

AN **UNCENSORED** IRELAND'S BIGGEST SELLING
POLITICAL WEEKLY

PHOBLACHT

Republican News

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Price increase

Since December 1986, AP/RN has kept the price of the paper at 30p. Over three years of rising print, production and distribution costs mean that, reluctantly, we must increase the price from THIS WEEK to 35p (40p in Britain).

In the past few years, also, growing censorship in Britain and Ireland has meant growing recognition of AP/RN as one of the few alternatives to British and Dublin government misinformation and as the authentic voice of Irish republicanism. We thank our faithful readership as we continue to expand and develop.

No European unity without Irish unity

DESPITE the mist of censorship which enveloped it, last weekend's Sinn Féin Ard Fheis clearly marked out the road to peace. Again and again the British and the Dublin governments were reminded of the need for talks with republicans. While the pretentious Dublin premier milked his position as EC president for all the publicity it was worth, republicans exposed the real truth.

It was the warmakers who made the headlines as Britain's Douglas Hurd, once again, banged the NATO drum. Germany, whether united or divided, must remain within the military alliance which, for over 40 years, has most endangered world peace.

Little surprise, then, that Hurd and his ilk were unable to hear the loudest message of all. That came from South Africa where Nelson Mandela's freedom is awaited daily. Mandela has warned his captors that the ANC's armed wing will not lay down its arms until the government agrees to talks with the liberation movement.

In Europe, East and West, and in the rest of the world, those who once denied the rights of nations to self-determination are being driven to the negotiating table if they haven't already been driven from power.

"The British government knows that, if the conflict in Ireland is to be resolved, talks are essential and inevitable," said Gerry Adams, addressing the Sinn Féin Ard Fheis on Saturday. "What then is the justification for refusing to talk now? The failure to do, now, what they know they will do in the future is prolong-

ing the conflict and perpetuating the suffering for both the Irish and the British people."

WRIGGLING BROOKE

He was answering British director Peter Brooke who admitted, before Christmas, that the IRA could not be defeated and then tried to revoke these words last weekend. Brooke is trying to wriggle his way out of an insoluble problem. The warmongers know the struggle is going against them. Their only tactic, now, is to create confusion and demoralisation.

This they can easily do with plasticine politicians like John Hume and Charles Haughey. Hume is to play his role in the new Stormont, powerless but prominent. Dominated by loyalist bigots, the one-time civil rights supporter will become a mascot for British power in Ireland.

Haughey, the temporary presi-

dent of Europe, already enjoys a similar sort of role as front-man.

Despite his government's 'commitment' to 26-County neutrality, he too was quick to heed the call of NATO when the prospect of a neutral, united Germany emerged at the weekend. Ever the loyal subordinate, he backed the call for a NATO-dominated Germany during a visit to France.

STOP POSTURING

Sinn Féin's Mitchel McLaughlin called on the Dublin premier to stop posturing and to start defending Irish interests.

"The situation in Eastern Europe has moved with tremendous speed over the last four months. At the heart of this change has been the acceptance, by the Soviet government, of the right of those individual nations to decide their own futures.

"In this atmosphere of support for the democratic rights of nationalities, is it not time the Dublin government met the challenge of the most important and crucial question to dominate Irish politics this century — the partition of the Irish nation and Britain's denial of an Irish democracy.

"Is it not ironic that Mr Haughey can use this occasion to talk to the French President about German unity but can't, and won't, raise the question of Irish unity?"

Last weekend, the only place in Ireland where that question was seriously addressed was at Dublin's Mansion House.



REPORTS & PICTURES
- PAGES 6,7,8, 9,10 & 11

Release Jim Clarke



PICKET:

Supreme Court, Four Courts,
DUBLIN
10am Tuesday, February 13th

IRA defies massive security

IN THE midst of a massive crown forces security operation which began over a fortnight ago and which is ongoing at the time of AP/RN going to print, Volunteers of the Belfast Brigade, IRA, have twice managed to make a nonsense of RUC and British army efforts by placing bombs at prestigious targets.

The RUC/British army operation has brought traffic in Belfast city centre, and on approach roads into the town, to a virtual standstill every day in the last fortnight. In spite of this massive presence Volunteers ferried a number of devices into the city centre where they were planted in the Castle Court Complex.

Shortly after lunchtime on Friday, February 2nd, after a one-hour warning had expired, a large explosion was heard from inside the complex, which has been bombed on two previous occasions.

On Wednesday, February 7th, crown forces were again left red-faced when an IRA bomb exploded inside the Shorts aerospace complex in East Belfast. A tight security

cordon in the city centre and increased security at Shorts following previous attacks were proved to be ineffectual when, shortly after 8.40am, an explosion ripped through a hangar in the Shorts factory.

In their statement claiming responsibility for the Shorts attack the IRA said:

"One of our active service units breached security measures which had been put in place following previous IRA attacks, to place a 30lb Semtex charge in Hangar 3 of Shorts, part of the Shorts division. This subsidiary is involved in the production of the RAF trainer fighter Tucano planes, some of which were in the hangar this morning.

"The weapons division of Shorts

is an integral part of the British military establishment, and, as such, is a prime target. Only last week RAF personnel were in Shorts taking part in a missile test-firing exercise.

"Our attack this morning was carried out despite the presence in the hangar of a large number of workers, among them some RUC personnel."

RUC MAN INJURED

An RUC man suffered serious blast injuries when he was caught in a booby-trap bomb blast at his farm at Glenarn, near Lack, County Fermanagh, on Tuesday morning, February 6th.

The man had entered a barn and was shifting hay bales when the device exploded. He was rushed to the main Omagh hospital where he underwent emergency surgery. He remains in a serious condition.

In a statement claiming responsibility for the attack the IRA's West Fermanagh Brigade said:

"Our Volunteers planted the device in an outbuilding visited every

morning by the RUC man who had been under surveillance for two weeks leading up to the blast."

RUC MAN SURVIVES ATTACK

An RUC man thwarted an IRA attack when he discovered a booby-trap bomb which had been planted under his car in the Tyrone town of Castlederg.

The device, which was discovered on Thursday, February 1st, was defused by British army bomb disposal technicians.

RAILWAY BOMB WARNINGS

The IRA in South Down issued the following supplied statement on Friday, February 2nd:

"South Down Command, IRA, claims responsibility for the planting of a 100lb bomb on the railway line between Newry and the 18 Arches Viaduct. We have also planted two 50lb devices between the Newry and Cloughoe Bridge stretch of the line. A warning of these devices has been telephoned but, as yet, they remain on the track."

ARMAGH SHOW OF STRENGTH

Ten IRA Volunteers, in full military uniform, armed with an assortment of weapons, including machine-guns, rocket launchers and assault rifles, took part in what the South Armagh Brigade, IRA, described as "an exercise in territorial control".

The IRA Volunteers carried out their exercise in the village of Cullyhanna at around 4pm on Saturday, February 3rd, where a huge British army presence had recently been withdrawn from the area. The Volunteers patrolled



through local housing estates and set up vehicle checkpoints.

TRIGGER-HAPPY BRITS

The severe psychological and mental strain of trigger-happy British soldiers fighting an unwinnable war against the IRA was once again shown this week. Two crown forces patrols in the vicinity of Ardara County Tyrone, opened fire on each other for five minutes. Three helicopters and two ambulances arrived to take away the injured and distraught soldiers.

SOUTH DERRY STATEMENT

The South Derry Brigade, IRA, have issued a public denial of any involvement in two recent robberies in the area. In their statement they said that one of the culprits involved in the robberies had been apprehended by their Volunteers and dealt with and they warned others to be mindful of the consequences of their actions.

NEWRY PUNISHMENT

The IRA in South Down claimed responsibility for carrying out a punishment attack against a Newry man who had been involved in the intimidation and terrorisation of a number of local families in the Derrybeg estate. The attack took place on Tuesday, February 6th.

RUC colluders signal Stevens

IN A clear signal to the Stevens' Inquiry team loyalist paramilitaries staged a poster campaign in an attempt to publicly display the futility of his exercise which is ostensibly aimed at damming the flood of 'confidential information' to pro-British death squads.

The inquiry has, so far, singularly failed to even scratch the surface of the collusion scandal which broke in the wake of the Laughlin Maginn killing. In the early hours of Monday morning, February 5th, members of the UDA/UFF plastered posters of RUC 'secret files' containing the details of yet more nationalists, on a number of walls in loyalist areas of North and West Belfast. The RUC documents entitled Collators Bulletin, and compiled at RUC 'H' Division in Banbridge contained the names, addresses, photographs and personal details of a number of men and one woman from the Belfast and County Down areas, along with the designation 'Believed involved in subversive activity'.

CULPRITS

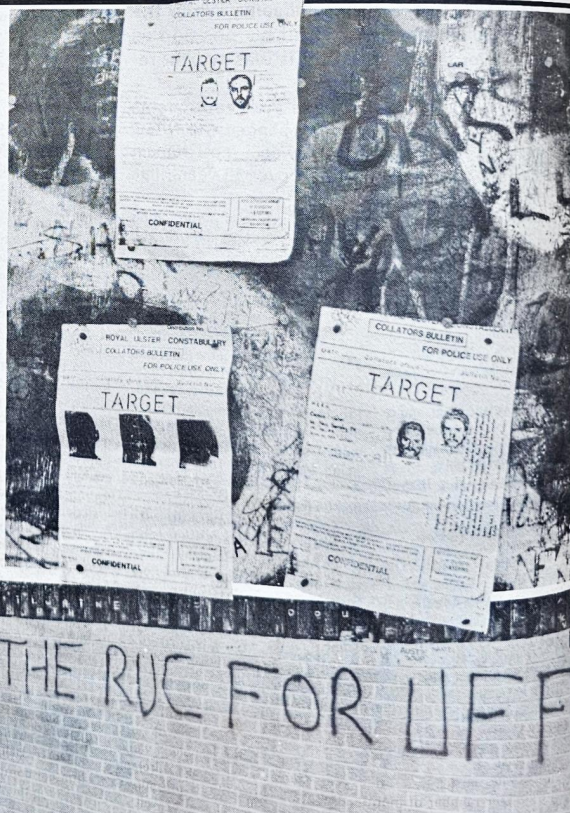
The appearance of the documents led directly to the arrest of two men and RUC searches at UDA offices on the Shankill Road. This latest incident shows the dilemma under which Stevens is operating; how can he hope to catch the true culprits when he is relying on them to make arrests etc, for him?

Commenting on the incident Sinn Féin's Alex Maskey said:

"Once again the RUC and British government are exposed as embarrassed colluders with loyalist death squads. Sinn Féin's position on this sordid affair will only be vindicated if the truth is revealed. The truth can't escape if responsible observers do not ask the obvious questions, despite obstructions from the RUC.

"British intelligence have withheld vital information from the Stevens' Inquiry. They have yet to make a public statement on Brian Nelson, a British agent, now in protective custody, who was working within the UDA with responsibility for intelligence.

"Nelson would know exactly which crown forces personnel are colluding with loyalist death squads. These latest montages are an attempt by loyalists to protect their crown forces collaborators by exposing, publicly, the wealth of information available to the UDA in order to undermine the already narrow limitations of the Stevens' Inquiry."



● Loyalist paramilitary poster campaign in Belfast, an attempt to "protect their crown forces collaborators"

'Psy-ops' from Brooke

BY HILDA Mac THOMAS

'NO TALKS with Sinn Féin until an IRA ceasefire', such was the message given by Peter Brooke, as he restated, last weekend, his government's preconditions for talking to republicans. Brooke was meeting the press after informal talks with Dublin Minister for Justice Gerry Collins in Limerick and was being asked to respond to the speech made by Gerry Adams at the Sinn Féin Ard Fheis.

In his speech, Adams had referred to Brooke's statement last November that the IRA could not be militarily defeated and that, in the event of an IRA ceasefire, the British government would respond positively. Such an admission, Adams said, showed that the British accept their policy on Ireland has failed and that talks are inevitable. By setting preconditions, Adams added, they are only prolonging the conflict and delaying the search for peace and justice.

Last weekend Brooke disclaimed his earlier remarks about the IRA. In fact last November what he actually said is that it was "difficult to envisage the military defeat of the IRA" and that the British policy was merely one of "containment". Brooke may claim that he used a different form of words but this is what he said at the time.

However, more important than Brooke's rather pathetic defensiveness is the real



● Peter Brooke and Gerry Collins following their meeting on Sunday last

purpose of the British minister in sending his message at this time. Behind this apparently liberal discourse, Brooke is, in fact, participating in a psychological operation — a fashionable concept these days with the resurfacing of the 'Colin Wallace affair'. What Brooke is really saying to republicans and even more so to republican supporters and voters, is that, but for the IRA armed struggle, they would be at the conference table, and therefore that the armed struggle

is counter-productive: the message is "you cannot win".

OLD MESSAGE

This is the message which has been directed at republicans for several years now by the Catholic Church hierarchy, especially Bishop Cahal Daly, by the SDLP, by the Irish establishment media, and of course by the British. It has taken various forms, such as that the IRA is now the "main obstacle to peace", or that if the IRA stopped, the British army would leave within weeks — one of John Hume's most astonishing claims. The fact that when the IRA did have a ceasefire in 1975 the British not only did not leave but introduced a new regime of repression in the form of 'Ulsterisation, normalisation and criminalisation' is conveniently forgotten.

As the British are trying to get the unionists and the SDLP to co-operate in a revamped Stormont Assembly they are hoping to convince Northern nationalists of the 'hopelessness' of republican demands so as to soften them up for any internal settlement. In the last British attempt at devolution, with Jim Prior as direct rule minister, even the SDLP had refused to play ball and operated an abstentionist policy in regard to the assembly.

CERTAIN CIRCUMSTANCES

Brooke is playing a game aimed mainly at demoralising the republican base. His secondary aim is to remind the unionists and the SDLP that the British cannot wait

"DIFFICULT TO ENVISAGE THE MILITARY DEFEAT OF THE IRA" — BROOKE

forever for them to make up their minds and get round the table. Unionists, in particular, have invariably reacted with anger to any hint by the British that they might, under certain circumstances, talk to republicans.

Finally Brooke's words can, and undoubtedly will, be used when speaking to an international audience when the British government is questioned on its policy of censorship and ostracisation of Sinn Féin elected representatives. Well, they will say, we would talk to them only they are excluding themselves by their actions.

On the other hand there are signs that many people in Ireland are reconsidering the effects of continued British interference. In Britain too, the British government's policy on Ireland has been exposed with the release of the Guildford Four, and more recently the Colin Wallace affair.

This is the complex backdrop to Brooke's words. In the process the British have cleverly made 'talking' into a bargaining position, as opposed to what would be talked about. Northern nationalists, however, need no reminding that but for the continued republican resistance the whole question of British rule in Ireland would not even be talked about.

Bluff and threats at ICTU

THE SPECIAL CONFERENCE of the ICTU on the Programme for 'National' Recovery (PNR) opens this morning (Thursday) in an atmosphere of bluff, threats and confusion. Sensing that things are not going its way, the executive has turned on those who oppose its will in a vicious wrangle about procedure. The most likely outcome is a severe set-back for trade unionism.

The ICTU is a 32-County body, made up of Northern and Southern-based unions and others that straddle the border with members North and South. But the executive has told Northerners that they're not welcome at Liberty Hall in Dublin this morning. They're not welcome because a number of them disagree with the executive.

DIFFERENT VIEW

The row concerns the voting strength of unions with members on both sides of the border. The number of votes a union gets is dependent on the number of members it has. Some unions, with members North and South, voluntarily reduce their voting strength to

represent only the number of 26-County members they have when they're voting on matters to do with the South. But others, like MSF, the Manufacturing, Science and Finance Union, have always taken a different view.

These unions believe that economic decisions in the South affect members in the North and vice versa. For that reason, MSF has always used up its full voting allocation on matters to do with either part of Ireland. It is entirely within its rights and its logic is undeniable. If wages are reduced in one part of Ireland there will inevitably be pressure to reduce them in the other as well.

Unions have voted for years in this way and no-one has raised the



● Liberty Hall, Dublin

slightest complaint. The PNR was agreed in this fashion. But the ICTU executive got a nasty shock at Bundoran last year during its annu-

al conference. Opinion against the agreement has been growing and a motion to reconsider the PNR from the National Union of Journalists

was successful and Congress was forced to hold today's special conference.

ICTU leaders knew they were losing the argument. The only industry to grow under the 'recovery' programme was emigration. In 1988 20,000 jobs were created — but 23,000 people were made redundant. Around 46,000 left the 26 Counties last year leaving emigration as the government's main means of reducing the unemployment queues. While workers lost out, bosses did quite well, thank you. Between 1988 and 1989 profits rose 42% while wages only rose 15%.

THREATS

At first there were threats that the conference would be called off unless MSF and other unions reduced their voting strength. Then the heat was really turned on and logic was turned on its head.

MSF was accused of 'splitting' the ICTU even though it sought to unify Northern and Southern workers in its voting delegation. There were also suggestions that the 'national sovereignty' of Southern workers was being diluted by 'British-based unions'. These were particularly absurd. The debate was not over whether British workers could vote on Irish matters. It was about whether Irish workers in the Six Counties could.

The bluster of the executive may well win the day but on Wednesday night it failed to stop the Association of Secondary Teachers in Ireland from voting against the PNR. The Teachers' Union of Ireland may well follow suit and the Bakery and Food Workers' Union, which has one Northern delegate, backed the stand taken by MSF and refused to limit its delegation.

Calcutt cover-up?

WITH POLITICIANS and the media wringing their hands and feigning amazement in the Colin Wallace dirty tricks affair, nationalists and republicans could be forgiven for wondering what all the fuss is about, considering the ongoing and extensive black propaganda operation that opponents of British misrule in Ireland suffer under.

Following a week of intensive pressure from all the British parties, Thatcher appeared to give in and announced that an inquiry would be instigated. However, any suggestion that it might clear up the mysteries and uncertainties that abound in this case, were rapidly laid to rest when the inquiry's terms of reference were restricted to Wallace's dismissal, for allegedly giving unauthorised information to a journalist.

The man appointed to head the Wallace Inquiry is David Calcutt QC, who was previously involved in the investigation into the conduct of British service police in Cyprus who investigated the 'Sex for Secrets' case in 1980. On that occasion Calcutt found that the soldiers had

lied in court and the service police had told the truth. Calcutt is also currently investigating the level of compensation which will be awarded to the Guildford Four.

With this inquiry, as with so many others in the recent history of British cover-ups in Ireland, one wonders how long it will be until some chief constable or some 'eminent' barrister will be appointed to investigate the 'Calcutt affair.'

WHY?

Another aspect of the Wallace saga is the question as to why the whole sordid affair is being dragged up by the British themselves after so many years and so many failed attempts by Wallace and fellow for-

mer secret service agent, Fred Holdroyd, to get the dirty tricks allegations investigated.

What is certain, given the appointment of Calcutt and his very narrow terms of reference, is that the British are not serious about bringing the truth of the affair to the light of day.

An announcement by the House of Commons Defence Committee that they will hold an inquiry may broaden out the facts that can be made public, but, yet again, this will be seen by nationalists and all right thinking observers as an integral part of the established state machinery putting a new coat of white-wash on the image of the state and its agencies.



● COLIN WALLACE

CASTLEWELLAN RECRUITMENT ATTEMPT

SEAN FITZPATRICK, Sinn Féin representative for Castlewelling in South Down, has described as disturbing the latest incident involving an attempt by crown forces to recruit a local man to act as an informer.

Fitzpatrick revealed that he was approached by a very frightened young man who feared for his life after being approached by two RUC Special Branch men on his way to work on Tuesday, January 30th.

He was walking through Donard Park in Castlewelling when he was stopped by two men dressed in combat gear, who emerged from a hedgerow. They produced green ID

cards and claimed to be RUC Special Branch.

The man, who doesn't wish to be named, was told that he was to watch named people in the area and that money would be no object. The offer of money was accompanied by threats should the man fail to comply with the instructions he was being given.

He was told: "We can set you up

for 20 years imprisonment or for assassination."

The two men walked alongside their victim for 100 yards and only left when other local people, on their way to work, appeared on the scene.

On finding himself free of the two men the man went immediately to a solicitor and then to Sinn Féin. Fitzpatrick pointed out that this is the third incident of its kind to come to light in the locality in recent weeks. He renewed advice to people in a similar predicament to immediately come forward.



Anti-MacBriders — British agents

UNDER the Foreign Agents Registration Act (FARA), if Sean Neeson, Paddy Devlin, Sister Genivieve, John Cushnahan, Dan McGuinness, Bob Cooper or any other anti-MacBride campaigner return to the United States to lobby against the modest anti-discrimination proposals, they will be forced to register as British agents, and disclose the fees and expenses received for their activity.

The US Justice Department announced last week that it would now make it compulsory for all anti-MacBride campaigners to register under the act following strong lobbying on the issue by Irish-American groups.

In the past the above-named individuals, and others such as Jim Eccles of the board of the FEA, Howard Burns and Hazel Morrissey of the ATGWU and Martin Duminan of the CPI, have gone to the US on expensive junkets to portray themselves as Catholics from West Belfast or moderate nationalists who say that Britain is trying to overcome discrimination but can't do so without more American in-

vestment.

In a private capacity, or so we are led to believe, John Hume and Bishop Cahal Daly have made vigorous public and private representations in the US aimed at stopping the MacBride campaign. They have patently failed with thirteen states and numerous cities and organisations nationwide endorsing the principles.

It is now hoped that the requirement to register as agents of the British government will further boost the principles by keeping unscrupulous mercenaries away or forcing them to publicly declare where their allegiance lies.



● JOHN CUSHNAHAN



● PADDY DEVLIN

SEXUAL ASSAULT REPEATED

RUC terrorise woman

GERALDINE SKILLEN is a young single parent living in the nationalist Turf Lodge area of West Belfast. On June 9th last, Geraldine was thrown into the back of an RUC jeep and sexually assaulted by three RUC men.

In the following six months, in a concerted campaign designed to terrorise Geraldine into dropping her pending case for sexual assault against the RUC, British crown forces have continually harassed Geraldine, wrecked her home, terrorised her children, arrested, assaulted and on Wednesday, January 24th, sexually assaulted Geraldine again.

The series of events, which have left Geraldine Skillen homeless, separated from her children and the target for constant abuse and attack, is one woman's story but also part of a whole community's experience.

"Late last Wednesday night I was getting out of a black taxi near Norglen Gardens when I was spotted by a joint British army/RUC foot patrol. One soldier shouted 'that's the wee Irish bastard we're watching'. An RUC man then grabbed and threw me against a wall and a British soldier shouted 'I'd love to blow your head off' as he placed a gun against my head."

ARRESTED

Geraldine was pushed and

pulled about. She was punched several times on the arms by an RUC man and then finally thrown to the ground.

"An RUC man was sitting on top of me and my face was pushed into the ground and I was struggling. Local people began to gather but they were threatened with plastic bullet guns and couldn't help me. When two jeeps arrived I was told I was being arrested."

Trailed into the jeep by the hair, Geraldine was thrown to the floor of the vehicle and, while one RUC man held her face down, she was kicked and beaten by two other RUC men.

"I couldn't see which RUC man it was but one of them pulled up my jumper. He said 'Come on we'll open her bra'. He kept rubbing his hand up and down my back saying: 'That's a nice bra you've got on girl.'"

When they arrived at Grosvenor Road Barracks Geraldine was carried from the jeep with her face trailed close to the ground and her legs up in the air. She was left in a cell for 20 minutes before being taken to an interrogation room.

"I was interrogated twice. The first time I was told to sit down but the chair was pulled from under me and I fell to the ground. One RUC man sat in front of me. Two others stood at either side of me and slapped my face from side to side. On the second occasion I was told there was a visitor waiting to see me but when I got to the room three RUC men laughed and jeered at me, taunting me about my brother Martin who was murdered by the British army in 1974."

When Geraldine was taken back to the cell one of the RUC men from the jeep held her by the throat and told her that if the sexual assault charges were dropped she would be left alone.

HOSPITAL

In the early hours of Thursday morning she was released. Badly shaken, bruised and without money she was taken to the Royal Victoria Hospital by a taximan.

As she left the barracks she was warned by the RUC to "Watch yourself in the next few weeks. Next time we'll bring you to the Shankill and let the UVF know who you are."

Geraldine's court case, against the RUC, is scheduled to be heard in March. The case has already been adjourned twice at the request of the RUC, a tactic Geraldine is



convinced is designed to provide more time for the RUC to apply pressure to her.

CONSTANT HARASSMENT

In the months since the first assault took place Geraldine and her children have suffered constant harassment. In November her home was raided and wrecked. Following the raid her three children, John (8), Leanne (5) and Steven (2), became too afraid to stay in the house.

"I moved out of my home. Shortly after the raid my children were too afraid to stay there, particularly Leanne who was being stopped and searched on her way to school. I wanted to move to an

other house but the Housing Executive said I would need a letter from the RUC to confirm I was leaving because of harassment before I could be rehoused. I had no alternative but to make myself homeless and, because of this, I have been black-listed by the Housing Executive for two years.

"I have separated from my husband and when I had nowhere for my children to stay I let him take them. My husband is now fighting for complete custody of the children and a social worker has told me that continual harassment is no good for the kids and they are better off without me. I have been the victim of abuse, assault and sexual assault but I'm the only one being treated like a criminal."

FALLS YOUTH LIVING IN FEAR

A 19-YEAR-OLD youth from the Divis Flats area is living in fear for his life after being told, in Castlereagh Interrogation Centre, that he would be assassinated by the SAS.

The youth, Danny McGurk, was arrested from his home on Wednesday, January 31st, and taken to Castlereagh where he was questioned about the theft of a Browning 9mm pistol from a car in Belfast city centre.

McGurk's younger brother and a second youth are currently out on bail on the same charge, and according to the RUC they have admitted the theft and claimed that the weapon was given to Danny McGurk.

The theft of the weapon occurred in April 1989, and no mention of it was made until the first arrests took place several weeks ago.

The RUC, who interrogated McGurk throughout January 31st and February 1st, informed him that the weapon had been taken from a white Vauxhall

Astra car, belonging to British undercover operatives, which had been parked in College Street, Belfast. They insisted that they had information which made them sure that McGurk had taken the weapon from the thieves and passed it to a third party whom they named and identified as a member of the IRA.

Throughout his ordeal, at the hands of his Special Branch interrogators, McGurk denied all knowledge of their accusations and insisted on being given access to a solicitor.

INTERROGATION

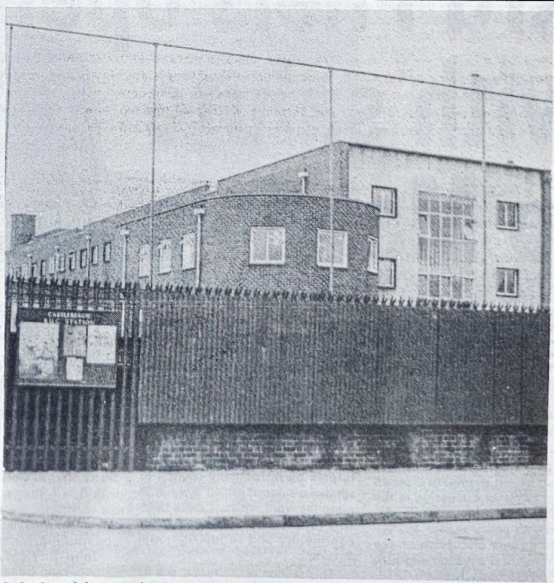
In the course of one interrogation on Thursday, McGurk had £500 placed in front of him and was told, "Get the Browning back and that's your payment.

"We'll be in touch, you haven't heard the end of this yet."

We'll also drop all charges relating to the theft of the weapon."

Following this blackmail attempt his interrogators placed a photograph of the men lying dead outside Graham's bookies on the Whiterock Road, on the table and said: "If you don't return this weapon you're going to end up like them. No one interferes with SAS equipment and gets away with it."

For the remainder of his time in Castlereagh McGurk was barraged with a combination of threats and inducements to ensure the return of the weapon they alleged he had taken from the thieves. Just prior to his release they told him: "We'll be in touch, you haven't heard the end of this yet."



● Castlereagh Interrogation Centre



Sinn Féin '90 Ard Fheis

Ard Fheis opens with salute to Mandela



THE FIRST Sinn Féin Ard Fheis of the new decade began on Friday, February 2nd, the opening session being chaired by Dublin organiser John Doyle.

After the opening formalities, he got the Ard Fheis properly under way by calling on Monaghan Councillor Caoimhghin O Caoláin to introduce the British Strategy in Ireland section of the Political Report.

This report was an innovative feature brought in, the Clár explained, as "an attempt to broaden out the range of discussion at the Ard Fheis from being primarily concerned with policy change and update to include discussion on the current political situation and how Sinn Féin can best advance".

The British Strategy in Ireland

section condemned the Hillsborough Treaty as a continuation of British objectives since 1972 to stabilise the situation in the Six Counties by "attempting to draw pragmatic unionists into an alliance with the Catholic middle class", being aimed by the British "at stabilising the Six Counties in its own interests by introducing limited or symbolic reforms which attempt to make the Northern state more tolerable to a section of the nationalist community and to international opinion".

This section of the report and its accompanying motion were carried

unanimously by the delegates.

DISGRACEFUL TREACHERY

O Caoláin also dealt with Dublin government collaboration and the continuing priority area of extradition. He finished his account of the "disgraceful treachery of Dublin" with a defiant message: "Yet we survive, our support undiminished; our struggle remains vibrant; we shall succeed in spite of you."

The report condemned Dublin's coercive legislation, active collusion with British forces, Section 31 and the revisionist rewriting of Irish history in the interests of anti-national and West Brit interests.

John Doyle called on Party Chairperson Seán Mac Manus to deliver the opening address. After

welcoming everyone to the Ard Fheis and extending solidarity to the men and women of the IRA and to the republican prisoners throughout the world, he digressed from his prepared script to congratulate Nelson Mandela on his impending release.

He condemned Gerry Collins' lip service when he talked of freedom and democracy, given his silence on what has been happening in prisons in this country and the record of the Dublin administration in the denial of human rights. He reminded the gathering that Nelson Mandela was originally jailed on explosives charges and that many Irish republican prisoners were in prison on the same charges: "Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners around the world seeking freedom for their countries, we salute you."

CONTRASTS

He contrasted the momentous changes in Eastern Europe and the USSR with the Irish experience: "Amid the euphoria and hyped-up premature obituaries for the socialist experience in Europe, the ongoing Irish struggle for liberation and democracy has been largely overlooked. Why is the 'move to

warmly welcomed by Thatcher and our very own European 'leader', Charles Haughey, not extended to that last bastion of British imperialism — the North of Ireland."

He condemned British insistence on an IRA ceasefire before engaging in talks: "Attempts to shift the North onto republicans will fail, because anyone who understands the situation there knows that it is the root of the problem and that armed resistance is only a response to that presence. Obviously, it is the British, by their intransigence and their preconditions, who are delay-

ing talks and continuing the conflict."

He went over the events of the past year and had this to say about what is necessary for an increase in electoral support: "We must continue the slow process of building a solid base of support on the traditional republican-type issues and on the many social and economic issues which dominate the lives of the people. There are no short cuts. Opportunistic interventions will gain only one return — short-term support."

ECONOMIC HARDSHIPS

He spoke about the economic hardships faced by those trapped below the poverty line both North and South of the border. In the 26 Counties he condemned the recent budget as making no attempt to alleviate unemployment, emigration or poverty. He called for a total prohibition on repatriation of profits and investment abroad by Irish capitalists and for an end to privatisation and the re-introduction of exchange controls. He spoke of the upcoming local elections in the 26 Counties and of the need to win over the numbers who are seeking an alternative. "We have that alternative. It is up to us to get our message across and convince them of the validity of our arguments and our policies."

The Ard Fheis also passed that section of the Political Report dealing with Six-County Assemblies, condemning the Hillsborough Treaty and the involvement of the SDLP in attempts to strengthen partition by supporting some form of devolved government. The motion stated that "such a partitionist structure can only be an obstacle which will delay the achievement of national self-determination and will not, in any real way, alleviate the grievances of the oppressed nationalist people."

20 Years of resistance

LAST YEAR'S Ard Fheis committed Sinn Féin to broad-based campaigning on nationalist and republican objectives. During the discussions on '20 years of resistance and mobilising the base' republicans reported on 12 months of broad front activity.

Mairéad Keane for the Ard Chomhairle pointed to the efforts of the 26-County political establishment to isolate anyone who presented nationalist or republican answers but argued that "the mood is changing and people are no longer prepared to accept the effects of partition".

She pointed to the successful FADA march protesting against 20 years of British militarism. Although the labour movement tends to avoid the national liberation struggle, concentrating almost exclusively on 26-County social issues, she noted that there was increasing debate on the Six Counties within it.

Jim Gibney pointed to the success of the Palestinian Intifada [uprising] and the activities of the mass movements in South Africa as evidence that broad front campaigning could bring extraordinary results.

Under this section a Dublin cumann moved a motion to change the party's political policy. Sinn Féin has argued for the calling of a constitutional convention in the event of a British withdrawal but the Devlin/Sands Cumann proposed instead that power should be handed to the Dublin government pending all-Ireland elections.

Speaking for the Ard Chomhairle Seán Mac Manus doubted whether the Dublin government would bother to call elections in such a situation. "I wouldn't trust them to tie their own shoelaces," he said. The motion was heavily defeated.

PROTESTANTS

Saturday morning concluded with a discussion on how the deep gulf between republicans and the Protestant community might be bridged. Pat Doherty of the Ard Chomhairle reminded delegates "we are proud of the fact that the founders of the Republican Movement were of a Protestant religion. Doherty pointed to a "haze of

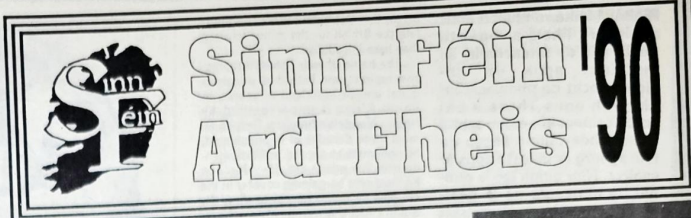


● JIM GIBNEY

misrepresentation" about republicanism. "One week we're called fascist, the next we're called marxist. We're called godless, then we're called religious bigots." He concluded by warning those of the loyalist community that "Britain does not have permanent friends, only permanent interests".

Tom Hartley argued that republicans must "try and rise above the effects of imperialism" to understand the loyalist point of view. Rita O'Hare spoke of her own Protestant background: "It was republican Presbyterians who struck some of the hardest blows against British imperialism in our country. But I grew up not knowing my history, not knowing that my ancestors had that role."

The Ard Fheis resolved to take all measures possible to explain the republican struggle to Protestants and to show that it is not "a struggle for a Catholic state".



In the front line

"Let no-one underestimate the effects of censorship," said Seosamh O Raghallaigh of the Ard Chomhairle as he opened Saturday morning's debate on elections.

"It has been, and is, our greatest handicap. But all problems cannot be laid at its door. During recent elections there were severe organisational difficulties in many areas." He argued that these difficulties had to be confronted before the coming local elections in the 26 Counties which are likely to be held in conjunction with September's presidential election.

The Ard Chomhairle report suggested that Sinn Féin's poor election results "should have surprised no-one". Micheál O Muireagáin listed many ongoing campaigns on social and economic issues in which Sinn Féin members played leading roles. John Doyle, Dublin Organiser, said: "If anyone picked up the Cavan and Monaghan papers this week they would be left in no doubt as to which party had the most radical political stand on a host of political issues. We have seven councillors in that area and this is due to their consistent political work."

Both the Ard Chomhairle report and the motion detailing electoral

priorities which went with it, were passed.

SIX-COUNTY

Pat McGeown of Comhairle na Sé Chontae spoke on Six-County elections and reminded delegates that "a clear message was delivered by over one third of the nationalist people" when they voted Sinn Féin at the recent poll. He called on the press to "stop being Thatcher's mouthpiece" and paid tribute to Sinn Féin councillors. "They might truly be said to be in the front line every day and every night and they're targets for loyalist thugs."

Richard McAuley pointed out that in areas where Sinn Féin was well-organised, it increased its vote: "Having said that, I am not nor would I try to, underestimate the damage done to our potential support by IRA operations which have gone wrong. And yes, the IRA must realise that such operations damage the credibility and the potential of the national liberation struggle."

He pointed out that John Hume's



● SEOSAMH O RAGHALLAIGH

EC election campaign cost £47,000 while Sinn Féin spent only £9,000.

Fintan O Caoiláin disagreed with a section of the report which suggested that Sinn Féin candidates "could not compete" with the "qualifications" of SDLP opponents and proposed an amendment removing these words, saying that "I'd also like to send greetings to the only candidate in the Six-County EC election who did have the right qualifications — Danny Morrison." When the remark was greeted with warm applause, he added: "I hope that this is not regarded as a cynical attempt to gain favour for our amendment." The amendment was successful.



● URSULA QUINN

The Ard Fheis adopted a detailed section of the Political Report reiterating Sinn Féin's opposition to the Programme for National Recovery and urging trade unionists to withdraw from it and fight for an alternative programme which would tackle unemployment by taxing wealth and stopping the drain of Irish company and multinational profits from the country, introduce a minimum wage, implement the recommendations of the Commission on Social Welfare and reverse cuts in health and education.

Dublin delegate Frank Connolly said that the PNR was "the 26-County economic counterpart of the Hillsborough Agreement" and pointed out that Sinn Féin was the only party with principled opposition to it.

HEALTH

In the debate on health Martin McTiernan of Leitrim described the "sham war in Leinster House between the two parties who, between them, have devastated the health services". Supporting the resolution which condemned the creation of a two-tier health service the speaker said that "health-care must be a basic right - it can't be a marketable product".

Ursula Quinn from Dublin reminded the delegates that it was local communities who were being forced to make up for the short-fall in services as a result of government cutbacks, especially in the area of education. She cited the example of North Clondalkin where people had to fight for four years for a secondary school.

Dúirt Micheál O Muireagáin go dtéann an bochtanas i bhfad níos faide ná an córas leas sóisialta, ach go hairithe dóibh siúd atá ar phá iséal. "Tá dualgas ar bhallraiocht Shinn Féin bheith chun tosaigh sa troid ar ais" a dúirt sé.

Discrimination highlighted

"EVERY TIME Thatcher sneezes the Six Counties catches a cold." Identifying the economic relationship between Britain and the North and highlighting the impact of continuing sectarian discrimination in employment, West Belfast Councillor Mairtín O Muilleoir opened the debate on the Six-County economy. He continued:

"The fact that the depressed areas of the North have been ignored shouldn't surprise us, those areas, after all, are on the edge of her empire. The minimal efforts which have been made by the British government in the Six Counties have failed and failed again, even in the loyalist areas those efforts have failed. Within the nationalist areas the situation is, of course, far far worse."

Highlighting the impact of continued sectarian discrimination within employment, O Muilleoir said:

"Despite the increasing rate of unemployment affecting loyalist areas, it still bears no comparison to

the level endured in nationalist areas. In Lisburn, nationalists make up 5% of the population, yet the nationalist areas of Twinbrook and Poleglass endure 33% of the borough's unemployment rate. The same story is reflected in West Belfast which endures 10% of the overall unemployment in the Six Counties."

Slamming the British government's so-called economic development agencies, O Muilleoir pointed out that LEDU, IDB and DED spent more energy campaigning against the MacBride Principles of fair employment, than providing work in deprived nationalist areas.

(continued on page 10)

RADICAL PROGRAMME SOUGHT

ON SATURDAY afternoon the Ard Fheis considered the 26-County economy and most of the debate focussed on the Dublin government's Programme for National Recovery (PNR) and the role of the trade unions in its implementation.

The mood of the delegates was summed up by Martin McGeown, head of the Sinn Féin Trade Union

Department, who said that the leadership of the ICTU had become "enforcers of government policy".

FEARAIM fáilte romhaibh arais chuig Ard Fheis ar bpáirtí. Bliain eile de streachailt, de fhulaingt agus de ghníomhaíocht do phoblachtóirí Thuaidh agus Theas a bhí ann. D'ainneoin sár-iarrachtaí ar naimhde táimid anseo go fóill ag lorg ár gcearta agus ar saoirse. Níor éirigh leo le gunnaí, le himeagla nó le geallúintí bréagacha ár streachailt a stad, a mhoilliú nó a thiontú arais.

This is Sinn Féin's 85th Ard Fheis, evidence in itself of the ability of British colonialism to survive. The continued existence of colonialism and all its symptoms in Ireland to this day is a measure of the intransigence of the forces of reaction in our country. That our struggle continues against all the odds, is a measure of the courage, self-sacrifice and tenacity of successive generations of republicans.

Our party is almost as old as this century. Our struggle is older still, as old as the conquest itself.

Without the commitment and loyalty of the men and women who have gone before us there may well have been no Republican Movement when the reaction of the British state to the civil rights struggle in the North brought the question of the British partition of our country back on to the political agenda.

Throughout Ireland older comrades played an outstanding role in support of the youth who rushed into struggle. As we face into the 1990s we salute them. Some of them are at this Ard Fheis today. I would like to make a special tribute to Rita McGlynn from Dublin, Gerry 'the Bird' Doherty from Derry, Clement Geaney from County Louth, Dan Gleeson from Tipperary and Liam Mulholland and Brigid Hannan from Belfast. All have given decades, some have given 60 years service to this struggle. They, like many others, not present here today, have always been at hand when we needed them.

So also have our friends throughout the world particularly in Britain and the USA. We extend greetings and solidarity to all supporters of Irish freedom everywhere but I would like to select, for special mention, our friends in the Irish Northern Aid Committee (INAC) in the USA who recently celebrated 20 years of solidarity work which parallels the last 20 years of struggle here in Ireland. The INAC has a proud record. We applaud it.

● PRISONERS

There are almost 800 republican POWs in jails throughout the world. Regardless of their location all republican POWs are political hostages. They and their families all suffer some form of brutality, isolation and victimisation.

In recent years the prison struggle has often taken the form of a psychological battle. This arises from the refusal of both the London and Dublin governments to give release dates for POWs serving indeterminate sentences, the refusal to transfer Irish POWs imprisoned in England to jails closer to their families, the strip-searching of women prisoners, and the everyday harassment which families face when visiting the prison.

Among the POWs there are 174 men and women serving life sentences. The majority of these prisoners have served over 12 years and over 20 of them are in the 17th and 18th years of their sentences.

Sinn Féin supports the campaigns in the Six and 26 Counties to secure release dates for all political prisoners. We extend greetings to our outgoing Director of Publicity Danny Morrison and the other victims of the latest RUC frame-up.

We condemn, as hypocritical, Dublin's refusal to give release dates for prisoners in Portlaoise while at the

same time Dublin ministers congratulate the British for the minor reforms they have introduced.

The battle of wills between repressive regimes and individual prisoners is not unique to Ireland of course. In South Africa it is personified by Nelson Mandela's heroism. Despite almost three decades of imprisonment, he continues to set the political agenda from his prison cell. He refuses to be used as a bargaining counter in the struggle for democracy or to allow the South African government to set preconditions for his release.

We extend solidarity to Mandela and his people at this historic phase of the liberation struggle in South Africa, and to all other political hostages.

Since we last assembled here we have lost several friends and comrades. I want to extend a much sadder message of solidarity to the comrades and family of 20-year-old IRA Volunteer James Connolly who died on active service just one year ago. I extend solidarity to the men and women of Oglagh na hÉireann. I extend solidarity and sympathy also to the families of Councillor John Davey, IRA Volunteer Gerry Casey and Phelim McNally, brother of Councillor Francie McNally, all victims of pro-British death-squads. There was a direct British crown forces involvement in their killings, just as there was in the murder of civil rights lawyer Pat Finucane.

Sinn Féin's claims that this was so were dismissed by our opponents. Revelations of collusion after the killing of Loughlin Maginn in County Down showed the depth of crown forces involvement with these death-squads.

In the last 12 months we also saw the passing of two pioneers of this phase of the struggle, IRA Volunteers Seamus Twomey and Mossie Prendergast.

Cuimhníodhinn orthu go léir sna blianta ára romhainn.

I extend best wishes on your behalf also to Councillor Brendan Curran, wounded in a murder attempt and to other comrades who had narrow escapes.

● PRIORITIES

The priorities for Sinn Féin in the year ahead are to develop and strengthen our party organisation, to improve our publicity output and to overcome the effects of censorship. This requires forward planning for phases of five-year programmes. An essential part of this political offensive is active campaigning on relevant issues which affect people in their daily lives and putting our republican analysis to their problems. Our struggle has both class and national aspects which influence one another. We must resist any temptation to separate these aspects either politically or organisationally. This, the national liberation phase of our struggle, must encompass both. This is natural given the nature of society in Ireland, our historical experience and the effects of British imperialism and partition as the major cause of poverty, unemployment and emigration in both parts of our country.

The record of the Dublin government and the other Dublin parties on these issues is a disgraceful one. This week we have seen yet another book-keeping budget. The fair economic forecasts now being made ignore the fact that this improvement for the few has been achieved at the expense of our health and education, with the assistance of the emigrant ship or plane and the creation of a mass of low paid workers, intimidated from demanding their rights in an employers' market.

The divisions between rich and poor in this two-tier society will be intensified with the advent of the Single Market in 1992. Consequently, the urgent measures necessary to alleviate poverty, and to begin the process of ending it, will be harder to achieve as power is increasingly transferred to the bureaucracy in Brussels.

Such a prospect and the failure of the conservative parties in Leinster



House should concentrate the minds of all republicans, socialists and democrats on the need to build a real democratic alternative that can give working-class people an effective voice.

In challenging the dominance of the conservative establishment we must continue to build support for a democratic solution to the national question and promote the demand for Irish independence and national self-determination as central to solving the many problems facing Irish people today.

We will face elections in the near future. In the 26 Counties this party will contest the next local government elections on as wide a base as possible.

In the Six Counties we must begin the preparatory work now for the next British parliamentary elections and for other elections if the British decide to organise a Six-County electoral contest to vet another version of Stormont. In such a contest we will be reiterating Sinn Féin's opposition to any Six-County arrangement whether or not this has the support of the Dublin government.

There is no partitionist solution to the problem of British interference in Irish affairs.

Indeed, in the unlikely event of the British government cobbling together some durable Stormont arrangement, its existence will perpetuate the conflict and delay a democratic solution. Is the limit of an SDLP vision? Do SDLP supporters really wish to be responsible for British prison policy, the continued administrative practice of discrimination or the actions of British crown forces? Do they wish merely to be place seekers and time servers, castle-Catholics in a discredited British colony?

A return to Stormont is certainly the blinkered ambition of the unionist leaderships. It is a primary objective of British policy. It will be opposed by Sinn Féin. After 20 years of British failure, I take this opportunity to appeal to the SDLP leadership to abandon their support for British strategy. The failure of the SDLP to do this on many occasions has sustained the British in their search for an arrangement which suits British interests. A forthright declaration by the SDLP that there is no partitionist solution, indeed that there is no British solution, would concentrate the mind of the British government and advance the search for peace in Ireland.

● COLLABORATION

In this respect the role of the Dublin government is crucial. That role is dominated by Mr Haughey's government's willingness to collaborate with the British state. Extensive use of coer-

cive legislation, backed up by sizeable economic, military and police resources, is used in an effort to destroy republicanism. Section 31, recently copied by the British, has been used to silence the voice of dissent, and revisionism has reached deluge proportions.

The active collaboration of the 26-County government with the British government in terms of anti-republican propaganda and censorship, collusion with the British forces, and use of diplomatic activity to justify Britain's interference in Ireland rather than making the case for Irish independence, is a major aid to British policy in Ireland. We can be assured that this crucial Irish and European issue will not feature during Mr Haughey's much-publicised EC presidency.

This support for British policy is not just delaying Irish independence and self-determination. Information passed by gardai to the British crown forces has undoubtedly been used by loyalist death-squads to target uninvolved nationalists and republican activists alike. By its extradition policy with Britain the 26-County government is handing people over to face the same treatment meted out, for example, to the Guildford Four, the Birmingham Six, the Winchester Three and Judith Ward.

Jim Clarke, Dermot Finucane, Owen Carron, Dessie Ellis, Tony Sloan, Robert Campbell, Paul Magee and Michael McKee are the latest potential victims of Dublin's subservience to Thatcher.

The Dublin government has, thankfully, not got everything its own way, and there is widespread discontent at the government's refusal to stand by its own policies.

Sinn Féin welcomes the developments which have taken place in the last 12 months when broad-based efforts to mark the last 20 years of British occupation and the 70th anniversary of the Democratic Programme of the First Dáil were morale-boosting successes. The organisers deserve hearty congratulations.

We welcome other initiatives to mobilise progressive opinion behind democratic demands. These are small but hopeful signs of a changing mood and augur well for the future when a mass democratic movement will be built out of such activity, with its own agreed demands on democratic, political, economic and cultural issues.

Such activity needs to be built also at local level. The 1980s was a decade when, on this island, the rich got richer and the poor got poorer. This is the Ireland of Mr Haughey and Mr Brooke, Mr Paisley and Mr Hume. It is not an Ireland for the Irish people. We deserve better than that.

Campaigns against poverty and ex-

ploitation need to be intensified. Thatcher's social and economic vandalism affect working-class Protestants as well as Catholics in the North. The unionist leaderships are not concerned about the plight of their poorer constituents. They represent different interests and are content to play the same old "no surrender" games. Working-class people deserve better than that.

Unfortunately, it is unlikely that any sizeable section of working-class Protestants in the North will desert the unionist parties while the union with Britain remains. This is one of the points which was confirmed in a series of discussions which I and others had with some Protestants in the Six Counties in the last few months. Other members of our leadership had separate discussions with other representatives. I welcome the opportunity these discussions gave us to hear, at first hand, views which many republicans are not exposed to, certainly not in the frank but friendly way which we experienced.

I appreciate the real risks for those involved. It is a courageous thing for representatives of Protestant or unionist opinion to talk to any non-unionist representatives and especially with Sinn Féin.

It is our intention to continue with these discussions with as wide a spectrum of unionist opinion as possible. It is pointless at this time, given their present position, for me to invite the main unionist leaderships to discussions though I look forward to such dialogue in the future and I would welcome it at any time. Sinn Féin has nothing to fear from such conversations. Indeed we are morally bound to seek dialogue as part of our search for peace in our country and among our people.

● CULTURE

At our last Ard Fheis I warned British Minister Brian Mawhinney that he was making a mistake in assuming that opposition to his proposals to downgrade the Irish language would be confined to Sinn Féin.

I commend all the Irish language organisations and activists, including our own republican Gaeilgoilte for forcing Mr Mawhinney to backtrack considerably on his original proposals. There is no room for complacency however. There is still work to be done. There is a need for a renewed effort this year to reverse the British government's policy of cultural discrimination and to publicise the Dublin government's lip-service to the Irish language and to the wider issue of culture.

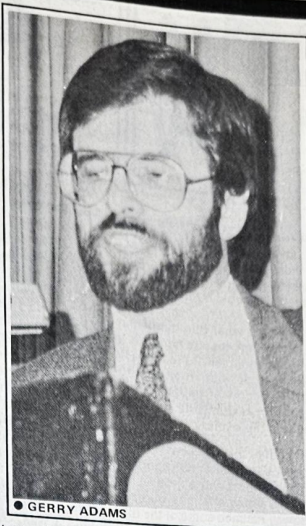
Ag an Ard Fheis dheireanach dúirt mé leis an Aire Briotanach, Brian Mawhinney, go raibh dul amú air maid

Presidential by Gerry A



ial address Adams MP

Féin '90 Fheis



● GERRY ADAMS

the realm of political jockeying to the realm of the possible.

Concurrently, the debate has moved to encompass the reduction in conventional forces also. All of this augurs well for real world peace. The freeing of resources, formerly spent on armaments, should be constructively used in the service of humanity and our environment.

Political developments in the socialist countries have also moved abreast of the world peace debate as a result of those policies. While the ultimate outcome of those developments yet remains to be seen, we welcome all measures and events which help the creation of genuine and lasting democracy and self-determination.

It is worth noting that those who vilify Irish nationalism and deny its legitimacy are fulsome in their praise of the nationalist movements sweeping the Soviet Union. We remind them all that there can never be a united Europe unless there is a united Ireland.

● DISCRIMINATION

One important issue which I have already mentioned is the issue of discrimination in the Six Counties where the structural nature of discrimination and its consequences remain intact.

The British government has never shown good faith on this issue.

While billions of pounds have been poured into Shorts and the Belfast shipyard in the privatisation process, West Belfast, with head of household unemployment levels of 80-90% has received crumbs. Other areas have received even less.

The new British legislation is generally accepted, by objective observers, as being a political response to the political pressure brought to bear on the British government as a result of the MacBride Principles Campaign in the United States.

The new legislation is a purely cosmetic response and not one aimed at bringing about significant positive effect.

Monitoring of the workforce, affirmative action, and contract compliance are all acknowledged key elements in any anti-discrimination legislation. The new British act is deficient in all these areas.

For example the British government refuses to adopt the modest proposal of its own standing advisory commission on human rights to set itself the target of changing the current unemployment ratio of 2½ to 1 between Catholic and Protestant males to one of 1½ to one over a five-year period.

Despite the cynical and cosmetic nature of the British government's response, its methods have been widely exposed internationally. So too has

the opportunism of the Dublin government and the SDLP. It is to their everlasting shame that even the British Labour Party leadership had a stronger position than theirs.

Dublin's opportunism on this issue should come as no surprise to any Irish citizen. It is perfectly in keeping with its attitude on a wide range of issues.

For example, the last 20 years have seen the perfection of counter-insurgency techniques by the British government. In recent years these techniques have been fused into a multi-faceted pacification programme which is increasingly dependent on co-operation by the Dublin government. The Hillsborough Treaty was described recently by British Minister Brooke as a 'treaty' where the Irish government have subscribed to and endorsed the principle that it is the majority in Northern Ireland who should actually determine the constitutional future of the province' (mar dheá).

This treaty continues to be the kernel of British government strategy. It seeks to introduce limited reforms of the British state in order to satisfy international opinion and in an effort to draw the Catholic middle class into an alliance with pragmatic unionists. At the same time it harmonises military and other methods of repression while attempting to develop economic, social and other measures to isolate us, to marginalise us and, in the final analysis, to destroy us.

Imperialism is bound to use all the means and methods at its disposal to defeat us. The Dublin government and the SDLP leadership (heavily subsidised and resourced by reactionary elements) play a major part in this project as does another arm of the Irish establishment — the Catholic hierarchy.

In this century colonialism was in retreat throughout the world. But the defeat of the colonial forces wasn't due to moral pressure from the churches or because of a change of heart on the part of the imperialists but rather because they couldn't smash the desire of subject peoples to be free.

If the church hierarchies really wanted justice and equality in Ireland they would be in the leadership of a revolution. Instead they are in the leadership of a counter-revolution.

Propaganda, enhanced by the censorship of this party, is a key element in the full frontal assault on us and our supporters. Again and again and again we have been told that we cannot win. Again and again and again a chorus of mediocre nonentities have mouthed this line. How many times have we heard it in recent months?

Tom King flew in after the IRA attack at Derryard to tell the British army, and the rest of us, that he wasn't

going to give in. Then he flew out again.

The aim of all this implacable no-can-win nonsense is obvious of course. It is aimed not only at IRA Volunteers. It is aimed at us. It is aimed at the republican base. And it is aimed also at the British forces' crumbling morale.

The British government's partition system in Ireland is in a crisis. It cannot rule as it did before 1969. It has tried relentlessly to find an arrangement, any arrangement, which protects its interests or brings stability or contains the situation. And just as it thinks it is getting somewhere it finds it is back where it started, minus yet another option.

The continued widespread use of British military force and the near hysteria at times of its supporters reflect the depth of the crisis for the British and Irish establishments arising from their failure to suppress our will to be free.

They have tried for 20 years to kill us, to imprison us, to marginalise us. They have tried to isolate us, to outmanoeuvre us. They have tried to buy us off, to patronise us. And they have failed, again and again.

In the last months of 1989 we were treated to incessant and at times almost hysterical declarations from the British establishment that the IRA would never succeed. British Minister Peter Brooke's 100 days interview in November provided an interesting insight into the real mentality of the British establishment and its attitude to the republican struggle.

Most significant, of course was his admission that there can be no military defeat of the IRA. Not only did this admission fly in the face of years of British propaganda but it represents a clear acceptance that the British forces are fighting and dying in a lost cause. Mr Brooke says they cannot defeat the IRA. This is a pressing and compelling reason for them to stop fighting now in order that the conditions for justice and peace in Ireland can be agreed.

Serious observers of the conflict in Ireland, including the British government, know that talks with Sinn Féin are inevitable. But Mr Brooke's remarks represent a public acceptance of these realities by a British minister. They are an implicit, but clear, public admission that present British government policy on Ireland has failed.

The British government knows that if the conflict in Ireland is to be resolved talks are essential and inevitable. What then, is the justification for refusing to talk now? The failure to do now what they know they will do in the future is prolonging the conflict and perpetuating the suffering for both the Irish and the British people. The only logic for such a delay is our contention that the British government lacks the moral courage to confront the political conditions which exist in the North of Ireland.

● DEMOCRATIC MANDATE

Sinn Féin has a democratic mandate to represent the political views of our constituents. To demand that we condemn armed struggle as a precondition for our inclusion in talks is a pretext for delaying the inevitable. It ignores the fact that every political party in Ireland, and in Britain, supports in some form the use of military force. Peter Brooke has no democratic mandate. Yet he has under his direct control in Ireland, 30,000 armed members of the British forces. It is particularly hypocritical for the SDLP to mimic the British line in support of such preconditions when the SDLP leadership engaged in a lengthy round of talks with Sinn Féin without any suggestion of such preconditions.

Of course the response of the Irish establishment in general to Mr Brooke's remarks has been predictably weak-kneed. Instead of tackling the British government for pursuing a policy which condemns us all to unnecessary conflict, Dublin and the SDLP launched their now customary attack on the republican struggle. They

blame the victims of a failed British government policy rather than confronting those responsible for that failed policy.

The reason for this is obvious. They support British policy. Its failure is their failure. They have, consequently, squandered yet another opportunity to stand up to Britain, to demand that the conditions for real peace be created now rather than later.

Sinn Féin is ready, at any time, to discuss the conditions in which peace and justice can be established. We are actively endeavouring to create such conditions.

It is Peter Brooke who is delaying this process. It is his government which is prolonging the conflict.

It was the ongoing failure of the British and their unionist allies to subvert a popular struggle of resistance to British rule in the Six Counties, allied to the emergence of Sinn Féin as an electoral force in the wake of the heroic hunger-strikes and the IRA's continued ability and capacity to strike telling blows against the colonial regime, which led to the Hillsborough Treaty. Its aim was to defeat us. It has failed to do so.

Sinn Féin support remains intact and the IRA continues to demonstrate its ability to shatter the British propagandist myth of the invincibility of the British army and its most elite regiments.

Young British soldiers, and others in the crown forces, are questioning whether they should allow themselves to die in defence of a system in which they have no stake. They and we have a number of things in common. Among other things, they and we know that the British army fights in a lost cause. The justness of our cause speaks for itself and must be guarded jealously. It must never be undermined by any republican actions. The last few years and the last two decades, conclusively demonstrate that we enjoy sufficient support to defend and advance the interests of our struggle if we do so intelligently. Regardless of the means and methods our enemy uses to subvert us and regardless of the support it enlists from its allies, our supporters have remained staunch. They have my humble and everlasting admiration and gratitude. They are the heroines and heroes of this struggle.

In focusing its attention directly at them and at our base, British strategy aims, as we have seen, to psych us out, to convince us of the futility of our efforts and to demoralise our supporters. In many ways it seeks also to use the length of our struggle against us. None of this comes as any surprise. We cannot expect anything else.

What should our response be? Should we retreat before this counter-offensive? Should we submit to revisionism, neo-colonialism and the perpetuation of British rule with all its evils? Does Thatcher expect us to say "well we've done our best, what's the use, there's no point in going on"? If by chance she and her cronies think this will be the message from Ard Fheis then once again they have got it wrong.

Our message is one of continued resistance and popular struggle. We have a lot of lost ground to make up in the 26 Counties but in the Six Counties we are committed to continuing to dictate the political agenda. We are not merely going to respond to what our opponents are doing. We are going to move things on at our own pace.

This is the attitude of mind which we intend to inculcate throughout the ranks of our party and among our supporters. We have the will to win. We also have the ability to win. It will not be easy. But the prize — freedom, justice and peace — and the tide of history demand that we continue going forward. Our message for the 1990s is a reasonable one. Britain out of Ireland. National self-determination for the Irish people.

**SAOIRSE,
CEART AGUS
SIOCHAN**

● EASTERN EUROPE

Last year's Sinn Féin Ard Fheis welcomed the policies of Glasnost and Perestroika being pursued by Soviet Premier Mikhail Gorbachev. These policies have encouraged the development of a scenario in which, about nuclear disarmament, and the ever-attendant threat of nuclear holocaust, have moved from



Sinn Féin '90 Ard Fheis



● TED HOWELL

(continued from page 7) MAWHINNEY CONDEMNED.

Supporting the political report, speakers condemned the proposals of NIO minister, Brian Mawhinney, as a blatant attempt to keep nationalists and workers "in their place". One speaker from Belfast said the motivation behind the new measures was not a case of cost-cutting as the new proposals were actually more expensive.

"The British government has simply learnt the lessons of the 1960s when access to higher education gave nationalists and working-class people in the Six Counties aspirations the British government had no intention of fulfilling."

Speaking on behalf of the Ard Chomhairle, Sinn Féin spokesperson for education in the Six Counties, Pat Rice, said Mawhinney's proposals were simply a "smart way" of removing Irish from the curriculum in nationalist schools.

"In the past Irish has been offered in all nationalist schools in the Six Counties, under the new proposals it can only be studied in conjunction with another European language. Funding problems and time-table pressure will almost in-

variably result in the removal of Irish from the curriculum."

PICKET MOTIVATION QUESTIONED

Commenting on the picketing of the Ard Fheis by the New Consensus Group, Sinn Féin Ard Rúnaí Tom Hartley informed the Ard Fheis that, in response to a letter received by Gerry Adams, the group had been invited to speak to the Ard Chomhairle. He continued:

"Consensus can only be achieved through dialogue. The failure of this group to respond to our invitation must bring into question the motivation behind the picket. I suspect that what we have here today is an exercise in political point scoring rather than a serious attempt to assist the creation of real peace and democracy in Ireland."

"We can assess the true commitment of the group by the individuals either on the picket here today, or having sent messages of support. Conor Cruise O'Brien, and we all know his contribution to peace in Ireland, Proinsias de Rossa and worst of all Ken Maginnis, whose remarks, following the deaths of two IRA Volunteers, will be remembered by the people here, 'two

swallows don't make a summer'. Any individual or group has a right to picket and to free expression, but at least they should try to be consistent."

"I suspect what has happened here today has less to do with a genuine commitment to real peace and more to do with an attempt to make the victims of oppression in this country responsible for what happens in this country."

FOREIGN AFFAIRS REPORT

Presenting a detailed report of the achievements and objectives of the party's Foreign Affairs Bureau, Ted Howell outlined some of the difficulties involved in getting Sinn Féin's message across in the international arena.

Commenting on the development of the international publicity and information committee, whose considered and consistent work has ensured 3,000 briefing documents being distributed monthly to journalists and politicians throughout the world, Howell outlined the problems faced by the department in getting the party's message across.

"The reality, for many years, has been that most international media correspondents report the conflict in Ireland from the confines of London. At a press conference there last autumn, Gerry Adams likened that situation to one of reporting the Palestinian Intifada from Tel Aviv."

Welcoming all international delegates to the Ard Fheis, the report acknowledged the important contribution of solidarity groups working abroad. Howell commented:

"The stamina of Noraid is evident in its longevity. Evidence of its relevance and vibrancy could be witnessed only two weeks ago in the outstanding turnout at its New York testimonial dinner."

On the question of the MacBride Principles campaign, he said:

"Of one thing we can be sure, if the MacBride Principles campaign runs out of steam, discrimination, as a live political issue, will cease to exist and with it the hopes generated in the victims of discrimination."



● CAOIMHGHIN O CAOLÁIN

privatisation policies on local services. Belfast Councillor Lily Fitzsimmons outlined the problems faced by councillors when confronted by the sectarian practices and bigotry of the unionist-controlled councils.

Addressing the motions, fellow councillor, Alex Maskey drew out some of the contradictions faced by Sinn Féin councillors working within the sectarian Six-County statelet. He pointed out that calling for increased local democracy there without confronting the question of sectarian bigotry, where 17 out of 26 councils were unionist-controlled, was simply to strengthen a mechanism whereby the nationalist community was disenfranchised.

Chomhairle, said there were two key areas of Sinn Féin policy on local councils, the restoration of decision making and adequate local funding.

"In 1977 when Fianna Fáil came to power, they removed the rates from private property and replaced it with VAT. Since then service charges have slipped into most local services. With funding from central government reduced by almost 50%, local authorities have been continually cut back and run down. Local councillors should represent the demands of the people."

Dodie McGuinness outlined the devastation of British government

ASSERTING IDENTITY

MAIREAD KEANE of the Ard Chomhairle and head of the Sinn Féin Women's Department opened the section on Women. "Irish women on both sides of the border continue to pay the price of British rule," she said.



● MAIREAD KEANE

the Eastern Health Board (EHB). He described the conditions to which battered women in the Dublin area are being sent, in the present conditions of overcrowding, as a disgrace to the EHB.

ARD CHOMHAIRLE

Those elected to the Ard Chomhairle were as follows:

Jim McAllister, Caoimhghin O Caoláin, Martin McGuinness, Jim Gibney, Danny Morrison, Rose Duggdale, Anne Speed and Jim Monaghan.

Ag labhairt ar son an Ard Chomhairle, gabh Gearóid O hEara buíochas do gach éinne as bheith foighneach leis an córas aistriúcháin. Cosúil leis an chad iarracht ar gach rud nua, bhi deachraicht. Dúirt sé go dtaispeánann sé seo go dtuigeann Sinn Féin an ceangal idir an teanga agus saoirse na tíre.

"Taispeánann poblachtánaigh é seo sa phríosúin, ar sráideanna an Tuaiscirt, in AP/RN agus anois ag an Ard Fheis." Dúirt sé le gach uile grúpa agus duine atá ag obair ar son na Gaeilge — "Leanaigh an sámpa seo."

Fresh air and free speech

SUNDAY MORNING opened with a report on the environment from Pat Doherty of the Ard Chomhairle in which he committed Sinn Féin to work with other environmentally aware groups to build a national mass movement against the toxic industries.

He condemned the Dublin government's 'action programme' on the environment as a "mirage" and pointed out that the day after it was announced, the people of Ballymahon, County Longford, showed that there was an unguarded empty factory on the banks of the Shannon "which contained 20,000 litres of cyanide in barrels. Just imagine the catastrophe that would be caused if this cyanide spilled into the river!"

Doherty complimented the Jeff McKenna Cumann, Dublin, for a lengthy and detailed motion on the subject.

Terry Moore from Kildare pointed out that Ireland was the ninth largest producer of chemicals and pharmaceuticals in the world and warned of frighteningly high cancer rates. She condemned government measures on Dublin's smog as a "smogscreen". "It is a plan to fool us into thinking they're doing something."

Ingrid Kabitz of Dublin opposed a bypass along the southern edge of Dublin bay and Liam Allen of

Youghal explained how Cork republicans and local people helped successfully to fight the setting up of the poisonous Merrell Dow plant in their area.

DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS

Introducing the section on Democratic Rights for the Ard Chomhairle, Anne Speed said that she would "like to take this opportunity to criticise those in the media who implement censorship". She said that while people have come to expect anti-republican editorials in the establishment press, there is another facet of censorship imposed by individual journalists who pose as experts on issues relating to the Republican Movement but who never bother to ring up and ask Sinn Féin's opinion on issues upon which they write.

The whole area of the harassment of republicans by "our very own Securitate" — the Branch, is ignored by the media.

"Victory against censorship is a victory for democracy," she said.

(continued on page 11)

Centralisation & Sectarianism

THE DENIAL of local democracy, either through an increasing erosion of local authority power in the 26 Counties or through the continuing operation of sectarianism in the Six Counties, was the underlying theme of the debate on local government.

Introducing the Ard Chomhairle Political Report, Sinn Féin Councillor Caoimhghin O Caoláin said local authorities in the 26 Counties were simply administrative decisions taken by central government.

"Sinn Féin will continue to work for greater local democracy and increased funding. We have to come up with something different, something imaginative as an alternative to the current taxation system. Sinn Féin's record in the council chambers has been exemplary despite the many problems we face, particularly in the Six Counties."

Seán Mac Manus, Ard

porting the motion Seán Marlowe pointed out that it wasn't enough "just to crib about censorship" and that Sinn Féin must confront it through local publications such as news sheets.

This section of the Political Report was passed by the Ard Fheis as well as the motion welcoming the efforts of various organisations, including the NUJ, to defeat political censorship and calling on them to increase their efforts in this regard.

Another motion from the Comhairle Limistéir Atha Cliath which was carried welcomed the "general liberalisation of all aspects of the media throughout Eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union in particular". Such actions, it said, "stand in stark contrast to the ever increasing spiral of censorship, self-censorship and misrepresentation that passes for media coverage of events in Ireland".

FIGHTING DRUG MENACE

During the debate on Social

Policy Fergal Connolly drew attention to the recent attempts to smash the Concerned Parents' Against Drugs organisation (CPAD), an effort which, he said, had led to drug pushers becoming state witnesses and which has brought about a situation where two members of "a popular people's movement" were recently jailed for their activities. The establishment "fear the prospect of working-class people having power", he said.

There was loud applause when Connolly reminded the Ard Fheis of the sacrifice made by Noel

Kavanagh, a CPAD activist and Sinn Féin member from Ballyfermot, who was recently shot and injured by drug pushers for his tireless work on behalf of his local community in their fight against the drugs menace. These sentiments were echoed by the next speaker, Brian Kenna who said that Noel Kavanagh had "put his life on the line for the people of Ballyfermot".

Motions were passed condemning the jailing of two anti-drugs activists in Dublin in the past year and the repressive measures taken by the authorities against CPAD, and

extending support to the organisation for their continuing fight against heroin.

The motion under Social Legislation in the Political Report was carried, supporting the introduction of divorce legislation and the protection of the welfare of children and the rights of women on all matters of health and pregnancy. It congratulated the Union of Students in Ireland on the stand it has taken on the right to information and stated that Sinn Féin will continue to support its efforts.

● PAT DOHERTY

(continued from page 10)

Máirtín O Muilleoir said that all he was asking journalists to do was "look for the truth on the North". The aim of all this censorship, he said, was to "end reporting on what is happening there".

Speaking in favour of this section of the Political Report and sup-



● ROBERT CAMPBELL

POLITICAL HOSTAGES

"AT PRESENT there are over 700 republican POWs in jails throughout the world. Regardless of their location all republicans are political hostages of the British establishment and, as a result, suffer some form of brutality, isolation and victimisation."

Addressing the Political Report's section on the POWs, head of the POW Department, Richard May, described some of the conditions in which republican POWs are being held — a prisoner in Germany handcuffed while taking exercise, a prisoner in France being forced to share a cell with a drug pusher, republicans being forced to integrate with loyalists in Crumlin Road Jail, prisoners denied medical treatment, kept in solitary confinement in English jails and the strip-searching of women prisoners.

Delivering a detailed report by Ann O'Sullivan on republican POWs held in the 26 Counties and the campaigning work carried out by the POW Department, Gerry Cunningham reminded the Ard Fheis:

"The POW Department is not some abstract or autonomous body situated in Dublin or Belfast and divorced from the rest of the Movement. Far from it, every republican is a member of the POW Department. Each one of us has a duty and an obligation to alleviate the plight of our prisoners and their families and to work on their behalf. We are the POW Department."



● UNA GILLESPIE

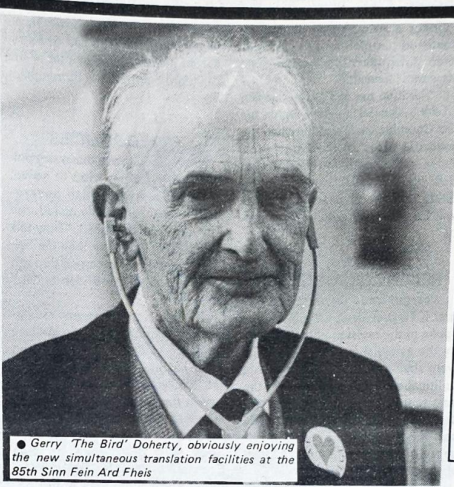
was part of a strategy to break the POWs and their families.

She continued: "In their battle for 'hearts and minds' the British have forgotten the strength and determination of POWs and their families." The Political Report section on POWs was endorsed by the Ard Fheis.

Robert Campbell, who is on bail awaiting extradition proceedings, summed up the attitude of the ex-traitees and the other republican POWs in Portlaoise when he read their message:

"As we march proudly and defiantly into the new decade we are certain that your continued support will sustain us, come what may, until the day we march to freedom."

LIFERS
Speaking on behalf of the Campaign for Lifers, Una Gillespie said that the British government's policy of parole and limited release



● Gerry 'The Bird' Doherty, obviously enjoying the new simultaneous translation facilities at the 85th Sinn Féin Ard Fheis

Translation equipment

SEVERAL receiver units for the simultaneous translation system at the Sinn Féin Ard Fheis were not returned. As this equipment is expensive could anyone who inadvertently left the Round Room of the Mansion House with a receiver please return it immediately to Sinn Féin Head Office, 44 Parnell Square, Dublin 1.

Aiseanna aistriúchán

NIOR fágadh ar ais cúpla cheann de na glacadáin ón gcóras aistriúcháin ag Ard Fheis Shinn Féin. Tá na gléas seo an-chostasach agus iarrtar ar aon duine a d'fhág Teach an Ard Mheara le glacadáin é a chur ar ais chuig Ard Oifig Shinn Féin, 44 Cearnóg Pharnell, Baile Atha Cliath 1.

International Solidarity

DEBATING motions of solidarity on Palestine, Nicaragua, the African National Congress, Umkhonto we Sizwe and the Basque nation, delegates expressed many of the common experiences of oppression and struggle.

Dáithí Breathnach of Dublin called for the withdrawal of passports from 1,000 Irish passport holders serving in the South African police force. Warning that these racists might return to Ireland when South Africa got its freedom, he said:

"Countries of origin must ensure that when the bullwhips and shotguns are put away, they aren't replaced with plastic bullet guns and batons."

Vincent Gaginini from the National Party of Corsica, which is struggling for Corsican independence from France, addressed the Ard Fheis. The CNP has six elected representatives in the local assembly, one MEP and 30 local councillors. He expressed support for the Irish struggle for national self-determination and emphasised the importance of international solidarity.

Addressing the Ard Fheis, José Valenzuela from the Catalanian Communist Party assured delegates of "the support of all the Catalanian people for the struggle of the Irish people. The Catalanian people are

struggling to achieve popular power and we support the struggle of the Irish people in their fight for national self-determination. I am not here simply to offer solidarity but also to offer help in a practical way, helping to break the silence which surrounds your struggle abroad. Viva Sinn Féin."

PARALLELS

Luis Nunceiz from Herri Batasuna, drew parallels between the struggles in Ireland and his homeland, which both sought national self-determination. He described himself as being "in complete solidarity with your ideals and struggle. Only the people can decide upon their own future."

Herri Batasuna representative Carmelo Landa is soon to replace Txema Montero as his party's MEP. He told the Ard Fheis:

"In a year that is witnessing struggles for national self-determination and true democracy in Eastern Europe, we want to see liberty reach this part of Europe as



● VINCENT GAGININI

well. We are together in this struggle for national liberation and socialism throughout Europe."

The Friday evening session also welcomed a guest speaker from the Danish Venstresocialistiske Party (VS), Inger V. Johansen, who brought solidarity greetings on behalf of her party. She said that "the struggle of the Irish people for British withdrawal, Irish unity, and against European union is one and the same. The struggle for democracy is one which now unites socialists and democrats all over Europe."

The international secretary of the Communist Party of the Peoples of Spain (CPPE), Jaime Ballesteros, also gave greetings and Jan Andersson of the Communist Party of Sweden's youth section was also in attendance.

Imeachtaí

CIORCAIL COMHRA
9in gach Luan
6 Sráid an Fhearchair
BAILE ATHA CIATH
Irish Learners' Conversation Group
9pm every Monday
Conradh na Gaeilge Club
6 Harcourt Street
DUBLIN

NATIONAL POSTER COMPETITION
for secondary/vocational schools
Theme: Justice
Prize fund: £500
Application forms: Birmingham Six Committee
Usher House, 40/41 Usher Quay
DUBLIN 8
Mark envelope 'Poster Competition'
Closing date: February 28th 1990
Adjudicator: Robert Ballagh

WHITE-LINE PICKET
2-3pm every Saturday
Whitewall Road/Falls Road
Junction
BELFAST
Organised by Belfast Anti-Extradition Committee

WHITE-LINE PICKET
Justice for All
6-7pm every Friday
Finglas Dual Carriageway
Janelle Shopping Centre
DUBLIN

BRITISH JUSTICE ON TRIAL
7pm Friday 9th February
Josiah Mason Hall
Chamberlain Square
BIRMINGHAM
Speakers: Christine Crawley MEP,
Andrew Puddephat (NCCL),
Margaret McKenny (daughter of
Richard McKenny),
Ann Whelan (Bridgewater case),
Cllr Mike Nagle
Sponsored by Bham Campaign for
the Bham Six and the National
Council for Civil Liberties

BENEFIT NIGHT
in aid of POW Department
8.30pm Saturday 10th February
Featuring 'Rio' and
disco from 7.30-8.30pm
Penthouse
BALLYMUN
Dublin
Táille: £1.50

FRANK STAGG COMMEMORATION
1pm Sunday 11th February
Outside Wakefield Prison
Love Lane
WAKEFIELD
West Yorkshire
Bus from Birmingham
9am Cambridge Street
(back of Hall of Memory)
BIRMINGHAM

JOHN DAVEY COMMEMORATION AND WREATH-LAYING CEREMONY
2.30pm Sunday 11th February
St Mary's Church
LAVEY
County Derry
Prominent speaker

BARNES/MCCORMICK
50th Anniversary
Wreath-laying ceremonies
11.30am Sunday 11th February
Barnes/McCormick Memorial
Bangor
COUNTY OFFALY
3.00pm Sunday 11th February
Ballyglass Cemetery
MULLINGAR
Organised by the
Barnes/McCormick
50th Anniversary
Commemoration
Committee
(continued on page 13)

Dublin meeting demands withdrawal

BY ART Mac EÓIN

"IF THIS was a meeting in Leipzig or Berlin about German unity BBC would be here, ITV would be here, RTE would be here." These were the opening words of British Labour MP, Tony Benn, the main speaker at a meeting in Dublin entitled British Withdrawal — When and How?

The meeting, organised by Forum for A Democratic Alternative (FADA), was held in Trinity College last Friday, February 2nd.

Seán Redmond of Trade Unionists For Irish Unity and Independence (TUIUI) slammed the Hillsborough Agreement as a phoney declaration which copperfastened partition and the unionist veto. "Irish unity is a working-class demand," he said.

"Partition has led to the division of the Irish working class within the Six Counties itself and between the working class in the South and those in the North and continues to hold back its development. It is unlikely that the cause of socialism will be advanced until there is unity."

RECENT RESURGENCE

Veteran trade unionist and former ICTU president, Matt Merrigan, spoke of the revision of Irish history by the establishment who, he said, were shying away from the fact that political violence was used in the past to win a measure of independence for part of the country. He said there has been a recent resurgence of interest in the idea of Irish unity and self-determination.

He slammed those elements on the left who wax eloquently about the role of American and other imperialisms around the world but ignore the role of British imperialism in Ireland, of which the war in the Six Counties is a residual problem.

Catherine Farrelly of FADA said that "we see partition as the root cause of the social, economic and political problems besetting the country. It has left the Irish people with two economically unviable and dependant statelets, governed, as Connolly predicted, amid a carnival of reaction. Partition has been kept

off the political agenda in Ireland by a series of wide ranging repressive measures." She explained that FADA has been attempting to create opportunities for discussion on the subject.

Tony Benn said that, while visiting Ireland, he had met the parents of some of the Winchester Three whose case, he said, had to be resolved just the same as that of the Guildford Four and the Birmingham Six.

FAILED POLICIES

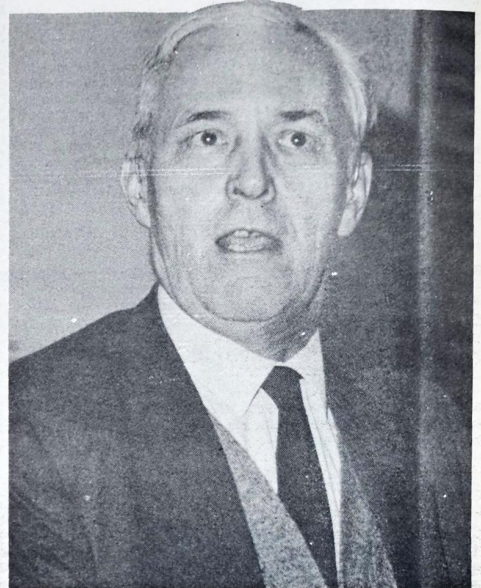
He went on to say that every policy that has been tried to solve, what successive British governments have arrogantly called, the Irish problem, has failed. "They talk about the ballot rather than the bullet but partition was carried through on the basis of the British bullet," he said.

Referring to the recent revelations concerning the Colin Wallace affair, he said that the interesting thing was that Tom King had admitted that lies were told as part of the war in the North which led one to wonder whether anything he now says is the truth or lies. "Merlyn Rees said that when he was Secretary of State for the North he didn't know what was going on. This should lead us to question what is wrong with the relationship between Britain and Ireland."

He said that, after 40 years in parliament, he had never heard the subject of Ireland being discussed properly.

"Britain is in the North due to military considerations," he said. This was at a time when everyone felt that the Soviet threat no longer existed.

What the people in Eastern Europe were demanding was self-government and that's what the



● TONY BENN

Irish people want as well.

"Just the other day the East German leader said that Germany should re-unite on the basis of a neutral country. Well that's not all that different from re-uniting on the basis of a neutral Ireland. Because who wants to have a militarised state in the North, a militarised state in the South and a Berlin Wall in between the two."

STRENGTHENED RELATIONSHIPS

He said that the events in Eastern Europe had shown, once again, that the national question could not be swept under the carpet. Stating that British withdrawal would strengthen, rather than weaken, the relationship between the British and Irish working classes he said that "an unchangeable

statement of intent to withdraw British jurisdiction over Northern Ireland is the precursor to all the things we should be working towards."

Referring to the oft quoted 'bloodbath scenario', following British withdrawal, he said that "it is too convenient telling the British people that we are still required to carry the 'white man's burden' in Ireland."

"Democracy is on the move in Eastern Europe and we must make it move where we are," he said. Saying that Ireland had a tremendous history of struggle he looked to the '90s with optimism stating that if people in Ireland and Britain took steps forward nothing could stop them. The great lesson of socialism, he said, was that people had in their own hands the power to change things.



● CAOIMHGHIN Ó CAOLÁIN

Bridge in use again

UPWARDS of 100 people with two diggers and a number of tractors have, for the third time, successfully reopened Sloane's Bridge border crossing between counties Monaghan and Tyrone.

There was no presence of either crown forces or gardai on either side of the border during the work which took four hours to complete on Sunday, February 4th.

The South Tyrone/North Monaghan Community Association had prepared for the task by constructing a massive steel base for the new bridge crossing which was lowered into place by a large mechanical crane.

Such was the damage done by the British army after the last opening that the remains of the old bridge could not be used as a safe bed for the new one. This meant that the new crossing-point had to be prepared adjacent to the new bridge with fresh access roads on both sides of the Monaghan/Tyrone border. This work was accom-

plished successfully after the British army's concrete-filled steel bollards were pushed aside by the earth-moving equipment.

Local farmers began using the crossing immediately and the association has pledged to further improve access for traffic.

Monaghan Sinn Féin County Councillors Caoimhghin Ó Caoláin and Owen Smyth congratulated the local community on its "ability to organise such a major mobilisation without drawing the attention of British army, RUC or gardai".

Ceartha Cultúrtha i gQuebec

Tháinig toscaireacht go Béal Feirste ar na malloibh ó Quebec atá san am i láthair ar an chuige is mó de chuid Ceanada a bhfuil suas le sé milliún de dhaonra ann. Náisiúntóirí uilig iad a bhí leis an toscaireacht atá den barúil gur chóir go mbeadh neamhspleáchas ag a dtír dúchais ar bhonn staire, cultúir agus teangan.

B'iad na Francaigh a d'éiligh flaitheas ar Quebec agus ar Ceanada ar fad an chéad uair sa bhliain 1534. Tháinig na Sasanaigh ina dhiaidh sin agus b'é Conradh Paris sa bhliain 1763 a bhí mar deireadh ar an cogaíocht a d'éascaigh as nuair a rug siad bua ar

na Francaigh. Tir ri-shaibhir ó thaobh achmhainní nádúrtha a bhí, agus atá ar ndóigh, i gCeanada tri chéile agus tá sé intuigthe go mbeadh cumhachtaí coilíneacha mar Shasana agus an Fhrainc sásta gabháil i geomhlán ar mhaith le ceannas a fháil uirthi.

I ndeireadh an 18ú Aois tháinig dream ar tugadh 'dílseoirí na h-impireachta' orthu, agus gur béarlóirí uilig iad, go Ceanada, a bhí ag éalú ón reabhlóid Meiriceánach, gur lonnaigh siad i dtuaisceart na tíre. Tromlach mór mhuintir Quebec, áfach, d'fhan siad dílis dá teanga dhúchais, an Fhrancais, agus dá gcultúr go dtí an lá atá inniu ann agus san thréimhse sna '60aí a bhfuil an 'Réabhlóid Chiúin' ar sna leabhair staire, bhí an bua ag an páirtí neamhspleáchas, Páirtí Quebecois,

sna toghcheain chuige i 1977. Tá móramh ag an páirtí seo sa pharlaimint chuige ó shin i leith.

CHROCHDEIGHILT

Cé go bhfuil tacaíocht láidir ar fud Quebec ag na codanna éagsúla den cheannacht náisiúnta, an teanga go h-áirithe, tá dream ann fosta a tháinig ar an saol polaitíochta an-raidh, agus na toghcháin deireannai ar súil sa chuige, a thugann An Páirtí Coulionannais orthu féin. Tá siad mar aon le Gluaiseacht na Teanga Saoire anseo agus cuireann siad i gcoinne na dlíthe a thug Páirtí Quebecois isteach chun an teanga dhúchais a chaomhnú. Níor éirigh leo ach ceathair suíochán as an 130 a ghéin, ach ní inniú sin is a ná rach bhfuil tionchar ar bith acu. Tá lucht gnó atá an-congarach dóibh ag labhairt fú faoi críochdheilt

Quebec, má theann an tír níos faide i dtreo an neamhspleáchas.

Tá grúpaí eile ar ndóigh atá ag lorg cearta cultúrtha agus cearta sibhialta i gQuebec, mar atá siad ar fud Ceanada, agus is iad na Cree agus Inuit, a bhí ina chonai ansin iular tháinig duine ar bith de bhunú Eoraip i dtír. Bhuaill na náisiúin éagsúla le chéile in Ottawa in Eanáir 1988 agus phléigh siad pleananna le tenagacha i bhunstoc Ceanada go ginearálta a athbheochnaí.

Tá dul chun cinn maith déanta ag na Cree agus Inuit taobh istigh de Quebec, ach gan mórán cuidiú a fháil, caithfead a rá, ó na páirtithe móra. Tá sé an tabhachtach nach ndéanfar dearmad ar a gcuid cearta talún agus cearta cultúrtha le linn an pléigh briomhar atá ag dul ar aghaidh.

Imeachtaí

(continued from page 12)

ANTI-EXTRADITION PICKET
in support of Jim Clarke
10am Tuesday 13th February
Supreme Court
Four Courts
DUBLIN
Information Ph: 366489
Organised by the IAC

LONDON MEMBERS MEETING
of The Connolly Association
Members meeting on current
British strategy
8pm Wednesday 14th February
Marchmont Community Centre
Marchmont Street (tube: Russell
Square)
LONDON WC1
Non-members welcome

VIDEO SCREENING & DISCUSSION
'Behind the Mask'
7.30pm Thursday 15th February
Cinema Action
27/28 Winchester Road (Swiss
Cottage tube)
LONDON NW3
Entrance: £2.50/£1.00 concessions
Organised by Camden and
Islington Troops Out Movement

FOLK NIGHT
Featuring the Irish Brigade
10 till late Thursday 15th February
Ducks Night Club
McNaughton
WATERFOOT
County Antrim
Proceeds to the Hogan/Martin
Memorial Fund
(Bus from Rasharkin, Dunloy and
Loughgil)

PICKET
Against US interference in
Nicaraguan elections
11.30am to 1.00pm Saturday 17th
February
Outside US Embassy
DUBLIN
Organised by the Irish Nicaraguan
Solidarity Group

**VOLS HENRY HOGAN
AND DECLAN MARTIN**
6th Anniversary Commemoration
Sunday 18th February
2pm: Wreath-laying ceremony
St Joseph's Cemetery
DUNLOY
3pm: Parade from
McAleese's Filling Station
Bridge Road
DUNLOY
Prominent speaker
All bands welcome

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BOBBY SANDS

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Sinn Féin
Bookshop,
44 Parnell Square,
Dublin 1

Ar ais arís

Tá eagrán nua den iris Ghaeilge phoblachtánach *Saoirse* le fáil arís. Sé seo an 9ú eagrán den iris, an t-aon cheann dá lethéid in Éirinn.

Cuirtear uachtarán nua Chonradh na Gaeilge, Proinsias Mac Aonghusa faoi agallamh agus beidh suim ag Gaeilgeoirí agus poblachtáigh sa mhéid atá le rá aige, cuid de conspóideach. Mar is gnáth tá an saol mór faoi chaibidil ó Dónall O Duafaigh le alt suimíúil dáir teideal "Spleáchadh ar na Nóchaid" ina chreann sé an cheist "Ceausescu: an mbeidh a leithéid arís ann?"

I measc na n-ábhar eile atá ann tá píosaí faoi ról na n-iriseoirí sna meán cumarsáide ina bhfuil cinsireacht i bhfeidhm ar dhá thaobh den teorainn; alt ar ealaíon; alt ó aoiscríobhneoir Eoghan O Néill; athbheochnaí na teanga Gaeilge agus Gaeil Mheirice; litir ó Eoghan MacCormaic sna Blocanna H; eiseachadh; agus filíocht.

Is fiú go mór *Saoirse* Uimhir 9 a cheannach agus a léarnh. *Saoirse* Feabhra 1990. Luach 70 pínig.



Ceacht a Ceathair (Lesson 4)

AN CARR (The Car)

1 Luach ceithre phunt de pheitreal, le do thoil.
Four pounds worth of petrol, please.



Seo duit. Cúig phunt.
Here you are. Five pounds.



Seo duit an breiseadh. Punt.
Here's the change. A Pound.

Tá an peitreal istigh. Ceithre phunt, le do thoil.
The petrol is in. Four pounds please.



Ba mhaith liom uisce freisin.
I'd like water too.



Ag foghlaim na Gaeilge

CEACHT A CEATHAIR

An Carr — The Car

Luach ceithre phunt de pheitreal, le do thoil. — Four pounds worth of petrol, please.
Tá an pheitreal istigh. Ceithre phunt, le do thoil. — The petrol is in. Four pounds, please.

Seo duit. Cúig phunt. — Here you are. Five pounds

Seo duit an breiseadh. Punt. — Here's the change. A pound.

Ba mhaith liom uisce freisin. — I'd like water, too.

Seo an t-uisce. Maith go leor? — Here's the water. OK?

Tá an cailín seo ag dul go Cill Airne. — This girl's going to

Killarney.

Tá mé ag dul go Luimneach. — I'm going to Limerick.
Tá garda ag teacht go dtí an carr. — A guard is coming to the car.

Galún — gallon

Seo duit — Here you are (handing something to somebody)

Seo... — Here is... (showing something)

Seo an carr — Here is the car

Ba mhaith liom — I would like

Uisce — water

Ag dul — going

Ag teacht — coming

Go/go dtí — to

Freisin — too/also

Luach — worth/value

Peitreal — petrol

Istigh — in (side)

Breiseadh — change (money)

An cailín seo — this girl

ABAIR AGUS AISTRICH

Tá sé ag dul go dtí an carr.

Dhá phunt, trí phunt ceithre phunt, cúig phunt

An carr seo

Seo an garda

Seo an cailín

Seo duit

Ba mhaith liom uisce

Tógtha ó Irish is Fun/Y Lolla



● An córas aistrichán agus na haistritheoirí a bhí ag obair ag Ard Fheis na bliana seo

REMEMBERING THE PAST

Barnes and McCormick

BY PETER O'ROURKE

THE OUTRAGE and anger at the judicial murder of Barnes and McCormick in England in February 1940 was deeply felt, not only in Ireland but in many countries throughout the world.

Peter Barnes was born in Banagher, County Offaly, in 1907. In 1921 he joined the local slua of Fianna Éireann and in 1924 he became a member of Oglagh na hÉireann. He was one of the first to volunteer for active service in England following the beginning of the 1939 IRA bombing campaign and in June of that year he travelled to England and was appointed Transport Officer operating mainly between Glasgow, Liverpool and London.

James McCormick was born in Mullingar, County Westmeath in 1910. Following the death of his mother the family moved to Tullamore, County Offaly, where he joined the local IRA unit. Early in 1939 he volunteered for active service in England where, after acting for some time as Operations Officer in London and Birmingham, he was

posted to Coventry in May 1939 and the following August was appointed Coventry O/C.

On August 25th 1939, in one incident during the IRA bombing campaign, a bomb at the busy Broadgate Centre, Coventry, killed five people and injured many more. The bomb, concealed in the carrier of a bicycle left standing at the kerb outside Astley's store, in the city centre, was being transported to a place some miles outside the city where an operation was planned. However, it exploded prematurely owing to a defect in the timing device.

ARRESTS

Within hours of the explosion Barnes was arrested at his lodgings at 176 Westbourne Terrace and three days later McCormick (alias James Richards) and the tenants of

25 Clara Street, Coventry, Joseph Hewitt, his wife Mary and his mother-in-law Brigid O'Hara, were detained during a raid on the house. All five were charged on suspicion only and, at their 'trial' the following December, three were acquitted while Barnes and McCormick were sentenced to death by hanging.

Before sentencing, McCormick, who had remained silent and composed throughout the proceedings, told the court in a calm and clear voice:

"As a soldier of the Irish Republican Army, I am not afraid to die, for I am dying in a just cause."

Barnes, who was nowhere near Coventry on the day of the explosion, protested his innocence and declared:

"I would like to say that as I am going before my God, as I am condemned to death, I am innocent, and later I am sure it will all come out that I had neither hand, act or part in it. That is all I have to say."

The English police, like so many times before and since, in endeavouring to 'teach the IRA a lesson', had been satisfied to seize any Irish person with republican connections and make an example of them. The question of guilt or innocence was immaterial as long as English 'justice' had sufficient evidence to give it a pretext for judicial murder.

The pleas for clemency, which flooded the British Home Office from many parts of the world, were in vain.

EXECUTION

On the day of the execution of Barnes and McCormick there were signs of mourning all over Ireland. Flags flew at half mast on public buildings, cinemas closed, sports meetings were cancelled and public bodies passed resolutions of sympathy.

Everywhere there was evidence of general sorrow and a deeply felt conviction that, once again, the English judicial system had been guilty of a gross act of injustice against Irishmen.

Peter Barnes and James McCormick were hanged in Winsong Green Prison, Birmingham, on February 7th 1940, 50 years ago this week.



● PETER BARNES



● JAMES MCCORMICK



● 1990 Cargin commemoration

Cargin commemoration

ADDRESSING a County Antrim commemoration last Sunday, February 4th, Belfast republican Brendan Hughes declared that the popular power of the people would ultimately dismantle partition.

A massive crown forces operation failed to disrupt the 18th annual commemoration in honour of Volunteers Charles McCann and Phelim Grant. Accompanied by the Cloney Independent Flute Band, over 150 local people assembled at Cargin Cemetery.

After the sounding of the Last Post and observance of one minute's silence, a colour party and wreath-bearers paid tribute at the Republican Plot and the grave of a third Volunteer, Ann McCoy.

HYPOCRISY LAMBASTED

Brendan Hughes was then warmly introduced by the chairperson to deliver the day's oration. In a wide-ranging address Hughes described the political background to the deaths

of the Volunteers, and the conditions which perpetuate the present day resolve of Oglagh na hÉireann.

Setting the war into a contemporary international context, Hughes lambasted the hypocrisy of establishment figures who welcome the fall of the Berlin Wall whilst maintaining walls of division in Ireland.

Hughes stressed the dynamic of popular resistance behind advances in the socialist countries and South Africa and he announced:

"The power of the Irish people will dismantle partition!"

He ended his address by reading a poignant poem which affirmed the certainty of victory with struggle and sacrifice.

The day's proceedings concluded with the National Anthem.

Winson Green ceremony

A WREATH was laid at Winson Green Prison on Sunday, February 4th, to mark the 50th anniversary of the execution of Peter Barnes and James McCormick, who were hanged inside the prison on February 7th, 1940.

Republicans from the English Midlands observed a minute's silence before hearing Eddie Caughey speak on behalf of the Irish Republican POW Campaign (Britain). He drew parallels between the judicial murder of the two Irishmen in an atmosphere of hysterical anti-Irish hatred and the more recent frame-up of the Birmingham Six, who suffered beatings inside the same prison.

A greeting from POWs in Leicester Prison was read in which Gearóid Mac Domhnaill also drew parallels with British miscarriages

of justice such as the Guildford Four and Winchester Three:

"It's not so much your association with an action as much as your being guilty of being Irish."

He finished with the call "Let us pledge today and honour the sacrifice of Volunteers O Bearain and Mac Cormaic by rededicating ourselves to completing the work of attaining self-determination for the Irish people as a whole".

A message from Peter Barnes (nephew to Peter Barnes) and David Charles (nephew to James



● Winson Green Prison picket in commemoration of Peter Barnes and James McCormick

McCormick) spoke with pride of the sacrifice made by their uncles and by the present day Volunteers of Oglagh na hÉireann who work "to secure the epitaph of freedom".

After *Anhrán na bhFiann* those present attended an indoor commemoration at the nearby

Summerfield Centre at which the video *Sentenced*, which outlines the campaign for transfers of Irish prisoners to serve their sentences in jails in Ireland, near to their families, was shown. On display was an exhibition giving the history of the judicial murders of Barnes and

McCormick. The exhibition, produced by the Irish Republican POW Campaign to mark the 50th anniversary, includes contemporary photographic, documentary and newspaper coverage and is available on loan from the campaign, PO Box 540, Birmingham B11 4AU.



THE FLYING COLUMN

PACIFIST counter-demonstrator outside the Mansion House during the New Consensus picket of the Ard Fheis, condemning the hypocrisy of the picketers. His placard details the litany of violence ignored by this lobby, reading at the bottom: "Once again New Consensus finds lots of time to organise, publicise and participate in a protest against 'Provo violence'. Call that balance?"

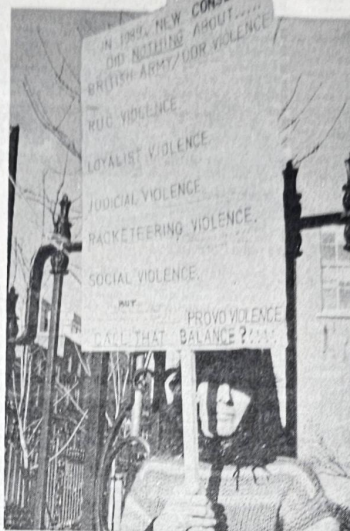
"WHEN they tried to blow a train off the Belfast-Dublin line in order to carry out a search in 1974, we had to pick up the pieces. They were giving dirty tricks a bad name."

This attack by undercover Brits on the Dublin to Belfast rail line was an interesting revelation from ex-Brit Intelligence Officer Colin Wallace in an interview printed in the English *Independent* newspaper on Sunday last. Wallace claims that the "imbeciles" in MI5 at that time in the Six Counties were "giving dirty tricks a bad reputation".

He cites their racist view of the Irish: "Those clever MI5 cowboys have an arrogance about the Irish, based on too many Irish jokes" and the comment of one of his superiors who also "referred to the Irish as 'bog-wogs'."

AND while I'm on the subject of British Intelligence and dirty tricks, leaked documents to fascist thugs is apparently not confined to crown forces in the Six Counties.

MI6, that section of the Intelligence Service which spies on its own people, has, according to a prominent anti-fascist campaigner, leaked his address to the National Front. Gerry Gable, editor of Searchlight



magazine, claims that MI6 provided the address, which he has taken considerable measures to prevent being found out, to the NF, who printed it on the front

page of its newspaper. Gable believes that this is a calculated act of revenge on the part of MI6.

Last year his magazine published evidence that Italian fascist, Roberto Fiore, currently working with the National Front in England, was spared from being extradited back to Italy because of his links with MI6. Fiore was convicted in Italy, in his absence, of armed conspiracy and is also wanted for questioning about the bombing of Bologna station in 1980 in which 85 people were killed. The magazine claimed that the English magistrate refused to extradite him because he had worked for MI6, initially providing information about Lebanon, and that it had protected him from having to face the music at home.

British Labour politicians have sought clarification of the Fiore case but no explanations have been forthcoming and Fiore walks free in Britain. This ambivalent attitude by the British towards extradition behind closed doors stands in direct contrast to the public outbursts of the establishment, particularly in Irish political cases.

Labour MP David Winnick said, "I am very concerned indeed that Fiore has been allowed to stay in this country by a government which professes to condemn all forms of terrorism."

THE Workers' Party's failure to have any of its people grab a top job in the new "super union", SIPTU, has led to it being dubbed the Science, Industrial, Professional and Telfon Union.

Telfon? Yes, it's non-Stick.

MAD DOGS AND ENGLISHMEN.

A Rottweiler attacked Tory MP Anthony Beaumont-Dark near the House of Commons at the end of last month, sinking its teeth into the Conservative member's thigh.

The illiberal MP for Selly Oak complained:

"There was a macho boy with it and some girl who looked as unsavoury as the dog."

His call for strict government controls on dangerous animals was rejected by the Leader of the House. After all, the honourable MP has to be allowed out to go to work.

Let's be careful out there.

FORMER DUP Belfast Lord Mayor Sammy Wilson was remaining tight-lipped after he was reminded of his connections with the gun-runner William Charles Taylor who was jailed in Canada last month for having weapons for supply to loyalist paramilitaries.

Sinn Féin Councillor Máirtín O Muilleoir said that Wilson had met Taylor in the City Hall during his term of office and Taylor had breakfast with Ian Paisley. O Muilleoir said that, in another room in City Hall, Taylor met with UVF leader John Bingham. In court in Canada Taylor's lawyer confirmed that his client had talks with Bingham to supply arms to the loyalists in the early '80s.

TAKING AIM AT THE TABLOIDS.

The Star's two-faced policy, in its different editions, has been exposed again. The UK Press Gazette, a journalists' trade paper has discovered that on the same day last month, following the killing by an undercover Brit squad, of three unarmed would-be robbers in Belfast, the Star's Six-County and 28-County editions carried totally contradictory leading articles.

The Six-County edition was headlined "It's the IRA who shoot-to-kill" and dismissed "whining do-gooders" who claimed that the army has a shoot-to-kill policy. It exhorted the army not to "waste time on a ridiculous inquiry into these absurd allegations".

In the Southern edition, written in Dublin but printed in Manchester, a totally different line was taken, the Star crying out, "We want the facts. The Government here must not let the matter rest. They must insist that all the facts are brought fully into the open." The Star's editor, Brian Hitchen, refused to comment on the Star's split personality.

MEANWHILE, ploughing the more usual tabloid furrow is the *News of the World*. Its coverage of the rebel cricket tour of South Africa is anything but objective.

Under the headline "Rebel Gating Runs Gauntlet of Demo Hate", the story from Jack Ridge in Pietermaritzburg describes how Gating was "pelted with stones by screaming hordes yesterday". He tells of how Gating was struck by a Coca-Cola can as he "faced the fury of 4,000-strong South African mob". Ridge details how a "deeply shocked" Gating was "jostled and bumped" by the "angry mob".

The story portrays the violence as mindless and has strong racist overtones. That Gating is guilty of provoking anti-apartheid demonstrators, by his presence, is not mentioned as a possible factor in the disturbance.

Dúirt Siad

They have done nothing. Even today they are still doing nothing. Every so often they put out a statement expressing their concern and saying that they are going to raise it at some meeting.

— Patrick Hill, one of the Birmingham Six, condemning successive Dublin governments in the *Sunday Tribune*.

If those bastards had not done that we would have had all the material in the 1970s that we brought to court in 1987.

— Patrick Hill on Dublin's lobbying, in the US, against a campaign to push their forensic case eleven years ago because of support for the case from US Irish lobbyists with republican sympathies.

That was a big disappointment. They could have done a lot more a long time ago.

— Hugh Callaghan, one of the six men.

Certainly they have let us down. It is only in the last two years that they have come on the scene.

— John Walker, another of the Six.

You were interned with Mac Giolla. You are a reformed socialist now, but you're holding down two jobs, you gurrler.

— Sinn Féin Ard Fheis visitor to chameleon-like politician and New Consensus picketer Proinsias de Rosca.

After a fortnight during which rush-hour traffic was brought to a virtual standstill by security checks the IRA breaks through and hits one of its favourite targets in the centre of Belfast.

— *Unionist News Letter* comment on Friday's bomb at Castle Court.

The armed struggle must continue, but the Pretoria regime and ourselves will have to sit down and agree to end violence on both sides.

— African National Congress secretary, Alfred Nzo.

I absolutely support this armed struggle against an illegitimate government.

— Bishop Trevor Huddleston, British Anti-Apartheid Movement.

While any belated moves towards democracy are to be welcomed, the significance of South Africa's re-

forms and London's response to them are unlikely to be lost on Sinn Féin whose members are gathered in Dublin for their annual conference.

— *Unionist News Letter* comment on F.W. de Klerk's reforms.

It's the same as your Mrs Thatcher sitting down with the leader of the Irish Republican.... What do you call that army—the IRL?

— Kees Van Der Merwe, South African Conservative Party MP, speaking to RTE's Hilary O'Brien.

Two things are worth pointing out. One is the way Mr Kinnock's opposition has failed, almost completely, to push any of the issues. With Colin Wallace as with Stalker, it is a Tory back-bencher who seems to have sparked off the inquiry.

The other point worth making is that no-one ever sees a connection between all these scandals.

MPs call for an inquiry into the Stalker affair, others want Mr Wallace's allegations investigated, but there is never any acceptance by anyone, on right or left, that the sacking of Stalker, the shootings in Gibraltar, the smearing of politicians, the child abuse at Kinvara, the wrongful imprisonment of several innocent people, are all direct consequences of successive governments' futile campaigns to defeat the IRA when it has the passive support of a large part of the Catholic population (North and South) and when each successive scandal, as it is revealed, merely serves to increase that support.

— Richard Ingrams in the *Observer*.

How did Airey Neave know of the existence of Colin Wallace? Because Airey Neave was up to his neck in the dirty tricks brigade in Northern Ireland.

What is really damaging here is that the senior member of the Tory Party after Margaret Thatcher — the head of her private office, the person who organised her leadership election — was in contact with treasonous officers in MI5 and was aware of what was going on in Northern Ireland.

We have a right to ask did he ever indicate to Margaret Thatcher what was going on and if that is the case — and there was some indications of that — why did she take no action to stop it?

— Ken Livingstone, British Labour MP.

Colin Wallace is Britain's Colonel Oliver North.

— Tony Benn, British Labour MP.

Most of us women like men, you know. It's just that we find them a constant disappointment.

— Clare Short, British Labour MP.