland — CPAD account number 95193705.

Brian Kenna, PRO CPAD.



• An image of Ireland that American newspapers consistently fail to portray

REVIEWS



A Pathway to Peace

BY SEAMUS CLARE

GERRY ADAMS argues in *A Pathway to Peace*, his third book, (already the first print run of 8,000 copies is sold out) that peace can only be achieved when the conditions of justice and equality, which eradicate the causes of war or conflict, are present. He poses a direct challenge to the policies of the leaders of constitutional nationalism, as these conditions are patently impossible in contemporary Ireland when the 26-County state is as much a colony as its north-eastern counterpart.

Adams describes the Dublin government as presiding over an "economic and social mess". It is a neo-colony, dependent on and answerable to foreign capital. The resulting situation of debt, cutbacks, poverty, unemployment and emigration makes the 26-County state as much of an unjustifiable entity as the Six-County statelet.

Adams devotes much energy to explaining the vital need to end partition and secure national self-determination. British withdrawal and through it the ending of the unionist veto will clear the way for an open, democratic, non-sectarian society free from colonial influence.

STEPPING STONES

Instead, thanks to constitutional nationalism, "after almost 70 years of choking on the stepping stone of partition we are now being asked to swallow the stepping-stone of alleged gradualism in the form of the Hillsborough Treaty." Its leaders chose to forget that British policy and the measures taken to maintain it are the root cause of the conflict.

"The essence of Hillsborough," argues Adams, "is that Britain has formally agreed to permit the Dublin government

UNTENABLE

The cornerstone of the real and lasting peace under conditions in which the absence of conflict or war is self-sustaining is national self-determination. A veto by a national minority based upon a rejection of equal citizenship and a reliance upon oppression and political domination within the Six Counties is untenable and must be abolished.

Adams is confident that national self-determination will create "an irreversible thrust which will swamp the sectarian bugraders and tap the democratic potential of a Protestant tradition prised from its association with unionism, thus permitting the merging of Catholic and Protestant working class interests."

He calls for a Freedom Charter to secure full civil and religious liberties for all akin to the Freedom Charter of the African National Congress. He argues for a mass movement of socialists and republicans who share these objectives regardless of whether they support armed struggle as a means to this end.

This movement would, "fuse together all those whose interests are adversely affected by imperialism and would show people the connection between their localised and

special grievances and the imperialistic domination of Irish society."

A Pathway to Peace is a positive book which clearly points down a road to even-

tual peace in a democratic, socialist republic.

● *A Pathway to Peace* by Gerry Adams is published by Mercier Press, price £2.95 and is available at most bookshops.

a lively discussion resulting in ten people putting down their names to organise later showings of the video.

Hundreds of copies of the Easter Proclamation were also passed up around the city centre during the week, although many of these were rapidly torn down by gardai.

The Irish Freedom Week Committee are hoping to organise a much larger week of activities next year. Anyone interested in helping can write to them c/o the Dublin Resource Centre, 6 Crowe St, Dublin 2, or phone Claire Casey 381236 or Philip Ferguson 368489.

A Pathway to Peace
Gerry Adams
MP

IRISH FREEDOM WEEK

FOLLOWING a successful public meeting on partition (see last week's *AP/RN*), Irish Freedom Week continued with several more meetings and video shows.

On Wednesday, Derry artist Lucky Morris displayed a number of pieces of his work in the Well-Fed Restaurant at the Dublin Resource Centre. Morris presented a slide-show on his work that evening and several dozen people, including Robert Ballagh, took part in a discussion on art and

politics, and on how work by artists in the Six Counties could be more widely presented in the 26 Counties.

The same night, around 100 people attended a showing of the Gael Linn productions of *Mise Eire* and *Saoirse*, in Conradh na Gaeilge. First produced for television, and

depicting the struggle for independence of 1916-21 and the Civil War, these films present a very different picture to the revisionist version which has gained official backing in the last 20 years.

On Thursday night several dozen people attended a discussion on Dublin's struggle for a future featuring historian Padraig O Snodaigh, Ballymun Development Co-op member Brian Dillon and Mick Rafferty of the North City Centre Community Action Programme. The meeting agreed that there was a great need to bring community groups together to fight government policy, rather than having each community try to achieve some little gain in isolation.

The first showing in the 26 Counties of the video *Sentenced: Irish Men and Women in English Jails* drew 45-50 people on the Friday night, with

new ideas, be prepared to discuss them and if satisfied, accept them. In this way our education as revolutionaries will flourish. It is each person's duty to the movement to improve himself that he may be a greater asset on his return to the struggle outside."

Following the oration two minute's silence was observed in memory of our fallen comrades.

Later in the evening the republican prisoners were entertained with a production of Brian Friel's *The Freedom of the City* by a drama group made up of the prisoners themselves. What was undoubtedly their most elaborate and ambitious undertaking to date

turned out to be a tremendous success, something which reflected the enormous amount of time and effort put into it by all concerned.

The same night the O/C presented plaques to all those due for release later this year - some of whom are under threat of being extradited - in recognition of their time spent as republican POWs in Portlaoise. A number of Fainní Oir and Fainní Airgid were also presented to men who had achieved the respective standards in the Irish language. The night concluded with the singing of *Amhrán na bhFiann*.

POW, Portlaoise.

An Cháisc i bPortlaoise

IN COMMON with republicans at home and abroad the POWs in Portlaoise commemorated the Easter Rising of 1916 and also the memory of all those who have made the supreme sacrifice in the struggle for Irish freedom down through the generations to the republican freedom fighters who have fallen in this final phase of our struggle. It was with a deep sense of pride that we remembered our fallen comrades.

The proceedings began with the reading of the Proclamation by Pete Sugrue (Kerry). The republican Roll of Honour was read by Michael McKee (Belfast). This was followed by the message from the leadership of the Republican Movement read by Mick Hogan (South Derry).

by Sean Hick (Dublin). He dealt with the way in which the prisoners could make an even bigger contribution to the struggle. "In a word, that means education" he said. "Each individual holds a very important key in here, a key the Free Staters will never hold, and that is the key to his own consciousness."

"We must open our minds to

The oration was then delivered

IMEACHTAÍ

TRIBUTE TO THE TWO BRENDANS
Music by Just Us
9pm Friday 7th April
Ravensdale House
CARRICKARON
County Louth
Taillie £2

ANTI-EXTRADITION RALLY
"Release Paul Kane"
2pm Saturday 8th April
Outside Sinn Féin Centre
ARDOYNE

ANNUAL CONGRESS
of Committee for Defence of
Democratic Rights in Turkey
12.30pm Saturday 8th April
UTW Centre, 84 Balls Pond Road
LONDON N1
Speakers include Alf Lomas MEP,
Richard Balfe MEP, Stan
Newens MEP, Jeremy Corbyn MP,
Harry Cohen MP
Details: Max Hiron 01 254 0387

ANTI-EXTRADITION
PICKET
2.3pm Saturday 8th March
GPO
DUBLIN

ANTI-EXTRADITION DISCO
11pm - 2am Saturday 8th March
Dublin Resource Centre
Crowe Street
DUBLIN
Taillie £2.50 (£2 unwaged)

FUNCTION
Featuring: Rio
8.30pm Saturday 8th April
Penthouse
BALLYMUN
Free draws!!!

WOMEN AGAINST IMPERIALISM
MEETING
6.00pm Sunday 9th April
USI
16 North Great George's Street

ANTI-EXTRADITION
Social and Supper
Featuring: Spiddog and
Highland Paddy
Friday 14th April
Carricksprings
CROSKEYS
Cavan
Bar extension
Taillie £3.50

DAY OF ACTIVITIES
'The Media and the North of Ireland'
Saturday 15th April
Midlands Arts Centre
Cannon Hill Park
BIRMINGHAM B12 3QH
Speakers: Mike Jamson,
Dave Miller, Co. Mayo
Details: Alan Fair (021) 440 4221

FUNCTION
Featuring: The Irish Brigade
Sunday 16th April
The 79 (Hunting Lodge)
BALLYMUN
Taillie £2

SOCIAL
Saturday 29th April
The Old White Horse
BRIGHTON
London SW2
Organised by South West London
Time To Go

CENTRAL AMERICAN WEEK
NICARAGUA SOLIDARITY
EVENING
8pm Friday 7th April
Conway Education Centre
Conway Street
BELFAST
Photographic exhibition, Videos,
the Invisible Suits theatre group, and
featuring Brid Keenan, Brian Moore,
Marie Mulholland and friends
Taillie £1.50
All proceeds to relief projects in
Nicaragua
Organised by Belfast Nicaragua
Solidarity Campaign

CONFERENCE
'Media in the 90s'
10am Saturday 29th April
University of London Student Union
Malet Street
LONDON WC1
Details: Madeline Bissett-Tom
O'Malley 01 437 2795
Organised by The Campaign for Press
and Broadcasting Freedom

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TORTHAI CRANNCHUR

CAVAN EASTER COMMEMORATION DRAW RESULTS
1st prize: Sam Carric, Mullagh; 2nd prize: c/o Phil McDonald, Red Hills; 3rd prize: Martin O'Hanlon, Cavan town.

SIX-COUNTY ELECTION DRAW RESULTS

Week 1
1st, £250, No. 13621 2nd, Compact Disk Player, No. 2898 3rd, £100, No. 13611.

SIX-COUNTY ELECTION DRAW RESULTS

Week 2
1st, £250, No. 1460, Belfast; 2nd, Microwave oven, No. 0765, South Derry; 3rd, Portable television, No. 2338, Downpatrick.

REPUBLICAN COMMEMORATION COMMITTEE DRAW RESULTS

MONTH TWO

£1,000: No. 2142, Liam Crilly, Kildare; £500: No. 1667 Breda and Rose, Walkinstown, Dublin; Video Recorder: No. 1947. S. Costello, Coca Cola; Microwave: No. 525, Pat Crawley, Skibbereen; Three-in-one: No. 1156, Lar Curtis, Kildare; Gas Heater: No. 2628, Kevin and Sheila, Dublin; Food Mixer: No. 383, John Murphy c/o Cross Bar, Kerry; Camera: No. 2987, Mellon's family, Santry; £100: No. 1201, Mary Kenny, Shannon; No. 2379, Shirley Metcalfe, Clondalkin; No. 2441, Gerry Kearns, Tallaght; No. 1445, Rose O'Donnell, Limerick; No. 2176, Bap, c/o Pat Healy, Longford; No. 404, Beir bua, c/o Wexford Inn; £50: No. 2938, Barry Keegan, Sandymount; No. 713, John Curtaene, Cork; No. 1903, Mike Pat, Galway; No. 2509, Liam O Loinigh, c/o Aine Ni Ghabhainn; No. 908, Christy Murphy, c/o The Docks, Cork; No. 1765, Tommy Mahon, Nenagh.

Dictatorship OF DEMOCRACY

RESULTS of the elections in the Soviet Union show a stunning victory for the politics of President Mikhail Gorbachev, a defeat for the bureaucracy which flourished under the Stalin and Brezhnev regimes and a slap in the face for Western anti-Soviet politicians who claimed for decades that socialism and democracy were incompatible.

A carnival atmosphere prevailed as voters took part in the first contested elections in over 50 years. At issue were the 2,250 seats in the Congress of People's Deputies which in turn will elect the Supreme Soviet — the legislative body of the USSR.

Although for some seats there was only one candidate the voting system enabled the electorate to make sure that person was not elected. The winner of each seat had to get over 50% of the poll and voters were presented with a voting paper on which they struck off the names they did not agree with.

In many of the one-candidate constituencies, more than 50% of the electors simply crossed out the single name ensuring that there would have to be a re-election. Voting was in secret but journalists were given more freedom to see how the officials dealt with the ballot papers than in elections in the 'democratic' West. From the Ukraine in the West to Sakhalin Island near Japan the outcome shocked those local

officials who owed their posts to bureaucracy.

In the Soviet Union's second city Leningrad, the local party leader, Yuri Soloviev, who was also a member of the ruling Politburo, opposed the democratic reforms advocated by Gorbachev. He was able to pull enough strings to stop any of his opponents' names being added to the ballot paper but was unable to stem a tide of resentment caused by this manoeuvre. Over 55% of the voters simply crossed his name out after a massive campaign in the city where the 1917 Revolution began. Two of his colleagues fared just as badly. His second-in-command was convincingly beaten by Yuri Boldyrev, a shipyard worker and in two other cities journalists who exposed the mistakes of party leaders and who stood against them at the polls, were resoundingly successful.

MOSCOW

The most prominent victor of the elections was Boris Yeltsin, a former leader of the

Moscow Communist Party and party member who was ousted by some of his subordinates because they felt he supported reform too vigorously. He received a 90% landslide vote and now represents the entire Moscow region, an area covering over six million people.

In the run-up to the elections Mikhail Gorbachev heavily criticised party bureaucrats such as Soloviev who made sure they were unopposed. Since his election as party leader after the death of Brezhnev's short-lived successor, he has fought against the crimes committed in the name of socialism under the Stalin regime and the corruption under Brezhnev. Two weeks ago he told the party's Central Committee that "millions" of people were killed during Stalin's forced collectivisation of Soviet agriculture in the '30s and for the past three years he has been removing the most corrupt officials who gained power during Brezhnev's term of office.

STRENGTHENED HAND

This has not endeared him to many bureaucrats and there have been unsuccessful moves to unseat Gorbachev. But the election results mean that the reformer's hand will be much strengthened. He can now face down powerful opponents by pointing to the will of the people



who rejected 20% of the party officials who stood for election.

The newspaper *Izvestia* (News) which represents the views of the government welcomed the results as "the dictatorship of democracy" over party officials. Edward Shevadenadz, Soviet Foreign Minister, said "those who lost were the people who were applying perestroika (Gorbachev's reconstruction strategy) too slowly". Gorbachev himself noted that the Soviet people had "spoken up, the voters' intense activity has shown that. And even if not everybody is pleased by the outcome, well there is nothing that can be done about it. The master of the country has spoken."

On Sunday the Soviet

leader, strengthened by the elections paid a 90-minute visit to Shannon on his way from Moscow to Cuba. Brief talks between Gorbachev and the Dublin government were treated in the press as if they represented some historical breakthrough and the Haughey cabinet milked the occasion for whatever publicity it could get but its most notable features were quite ironic.

It was the Soviet rather than the Irish premier who seemed to be more concerned by the fate of the Birmingham Six and the Guildford Four and Haughey showed considerable hypocrisy by complimenting Gorbachev on his policy of glasnost or openness. Under Gorbachev censorship is becoming a thing of the past but Haughey's government still maintains Section 31.

with Cuba, Angola and the United States to grant independence to the mineral-rich country of 1,140,000 people. The agreement was to allow a UN force to supervise the transfer to majority rule, but if the South African threats are to be taken seriously, the UN troops may be sent home before they have even begun their peace-keeping task.

For the people of Namibia, the results may be continuation of a hard-fought liberation war. It is notable that the toll of SWAPO casualties on Saturday was higher than at any time during the war: Saturday's attack may have been a revenge attempt by the racist regime.

SWAPO ATTACKED

FIVE HOURS after the official ceasefire in Namibia between the South West African People's Organisation and the South African forces was declared on Saturday, Pretoria's troops launched a bloody assault on the Namibian liberation movement in which over 120 guerrillas and 20 South African soldiers were killed. The action by the apartheid state was clearly directed at breaking up the international peace agreement involving the UN for Namibian independence.

The SWAPO fighters were gathered at an assembly-point where they were to come under the control of United Nations troops when the attack happened. The United Nations force has recently

been cut from 7,500 to 4,650 for financial reasons and SWAPO believes that this reduction means that the force will be unable properly to supervise the more powerful South African forces which



were, until Saturday, being evacuated from the country they have illegally occupied since the end of the Second

World War.

The Pretoria regime threatened to renege entirely on the agreement it recently made

SINN FEIN COUNCILLOR TOURS QUEBEC

SINN FEIN Councillor Pat Rice spent a multi-lingual ten days in Quebec on a tour organised by the Quebec-Ireland Committee, explaining republican policies and the truth about the war in Ireland to people in French, Spanish, English and Irish.

The tour began with an interview on *The Irish Show* on community television and was followed by interviews with Japanese and Indian journalists. Rice did a total of nine radio interviews focusing on the censorship directives that prevent Sinn Féin spokespersons from being interviewed in Ireland and Britain. Among the stations interviewing Rice were Radio Canada, the Canadian Government's French language network and CJMS, the most popular station in Quebec.

One of the highlights of the tour, which commenced on Saturday, March 25th, was a function commemorating the Easter Rising which was attended by close to 100 people. This was the first of what hopefully will become a regular

yearly event. Throughout the ten days, there were meetings in English and French commencing with a meeting with 60 Quebecois nationalists who spoke about the national struggles in Quebec and Ireland.

On March 31st, the Sinn Féin spokesperson was the key speaker at a solidarity evening for Ireland, Latin America and the Native People in Canada. 250 people gave him an enthusiastic reception.

An important aspect of the tour was Rice's meetings with the Trade Unions (CSN in French) and the Quebec Teachers' Union to discuss the MacBride Principles. Both unions, which together represent over 310,000 mostly French speakers, are very supportive of the MacBride Principles and this has a particular impor-



● PAT RICE

on behalf of the Republican Movement for the solidarity shown by the people present and all other Canadians who contribute in any small way in assisting the cause of Irish freedom.

McKnight met with various solidarity groups including the Irish Freedom Association and the Brompton Irish. He also met the Ontario Catholic Teachers' Association, who were very keen to hear first hand about the ongoing struggle in

the Six Counties.

His final meeting was with the Canadian Labour Party, where the MacBride Principles and how the party could help implement them in Canada was discussed. The present political situation in the Six Counties, especially the censorship of Sinn Féin and the misuse by the British government and the NIO of monies allocated through the International Fund for Ireland were the main issues debated.

OBITUARY

BALUNDA CARTER

Leicester Troops Out Movement deeply regrets the death in late March 1989 of Balunda Carter. Comrade Balunda was a true internationalist and a revolutionary fighter for Black people and the whole of the working class.

Balunda was manager of the Highfields Workshop in Leicester which has become an outstanding community centre for Afro Caribbean people. Balunda became a leader in the Black

Power Movement in Leicester in the 1970s and during the 1980s gave tremendous political solidarity to the cause of Irish freedom. Balunda met with Sinn Féin councillors and helped organise May Days, Bloody Sunday events and a Wolfe Tone Concert all based at the centre. He played a similar role in the struggle against apartheid.

Frequently harassed by police and threatened by bureaucrats over funding he never flinched in the face of state harassment and defended the people of

Highfields against police raids and pressure on black youth. He articulated grievances of the black people after the community uprisings of 1981 and often expressed his admiration for the strength and courage of Sinn Féin. Balunda died a revolutionary as he lived. He was a man who had a deep vision of the future freedom of Black people and a true friend of Ireland.

The Troops Out Movement salutes Balunda, a man who forged unity and inspired others to carry on his struggle.

REMEMBERING THE PAST... TRAGIC END TO RESCUE

OF THE MANY dramatic stories from the years 1919-21, one in particular, the daring rescue of Vol Bobby Byrne from the Limerick Union Hospital, tragically ended with the first IRA casualty of the Tan War.

Robert 'Bobby' Byrne was born at Townhall Cottage in Limerick City in 1891. A telegraphist in the Limerick post office and a prominent member of the Trades and Labour Council, he joined the Irish Volunteers soon after its formation in the city in January 1914.

In December 1918 he was appointed adjutant of the Second Battalion, Limerick Brigade, IRA and the following month was arrested and charged with possession of a revolver and ammunition. On January 13th 1919 he was sentenced to 12 months with hard labour by a British court martial and imprisoned in Limerick Jail. As the senior officer among the republican prisoners in the jail, he led their fight for political status.

Following a campaign of resistance by the prisoners they were subjected to barbaric treatment by police reinforcements drafted into the prison. Many of the prisoners were handcuffed in their cells night and day, while others were held in solitary confinement.

Eventually, having exhausted every other means of seeking redress, the prisoners embarked on a hunger-strike. After three weeks, several of the prisoners including Byrne, weakened by the fast, were moved to the Limerick Union Hospital where they were guarded by prison warders and armed police.

Plans were immediately made by Pader Dunne, O/C of the Limerick Brigade, and other senior officers to rescue Byrne. The general plan was that 20 Volunteers were to secure admission as visitors at the hospital and to be in position in the ward to overpower the guard at 3 o'clock. A further 16 Volunteers were to take up position in the corridors and grounds of the hospital. At 2 o'clock on the day of the rescue, 40 Volunteers assembled near the hospital, 20 took

up position as arranged in the grounds and corridors, while 20, posing as visitors, gained admittance to the ward. At the appointed time the Volunteers attempted to overpower the six armed RIC men on guard duty. Byrne, weak and exhausted, was frustrated in his effort to escape by an RIC man, Constable O'Brien, who threw himself bodily across the bed pinning down the prisoner.

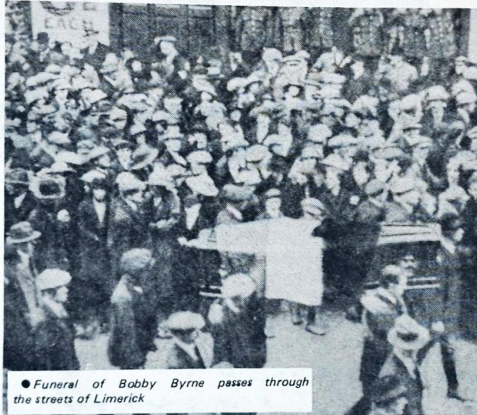
Following a fierce struggle during which shots were exchanged the rescuers tied up the policemen and carried the limp body of Byrne to a commandeered pony and trap. Byrne however had been shot in the chest during the gun-battle in the ward and died five hours later at the house of John Ryan at Knocklisheen, about



● VOL BOBBY BYRNE

three miles from the hospital.

Bobby Byrne, the first IRA Volunteer to be killed during the Tan War, died on April 6th, 1919, 70 years ago this week.



● Funeral of Bobby Byrne passes through the streets of Limerick

COMHBHROH

HENDERSON, Tony (18th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Tony Henderson, 1st Battalion, Belfast Brigade, Ogligh na hÉireann, who died as a result of an accidental shooting on April 4th 1971. I measc laochra na nGael go raib se. Always remembered by his friends and comrades in the Belfast Brigade.

HUGHES, Samuel; McCRYSTAL, Charles; McERLEAN, John (17th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Samuel Hughes, Charles McCrystal and John McErlean, 3rd Battalion, Belfast Brigade, Ogligh na hÉireann, who died as a result of an accidental explosion on April 7th 1972. I measc laochra na nGael go raib se. Always remembered by their friends and comrades in the Belfast Brigade.

HUGHES, Sammy; McERLEAN, Jacky; McCRYSTAL, Charlie (17th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my friends and comrades Vols Sammy Hughes, Jacky McErlean and Charlie McCrystal who died while on active service on April 7th 1972. Always remembered by Peter.

LOGUE, Gerard (2nd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Gerard Logue, who died on active service on March 22nd 1987. Fuair se bas ar son na saoirse. Always remembered by the Logue/Marley Sinn Féin Cumann, Crumlin.

McDERMOTT, Sean (13th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Sean McDermott, Belfast Brigade, Ogligh na hÉireann, who was shot dead by the RUC on April 5th 1976. "Wherever death surprises us it is welcome provided this, our battle cry, reaches some receptive ear, that other arms stretch out to take up weapons, that others step forward to intone our funeral dirge with the staccato of machine-guns and new cries of battle and victory. Always remembered by his friends and comrades in the Belfast Brigade.

McDERMOTT, Sean (13th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Sean McDermott, Belfast Brigade, Ogligh na hÉireann, who was killed on active service on April 5th 1976. Always remembered and never forgotten by his friends and comrades Pauline and Raddo.

MARLEY, Larry (2nd Anniversary).

In proud and loving memory of Vol Larry Marley who was murdered by British agents on April 2nd 1987. Be green upon their graves. O happy spring, for they were young and eager who are dead. All of things that are young and alighting with eager life be they remembered. They move not here, they have gone to the clay. They cannot die again for liberty. Be they remembered of their land, for, as you green be their graves and green their memory. Always remembered by Kevin Corbett and David Glennon (Long Kesh), Peter Corbett (Crumlin Road) and Hugh Corrigan.

MARLEY, Larry (2nd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Larry Marley who was murdered by loyalists on April 2nd 1987. We remember you, Larry, as a friend and a comrade of Ireland's freedom. Memories are held strong with thoughts of you as a soldier. And, although our hearts are filled with the pride, we will never forget you or the cause for which you died. Always remembered by Seamus and Dermot.

MARLEY, Larry (2nd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Larry Marley, who was murdered by loyalists on April 2nd 1987. Life springs from death and from the graves of patriot men and women, spring living nations. Always remembered by Martin, Kathleen and the Flinnane family circle.

MARLEY, Larry (2nd Anniversary). In memory of Volunteer Larry Marley, a cherished friend, a loving father and a dedicated freedom fighter. Never forgotten by Rab, Terry and family.

MARLEY, Larry (2nd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Larry Marley, Ogligh na hÉireann, who died on April 2nd 1987. I measc laochra na nGael go raib se. Always remembered by the Logue/Marley Sinn Féin Cumann, Crumlin.

O'RAWE, Edward (16th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Edward O'Rawe, 'D' Coy, 2nd Battalion, Belfast Brigade, Ogligh na hÉireann, who was killed by British troops on April 12th 1973. I measc laochra na nGael go raib se. Always remembered by his friends and comrades in the Belfast Brigade.

COMHBHROH

HOLLAND, Deepest sympathy is extended to Cahal and family on the death of Brian. From the staff of 44 Parnell Square.

LYNCH, Deepest sympathy is extended to the family and friends of Brendan Lynch on the death of his sister from Meath Comhairle Ceantair.

McROSSAN, Deepest sympathy is extended to the McCrossan family on the death of Gerry. From Liam McElhinney.

McSHANE, Deepest sympathy is extended to the McShane family on

the death of Charlie. From Frank Hopkins, Australia.

TULLY, Deepest sympathy is extended to Maura Tully and family on the death of her mother. From Longford Comhairle Ceantair Sinn Féin.

TULLY, Deepest sympathy is extended to Maura Tully and family on the death of her mother. From the Martin Hurson Sinn Féin Cumann, Longford Town.

TULLY, Deepest sympathy is extended to Marie Tully and family on the death of Lily. From Tony, Marie and Toni.

Admhail

FERRIS, The family of the late Agnes Ferris wish to thank all those who sympathised with them during their recent sad bereavement. Special thanks to those who travelled long distances, sent Mass Cards, floral

tributes, letters of sympathy, the Republican POWs in Portlaoise and to dear friends and neighbours, whose support and help was invaluable. The Holy Sacrifice of the Mass will be offered for your intentions.

MANY THANKS to Portlaoise POW, 'The Sleeper', for donation of the book, Last Words. Much appreciated.

BEANNACHTAI

JORDAN, Pete (Long Lartin). Belated birthday greetings, from Conor and Roz.

MEAD, Brendan (Portlaoise). Experience and wisdom win over youth and ignorance every time. Happy

birthday Brendy! From Keill, Rick, Cian, Brendan and Siobhan.

MEAD, Brendan (Portlaoise). And so it is until we meet again... Happy birthday, my closest xxx

THOMPSON, Pat (H1-Block). Birthday greetings from Canada Uncle Pat. Love from Colleen, John and Cathy.

BRITISH KILLINGS CONDEMNED



ARMY recruitment offices throughout Britain will be picketed by the Troops Out Movement between 11am and 1pm on Saturday, April 15th, as part of a year of activities marking the 20th anniversary of the introduction of British troops to quell the latest phase of nationalist struggle.

"In the 20th year of the military occupation of Northern Ireland by the British army, the death-toll is continuing to rise," says a spokesperson for the TOM. The movement quotes figures drawn up by the Irish Information Partnership, an establishment statistical body which show that 55% of those killed by the British army have been civilians: "no justifica-

tion or remorse has ever been offered" for these deaths.

"Whilst denying it is waging a war in Ireland, the government and its army appear to regard civilian deaths as merely part of the fortunes of war," he continued. But the "highest civilian toll is taken by loyalist paramilitaries, 90% of whose targets have been non-military. Very few of these killings have been claimed and most are reported neither by the British live media or by the press.

"Twenty long years have shown, if it needed showing, that the killing of civilians and the repression of the representatives is a grotesque and hopeless response to civil rights demands. Our message to potential army recruits is: No Future for Britain in Ireland — No Future for You in the Army!"



BRITISH DOUBLE STANDARDS — FIANNA FAIL TREACHERY

THE double-standards operated by the British government and the subservience of the Dublin government have been dramatically illustrated with the refusal of a London court to extradite a gun-runner to Fiji on the grounds that his case was political. The extradition was refused just a fortnight before the imminent extradition of Paul Kane by Fianna Fail.

At the end of March a judge

at Bow Street Magistrates Court in London turned down the extradition request of the Fijian government for the man who admitted shipping 40 tons of weapons from Yemen to Fiji. The magistrate, Sir David Hopkin said:

"As far as I am concerned the importation of arms to any country is prima facie a political case. And in my view it appears there is sufficient evidence to substantiate a political motive. There is no evidence. There is no evidence whatsoever of any financial motive."

Paul Kane is wanted by the British — and is being extradited by Fianna Fail — for escaping from a jail where, even under British law, he should never have been in the first place. He was jailed on the word of a paid perjurer whose victims later had their convictions quashed. Kane had been convicted for possession of one weapon.

IMPRISONMENT

For this the Dublin government arrested him, hounded him across the country after he was lawfully released by a court and

arrested him again on foot of British warrants for his extradition and on the basis of which he has been a prisoner in the 26 Counties for a year and a half.

The man in the Fijian case, Mohammad Rafiq Kahan, shipped two containers to Fiji in June 1988. One contained 100 AK47 rifles, 46,000 rounds of ammunition, ten rocket launchers, 300 grenades and four heavy machine-guns.

So anxious was the government of Fiji to have Kahan extradited that it sent its solicitor general and its director of public prosecution to London for the hearings. They went away disappointed.

Contrast all this with the conduct of the Dublin government in the face of British extradition demands. While the British res-

erve the full right to refuse extradition on political grounds of anyone — British or foreign — from Britain the Fianna Fail government has abolished the citizen's right to be protected from extradition for political charges and is handing over its own citizens on request.

MET IN FULL

It is disgraceful that the British government demands special treatment and the easiest extradition in the world from the 26 Counties while Britain itself is one of the most difficult countries from which to extradite. What is worse is that British demands have been met in full by this Fianna Fail government.

This is most blatant in the case of Paul Kane, a victim of the supergrass system which was strongly condemned by Fianna Fail leaders, including Charles Haughey, in the past. The Fijian case gives the lie to the now familiar Fianna Fail response to objections to its political extradition policy which says they must operate the 'normal' extradition procedures that happen "between civilised countries". No state in the world apart from the 26 Counties can have given a foreign government so much power in its own legal system or held the rights of its own citizens in such contempt.

KANE EXTRADITION DELAY?

AS *An Phoblacht/Republican News* goes to press on Wednesday night it is believed that the extradition of H-Block escapee Paul Kane, which was expected in the early hours of Friday morning, April 7th, may be delayed.

Conflicting reports on Wednesday evening stated that the extradition legally could not be for a further week as the appeal period did not expire until then. However, legal sources remained adamant that the expiration of the 21-day appeal period after which Kane could be handed over was Thursday night. Briefings to journalists by sources within the Department of Justice on Wednesday would seem to indicate that the extradition will now be delayed.

On Thursday, March 30th, a week before the expected hand-over, the Irish Anti-Extradition Committee announced at a Dublin press conference that Paul Kane was appealing directly to the Minister for Justice and the Attorney-General. His brother Gerard described Paul's ordeal as a victim of a 'supergrass' — the infamous paid perjurer Christopher Black — and the continuing ordeal of his family. Vicky Kane was unable to attend the press conference due to the illness of her child. She has been visiting her husband Paul

in prison for most of their married life.

Accompanied by Nora Comis-

key of the Irish Anti-Extradition Committee and of Fianna Fail Members Against Extradition Gerard Kane handed in his brother's appeal to the offices of the Minister for Justice and the Attorney-General at Government

Buildings.

To date no reply to that appeal has been received. It is open to the Fianna Fail government to delay its response which, if the reply were negative, would mean that Kane could be handed

over at any time after its rejection.

Further developments are possible during Thursday. People should ring the Irish Anti-Extradition Committee at Dublin 366489 for details.



● Anti-extradition picket outside Leinster House on Wednesday, April 5th