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OVER FIVE MONTHS after the IRA cease-fire, there could be no greater contrast than that between the active and developing engagement in the peace process by the Dublin government and the continued failure of the British government to involve itself in a meaningful way.

As AP/RN went to press on Wednesday evening, Sinn Féin representatives were preparing for their second meeting in a week with civil servants representing the British government at Stormont. Thursday's meeting, the sixth since exploratory Sinn Féin/British talks began, is once again not with ministers, as it should be if the British government is to give full and equal recognition to Sinn Féin's electorate.

Nationally and internationally, the widening gulf between the response of the Dublin government and that of London is being seen. It was emphasised again this week with the release of five more republican prisoners in the 26 Counties, the ending of the 'State of Emergency', and the comments of Labour leader and Tánaiste

Dick Spring after his party's meeting with Sinn Féin when he called on the British government to repeal its repressive legislation.

The fifth meeting between Sinn Féin and representatives of the British government was held on Tuesday.

The primary issues on the agenda were:

a) The need for a comprehensive demilitarisation process on all sides;

b) The ground rules for inclusive peace talks.

Sinn Féin outlined the urgent need for the British government to match the IRA initiative with an effective process of demilitarisation on their side. This should include:

● The release of all political prisoners;

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Sinn Féin delegates at Stormont — Councillor Caoimhghín O Caoláin, Bairbre de Brún and Martin McGuinness

FIVE

MONTHS ON

— time for London to move

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RUC FIRE PLASTIC BULLETS IN TYRONE

■ BY MICK NAUGHTON

FOR MEMBERS of the nationalist community, crown forces' abuses, harassment and arrests continue daily. Incidents of harassment reported this week range from the abuse of a Fermanagh Catholic priest and civil rights activist by the RUC to the firing of lethal plastic bullets by that force at a group of young people going to a dance in County Tyrone.

Fr Joe McVeigh has documented a number of occasions recently when his car has been stopped by the RUC at checkpoints and by the roadside said he has been illegally questioned

by the RUC. Over a four-week period he has been questioned ten times, frequently at night.

Joe McVeigh said that he was not stopped at all in October or

December and only once in November, yet during January he was stopped ten times by RUC patrols in the Belleek area alone. The small village of Belleek is predominantly nationalist and local people have confirmed a high level of patrolling by the RUC.

McVeigh, who has publicly stated that he stopped making 'official' complaints two years ago because he was 'getting nowhere' remarked: "There is only one reason for all this. It's because of I have always been critical of this discredited force."

The Cookstown group of PAM has recorded what is probably one of the most vicious attacks carried out by the RUC in recent times. Lethal plastic bullets were fired at young people going to a Saturday evening dance at the Glenavon Hotel on 4 February.

Trouble began as RUC DMSU units, who had been harassing people outside the hotel, moved into the grounds and began to push people around the car park. Without warning, a number of RUC members loaded plastic bullet guns and opened fire, causing fear and panic as people scrambled to get into the hotel for cover.

Several witnesses to the unprovoked RUC onslaught told how they watched as units from the British army arrived and looked on as RUC officers reloaded and opened fire again. Others reported how on hearing of the shooting at the Glenavon

Hotel, RUC patrols elsewhere in the town appeared to go berserk, targeting nationalists for abuse.

In one incident, four young men were stopped, assaulted, arrested and taken to the RUC barracks where they were held for several hours. The seriousness of some of their injuries required emergency treatment in the nearby South Tyrone hospital.

One young nationalist on being released from hospital described the RUC's actions as 'typical', and said the RUC seemed to regard nationalists in Cookstown and nearby Stewartstown as being 'in open season every weekend'.

RUC patrols based in Dungannon have been identified this week by PAM as being involved in sinister approaches to young car drivers. On stopping them the RUC demanded that comprehensive insurance documents be produced in the RUC barracks.

On arrival, the individuals, who arrived separately, were ordered into a room where they were isolated. They were then physically and verbally abused.

In the case of one young man from Cabragh, outside Dungannon, who had been stopped four times in

five days as he drove to work, he was forced to hold his arms in the air while in the barracks. During this he was threatened that if he did not tell the RUC who was harassing him, national flags in the surrounding countryside "life would get even more difficult".

Sinn Féin Councillor Mary McKeown has again voiced her concern about individuals from a supposed 'research group' in the Derry area who have been calling at doors asking various questions about the RUC: apparently for 'market research'. Armed with a questionnaire the callers sought residents opinions on the RUC.

With Derry PAM having had two of its monitors arrested by the RUC in recent months it appears obvious that that force is now taking its propaganda offensive into deeper waters.

Nelis told PAM that following these visits, numerous complaints have been received at Sinn Féin offices and consequently she has advised anyone, similarly approached, not to cooperate with them as their true identity and purpose has yet to be established. She concluded: "The RUC represent all that is corrupt and unjust in this society and should be disbanded immediately."



● "We want the RUC man that did it found guilty okay because we just want justice. But we are not looking for vengeance and if he doesn't go to jail that's okay, so long as the republican prisoners are also released. All the political prisoners have to come home." — Hugh Jordan

Belfast city centre prior to the shooting: "We had a shop in the town, but we had to give it up. You couldn't even ask anyone to take it on, it was just too dangerous."

When AP/RN asked Jordan about the recent controversy surrounding RUC visits to local West Belfast schools, he said, his "stomach churned" at the thought, "I have three grandkids at one of the schools," he added, "they are supposed to be there to tell them not to talk to strangers, well you won't get anything stranger than the RUC."

Recent developments at the inquest, the coming forward of two new witnesses, have raised the hopes of the family that the truth about Pearse's killing will be revealed. It is believed they gave fresh evidence which could lead to the prosecution of Pearse's killers.

Jordan emphasised that the family were seeking justice and not revenge. "We want the RUC man that did it found guilty okay because we just want justice. But we are not looking for vengeance and if he doesn't go to jail that's okay, so long as the republican prisoners are also released. All the political prisoners have to come home."

Jordan family wants justice

FOLLOWING recent developments at the Pearse Jordan inquest, which led to its adjournment, AP/RN spoke to Pearse's father, Hugh, about the aftermath of his son's killing, and the behaviour of the RUC since one of its members shot dead Pearse, an unarmed IRA Volunteer, on the Falls Road in November 1992.

■ BY FRANCES SHILTON

THE RUC never did notify Hugh Jordan of his son's death. He heard about the shooting from the radio, but it was left to friends and a local priest to tell him that the man killed was thought to have been Pearse. The family had to wait several hours before his death could be confirmed.

It was not until he was at the morgue, having identified his son's body, that Hugh Jordan was spoken to by the RUC inspector in charge of the case. Rather than giving Jordan the facts of his son's death, the RUC man merely asked him questions about Pearse. This set the pattern for the family's experience at the hands of the RUC — those responsible for investigating the killing made no attempt to keep the Jordan family informed.

"Two or three weeks after [the shooting], the CID arrived with Pearse's front-door key. They asked if we recognised it and tried the key in the door." This was almost the only official contact made with the family, apart from a letter, which arrived on Pearse's birthday, telling them to collect his

belongings from the morgue.

The Jordans soon found out how keen the RUC were to investigate the killing:

"Four witnesses gave their names to the RUC at the scene of the shooting, but the RUC didn't get in touch. They seem to have made no attempt to get witnesses, or to question those they did have."

These witnesses eventually spoke to the Committee for the Administration of Justice (CAJ), and then went to the RUC of their own accord. Hugh Jordan praised the work of the CAJ who have been "very supportive" to the family in their search for witnesses. The Jordans have appealed several times for witnesses to come forward either to their solicitor or to the CAJ.

Hugh Jordan also spoke of the many questions about the actions of the crown forces which remain unanswered. "They must have had the car under surveillance. It wasn't reported stolen until after the shooting."

The Director of Public Prosecution's (DPP) decision not to prosecute any of the RUC members responsible came as no surprise to the Jordans:

"The DPP said there was a lack of evidence. We were expecting this, but then we didn't think the shooting had been so blatant until the inquest. The evidence in court made it clear it was a public execution."

Another aspect of the whole affair that has embittered the Jordan family has been the behaviour of the coroner, John Leckey, at the inquest. Leckey has persistently interrupted the Jordan family's legal team and put as many obstacles as possible in their way.

"He has really taken the RUC's side on this," said Jordan.

The family has been "hit very hard since Pearse's death". Pearse's younger brother in particular has found the killing hard to come to terms with, and his schooling has been severely disrupted.

The Jordans had kept a shop in

FIRST OFFICIAL LABOUR/SINN FÉIN MEETING

A SINN FÉIN DELEGATION led by party president Gerry Adams met with Labour Party leader Dick Spring and other party representatives this week, the first formal meeting between the two parties. The parties discussed the continuing peace process and exchanged analyses of the current situation. Sinn Féin stressed the party's right to be represented in direct talks with the British government.

Both sides expressed satisfaction afterwards that the meeting had produced a good exchange on all issues, including broader topics concerning Irish politics apart from the peace process.

The other members of the Sinn Féin delegation attending the meeting, held in Leinster House, were party Vice President Pat Doherty, General Secretary Lucilita Bhreatnach, Navan Councillor Joe Reilly, Dublin Councillor Christy Burke and Ard Chomhairle member Anne Speed.

"Sinn Féin believes that consistent support from all parties is essential to the further development of the peace process and the party has requested meetings with all government and opposition parties to this end," said Councillor Joe Reilly afterwards.

The previous Thursday, 2 February, Sinn Féin's National Chairperson Tom Hartley and SDLP Chairperson Mark Durkan led delegations in discussions to review current events.

The Sinn Féin delegation included the party's Six-County Chairperson Mitchel McLaughlin, Ard Chomhairle member Anne Speed and Newry and Mourne Councillor Conor Murphy.

Both sides expressed their concern to see early progress in multilateral dialogue in talks involving all parties and both governments. They agreed that it would be unworthy for anyone to seek to prevent or prejudice such dialogue by precondition or preclusion.

The particular opportunity and



● Dick Spring and Gerry Adams after their parties met for the first time in Dublin Government Buildings on Tuesday. Both sides expressed their concern to see early progress in multilateral dialogue in talks involving all parties and both governments. They agreed that it would be unworthy for anyone to seek to prevent or prejudice such dialogue by precondition or preclusion.

The particular opportunity and

responsibility for the two governments to persist in this responsible effort in spite of any attempts to derail the prospect of dialogue. The fact that an earlier stage of this process had delivered

due to commitment and consistency in the face of pressures, both real and contrived, was noted as a useful lesson for the further progress of this process.

'State of Emergency' ended

■ BY ART MAC EON

THE DUBLIN GOVERNMENT formally rescinded the 'State of Emergency' which has existed in the 26 Counties since 1939. This significant move came on Tuesday, 7 February, but still leaves the main body of draconian legislation on the statute books.

Introduced at the start of the Second World War, the main targets of the 'emergency' from the 1940s to the 1990s were republicans. In 1976, the Fine Gael/Labour coalition replaced the existing 'State of Emergency', which had not lapsed since 1939, with a new one specifically tied to the hostilities in the Six Counties.

The Emergency Powers Act enabled the gardai to detain people for interrogation for up to seven days. It was extremely controversial, coming at the same time as the existence of a 'heavy gang' within the gardai, which beat and brutalised people in detention, including Nicky Kelly and other suspects for the Sallins mail train robbery.

Commenting on the removal of the 'State of Emergency' Sinn Féin Vice President Pat Doherty said

the decision was "very welcome as a first step in removing all such laws and is a continuation of the seriousness with which the Dublin government is approaching the peace process."

"However the 'emergency' laws under the Offences Against the State Act (OASA) will continue to be used to harass, raid and arrest people in the 26 Counties on the flimsiest of pretexts."

"The whole apparatus of special and emergency legislation in both states should be removed and all harassment of republicans should cease immediately."

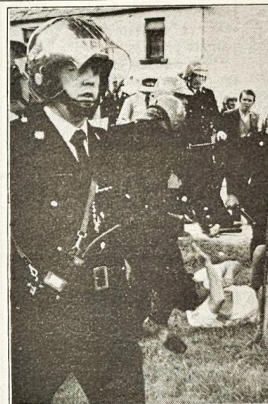
The former Fianna Fáil/Labour coalition had, John Bruton conceded in Leinster House, already decided on the removal of the 'State of Emergency' as a further contribution to the peace process.

However, the repressive political

legislation used against people in the 26 Counties is not that provided for under the Emergency Powers Act, but that under the Offences Against the State Act 1939, which was amended in 1972.

On Wednesday, the day after the Emergency Powers Act was revoked, Cork Sinn Féin representative Don O'Leary appeared at the Supreme Court in Dublin for his appeal against the constitutionality of Section 24 of the OASA. It was this section coupled with the word of a garda superintendent which convicted O'Leary in 1985 to five years imprisonment for IRA membership. The only evidence, apart from the opinion of a garda superintendent, used to convict O'Leary was his possession of a number of posters depicting an IRA Volunteer and the words 'IRA Call the Shots'. The posters were available from Sinn Féin bookshops around the country.

Section 24 of the OASA concerns proof of membership of an unlawful organisation by possession of



● Gardai retain a range of repressive powers 'incriminating' documents. Counsel for O'Leary contended that Section 24 shifted the onus for proof of innocence onto the accused in an unfair way. From the simple fact of possession of posters was taken what was referred to as a "huge leap" that such possession be treated as evidence of membership. The section was unconstitutional, O'Leary's counsel contended,

because of "the artificial creation of evidence" which it provided for. The Supreme Court has reserved judgement in the appeal.

John Bruton said the government would review the OASA, but claimed the issues to be considered in relation to it were "quite distinct". There is a strong garda lobby which will resist any moves to rescind the OASA which confers on them sweeping powers, most notably the power to arrest without warrant and to detain without charge for up to 48 hours.

Following a meeting between Sinn Féin and the Labour Party on Tuesday, 7 February, Dick Spring called for the British government to also repeal its emergency legislation. Welcoming Spring's remarks, Pat Doherty said:

"Britain's Prevention of Terrorism Act has always been a repressive and racist piece of legislation and has been used for more than 20 years to harass the Irish community in Britain. It should go as should the Emergency Provisions (Northern Ireland) Act."

a situation of crisis in the peace process.

"We assured the British government representatives of our commitment to the peace process, but we also pointed out that attempts to subvert the integrity of Sinn Féin's position on the rights of our electorate can serve only to undermine and subvert the peace process itself."

"We also outlined to the British representatives our wish to see inclusive negotiations begin immediately, involving all democratically-mandated political parties and led by both governments."

"We pointed out that the refusal of the British government to accord Sinn Féin voters equality of treatment effectively excludes Sinn Féin and therefore acts as an obstacle to the inclusive negotiations which are essential to the securing of a just and lasting settlement."

"Five months have now passed since the IRA announcement of 31 August, which, the British government accepts, has created 'an unprecedented opportunity for the resolution of the conflict'. Given the urgency of the situation and the already lengthy and unnecessary delay, we believe that inclusive peace negotiations should begin immediately."

"We pointed out that inclusive peace talks should address all issues without preconditions or vetoes, with no outcome either predetermined nor precluded. The precise structure of, and ground rules for, these talks should be worked out by agreement between the party leaders and the two governments."

"Given the pressing need to build on the present opportunity we believe that a timescale for these negotiations should be agreed and adhered to."

(continued from front page)

- The disbanding of the RUC;
- The repeal of repressive legislation;
- The removal of British forces, including the RUC and RIR, from all nationalist areas, day and night.

Commenting on the talks, delegation leader Martin McGuinness said:

"The British government has continually asserted that Sinn Féin's entry into inclusive negotiations is dependent on the decommissioning of IRA weapons."

"We listened carefully to, and noted, the position of the British government on this issue and we, of course, acknowledged that the peace process has to address all elements of the comprehensive demilitarisation required."

"We pointed out that Sinn Féin's involvement in the peace process is solely on the basis of

our electoral mandate. Sinn Féin has consistently stated that we seek a complete demilitarisation of the situation, that we seek the removal forever of all guns — British, unionist, loyalist and republican — from Irish politics — to bring about, in the words of the British government, the 'decommissioning' of all weapons of war. Without this commitment, the peace process would not have been brought to its present position. The most important element in bringing the situation to this point, as universally acknowledged, was the IRA's announcement of 31 August 1994."

"It is clear that everyone has an influence over the present situation. The collective application of that influence can, we believe, transform the political climate and put an end to the failures of the past. We wish to use our

influence on all matters, in a positive way and with the aim of advancing the peace process. How we use our influence and how much influence we have is, of course, a matter of judgement for us."

"Peace is dependent on a lasting political settlement and must include the permanent removal of all guns from Irish politics. Our sad and tragic history underlines this. That is, in fact, the logic of a peace process."

"We, therefore, regard attempts by the British government to link the issue of the IRA's weapons to their continued refusal to recognise the rights of the Sinn Féin electorate as disingenuous. We are concerned that the British government's position on the decommissioning of IRA weapons is, at best, a stalling tactic, at worst an attempt to create

ANGER AT BISHOP OVER RUC IN SCHOOLS

PARENTS WHOSE CHILDREN attend the St Oliver Plunkett school on Belfast's Glen Road staged an anti-RUC picket at the school on Tuesday, 7 February. Angry that the school principal, Mrs Rice, has refused to discuss her invitation to the RUC to visit the school and address students, the parents also requested a meeting with the Bishop of Down and Connor Patrick Walsh.

Bishop Walsh was at the school on Tuesday, 7 February, meeting children who had just been confirmed but ignored the parents' request and further incensed the delegation who went to meet him when he left the building by a back door.

That the RUC was invited to St Oliver Plunkett's came to light through a letter issued to parents. In the letter, parents are given the option of removing their children from attending the 'Stranger Danger' and 'Playing Safe' programmes which involve 'support from [RUC] Community Relations Officers'.

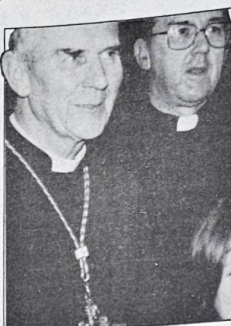
Paula Mateer, whose children attend the school and who is a member of the parent/teachers liaison committee, acted as spokesperson for the parents. When she went to the school canteen, local priest Fr Kerr approached her. He refused to

discuss the school's invite to the RUC and refused to convey her request for a meeting to Bishop Walsh.

Mateer told AP/RN that parents are angry that the letter was a "sly attempt" by the school authorities to give the RUC access to their children. "The letter did not actually say the RUC were the 'Community Relations Officers', named in the letter and also the principal Mrs Rice has refused to meet parents to discuss the matter."

In a further effort to put their views to the school authorities the parents' group went to the parochial house to talk to Fr Kerr. However, as one parent put it, "he was very dismissive of the parents' protests".

"He refused to take on board the parents' views about the RUC, ignoring the fact that we don't want this force talking to our kids about anything."



● Bishop Walsh and Fr Kerr, whose actions this week angered parents of children at St Oliver Plunkett's school

Sinn Féin Councillor Una Gillespie, in a statement expressing support for the parents action described the current RUC action as a propaganda drive. She also called on both the school authorities and the Catholic hierarchy which controls Catholic schools to take on board the feelings of parents who do not want their children to come into contact with the RUC.

Diplock contradictions

■ BY FRANCES SHILTON

"HE MAY NOT have known precisely what was to happen to the soldiers, but I am satisfied that he knew that their death was one of the likely eventualities... and I find him guilty... of murdering the two soldiers." — Diplock Judge Carswell, convicting Pat Kane one of the 'Casement Three'.

"If a defendant acquires knowledge of the possibility that the victim would be killed, that is insufficient to ground a conviction for murder where he does not participate in the common enterprise." — Carswell quashing the conviction of Ronald Moore for the murder of Catholic Martin Watters.

Once again the contradictory nature of judgements handed down by Diplock Courts in the Six Counties has been clearly demonstrated. The fact that both the above judgements were delivered by the same man, Judge Carswell, should come as no surprise to those who have followed the findings of these courts.

On Friday, 3 February, a loyalist, Ronald Moore, was acquitted on appeal of murdering Martin Watters, a Catholic. This case contrasts sharply with that of the 'Casement Three', Patrick Kane, Michael Timmons and Seán Kelly, who were found guilty of killing two British army corporals on 19 March 1988.

The three were sentenced to life imprisonment, despite Carswell's acceptance that none of the three "had been present at the commission of the murder itself or close enough to afford assistance", nor had they "specifically counselled the commission of the murders", he went on to convict them under the principle of "common purpose".

The contrast with the Moore

case could not be greater. It is clear that Moore participated in the assault upon Watters and indeed his charges have now been reduced to grievous bodily harm. Carswell also accepts that Moore knew his codefendants intended to kill Watters, but finds these points "insufficient" to convict him of murder.

Guilty of attempted murder was Judge Kelly's ruling on the case of British soldier trooper Andrew Clarke who opened fire and seriously wounded a mourner, Eddie Copeland, outside the home of IRA Volunteer Thomas Begley in October 1993.

Delivering his judgement on Wednesday at Belfast High Court, while accepting clear intent on behalf of Clarke in targeting his victim, Judge Kelly said that the shooting was not preplanned or premeditated. The judge went on to say that he could understand Clarke's frustration at the sight of so many republicans. Convicting Clarke of attempted murder and malicious wounding, Judge Kelly imposed a ten-year sentence.

In sharp contrast to the leniency shown in the Clarke case, a Strabane man convicted of attempted murder of British soldiers in County Tyrone in 1992, was sentenced to three concurrent 30-year jail terms. Thomas Brogan (37) will not be due for release until 2029. Brogan was released on licence in 1990, after serving ten years of a 20-year sentence for the attempted murder of members of the RUC. The 30-year sentence will not come into effect until December 1999 after the completion on the first sentence.

IN BRIEF...

Prisoner attacked in Kesh

IN A vicious attack in Long Kesh, republican POW Seán Kelly sustained a serious eye injury and head wounds. An NIO spokesperson confirmed this week that segregated visits had now been introduced in the jail in "an attempt to take the heat out of the situation".

Kelly, convicted two weeks ago of the 1993 explosion on the Shankill Road was jumped upon by loyalists and savagely beaten near the visiting area of Long Kesh as he awaited transport to bring him back to his block.

Kelly, who was seriously injured in the explosion in 1993, described in a letter to the Belfast morning paper the *Irish News* on Wednesday, 1 February, how after his Friday visit he had been searched by screws, deliberately put into a locked waiting area occupied by two loyalists, he sat down, both rushed over and began to punch and kick him about the head and body. The assault lasted several minutes after which he had to be taken to the prison hospital for treatment.

Crum to close

IN A long-awaited announcement by the NIO the notorious Crumlin Road Jail looks set to close within three years. Recently, 200 political prisoners were transferred to Long Kesh following several years of protests for segregation between loyalist and republican POWs. The Victorian jail has been the scene of many dramatic republican escapes and was notorious for the harsh conditions there.

Prisoners were commonly placed on 24-hour lockup as protest after protest against conditions were carried out. In some instances republican prisoners were held for over two years on remand. Sinn Féin's prisons spokesperson Pat McGeown welcomed the announcement saying he "hoped the decision will signal the end of the policy of forced integration of republican and loyalist prisoners in Six-County jails".

Soldier convicted on UVF & drugs charges

A BRITISH SOLDIER was convicted in a Six-County court this week on charges of UVF membership and possession of drugs.

Private Brian Lewis, whose address was given as C/O 1 Royal Irish Regiment (RIR), Portadown, claimed in court on Thursday, 2 February, that he had been supplied with drugs from a UVF source in the Banbridge area between 1993 and 1994.

Lewis admitted that his UVF contact had asked him to use his British army warrant card to "move gear". It also came to light in the court that another UVF death squad member had asked Private Lewis to find out where a named republican was living so that the UVF could murder him. Lewis pleaded guilty to the charge of "conspiring to collect information likely to be useful to terrorists".

Judge David Smyth cynically told the court he had a "duty to deter people in a position of trust" yet refused to jail Lewis, preferring instead to give him a three-year suspended sentence.

RIR soldiers sent for trial

IN ARMAGH, two British soldiers were this week sent for trial on a catalogue of loyalist killings and conspiracy charges. Neil Irwin and Maurice Nichol, whose addresses were given as C/O Drumadd Barracks in Armagh were said in court to have been active loyalist death squad members from November 1993.

Irwin faces 30 charges, including the killing of nationalist truck driver Frances Brown, killed when a bomb manufactured by the UVF in Belfast exploded under his vehicle in Portadown. Irwin also faces five conspiracy to murder charges. These include attempting to murder former Blackwater Sinn Féin candidate Bridget McCartan. He also faces other charges of collecting information "likely to be useful to terrorists".

Other charges involve causing an explosion, possessing explosive devices, timers, two rifles and ammunition believed to be part of a British-sponsored arms shipment smuggled into the Six Counties from South Africa. Nichol faces six charges including possession of an improvised weapon with intent to endanger life, possession of explosives and a firearm.

POWs deny HIV bias

REPUBLICAN PRISONERS in Portlaoise have strenuously denied allegations made in a Sunday newspaper that they had blocked the transfer of HIV-positive prisoners to the prison.

The claim had been made in an article by Fergal Keane in the *Sunday Tribune* of 29 January. He said that the republican prisoners had insisted on two ordinary prisoners being given AIDS tests before being transferred from Mountjoy Jail and had then blocked the transfer when the prisoners tested HIV-positive.

Ann O'Sullivan of Sinn Féin's POW Department, has stated that the article had "no basis in fact". Any ordinary prisoners transferred to Portlaoise are as a matter of course kept separate from republican prisoners, she stated, adding for the record that republican prisoners had no objections to HIV prisoners being held in the prison. They had indeed, expressed concern about the conditions and treatment of such prisoners. Describing the article as "completely untrue", O'Sullivan has called for a full retraction from the *Tribune*.





Pamela Kane talks to the media after her release from Limerick Prison

THE ONLY CLOUD ON A SUNNY DAY

"I HOPE all political prisoners are released soon," said Pamela Kane, the only woman republican prisoner in the 26 Counties, as she emerged from the grim portals of Limerick Jail last week. She was one of five POWs released by the Dublin government on Friday, 3 February, in a further positive development in the peace process.

Unseasonal sunshine and a cheering crowd greeted Dubliner Pamela Kane as she walked out of the jail at midday on Friday. Among those there to

greet her was Limerick man Stephen Sheedy who had been released from Portlaoise Prison earlier that morning along with Ken Gaffney (Dublin), Patrick

Flanagan (Laois) and John McBride (Strabane).

Also greeting Pamela Kane at Limerick were her mother Susan and father Albert, a native of Cappagh, County Tyrone. "The only black cloud today is the British government. What have they done? Not one prisoner released. They must be forced to release the prisoners," he told AP/RN.

Commenting on the latest releases, the 26-County premier John Bruton echoed these comments when he said that he would like to see the British government reviewing its policy on releases.

Last week's releases and those in January leave 40 republican prisoners still incarcerated in the 26 Counties.



The gates flew open — Ken Gaffney leaves Portlaoise Prison

South Armagh man in US court

A MAN who was lucky to escape with his life when uniformed ARUC members opened fire on his car at Silverbridge in South Armagh last year has again been refused bail by a judge in the United States. Michael 'Mixie' Martin is contesting conspiracy charges in Tucson, Arizona. Last year, six people, known as the Tucson Six, were acquitted on similar conspiracy charges. Martin's co-accused, Séamus Moley and Kevin McGinley, are free on bail.

Michael Martin was arrested in South Armagh on 20 April 1994. He had been driving along the main Newry to Crossmaglen Road when an unmarked car in front stopped suddenly and four men emerged and opened fire as he drove past. All were dressed in plain clothes, which led Martin to believe he was the victim of a sectarian attack. He drove away at speed with the other vehicle in

pursuit. His small car was repeatedly rammed until he was forced off the road. Martin, who received gunshot wounds to the leg in the incident, was arrested with his passenger, who was released without charge shortly afterwards.

Local people pointed out that Martin could have been arrested any time at his family home in South Armagh, where he was a

regular visitor. "It is obvious that the RUC were intent on summary execution," said Sinn Féin Councillor Jim McAllister at the time. Martin himself was later extradited to the United States on foot of an American warrant.

On 25 January he appeared in court in Tucson, Arizona, where he faces charges of conspiring to purchase detonators for the IRA five years ago. Six other men were last year acquitted of similar charges, ironically in the same week as Martin's arrest.

During the pretrial hearing, four witnesses were heard who testified about the shoot-to-kill incident after which Martin was arrested, including the passenger in his car at the time. US District

No real process without release of prisoners

■ BY BRIAN O'DONNELL

RECENTLY-released republican POW Pamela Kane made an unexpected appearance at a Saoirse rally in the Tyrone village of Carrickmore on Sunday, 5 February.

Organised by the Tyrone branch of Saoirse, over 1,000 demonstrators marched around the town carrying placards bearing the names of Tyrone POWs currently incarcerated by the British.

Speaking at the rally, Saoirse spokesperson Fiona Meenan welcomed the release of a further five POWs by the Dublin government, but expressed the disappointment and anger felt by Irish people at the continuing intransigence of the British government on this issue of prisoner releases.

Meenan told AP/RN afterwards that the committee was extremely pleased with the turnout for the march and commended the organisers whose effort ensured the day's success.

The main address was given by Monaghan Sinn Féin Councillor Caoimhghín O Caoláin. He cited examples in international history where there has been a need for conflict resolution, and these processes have by necessity included the release of prisoners.

O Caoláin stated: "There can be no peace process while a single POW languishes behind bars. Their release is an integral part of this process. 'The British attitude to the

process has raised real concern amongst republicans."

Referring to the Irish prisoners in English jails, the Monaghan councillor castigated the British over their treatment of Paul Norrey, the longest-serving POW in England, and Gerard Mackin, who recently has been kept locked up for 23 hours a day for nearly a month. In contrast, he said: "Dublin has made significant strides by releasing POWs."

Speaking to AP/RN after the protest, Pamela Kane said:

"I am overwhelmed at the turnout. The POWs still in jail will be heartened to know that their people are behind them. It shows that there is a great groundswell of support for the release of all POWs and I hope that support for the campaign continues to grow."

Representatives of the Saoirse campaign in Dublin met with the Labour Party's Dublin MEP Bernie Malone on Saturday, 4 February, after which she expressed her support for the release of all political prisoners.

She also promised to raise the matter along with John Hume, a fellow member of the socialist grouping in the European Parliament.



On the march in Carrickmore on Sunday, 5 February

■ BY LIAM O COILEAIN

Court Judge John Roll also heard conflicting evidence from one of the RUC members involved. He later rejected any hope of a bail application.

Since his extradition, Martin, who suffers from a medical condition, has been subjected to a severely restrictive prison regime. Initially he was held in solitary confinement, but is now in the marginally-improved situation of being locked up in his cell with three to four other prisoners 47 hours out of 48. This concession and the decision to allow him to receive mail for the first time have only been made due to pressure on the chief warden of Tucson Federal Prison from local civil liberties campaigners.

Martin, who is allowed just one call home every two months, was permitted a ten-minute visit at the pretrial hearing with some of those who had travelled from South Armagh to give evidence, which was a boost to his morale. Given the severe restrictions in terms of mail, telephone privileges, visiting rights and contact with other prisoners that he has faced since his extradition, this was a rare opportunity to talk to familiar faces.

Commenting on the case, South Armagh Councillor Jim McAllister told AP/RN that it was seen in South Armagh as "a vindictive act". "There just isn't a case against this man," he said.

Anyone wishing to write to Martin should address mail to:

Michael 'Mixie' Martin 03360 — 196, Federal Correctional Institute 8901, South Wilmet, Tucson, Arizona 86706, USA.



An Phoblacht

REPUBLICAN NEWS

9 FEBRUARY 1995

PEACE PROCESS MUST NOT BE UNDERMINED

THE EFFORTS by the unionists to divert the peace process and the persistence of the delaying tactics of the British government have focussed attention on the urgent need to move the process on. There is a widespread expectation that both governments will seek to initiate all-party talks as soon as possible. No one has anything to fear from such a development. The objective of these negotiations must be a political settlement capable of sustaining a just and lasting peace.

There is a grave danger at this time that John Major may attempt to placate the unionists while paying lip service to the need for change. His concern is to survive as British premier and to lead his party into government, even a coalition one, after the next election. But lip service — or the rhetoric of peace making — will not be enough to resolve this conflict. Semantical or cosmetic change will serve only to invite reaction without bringing about the new beginning which is so obviously required.

It has taken a very long time indeed to create the conditions for meaningful negotiation. The unionists are trying to thwart this. It is of crucial importance that this opportunity is not squandered and that this delicate and sensitive phase of the peace process is properly managed.

It was accepted by the London government last year, and widely acknowledged elsewhere, that an internal Six-County based settlement is not a solution.

This is an admission that the present structures have failed and cannot sustain peace. There must therefore be fundamental constitutional and political change. The end result of this process of change must be a stable and peaceful Ireland.

The London government cannot dodge its responsibilities to encourage this development. Nor can Major be permitted to use the unionists as an excuse. All attempts to undermine the peace process must be resisted.

No one has the right to a veto. The row over the framework document was a pre-emptive strike by the Ulster Unionist Party. It is the veto being deployed to prevent even a discussion of certain issues.

At the same time the reaction of the UUP to the *Times* leak, and the stance of the DUP, indicates a growing suspicion of uncertainty among unionists about the longer-term value of their dependence on the British guarantee.

Few unionists really trust the London government. Despite this and despite the informal and personal reassessment of their position which many unionists are engaging in, their leaderships so far refuse to face up to the need for a re-examination of their position. They are unlikely to do this while the British government guarantees their position. Unionist allegiance to the British crown is matched by a deep distrust of the British government. Their desire for an internal settlement with a devolved administration comes from their wish to restore majority rule, that is, unionist domination, in the Six Counties.

There can be no going back to those days. The status quo must change. The future of the people of this island is a matter for all the people of this island. It cannot be forever dictated or restricted by either the shortsightedness of unionism or the British government. London's future role in our affairs must be to help to create the conditions in which all of our people can find agreement on a new, stable and peaceful Ireland.

One thing is clear at this time. If the peace process is to lead to a permanent peace, it must address and seek to resolve the underlying causes of conflict. They are firstly the core political and constitutional issues and secondly, the multitude of political, economic, legal, social and cultural injustices which have developed both North and South since partition.

News

BUDGET SQUANDERS OPPORTUNITIES Crumbs for welfare — rewards for banks

RUAIRI QUINN, the Labour Party's first finance minister, announcing the 1995 budget told us that he was presenting a "radical budget", a budget that would distribute a "growth dividend", a budget "for people at work".

In fact, Quinn's budget was the squandering of a unique opportunity to dismantle the inequitable and inefficient taxation and financial system in the 26 Counties. His "radical budget" was an exercise in pacifying middle-class Labour voters while offering token gestures to the unemployed. This was done while fortifying the pampered position of the state's high-income cliques.

It is true that Quinn's proposals on PRSI, tax allowances and the extension of the 27% tax band will leave some people marginally better off.

The broadening of the 27% band will, we are told, benefit the lower paid "more proportionally". However, studying income tax takes on high and average-incomes exposes a lie about proportionality. The tax take on an income of £12,500 (just below the average industrial wage) is almost 29%. Compare this to the 47% tax take on an income six times greater at £75,000.

An income increase of 600% only means a tax increase of 100%. Income tax in this state does not increase proportionately with income. Those on high wages enjoy increasing

shares of their income and the budget left this unchanged. High-income earners are in a position to amass wealth and further income without making proper contributions to the state.

Quinn's other sop to the wealthy was the abandonment of last year's changes in Residential Property Tax. It was not replaced with an effective tax on wealth.

It came as no surprise then that Quinn like other finance ministers before him, has ignored the plight of those in greatest need. The increases in social welfare payments were only in line with inflation, ignoring the fact that the payments are still clearly inadequate leaving many recipients in deep poverty. The 2.5% increase in social welfare payments lags behind the 6.25% increase in wealth in the state.

Much was made by Quinn and fellow minister Proinsias De Rossa in recent days of the increases in child benefits. However, the payments do not tackle child poverty effectively. Last year the Combat Poverty Agency's report on the *Cost of a Child* showed that the minimum cost of a child was £1,500 a

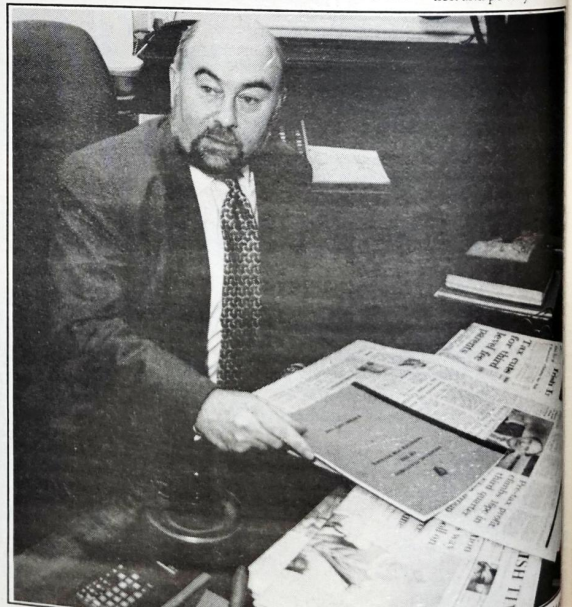
year. Under Ruairi Quinn's increases you need to pay £1,500 to receive £1,500 in child benefits, a 300% increase between the level of welfare benefits and the economic reality for families on social welfare.

The low paid and those dependent on social welfare will also study the proposals to phase out third-level colleges fees. One out of every three children attending primary school will not receive a receipt of payments for back-to-school schemes.

Quinn's statistics and forecasts on economic growth also ignore the failure of the budget proposals to halt the huge outflow of wealth generated by Irish workers. These profits siphoned out of the economy by multinationals will top £4 billion this year.

Perhaps most damning was Quinn's withdrawal of the bank levy, leaving banks retaining even more of their profits earned off the backs of the Irish public. Banks will also benefit from the reduction in corporate tax from 40% to 28%.

Ruairi Quinn has clearly failed to meet his budget objectives of rewarding work, promoting enterprise and social solidarity. Instead he has rewarded wealth, ignored community enterprise and yet again condemned the 750,000 plus people dependent on social-welfare payments to another year of marginalisation and poverty.



● Finance minister Ruairi Quinn — his budget rewarded the wealthy while ignoring the people in those in greatest need



An Phoblacht

REPUBLICAN NEWS

9/2/95

The year 1995 is sure to be one in which we will see many exciting political developments in Ireland. In the past year and a half events have accelerated as republican initiatives speed the peace process and create the potential for lasting political and constitutional change.

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News



Britain's selfish interest

■ BY HILDA Mac THOMAS

THE EVENTS of the last week have underlined once again the failure of the British government to really engage in the peace process initiated by the people in Ireland. It matters little who leaked extracts of the framework document. None of this furore — unionist 'outrage' followed by declarations to reassure them — would have happened had the British moved quickly and decisively on the peace process.

'Keeping the unionists on board' was the name of the game and Major made sure that his televised statement reiterated the unionists' so-called 'triple lock' on any change in Ireland. The framework document was merely a set of proposals, politicians could accept or reject them and any agreed set of proposals would be put to the electorate of the Six Counties in a referendum. This pseudo-democratic language can only fool outside observers who may have missed the fact that the border was drawn across Ireland in 1920 in order to ensure that elections in the North invariably produced a pro-union result.

A new Six-County assembly, John Major explained, would have authority over any North-South bodies which would not be "overridden by the British and Irish governments". So much for the default mechanism which the Dublin government was reported as proposing should some parties refuse to cooperate in cross-border ventures. In other words, if the predictable unionist majority in the new assembly decided to boycott any of these bodies, they would wither just as the Council of Ireland set up in 1920 through the Government of Ireland Act withered.

And what of the British promise, made in the Downing Street Declaration and restated to Sinn Féin in the exploratory talks, that they would "promote agreement" among the Irish people?

Every restatement of the unionist 'right' to reject change promotes further disagreement and division, and further delays the time when all parties will sit down and start discussing the issues at the core of the conflict. Every time Major reaffirms this unionist 'right' he also demonstrates, yet again, that this veto has been bestowed on unionists by the British. Therefore, as republicans argue, it is in the power of a British government to remove this veto and persuade and convince unionists that they must negotiate.

Much confusion exists in Britain, and unfortunately in Ireland, on the meaning and the application of the word 'consent'. Unionists understand it to mean

their right to reject anything which does not come close enough to a pre-1969 situation, that is anything which does not give them most of the power.

'Consent' for republicans means the right of unionists to secure their place, their political representation, their religious, national and cultural rights in any transitional or final arrangement which all the people of Ireland have arrived at, free from outside interference. This seemed to have been recognised in theory by the British in 1920, although they did not implement it because they feared the strategic implications of a united, sovereign Ireland on their doorstep. The whole period, from the Curragh Mutiny of 1914 to the report of the Boundary Commission in 1925, is awash with unionist and Tory blackmail, media leaks and sabre rattling. The British then settled their Irish problem with regard only to their selfish strategic interest.

Have the British changed that much, in spite of their repeated assurance that they have no "selfish, strategic or economic interest in Ireland"?

Strategic issues have changed considerably in this post-Cold War era. The economy of the North is no longer the asset it was at the turn of the century, and the British have subsidised it heavily over the past two decades. But today we have a British prime minister who is desperate to hang on to power in Westminster and

rebuild his image as a statesman before the next general elections.

In Westminster he has survived up to now with the votes of the nine OUP MPs, whose support he has curried by copper-fastening their veto over constitutional and political change. Abroad he is seen as one of the main actors of the peace process, and therefore he has maintained a slow momentum by granting a few cosmetic changes here and there, and giving the illusion of movement: Removal of the media ban, a few border roads reopened, low-level exploratory talks with Sinn Féin which would drag on and on if Sinn Féin let them.

Major's main objective throughout the last two years, beginning with his government's abrupt ending of the secret contacts with republicans in 1993, has been his own short-term political survival. This 'short-termism' has plagued the Irish political scene for a century now.

The only constant thread of British policy in the North has been one of military and legal repression, aimed at containing the problem. There have been no bold decisive moves on the political front. Even the Sunningdale Agreement was allowed to collapse under unionist blackmail. The current peace process is now under considerable pressure because of British selfish considerations, their refusal to meet the situation with courage and generosity, and to face the unionists' rigid intransigence.

No going back to the status quo

IN AN INTERVIEW with the *Irish Times* this week, Gerry Adams said the logic of all progress so far in the peace process has been to move to an all-Ireland settlement. Progress has been at "a snail's pace" but "it has not been to strengthen the ties with London; it has not been to strengthen the London-Belfast axis. It has been in the opposite direction — in Belfast-Dublin or North-South".

He told *Irish Times* reporter Maol Muire Tynan, republicans would rule out any proposals which seek to entrench unionist domination or refurbish the failed Six-County statelet or which seek to build a new partition of Ireland.

He said Sinn Féin would judge the framework document being put forward by the Dublin and London governments in the context of Sinn Féin's main objective — the ending of British jurisdiction in Ireland and its replacement by an agreed Irish jurisdiction. Asked about Sinn Féin's attitude to proposals likely to be in the framework document for a Stormont assembly, Adams set out the party's abstentionist policy towards Six-County administrations, saying any change would be a matter for a Sinn Féin Ard Fheis:

"I certainly think that we would look at all of these matters in the context of an all-Ireland settlement. Let me outline the parameters. Both the SDLP and Sinn Féin have ruled out an internal settlement. Whatever emerges from the talks must be transitional. Sinn Féin's constitution forbids entry into a Stormont parliament. My view is that the party should not and would not be involved in any return to the status quo.

"Sinn Féin cannot rule out anything at all which moves us along the road to a lasting peace settle-

ment and which advances our strategic objectives." In this context, Sinn Féin would have to examine and explore "the degree of constitutional and political change and the actual transitional nature of whatever structures are proposed".

Commenting on the leak to the *London Times* of sections of the framework document, Adams was clear its intention was to damage the peace process. He noted that since the leaks were highly selective, "they may have raised nationalist expectations and when we see the entire document, as agreed, we may find that if the content does not measure up in nationalists' eyes, people could be in for a bit of a shock". Republicans, he believed, would judge the document when it was published but in any case, the republican attitude to the framework document was "a la carte", in that real talks without preconditions should go ahead if the document could not be published soon. Regarding unionist reaction to the leak, Gerry Adams said: "The unionists have to be part of what John Hume and I have described as 'agreement'. Whether they have to agree at this point is a matter of judgement for them. But you could not have a settlement without the agreement of everyone."

The so-called framework docu-

ment, Adams pointed out, is a discussion document. "I can understand the strategy behind the Dublin government's wish to have such a document because in many ways, it will be a very significant statement by both governments — if and when it is published. It will outline the parameters [for discussions] to some degree. But, at the same time, it will not exclude other issues from being put on the agenda. Both the British and Irish governments have stressed that this is a document that can be rejected, amended, agreed and so on."

He warned against any tendency to try to look at the problem as merely a Six-County one, pointing out that changes to Articles Two and Three of the Irish constitution which in any way sought to dilute the Irish nation's right to sovereignty would be seen as a setback by nationalists. "We want a new national constitution for all Ireland which would signpost the transformation that is required. One approaches the problem in a flawed way if one thinks that what is required is a transformation of the North, that there are things wrong in the Six Counties that must be straightened out. We think that a new agreed Ireland requires change North and South. As part of that we need a new constitution. Failure to grasp that could lead Dublin politicians into a sense of "give us this and we'll give you that" so we end up with semantical changes in constitutions without constitutional change." He added that republicans were



● British intransigence has led to juvenile acts such as NIO Minister Malcolm Ross' refusal to shake hands with Gerry Adams at the opening of the Dunlewey Centre in Belfast on 25 January

not necessarily seeking Dublin rule, but "a new agreed Ireland, a transformation of Irish society, an Irish republic".

Responding to a question which implied an IRA convention within 12 months of the cease-fire would be the deadline for the peace process, Gerry Adams stated:

"I can say categorically that there is no deadline. To my certain

knowledge there is no point when the IRA has decided it will sit back and review the situation." If the framework document failed republicans' expectations, the peace process would still remain alive "provided we get into inclusive, all-party talks led by both governments; provided there are no preconditions placed on those in attendance at those talks or on the issues on the agenda".

THE WHOLE subject of place names is a complicated one and with little funding from the new Irish state in 1922 and with no clear cultural imperative — the impetus towards reclaiming the Irish language being always weak and unfocused — the map-makers in the Irish Ordnance Survey have by and large kept place names as they were written down in the 1830s under British rule.

Place names in Irish are spelt using an English phonetic system and are unintelligible to everyone. To English speakers they are sound without meaning. To Irish speakers they are misspellings. For example, it is clear to all what the name of the English town Newcastle means. But what does Clonmel mean? This is the 'English' name as standardised but is really a garbled version of the Irish Cluain Meala — the Meadow of Honey.

The system used was perfected by the scholar John O'Donovan working with the British government's Ordnance survey in the 1830s. It was part of a 'standardisation' needed to consolidate the power of the British Empire.

Similar phonetic spelling systems were used for place names in Welsh and Scots Gaelic as compulsory Anglicisation was also deemed necessary in these countries.

The Irish state since 1922 has not changed the policy of Anglicisation — the Ordnance Survey of Ireland has by and large continued the policies of its erstwhile colonial masters.

The situation was made even more complicated when names were completely changed by the British and then changed back again. Thus people speak of the 'old' name for Dún Laoghaire as being Kingstown. But this is nonsense. It was always Dún Laoghaire — it was renamed Kingstown in the early 19th Century after a visit by the British monarch. In this case, the Irish authorities eventually got it right because now, instead of the Anglicised spelling once used — Dunleary — the correct Dún Laoghaire is in general usage. Why can't the same be done everywhere else?

The imaginative initiative needed to take clear policy decisions in this area has never been present.

A body was set up in the 1950s to advise on the correct Irish spellings, and in the

1970s correct Irish spellings were given equal legal standing with the phonetic Anglicisations, but the matter has never been of much interest to the state.

If the state ever decided to make policy decisions on spelling on place names that are clearly in Irish, especially in new areas of hills being opened up for tourists and walkers, such initiatives could include names little used and clearly in Irish. Places like Sliabh na Slat could be written in correct Irish only. Place names that have through usage changed like Dún Dealgan (Dundalk) could be written twice.

As it is, signposts in the 26 Counties carry the same place name written twice — once correctly in Irish and in larger size the Anglicised spelling from the conquest. Since the word Cill (church) is very frequent in Irish place names, and is Anglicised as Kill, strange names appear like Cool Kill for Cúl Cille and Kill Kreeest for Cill Christ.

The bureaucracy of the 26 Counties has never realised the negative effect of the constant downgrading of Irish that is caused by the policy of clinging onto inaccurate Anglicisations of names that are still effectively pronounced in Irish. This policy, and the writing of the correct Irish in small letters means that Seefinn stays in the visual memory where the meaningful spelling Sui Fionn (place of Fionn MacCumhall) gets downgraded.

Confusion is created and the 'cultural cringe' factor of being unable to spell Irish correctly becomes a constant. Last year, Kerry County Council put up a notice on the Abha Bheag (Little River) reading Awveg River.

Living as we are in a Mid-Atlantic English-speaking world it is hard to comprehend that most of the tourists coming to our country know little or no English and that

many have a great interest in things Celtic, the Irish language being the most important focus of our Celtic identity.

It is a pity that most of us are "like strangers in our own land" going around trying to find where we are. The tourists from continental Europe do not, like many of the English, think things Irish are 'quaint'. They do not carry England's colonial baggage.

Surely the best way to relate to the rest of the world is on our own terms and we cannot do that without the knowledge of our own language. We must reclaim this primarily for our own sake.

The question I am asking here is, do we need to burden ourselves any longer with English misspellings of perfectly ordinary Irish place names? Do we need to write Loch Míle and Lough Meala on the same signpost — Loch Míle (Mile Lake) has a meaning. Likewise, Dún Cairn has a meaning. Dún Kerrin pronounced the same, has not. This list could go on and on, through every hill, valley, field. Inaccuracies are unending. For example, Ráth Tri Lic is meaningful. Rathrillick is not; Mullach an Draoi is specific, Mulladry means nothing.

By continuing these obfuscations we are hindering ourselves. We are blocking out voices from the past, that have a lot to say to us. We are ignoring the perceptions of those who looked after our country before we came, and whose music and poetry are enshrined in the Irish names they called the hills and valleys, lakes, rivers and seashore.

Books on place names should help to increase our awareness of our heritage so that we might start as well to name places in our own modern Irish instead of clinging to the exhausted banality of the 'Tuscany Downs' type names, with their subservient echoes of discredited colonial past.

Maybe a good resolution to use correct Irish spelling of place names whenever possible will result.

Tosnaítear anois
Ag baile
Ag áthghabhail
Ar dTír
Ar dteanga
Ar n-áit.

Reclaim Irish

IN ALL CULTURES worldwide a sense of place is central to a people's sense of themselves. The sense of place links people's history and the environment and provides continuity over generations, centuries and even millennia.

Irish culture — the Irish language, folklore, literature and music, are imbued with a deep sense of belonging to the land and sea and all its features. A great part of the loss of our culture has been the loss of this sense of place. Beginning in the decade before the Great Hunger, the British government's Ordnance Survey in Ireland began to map the land and replace the original Gaelic place names with 'official' versions, based on pronunciations of the Irish, but devoid of meaning.

The Great Hunger devastated the Irish-speaking majority in the country and grievously damaged the language. The loss of the Irish language over most of Ireland after the 1840s speeded the process of cultural colonisation so that many place names were lost. Despite the Irish-language revival in the 20th Century the damage to the sense of place has never been reversed.

In this article, artist CLIODHNA CUSSEN argues for a return to Irish-language place names, involving a radical reappraisal of how we see and interpret our country.

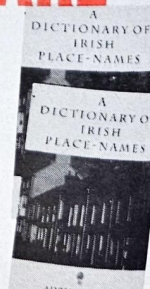
WHERE TO FIND OUT WHERE YOU ARE



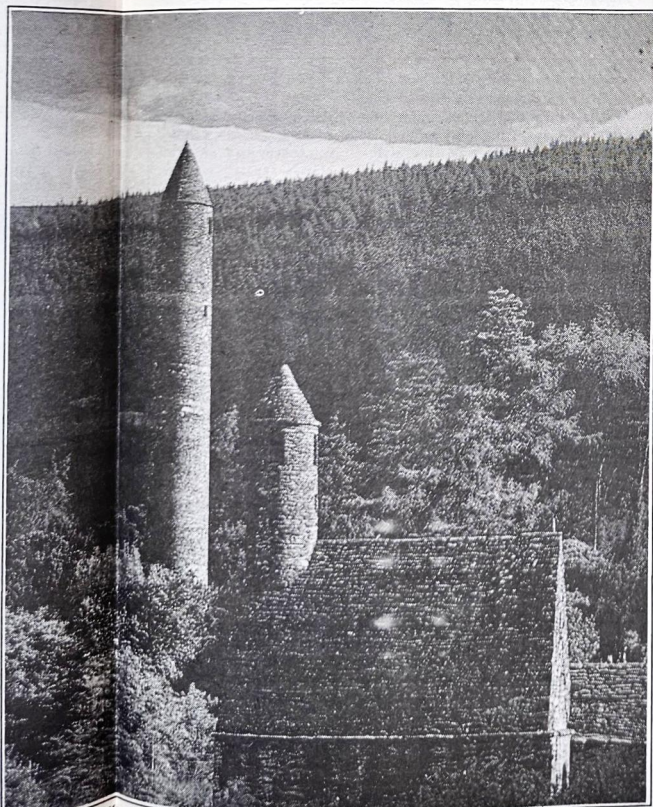
THERE are a number of books currently in print on Irish place names. The latest to be published is *A Dictionary of Irish Place Names* by Adrian Room (Appletree Press, £6.99). It gives correct Irish spellings, English phonetic spellings, and some historical, topographical notes on the names. It is a revised edition of the 1986 dictionary by the same author. Also available and with similar format are *Irish Place Names* by Deirdre and Laurence Flanagan (Gill and Macmillan); *The Poolbeg Book of Irish Place Names* by Seán Mac Mahon (Poolbeg); and the *Pocket Guide to Irish Place Names* by PW Joyce (Appletree Press). Government Publications in Dublin publishes *Gasaitéar na hÉireann/The Gazetteer of Ireland*, which lists all the principal place names. This is available from Oifig Dhiolta Foisceachán Rialtais, Teach Sun Alliance, Sráid Theach

Laighean, Baile Átha Cliath 2.

Most of the maps published by the Ordnance Survey Office in the 26 Counties are in English, though many are bilingual. Information on these maps and on the publications and works of An Choimisiún Logainmneacha (The Place Names Commission) can be obtained from Oifig na Súirbhéarachta Ordánais, Páirc an Fhionnuisce, Baile Átha Cliath 8. Fón (01) 8206100 Fax (01) 8204156.

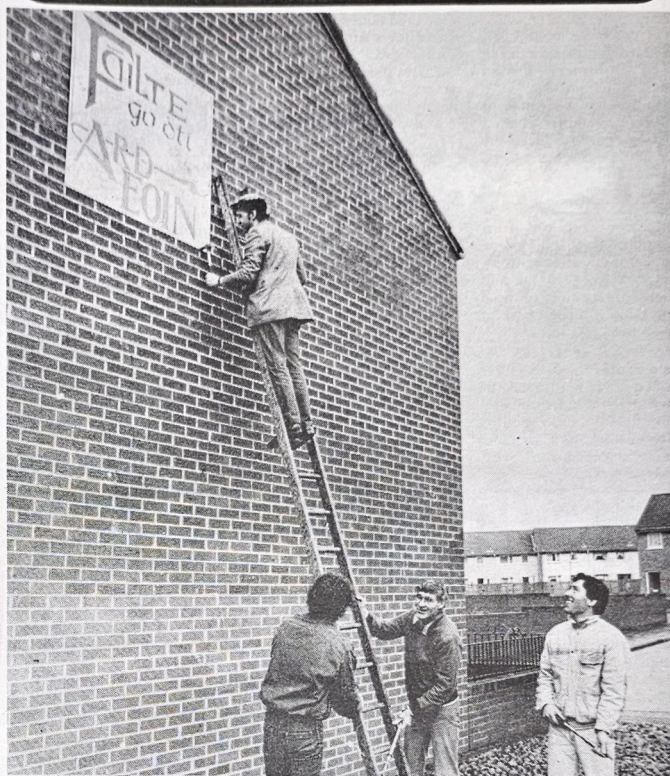


aim our place names



● One of Ireland's most famous beauty spots Gleann Dá Loch (Valley of Two Lakes) labours under the anglicised name 'Glendalough'

BANNED



IN THE Six Counties, Irish-language street signs and place name signs are still banned by law. It is illegal to erect Irish street signs. However, people across the Six Counties have defied this anti-Irish law for decades and erected signs on city streets and housing estates.

Following the 1985 Hillsborough Agreement, which was supposed to "end the nationalist nightmare" it was promised that the law would

be changed but on this, as on so many other issues, nothing has happened. There is a proposal from the British government to 'allow' signs to be

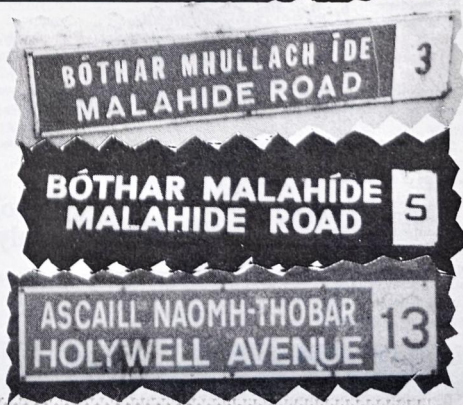
erected but only if a survey of the area concerned finds a two-thirds majority of residents in favour and if the local council then approves. Given unionist domination of councils and the hostility of many of those unionist councillors to the Irish language, this proposal is totally inadequate.

BOTCHED

As well as giving more prominence to the anglicised versions of names, the signs erected by local authorities in the 26 Counties often contain glaring mistakes and inconsistencies. Dublin Corporation is a particularly bad culprit as these examples show.

Bóthar Mhullach Ide is the correct version but two signs on the same road have the correct and incorrect versions. The local authority did not bother to use the correct version, the token 'Bóthar' being the only nod in the direction of Irish in the incorrect sign.

Ascaill an Naomh-Thobar should read Ascaill an Tobair Naofa (Holywell Avenue).



News/Letters

We owe it to fallen comrades to win the peace

THE Joseph MacManus/Kevin Coen Memorial Lecture is now a recognised date on the republican calendar in Sligo. The third annual lecture was heard in the Silver Swan Hotel in Sligo town on Sunday, 5 February, by a packed audience.

This year marks the 20th anniversary of the death on active service of Volunteer Kevin Coen and the third anniversary of the death of Volunteer Joseph MacManus, both from Sligo.

Martin Cadden, a member of the memorial committee, chaired the meeting and introduced the platform of Seán, Helen and Chris MacManus and Donna Casey, secretary of the memorial committee. The main speaker was Jim McAllister, Sinn Féin councillor on Newry and Mourne District Council. He began by speaking movingly about the pain and grief of the families of those who have died in the cause of Irish freedom and democracy:

"It could be easy for us, especially when we are removed from a family either by distance or time to focus on the politics and perhaps forget the families' personal suffering and grief.

"I sometimes think just how remarkable republicans are; how much they have endured; how much republicans are willing to give to each other and to their country and that the suffering has not turned republican hearts to stone but to be even more compassionate and understanding.

"I will never have any difficulty remembering when Joe MacManus was killed, because at the same time my wife was dying in our home in Cullyhanna. Her anniversary is later this week.

Because of the circumstances at home I did not find myself able to attend Joe's funeral or even to contact Seán or Helen. After Margaret died, Seán rang me to sympathise. He was stronger than me and he demonstrated that compassion. As it happened we didn't say much to each other on the phone — we didn't need to — each knew what the other was feeling and each felt for the other. That is friendship — that is comradeship and that is republicanism.

"Now, at this stage in our history we have a chance to ensure that no more Irish men or women need put their lives or freedom on the line for their country. Now that years of republican struggle and hardship have brought us to the present peace process which must be fully explored, now more than ever, we remember the sacrifices made by our Volunteers and Sinn Féin members to advance our struggle and our cause.

"Sitting drawing up this lecture I couldn't help making connections in my mind, connections between areas, between times and between people. I remember that the last time I spoke in Sligo was at Easter ten years ago in 1985. I got my dinner in MacManus' afterwards and Joe was there. I had travelled over that day with Brendan Curran from Lurgan. He went on to speak in Mayo. Back home in



● Vol JOSEPH MacMANUS

Cullyhanna we left a young woman, Sheena Campbell, in my house. She was to speak in Cullyhanna. It was the first time she ever spoke in public. She went on to play a pivotal role in Sinn Féin. Playing for the band in Cullyhanna that day was a boy called Fergal Caraher later to join Sinn Féin. In the crowd was Volunteer Brendan Moley and possibly Volunteer Brendan Burns.

"Now, ten years later, such is the reality of partition and British interference in Ireland that we think of Joe, killed by a UDR man, Sheena, killed by so-called loyalists, the two Brendans killed while preparing to attack the British army and Fergal killed by the British army. Brendan Curran has been the victim of several attacks and still bears the scars.

"Most republicans can make such connections through places, times or events.

"The cure for all this is freedom, justice and peace. The cure for all this is the creation of



● Vol KEVIN COEN

an Irish democracy, the only guarantee that it can never happen again. That is what the Republican Movement is all about, that is what Joe MacManus fought and died for."

McAllister went on to describe in detail the intense British militarisation of South Armagh. It is the same now as it was before the IRA cease-fire, he said, which begs the question:

"Is John Major on board the peace process? No, no, definitely not.

"Does Major want to join the real peace process? Possibly not. Can he be forced on board? I think so.

"It is important to remember that the IRA called their cease-fire because they believed the conditions existed for an honest and realistic process to deal with the problems Britain has caused in Ireland. The IRA were not defeated and forced into this; the fact that Albert Reynolds says Major would not believe him on the possibility of a cease-fire proves that British intelligence

recognises that strength and commitment of the IRA. Republicans have always said that one of the reasons for armed struggle was that those in a position to promote Irish unity and democracy, such as the Dublin government and the SDLP were sidestepping the issue. They are now proving willing to address the situation and we welcome this.

"This is not to say that we are now supporters of these parties or individuals, of course we are not, and we have many different beliefs and emphases, but we can agree on the broad canvas of Ireland's right to self-determination and on the total failure of partition and that if real and lasting peace is to be built then this is the question which must be dealt with.

"We owe it to our fallen Volunteers like Joe and Kevin to do this, we owe it to ourselves and to our children to ensure that we leave no stone unturned in our struggle for Irish freedom. We can also state with total confidence in ourselves and in our leadership that our goals today are the same goals for which Joe fought and died, freedom, justice and peace. This we maintain and this we will deliver."

Chris, Joe's brother, thanked the memorial committee for their continuing work which ensures that the memory and ideals of Joseph and Kevin lived on.

Earlier that day, members of the memorial committee and Joe's family and friends held a wreath-laying ceremony at his grave in Sligo Cemetery.

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

Sligo call to Major

A Chairde,

We, the undersigned are convinced that the peace process can only be advanced at this crucial stage if the British government is prepared to respond to the present situation in the Six Counties with courage, generosity and imagination.

It is our belief that the following core issues need to be addressed by the British government urgently.

- 1) Immediate demilitarisation of the Six Counties.
- 2) Opening of all inclusive talks with no preconditions.
- 3) Accepting that no group has the right to veto political progress.
- 4) Ensuring an end to discrimination and a guarantee of equality of esteem.

We call on John Major to focus on these issues and ensure that this exceptional opportunity for a just and lasting settlement on this island will not be squandered. Councillor Pádraig Branley —

Sligo Corporation
Alderman Declan Bree TD —
Sligo Corporation
Councillor Matt Brennan TD —
Sligo County Council
Councillor Aidan Colleary —
Sligo County Council
Councillor Patrick Conway —
Sligo County Council
Councillor Séamus Dolan —
Sligo Corporation
Senator Willie Farrell — Sligo
County Council
Dermot Healy — author
Councillor Gerry Healy —
Sligo County Council
Alderman Seán MacManus —
Sligo Corporation
Felim McNeela —
Chairperson INC Sligo
Councillor Vincent Murray —
Sligo Corporation
Councillor Eamonn Scanlon —
Sligo County Council.

Major's dilemma

A Chairde,

The architects of the British/Irish framework document know exactly what is required to secure a lasting peace in Ireland. The civil servants charged with

formulating the framework document will have taken unionist reaction into consideration. Both governments are aware that peace is unattainable if narrow party politics are allowed to triumph.

Never again should a minority within Ireland be allowed to veto a proposal which accommodates the common good of all Irish people. Unionists believe they alone have the sole right to harness cherished beliefs. Nationalists in the Six Counties are expected to accept without question a contrived unionist majority.

Finally, John Major's commitment to the peace process will be tested in the coming weeks. If John Major succumbs to unionist pressure, the peace process will unravel. Tim Jones, London.

Revolutionary analysis

A Chairde,

I am very glad that I am in regular weekly receipt of An

Phoblacht. Without it I would be probing in the dark. It certainly is very pertinent reading, especially in the crucial period since the cessation of hostilities and henceforth. As a republican at heart — I find the statements, articles and interviews emanating from Sinn Féin activists and the editorial desks to be very logical, appropriate and politically sound.

I will quote two examples which tickled my fancy immensely. The interview by An Phoblacht with Gerry Adams (15/12/94): Annie Campbell 'A Covenant for a New Ireland' 17/11/95).

(No reflection whatever intended towards all the other contributors). The disorders of extremism and leftism which to various degrees pervades the thinking and actions of the working class generally are studiously avoided and we are given a great lesson in revolutionary analysis and action.

Having been a socialist for the past half a century, I appreciate the value of what is reasonable and attainable at any given time.

The internationalism of the Irish struggle is clearly portrayed in the issues of An Phoblacht. This is a vital ingredient in the conduct of the negotiations so far, and henceforth to the conclusion of an all-Ireland democratic republic.

I dips my lid to Martin McGuinness and his team of negotiators for their very fine performance so far. The reticence of the John Major government as a delaying tactic, no doubt must be stressful to the patience of all republicans especially these activists in the vanguard of the struggle.

The spectre of what's in store should negotiations fail should haunt the people of Ireland, England, Scotland and Wales and stir them into demanding meaningful progress towards national justice for Ireland. Dan Leen, Belmont, New South Wales.

No award for Thatcher

A Chairde,

Boston College is a Catholic

University located in Chestnut Hill, Massachusetts, USA. It was built by the sweat and toil of Irish immigrants who were forced to leave their native land by a harsh, cruel, oppressive, foreign, British presence. That school is now going to award its Ignatius medal (named for the founder of The Society of Jesus, Ignatius of Loyola) to that arch war criminal, Margaret Thatcher. It is galling enough that the university would give an award to so evil a woman as Thatcher — but the presentation is scheduled for 5 May. To award the medal on the anniversary of the death of Bobby Sands the poet, scholar, soldier, who died a painful death because of Thatcher's intransigence is intolerable.

I urge all readers of AP/RN to write to Boston College and request that this award be rescinded. The address is:

President,
Boston College,
Chestnut Hill MA 02167,
USA.

Joseph F Joyce,
Hanover,
Virginia,
USA.

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

Parity of esteem on trial

THE BRITISH are pretty much a hopeless lot when it comes to feigning parity between Irish and British citizens. Indeed, the very idea that any such thing might be a plausible basis for conducting relations between the two countries is sufficient to cause severe apoplexy for many, not least those in British public and political life. Monday evening's *Panorama* programme was in this sense a stripping away of the nonracist veneer behind which many prominent Brits take refuge.

The format for the latest *Panorama* production was — in sharp contrast to the sensationalism of the previous week's programme on Gerry Adams — a sombre courtroom context. The subject of the 'judicial' investigation was Karen Reilly's killer, Lee Clegg. Leading for the prosecution was Ivan Lawrence, QC and Tory MP, and for the defence, Michael Mansfield, QC and civil rights champion.

Although the studio setting could never quite capture the atmosphere of a

bona fide courtroom, the sense of a search for the truth was at least enhanced by the absence of any representative of the British judiciary who work on the premise of innocent until proven Irish.

Mansfield was excellent, relying at all times on the power of his own intellect and detached appeals to the reason of the audience/jury. In comparison, Ivan Lawrence deliberately set out to play on the emotions of the audience. Admittedly, there was little else he could do given his concession at the outset that, as the law stood, Clegg was guilty of murder. His audacity, rivalled only by that of Olga Maitland, was therefore all the more outrageous, when he demanded Clegg's release despite the conviction for murder and regardless of whether any other prisoners are released as part of the peace process.

Among the witnesses questioned was Chichester Clarke's old military mouthpiece Sir Anthony Farrar-Hockley. His bumptious Colonel Blimp

TV REVIEW
Panorama
BBC1 Monday, 6 February
REVIEWED BY
ANDREW SULLIVAN

display reeked of the make-believe good old days when 'Paddy knew his place'. The paras were an exemplary regiment guilty of no wrong-doing. John Ware spoiled the show by disclosing that they have been responsible for the deaths of 40 unarmed civilians in the course of this conflict.

A witness for the defence was Joe Hendron. He dismissed much of the prosecution's case with ease and appealed for justice in the case of Seán Kelly, Michael Timmons and Patrick Kane whom he rightly pointed out, unlike Clegg, killed no one, but who are nonetheless, serving life sentences in the H-Blocks of Long Kesh. They were convicted for the killing of the two British army corporals at the funeral of Volunteer Caoimhín Mac Brádaigh.

Hendron was also dismissive of the orchestrated nature of the campaign. For this reason it was heartening to find that the poor "murder-the-Irish-and-get-off-scot-free" lobby received a victory much less resounding than they had hoped for, given the amount of top-down mobilisation that has been taking place. Fifty-six percent of the audience jury favoured Clegg's release while 44% stood opposed to it. Clearly, room still exists for alternative patterns of thought. In this Orwellian age that is a most reassuring development.

Too late for this reviewer to catch for this week's paper was Wednesday night's *River of Sound* at 9.30pm on RTÉ 1. A follow-on from the brilliant *Bringing It All Back Home* series on Irish music and its trans-Atlantic connections, the new series traces the development of the music here at home. The previous Friday's *Late Late Show* made clear the excellence that's in store. If you have a video it would be well worth taping this series.



● MICHAEL MANSFIELD

BRITISH MEDIA STICKS TO DOWNING STREET LINE

■ BY LIZ CURTIS

TO ATTEND the National Film Theatre's conference on *The Media and Northern Ireland* last weekend was truly to suffer for the cause — and pointlessly so.

The event, which ran from 3 to 5 February, was organised by the NFI's education department and by the extra-mural studies centre at London University's Birkbeck College. It was not really a conference, but an event aimed, as

organiser Mary Wood put it, at giving students a chance to come into contact with media professionals.

Consequently, the speakers were all mainstream media persons and academics. For the

most part they were full of self-importance.

Out of some 15 panellists, there was only one woman. There were no independent film-makers, nor free speech campaigners, nor anybody whose voice had been censored under the broadcasting ban. The audience, which peaked at around 200, comprised mainly of students.

Oxford

professor Terry Eagleton led off the event with a speech which, as he himself said, had nothing to do with the subject of the conference, but was "a historical hors d'oeuvres", one that left this listener with a mild case of food poisoning.

Eagleton is on the anti-imperialist side as regards Ireland, and is capable of writing coherently on the subject. But his speech was often barely comprehensible, and also sounded, as an Irish radio producer said later, "as if it had been doing the rounds for the last five years, with a few additions here and there".

Eagleton attempted to psychoanalyse the relationship between Britain and Ireland. Sample quotes: "The logic of the situation is

incestuously garbled." "The Act of Union has then figured as a sexual coupling." "Disavowals of parenthood become a negative bond."

"What was the point of Eagleton's speech?" I asked the radical academic sitting behind me, just in case I was missing something. "There is no point!" he laughed.

Next morning began well, with a talk on media coverage of the peace process by David Miller, a veteran analyst of media coverage of Ireland. Illustrating his talk with video clips of news items, Miller showed how television news programmes have colluded with the British government throughout the peace process, and have consistently refused to question government strategy.

Miller demonstrated — with clips of the NBC's Alan Murray — how when the truth about the British government's secret contacts with the IRA came out, the media had been unable to accuse the government of lying. Then he described how British ministers refused to give clarification on the Downing Street Declaration. They offered instead "explanation", "exposition", "commentary" and "elucidation", a face-saving process which the media assisted. Now, he said, British media accounts of the peace process start from the Downing Street Declaration and leave out the Hume/Adams initiative which preceded it.

Miller pointed out "the inability of TV news to distance itself from Downing Street briefings", and summed up neatly: "The media hold the line while the government's position shifts."

Next it was back to misery again, as a row of media suits arranged themselves on the platform — reporter Peter Taylor and Andrew Simmons, *Panorama* editor Steve Hewlett and Sebastian Cody, editor of Channel 4's *After Dark*, they brought TV clips of their work.

Andrew Simmons' clips were of his reports for ITN of Michael Stone's attack on the Gibraltar funeral at Milltown, and the subsequent events at Volunteer Caoimhín Mac Brádaigh's funeral, when two soldiers drove into the cortege and were later shot.

Simmons became very agitated when it was pointed out from the floor that media reporting of the crowd attack on the soldiers' car had created a climate in which people who had not fired a shot had been imprisoned for killing the corporals. Further, his report described the crowd as a "mob" and used the phrases "the RUC say" and "Sinn Féin claim". Simmons tried to justify his terminology and clearly had difficulty with the idea that he might not be as objective as he imagines.

There was more defensiveness when someone asked why more "ordinary people" from the Six Counties were not interviewed. Peter Taylor said it was difficult to interview ordinary people "because they are afraid". An independent film-maker sitting next to me snorted with disbelief, and a young woman spoke up pertinently, saying: "I am from the North of Ireland and I wouldn't want you to interview me because I would be afraid of what you would do with my words."

Soon afterwards, your correspondent decided enough was more than enough, and took her leave.



● Liz Curtis — suffering for the cause

Nuacht

Ceannaire Noraid tofa do pharáid Shan Francisco

TOGHADH BALL de cheannasaíocht Noraid, an grúpa tacafóichta do chimí poblachta sna SAM, mar phríomh mharascal ar pharáid Lá Fhéile Pádraig i San Francisco, léiriú eile don tacafóicht leathan d'aontas na hÉireann sa cheantar.

Toghadh Jack Webb don phost le linn chruinniú de chumainn Éireannaigh Aontaithe ar an 2 Feabhra. Tá an grúpa seo ina

chomhaontas de 59 grúpa Éireannacha a n-eagraíonn an pharáid bhliantúil.

Chomh maith sin toghadh

Jim Smyth, a d'éalaigh as an Cheis Fhada i 1983, i gcuideachta Ard Mhéara na cathrach Frank Jordan leis an bhrat thrídhathach a ardú ar Halla na Cathrach ar Lá Fhéile Pádraig. Bhí idir Smyth agus Webb ainmnithe ag Noraid.

Tá sé cinnte go gcuirfidh

ainmiú na beirte a thuilleadh áifáltais ar rialtas na Breataine atá ag iarraidh Smyth, Pól Brennan, Terry Kirby agus Barry Arnt a eiseachadh. Tá Smyth saor ar bhannach ach tá an triúr eile faoi ghlas go fóill ag fanacht ar éisteach an cháis.

Dúirt Noraid gur ainmnigh sé Webb as an dú-obair atá déanta aige le 25 bliana anuas do chúis shaoirse na hÉireann.

Dúirt Smyth leis an chruinniú i San Francisco go n-ardaíodh sé an bhrat in ómos go gach cime polaitiúil Éireannach, go mór mór iad siúd atá i bpríosún i gceantar Shan Francisco.



● JIM SMYTH

Fás na nGaelscoileanna faoi bhagairt

TÁ FÁS NA SCOILEANNA GAELIGE sna Sé Chontae faoi bhagairt ag an easnamh de mhúinteoirí cáilithe agus tá Gaeil ó Thuaidh ag éileamh ar an Roinn Oideachais go n-aithníonn sé na fadhbanna ar leith atá ag scoileanna Gaeilge maidir le hearcú múinteoirí de.

Go dtí seo ní thugann an córas cuóta a fheidhmíonn do chúrsaí múinteoireachta sna Sé Chontae aird ar na riachtanais ar leith atá ag Gaelscoileanna. Níl ach cuóta fíorbheag d'áiteanna ar fáil ar chúrsaí oiliúna múinteoireachta do dhaoine atá ag foghlaim Gaeilge mar ábhar múinteoireachta.

Chuir gníomhaí Gaeilge i mBéal Feirste Liam Andrews tuairisc chuig Roinn Oideachais na Sé Chontae in Aibreán na bliana seo caite maidir le cúrsaí traenála do mhúinteoirí Gaeilge. Mhol Andrews:

■ Gur chóir an nua Ghaeilge amháin bheith ar an chúrsa múinteoireachta;

■ Gur chóir teanga, litríocht agus iriseoireacht trí Ghaeilge a mhúineadh;

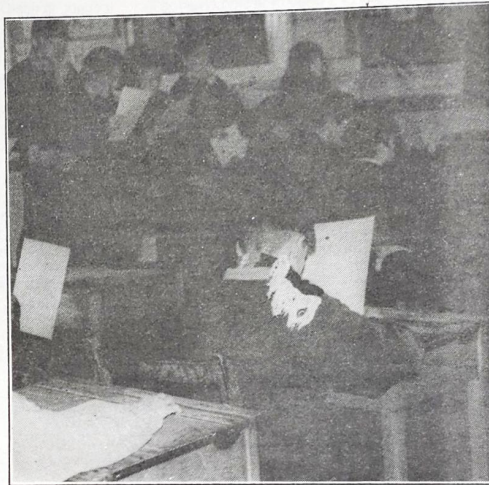
■ Gur chóir staidéar a dhéanamh ar an phobal Ghaeilge laistigh agus lasmuigh den Ghaeltacht;

■ Gur chóir múineadh agus measúnú an chúrsa bheith déanta trí mheán na Gaeilge.

Dúirt an Roinn Oideachais go raibh siad ag déanamh staidéir ar an tuairisc ach nach ndéanfaí réiteach ar bith air go dtí 1996.

Ach deireann múinteoirí Gaeilge go mbeidh sé rómhall. Fiú má ghlahtar leis an tuairisc i 1996 ní bheidh na torthaí den chúrsaí nua le feiceáil go dtí an bhliain 2,000.

Labhair príomhoide Bhunscoil Feirste Aine Nic an Iolair an tseachtain seo faoi na deacrachtaí a mbíonn aici féin anois nuair atá sí ag iarraidh foireann nua a earcú. Dúirt sí go raibh an t-easnamh múinteoirí ag éirí "millteanach". Arsa sí: "Dá gcaillfinn duine ar bith d'fhoireann s'againne bheadh trioblóid mhór agam múinteoir nua a fháil."



● Tá gá le níos mó múinteoirí chun gur féidir le scoileanna Gaeilge leanúint

Dúirt sí go raibh sí ag iarraidh beirt mhúinteoir nua ar an bhliain seo caite agus cé gur chuir seachtar duine a raibh céimeanna

acu isteach faoi choinne na bpost ní raibh cáilíocht mhúinteoireachta acu. Ní raibh duine ar bith den seachtar ábalta áiteanna a fháil ar chúrsaí oiliúna múinteoireachta.

Dúirt urlabhraí Shinn Féin ar Oideachas Pádraig O Maolchraoibhe go raibh sé in am ag Roinn an Oideachais sna Sé Chontae aithint cheart a thabhairt ar an Ghaeilge agus na riachtanais oideachasúla ar leith ar bhain léi. Arsa sé:

"Tá riachtanais ar leith ag an roinn Ghaeilge sa chóras oideachais agus tá an Roinn Oideachais ag loiceadh ar a freagrachtaí chun múinteoirí cáilithe a sholáthar.

"Níl i ndearcadh na roinne ar an oiliúint de mhúinteoirí Gaeilge ach sampla eile den fhaillí agus den neamart atá déanta ag an roinn ar an teanga.

"Ba chóir deireadh a chur leis an mhoiladóireacht ar fad ar an cheist seo. Is é réaltacht na staidé go bhfuil na scoileanna Gaeilge ag fás leo an t-am ar fad in ainneoin na roinne agus go mbeidh gearcheim sna scoileanna seo go luath mura n-athraítear an córas cuóta."

Scéim chuimsitheach de dhíth do na hEalaíona Gaeilge

CHUIR an Comhairleoir Shinn Féin Máirtín O Muilleoir fáilt Croimh an mhéadú i maoiniú do na healaíona Gaeilge a d'fhógair Comhairle na hEalaíon sna Sé Chontae, Dé Máirt, 7 Feabhra.

Tá an Chomhairle Ealaíon le €95,500 a chaitheamh ar na healaíona Gaeilge don bhliain seo chugainn, méadú 56% ar an bhliain seo caite.

Fuair Cultúrlann Mhac Adaim O Fiaich bunús an mhéadaithe nuair a bronnadh €50,000 orthu, méadú de €35,000 ar 1994-95. Gheobhaidh an grúpa dráma Aisteoirí Aon Dráma £15,000 den mhéid seo.

Chuir an scéala seo áthas ar leith ar Ghearáid O Cairealláin duine de bhunaitheoirí an ghrúpa agus eagarthóir an nuachtáin Ghaeilge Lá atá bunaithe sa Chultúrlann fosta. Arsa an Cairealláineach:

"Cuirfidh an méadú ar ár gcumas duine a fhóist go lán aimseartha sa Chultúrlann a mbeidh sé de chúram aige nó aici ioncam sa bheis a mhealladh agus clár ealaíon na háite a fhorbairt.

"Ach níl sa deontas seo ach céim chun tosáigh. Tá muid ag iarraidh go n-aithnítear na healaíona Gaeilge ar bhonn cothrom leis na healaíona dúchasacha in Albain agus sa Bhreatain Bheag."

Bhí Máirtín O Muilleoir ar aon intinn le O Cairealláin ar an phointe seo. Arsa sé:

"Tá maoiniú na Cultúrlainne ina chéim chun cinn. Ach ba chóir don Chomhairle Ealaíon eiseamlár Albain agus na Breataine Bige a leanúint le tionscnamh polasaf Ghaeilge agus scéim chuimsitheach do na healaíona Ghaeilge."

Ar na grúpaí eile a bhfuair maoiniú ón Chomhairle Ealaíon i mbliana bhí Glór na nGael, An tUlthach, The Celtic Pen, Cuisle na nGael, Ti Chualann agus réimsé scéimeanna de chuid Chomhairle an Iúir agus Mhóirn.



I gCUIMHNE AR NA MAIRBH

Nochtadh leacht chuimhneachán an seachtain seo in ómós dóibh siúd a fuair bás i siopa Sean Graham ar Bhóthar Ormeau i mBéal Feirste. Mharaigh dílseoirí Peter Magee (18), Jack Duffin (66), James Kennedy (15), William McManus (54) agus Christy Doherty (52) san ionsaí seichteach ar an 5 Feabhra 1992.

REMEMBERING THE PAST

Beginning of 1975 Truce

■ BY PETER O'ROURKE

THE IRA's 1974 Christmas cease-fire, called following talks earlier in December between republican leaders and a number of Protestant clergymen, led to one of the longest and most controversial Truces during the IRA's campaign.

Although a cease-fire had been called over three days at Christmas during the previous year since the campaign began in 1971, the length of the 1974 Christmas Truce — which was to last for eleven days — indicated that a prolonged and permanent Truce was possible, given the right conditions.

The republican demands included: a declaration of intent by the British to withdraw from Ireland; recognition of the right of the Irish people, acting as a single unit, to determine Ireland's future; the withdrawal of British troops to barracks, pending complete withdrawal and an amnesty for all political prisoners.

Intensive negotiations took place between the leadership of the Republican Movement and intermediaries for the British government throughout the Christmas period and early January, so that the cease-fire could be extended indefinitely.

The cease-fire began on 22 December 1974 and ended on 2 January, but was reluctantly extended by the IRA for another fortnight to facilitate further discussions between republicans and British representatives. The IRA in a statement announcing the extension, carried in *Republican News* on 4 January, 1975, lamented

the attitude of both the British and Dublin governments in their response to the Christmas/New Year cease-fire.

"While recognising some minor developments as regards political prisoners and the role of the crown forces," the statement began, "the response was not sufficient to warrant a permanent cease-fire. A satisfactory reply to the IRA peace proposals for a lasting peace was not received from the British government... A permanent peace will be established only when the causes of the war are courageously examined and eradicated."

"For worthwhile progress to be made and to provide the British government with a further opportunity to produce positive results towards a lasting solution," it continued, "the Army Council of the IRA have ordered an extension of the Truce for 14 days", and warned, "If substantial progress is not recorded by January 16th, the situation will be examined with a view to resuming offensive military action."

On a positive note, the statement ended by urging the British government to prove its sincerity by pursuing a reasonable and responsible policy, adding: "Peace with justice is the universal demand of all our people and the responsibility for granting same rests with the British government."

As little progress had been made in the negotiations by 16 January, the 25 day cease-fire came to an end the following day and the IRA resumed offensive action against the enemy. The negotiations with the British in early January were not helped by the situation in the 26 Counties, where republican prisoners in Portlaoise Prison had been forced to embark on a hunger strike for improved conditions following a riot in the prison at Christmas.

Before the eventual long-term cease-fire was agreed, grave reservations were being expressed about a prolonged Truce by republicans, many of whom were deeply sceptical of the real intentions of the British government — were they about to withdraw from Ireland or use the cease-fire to strengthen their hold in the North? The fears of republicans were summed up by one member, quoted in the *Irish Times* in mid-January 1975, just after the end of the long Christmas/New Year cease-fire, who asked: "Suppose we get the release of all detainees, an amnesty and a withdrawal of troops to barracks, we are still back where we started in 1969."

Progress between republican leaders and British officials, though slow, was made during the three weeks following the ending of the cease-fire in mid-January, and at the beginning of the second week in February 1975, the IRA in a statement announced

that, "... hostilities against the crown forces will be suspended from 6pm Monday, February 10th..."

The indefinite cease-fire following secret negotiations between British government representatives, who had been authorised to negotiate with republican leaders by the then British direct ruler in the North, Merlyn Rees. During the negotiations the republican leaders had been given assurances by Harold Wilson's Labour government that: "HMG wished to devise structures of disengagement from Ireland."

In addition, 12 points were agreed to by the British. These included, the release of prisoners; ending of internment; the effective withdrawal of British troops to barracks; an end to the arrest and screening of civilians; setting up of 'incident centres' to monitor the Truce; a promise on a final cease-fire agreement to be drawn up by the British and further talks to take place between republican leaders and British representatives.

Despite all the promises and reassurances given by the British during the seven weeks since the original cease-fire was called the previous December, very few favourable conditions were in place on the ground that would facilitate a prolonged Truce and lead to a permanent end to the conflict.

In America, the Republican administration of Gerald Ford was deeply hostile towards Irish republicans; European officials were indifferent to the conflict in Ireland; the Fine Gael/Labour coalition government, led by

Liam Cosgrave, was almost fanatical in its hatred of republicans and its one desire was to see the Republican Movement crushed for all time; the arrest of republicans, including leaders involved in the peace process, continued in the 26 Counties; the track record of the Labour government in England which had been unwilling to support the Power-Sharing Executive in the Six Counties, which collapsed the previous summer in the face of loyalist opposition, would be unable to deliver on the promises being made to republicans; the hostility of the Conservative Party in Britain who would be certain to oppose any new agreement about Ireland; the upsurge in the murders of nationalists by loyalist murder gangs; and the state of Sinn Féin as a political party, banned in the North until the previous year, and virtually non-existent as a political force on the ground in the 26 Counties.

Given such unfavourable conditions which prevailed at the time that the Truce was called in mid-February 1975, it's surprising that the cease-fire got off the ground and incredible that it managed to last for over seven months.

From a position of strength the IRA entered into what was supposed to be a bilateral Truce with the British, but the whole experience was to almost wreck the Republican Movement and nearly led to the defeat of the IRA.

The IRA/British Truce of 1975, began on 10 February, 1975, 20 years ago this week.

DEATH OF PEARSE O'NEILL

THE Republican Movement in Fermanagh deeply regrets the death of Pearse O'Neill of Donagh, Lisnakea.

Pearse's sudden death on Friday morning, 27 January, at the age of 39, caused great shock to all

who knew him. Pearse was a prominent member of St Patrick's Gaelic Football Club,

Donagh, a former player for his county and a staunch GAA man. He was the ATGWU shop steward in Grove Farm Turkeys in Monaghan where he worked for the past five years.

Pearse was a well-known republican. A faithful supporter of Sinn Féin he helped his brother Hugh to gain a seat on Fermanagh District Council for two terms from 1985 to '89 and '89 to '93.

He suffered a lot of harassment from crown forces

and indeed spent two years on remand in Crumlin Road during the '80s as a republican prisoner. He leaves his wife and two small children.

The Republican Movement offers sincere sympathy to Pauline, to his mother, brothers and sister. Go ndéana Dia trócaire ar an am.

BILL McDONALD — an appreciation

THE DEATH occurred on Friday, 25 November 1994 of William McDonald, Cranlome, Galbally, Dungannon. Bill was born in Glasgow on 27 February 1916. His family moved to Belfast when he was an infant. His stay was very short, as his family were burned out by loyalist mobs. Indeed, he recalled on many occasions, leaving his burning house in his mother's arms, while the mob chanted and roared.

The family settled in the Donaghmore Road area of Dungannon. Billy grew up to become a keen footballer, winning two senior championship football medals with Dungannon Thomas Clarke's in 1944 and 1947. He was employed as a printer in the town.

All the time he had his nationalist political ideals and eventually was forced to leave Dungannon. He spent a number of years in Dungarvan, County

Waterford. When he returned to his native Tyrone, he met a local schoolteacher, Winnie Murphy from Cranlome, Galbally. The two were married on 18 June 1952 in Aughnagar Church. They settled first in Sheers Place, Cabra, Dungannon, and during this time Billy worked as a printer in the *Irish News* in Belfast. They built a bungalow in 1960 in Cranlome, Winnie's home place. Billy then got a job in the *Ulster Herald* in Omagh. During this period Billy and Winnie reared a family of five



● BILL McDONALD

boys and a girl. Sadly, a second baby girl died from a hole in the heart after four months.

Billy was instrumental in the first civil rights march from Coalisland to Dungannon in 1968. He took part in a 'banned' march in Enniskillen and was summonsed. Sometime later he retired from his job in Omagh.

For the next 12-odd years Billy ran a mobile fruit and vegetable

business stretching from Galbally to Ballygawley to near Dungannon. Again he was active in various committees including the H-Blocks and election campaigns including those of Owen Carron and Bobby Sands.

Sadly, Billy suffered a stroke in early October 1994, from which he never recovered, and died from a brain tumour on 25 November 1994. Up to his last, Billy envisaged a

united Ireland and expressed his love of traditional music and culture. He was a kind man — he would never pass anyone on the road without giving them a lift. As he often said himself — he never forgot his roots.

The massive crowds who attended the wake and funeral bore testimony to the great esteem in which he was held. A fitting tribute was paid during Mass when Slabh na mBán was played on the violin — his favourite piece of music. His coffin was draped with the Tricolour and Dungannon Thomas Clarke's football jersey. A wreath was laid on behalf of the Republican Movement by Councillor Francie Molloy.

Billy was laid to rest, just yards from his neighbour, Volunteer Tony Gormley, and beside his infant daughter, Ann-Marie.

To his wife Winnie, sons Gerard, Adrian, Brendan, Liam, Seán and daughter Maria, son-in-law Gerard, nephew, nieces, sisters and large family circle, we extend our sincere sympathy. I measc laochra na nGael go raibh a anam dílis.

Notices

JOIN SINN FÉIN

SINN FÉIN is dedicated to forcing a British withdrawal from the occupied Six Counties, the reunification of our country and the establishment of a democratic socialist republic.

If you would like to join Sinn Féin, fill in the form below and send it to Sinn Féin, 44 Parnell Square, Dublin 1.

Name.....
Address.....
.....
Tel:..... Age.....



CONNOLLY, James Joseph; CUNNINGHAM, Joseph; DO- LAN, Bridie; FITZSIMMONS, Vivien; McMULLEN, Danny; O'HANLON, Leo; O'NEILL, James; SAUNDERS, James; STAGG, Frank. In proud and loving memory of Volunteers James Joseph Connolly (died 6 February 1989), Joseph Cunningham (died 10 February 1972), Bridie Dolan (died 9 February 1975), Vivien Fitzsimmons (died 10 February 1973), Danny McMullen (died 7 February 1982), Leo O'Hanlon (died 10 February 1973), James Saunders (died 6 February 1971), Frank Stagg (died 12 February 1976) and Fian James O'Neill (died 12 February 1976). "From my earliest youth I have regarded the connection between Ireland and Great Britain as the curse of the Irish nation and felt that whilst it lasted, this country could never be free nor happy." — Wolfe Tone. Proudly remembered by their friends and comrades in the Republican Movement.

CONNOLLY, James Joseph (6th Ann). In proud and loving memory of martyred son and brother, Volunteer James Joseph Connolly, West Tyrone Brigade, Irish Republican Army, who was killed in action on 6 February 1989 aged 20 years. RIP. "Life springs from death and from the graves of patriot men and women spring living nations." — Pádraig Pearse. Forever remembered with love and pride by your mother and father, also brother Barry and sister Aine. Go ndeana Dia trocaire.

CONNOLLY, James Joseph (6th Ann). In proud and loving memory of my brother, Volunteer James Joseph Connolly, West Tyrone Brigade, Irish Republican Army, who was killed in action on 6 February 1989 aged 20 years. RIP. Soft be the sod that covers his grave. Proud be the country that bore him. Green be the memory of his soul, that has gone to join the soldiers before him. Proudly remembered by your loving brother Kevin (H8, Long Kesh).

CONNOLLY, James Joseph (6th Ann). In proud and loving

memory of Volunteer James Joseph Connolly, Irish Republican Army, who was killed in action on 6 February 1989 aged 20 years. Always remembered with love and pride by the Dungannon Martyrs Sinn Féin Cumann; By the Coalisland Martyrs Sinn Féin Cumann; By the Clonee Martyrs Sinn Féin Cumann; By the Jim Lynagh Sinn Féin Cumann, Clogher; By the Colm Keenan/Martin Hurson Sinn Féin Cumann, Cookstown; By the O'Hanlon Sinn Féin Cumann, Galbally; By the Eoin McNamee Sinn Féin Cumann, Kildress; By the Martin Hurson/Séamus Woods Sinn Féin Cumann, Pomeroy; By the Frank Ward Sinn Féin Cumann, Carrickmore, Creggan; By the Ahern/Loughshore Martyrs Sinn Féin Cumann, Ardboe, Mooretown and Stewartstown; By the South Tyrone Comhairle Ceantair Sinn Féin; By the Tyrone National Graves Association; Never forgotten by Castlederg/Aghyan Sinn Féin Cumann.

CUNNINGHAM, Joseph (23rd Ann). In proud and loving memory of my son, Volunteer Joseph Cunningham, who died on 10 February 1972. Deep are the memories; precious they stay, no passing of time can take them away. Always remembered by your mother Rosaleen, wife and sons, brothers and sisters, brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law and large family circle.

CUNNINGHAM, Joseph (23rd Ann). In proud and loving memory of my brother, Volunteer Joseph Cunningham, who died on 10 February 1972. I remember so clearly the night that you died, the family were together and all of us cried. As time passed by the memory remains, of losing a brother and heaven's great gain. Never forgotten by your sister Rosemary.

CUNNINGHAM, Joseph (23rd Ann). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Joseph Cunningham, who died on 10 February 1972. From Tony, Marian and family.

CUNNINGHAM, Joseph (23rd

InDíl Chuimhne

Ann). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Joseph Cunningham, who died on 10 February 1972. From Fergus, Linda and family, Dublin.

FITZSIMMONS, Vivien; O'HANLON, Leo (22nd Ann). In proud and loving memory of Volunteers Vivien Fitzsimmons, Cumman na mBán and Leo O'Hanlon, Ogligh na hÉireann, who died on 10 February 1973. They won't break us because the desire for freedom and the desire for freedom of the Irish people is in our hearts. The day will dawn when all the people of Ireland will have the desire for freedom to share. Proudly remembered by Downpatrick Republican Graves Association.

MACMANUS, Joseph (3rd Ann). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Joseph MacManus, who was killed on

active service on 5 February 1992. Always remembered and loved by his uncle John, aunt Peggy, Allen, Eithne, Raymond, Paul and Marcella.

MACMANUS, Joseph (3rd Ann). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Joseph MacManus, who was killed on active service on 5 February 1992. Always remembered by Iris, Jim and Seán, Ballyshannon.

MACMANUS, Joseph (3rd Ann). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Joseph MacManus, who was killed on active service on 5 February 1992. From your comrade Noel.

MACMANUS, Joseph (3rd Ann). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Joseph MacManus, who was killed on active service on 5 February 1992. From Jimmy and Conor (Portlaoise).

MACMANUS, Joseph (3rd

Ann). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Joseph MacManus, who was killed on active service on 5 February 1992. Proudly remembered by Pearse McAuley (Portlaoise).

MACMANUS, Joseph (3rd Ann). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Joseph MacManus, who was killed on active service on 5 February 1992. Never forgotten by Councillor Vincent Murray, family and friends.

MACCANN, Charles; GRANT, Phelim (23rd Ann). In proud and loving memory of Volunteers Charles McCann and Phelim Grant, North Antrim Brigade, Irish Republican Army, who died on active service on 5 February 1972. Until Ireland holds her place amongst the nations of the earth, then and not until then let my epitaph be written. Always remembered by P Fennell and family.

McGEOWN, John (12th Ann). In proud and loving memory of our dear friend John 'Goosey' McGeown. Mary Queen of the Gael pray for him. From John and Maggie Hagan, Glasgow.

O'RAWA, Albie. In memory of Albie O'Rawe. Always remembered by Tony and Phyllis Kearns, Dublin.

STAGG, Frank (19th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Frank Stagg, who died after a hunger strike of 62 days in Wakefield Prison, England on 12 February 1976. The price of freedom is a terrible price and tragically it is so often paid by great sacrifice. Many suffer so that some day all Irish men and women may know justice and peace. Proudly remembered by all members of An Cumann Cabhrach/Irish Republican POW Campaign, Breataine.

Comhbhrón

BARRETT. Sincere sympathy is extended to the family and friends of Nannett Barrett, a dedicated republican and Cumann Cabhrach worker since the 1940s. From the Republican Movement, Kerry; From An Cumann Cabhrach, Kerry.

CARNEY. Sincere sympathy is extended to the family and friends of Mick Carney on the death of his father. From Gerard and Carol Kearns and family.

CARNEY. In sympathy with Mick Carney on the death of his father. From Andy, Ciarán, Paudge, Matt, Anto and Ken (Portlaoise).

CLANCY. Our deepest sympathy is extended to Tom Clancy on the death of their mother. From Richard and Jenny Shapland, Limerick.

CLARKE. Sincere sympathy is extended to Stan and family on the death of his father. From Bob, Pete and family, Tallaght, Dublin.

McBARRON. Sincere sympathy is extended to the family of the late Tom McBarron, who died recently. From all his friends in Leeds.

McNALLY. Deepest sympathy is extended to Louis (Long Kesh) and family on the death of their mother. From Dermot and Kathleen Moore and family.

McNALLY. Deepest sympathy is extended to Louis (Long Kesh) and family on the death of their mother. From Mary Bell and family, Dungannon.

McNALLY. Deepest sympathy is extended to Louis (Long Kesh) and family on the death of their mother. From the Dungannon Martyrs Sinn Féin Cumann.

O'CONNOR. Limerick Sinn Féin extends sincere sympathy to Pat O'Connor and family circle on the death of his father.

Buíochas

LIMERICK Sinn Féin wishes to express its sincere gratitude to all those who took part and helped with the annual Seán Sabhat Commemoration on 8 January. A special thanks to be extended to Mitchell McLaughlin, who gave the oration, to the Volunteers Smith/Harford/Doherty Memorial Band, Dublin, to Cyril McCurtain, to Marie Quinlivan and to all our supporters who attended. BURKE. The Burke family (Dublin) wishes to take this opportunity to thank all

those people who sympathised with them in their recent bereavement. Special thanks are extended to the Russell/McDonnell Cumann, Sinn Féin; Sinn Féin General Secretary Lucilla Bheanach, Director of Publicity Rita O'Hare, the editor and staff of *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, the many republicans and particularly the former prisoners of war who sympathised with the family, attended the removal or funeral or who sent wreaths or Mass cards. Your sympathy and support was very comforting and deeply appreciated. Go raibh mile maith agaibh go léir.

Beannachtaí

CONNOLLY. Happy birthday Kevin (H8, Long Kesh). Birthday greetings to our son and brother Kevin on his 20th birthday. From your mother and father, brother Barry and sister Aine. Also our good wishes to all your POW comrades.

HAYES. Happy birthday Patrick (Frankland). Lots of love from your son Seán and the rest of the family. Always thinking of you XXX.

KEARNS. Happy birthday honey, Gerard (Portlaoise). Don't drink too much. Ha Ha! I love you. From your wife Carol XXX. Happy birthday daddy. We love and miss you so much. See you on Monday. From Darren, Gary, Edel and Donna. Best wishes on your birthday. Hope your next one is spent in freedom. From your friends in Finglas, Gerry, Becky, Gerard Og and Sinead. All the best on your birthday. From the McCann family, Lurgan.

Imeachtaí

SINN FÉIN PICKET: Calling for the release of all political prisoners. 1-3pm, opposite GPO, O'Connell Street, DUBLIN

FUNCTION: In honour of veteran republican. 8pm, Friday, 10 February, Murphy Flood's Hotel, ENNISCORTHY, County Wexford. Táille: £2.50

ANTI-RUC PICKET: Assemble 2pm, Saturday, 11 February, Outside Clogher RUC Barracks (TYRONE), followed by a car cavalcade to Dungannon RUC Barracks where another anti-RUC picket will take place at 4pm

DAY OF ACTION: Torchlight vigil in remembrance of all the victims of RUC violence. Assemble 7pm sharp, Saturday, 11 February Toomebridge Barracks, TOOMEBRIDGE, County Antrim. Organised by South Derry/West Antrim Sinn Féin

ANTI-RUC PICKET: Assemble 2.30pm, Saturday, 11 February, St Malachy's Chapel for a picket on the RUC barracks in Armagh city. Organised by Armagh Sinn Féin

COMMEMORATION: 19th Annual Frank Stagg Commemoration and picket in solidarity with the Whitmoor escapees held in solitary confinement in Belmarsh Prison. 1.30pm, Sunday, 12 February, Belmarsh Prison,

Thamesmead, LONDON SE28 0EB, England

ANNUAL WREATH-LAYING CEREMONY: In honour of Sinn Féin Councillor John Davey. 2.30pm, Sunday, 12 February, St Mary's Churchyard, LAVEY, County Derry

PUBLIC PEACE MEETING: 8.30pm, Thursday, 16 February, Three Mermaids Hotel, LISTOWEL, County Kerry. Speakers: Martin McGuinness

MEMORIAL: For Nina Hutchinson, 3-11pm, Saturday, 18 February, Conways Hall, Red Lion Square, LONDON. Contact Julie on 071 733

3763 if you want to contribute. All welcome

SAOIRSE EVENTS

LEAFLETING: Meet every Thursday, 4.30pm, GPO, DUBLIN. All welcome

PICKET AND PETITION: 3pm, every Saturday, GPO, SLIGO

IRISH NIGHT. In support of Saoirse. 8.30pm, Friday, 17 February, Town Hall, NEWRY. Táille £3.50

TORCHLIGHT PROCESSION: Assemble Main Street car park, 8.30pm, Saturday, 18 February, FINTONA, County Tyrone

PUBLIC MEETING: 8pm, Thursday, 23 February, Connolly Hall, CORK. Speakers: Clir Pat McGeown and others

GALWAY SINN FÉIN DRAW RESULTS

1st prize: £100, J Egan; 2nd prize: £75, P O'Conaire; 3rd prize: £50, Saoirse, Gaillimh; 4th prize: Long Kesh painting, F Tully; 5th prize: Turkey, K O'Driscoll; 6th prize: Bottle of Whiskey, C Nic Aoidh

ONE of the main aims of the Forum for Peace and Reconciliation was that different parties could come together regularly and hopefully iron out the misunderstandings which inevitably arise when groups don't talk directly.

But when Sinn Féin commenced this process they could hardly have figured on getting their own internal wires crossed. It all began some time ago when a member of the party's staff at the forum rang South Armagh Councilor Jim McAllister to get his address in order to mail him some forum-related correspondence.

"No problem," said McAllister. "33 St Patrick's Park, Cullyhanna."

Having trouble deciphering the South Armagh accent, the Sinn Féin official asked McAllister if he could repeat that.

"33," said McAllister, "33, The Age of Our Lord."

So since then, a letter from Sinn Féin's forum office has arrived in South Armagh every week, addressed to Councilor Jim McAllister, 33 The Age of Our Lord, Cullyhanna.

This forum lark could be more of a hindrance than a help, you know.

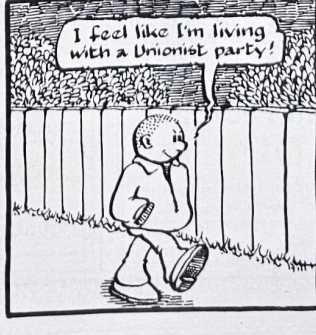
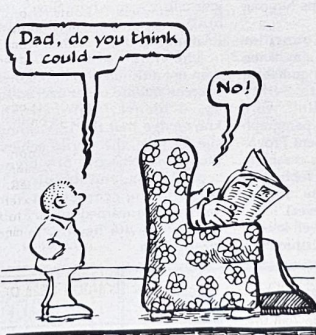
DO NOT think the public would want all your past service training thrown over for a moment's madness," a British judge told four members of Britain's Parachute Regiment this week, who admitted crippling a young father for life in a brutal attack.

The drunken soldiers, all members of 1 Para and based at Normandy Barracks in Aldershot, attacked James McGuire outside a nightclub in the town last September. He tried to run away but was tripped and viciously kicked as he lay curled up on the ground. McGuire, a self-employed carpet cleaner, was hospitalised for ten days because of his injuries. He suffered two fractured arms, broken ribs and head injuries and is unable to pick up his two young children.

WHILE SOME British soldiers are just thugs in uniform, others behave erratically because of their experiences of conflict. Post Traumatic Stress Disorder is a major problem for soldiers which is being ignored by the British army, a BBC documentary will claim next week.

NOTES

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One former Scots Guard won £100,000 last year from the High Court for the army's failure to treat his stress disorder. Alex Findlay was affected by his experiences in the Malvinas War and eight years later suffered a breakdown during a tour of occupation in Ireland, when he held several men hostage with a pistol and threatened to shoot himself. Despite evidence of his condition, the army court martial sentenced him to two years imprisonment.

Another of those interviewed by the programme was a former member of the Welsh Guards, Simon Skinner, who died two weeks ago. He had once escorted Margaret Thatcher around Crossmaglen. He had become more and more disturbed due to his experiences in the Malvinas War. According to his wife he woke up in the middle of the night shouting his name, rank and serial number before marching from the room and falling down the stairs, sustaining fatal injuries.

A TORY Scottish Office minister who was accused of brandishing a pickaxe at anti-motorway campaigners in a threatening manner, has resigned.

Allan Stewart, a right-wing MP who once said that Scotland had not had too much Thatcherism, but too little, had admitted hefting the axe in what one Labour MP described as a "loutish, unbecoming and inflammatory" action but claimed he was acting in self-defence.

The minister, who lists his interests in *Who's Who* as hedgehogs and bridge, was inspecting tree-felling work on the proposed M77 motorway development in his Glasgow constituency last Sunday when the incident occurred. He claimed that a dozen or so campaigners charged at him but this was rejected by Earth First member Lindsay Keenan, who said that the top Tory was among a group of eight people who had started tearing

down protestors' banners. He had then grabbed the pickaxe and moved towards their caravan as if to start smashing it up.

Last summer Stewart was also the centre of a sectarian controversy during the Monkslands East by-election when he appeared to endorse claims that Catholic council-

lors were biased against their Protestant citizens.

Commenting on the motorway incident, Jim Wallace, Scottish Liberal Democrat leader said: "History records many cases of ministers who have fallen on their swords, but this must be the first to fall on his pickaxe."

MAORIS protesting about the New Zealand government's proposals for settlement of their historic land claims have forced the cancellation of New Zealand's National Day celebrations at Waitangi, the site where Maori chiefs signed a treaty ceding sovereignty to Queen Victoria 155 years ago. For the first time, demonstrators took down the British crown's ensign at the site and raised a Maori flag instead. A protestor bared his tattooed buttocks while others spat at the English queen's representative and the New Zealand prime minister. In 1990 Maoris bared their buttocks at the visiting queen. The act, known as 'whackaphone', is considered a great insult in Maori tradition.

Maoris are incensed at attempts by the New Zealand government to put a cap of about £400,000 on land compensation payments.

FINANCE minister, Ruairi Quinn refused on the morning of his first budget to pose for photographs outside his office brandishing his departmental briefcase because it was an "Anglo-Saxon" practice.

Instead, the Labour minister ushered the assembled photographers into his office for a photo-

call behind his desk. His public-relations man entered shortly afterwards and noticed, like everybody else, the distinctive aroma in the room. He was spotted quickly whipping away from the ministerial vicinity and from the glare of the cameras an ashtray sporting the offending massive cigar.

Dúirt Siad

In the Protestant mind, to cede an inch of authority to Dublin is to allow the hem of a seamless garment to be caught in machinery. It will not part or tear, but will be consumed. — Irish columnist Kevin Myers writing in the *Daily Telegraph*, Friday, 3 February.

I consider myself a true Brit. But I think somewhere down the line there will eventually be a united Ireland. We have to be involved in the negotiations to get our 50 per cent. That's what's so stupid about our politicians saying we are not going to talk. — Des, a member of the crown forces for 32 years, interviewed in Newtownards, the *London Independent*, Monday, 6 February.

If there was a united Ireland tomorrow I would enjoy it so long as there was work for everybody on both sides of the community. — Lily Graham, pensioner in loyalist Rathcoole Estate, Belfast, BBC 1 News, 2 February.

The only place for Mr Adams and Mr McGuinness is six feet under with a heavy grave over them. — Tory MP Terry Dicks, *Sky News*, 2 February.

After Gerry Adams' appearance on the Late Late Show, the papers chortled 'Gerry 5 — Gaybo Nil' as if it had been a merry game. The girl in my local video shop all but sang at me "He was well able for youse!" with hero-worship sparkling in her eyes. — Hugh Leonard, still smarting, the *Sunday Independent*, 5 February.

At a time when the British Labour Party should be encouraging dialogue and urging all-party talks, it is disappointing that they are going to such lengths to assure unionists that the unjust and corrupt status quo, which led to the conflict in the first place, is to remain in place. — Sinn Féin National Chairperson Tom Hartley, Monday, 6 February.

A lot of people have imagined that Irish peers are a lot of IRA men, Sinn Féiners or wild men from Mayo, but in fact they are all Tories and unionists, the remnants of ascendancy. — Lord Kilbracken, Leitrim-based Labour peer, speaking to the *Evening Press* during the week against plans to allow "the blue-blooded gentry" to reclaim their 'hereditary' seats in Westminster's House of Lords.

News

SUNDAY WORLD

RINKS ROBBERY NEARLY NABBED

Raiders and their IRA helpers passed over cops hunting them

I 'DIED' TWICE AFTER SHOOTING

NEW BLACK PROPAGANDA OFFENSIVE

■ BY ART
MacEOIN

IN THE WAKE of the Brinks-Allied raid and the shooting of *Irish Independent* journalist Veronica Guerin, political elements of the Dublin media have resurrected their black propaganda campaign against republicans in the 26 Counties.

As reported in last week's *AP/RN*, the initial source of the latest offensive was, as usual, an unnamed Garda Special Branch source who, when asked about suspects for the shooting of Veronica Guerin, was reported in the *Irish Times* as asking: "Do you know how many unemployed Provos there are in this city?"

The comments were condemned by Sinn Féin Dublin City Councillor Christy Burke who, on the day of the Brinks-Allied robbery, complained to the minister for justice about the presence of 18 Special Branch members at the funeral of his 70-year-old father. The funeral took place a couple of miles from Coolock where the robbery took place, yet the gardai claimed they did not have the resources to mount 24-hour surveillance on the cash holding centre.

The suggestion of a republican link to the Brinks-Allied raid was taken up by another well-known anti-republican journalist in the

Evening Herald, Stephen Rea, and was also referred to on RTÉ Radio One's *This Week* programme on Sunday, 5 February.

But the most outrageous story appeared in the same day's *Sunday World*, co-written by Paul Williams, the source of countless black propaganda stories about the IRA over recent years. Headlined 'How the Brinks robbery gang was nearly nabbed', the two-page report had the sub-heading: 'Raiders and their IRA helpers passed over cops hunting them'.

Accusations by Councillor Christy Burke that the aim of the unnamed garda source quoted in the *Irish Times* was to "vilify republicans in Dublin" were verified in the opening paragraph which claimed: "Dissident Provos who want to smash the cease-fire took part in the biggest robbery in the history of the state, *Sunday World* can exclusively reveal."

It continued: "Two well-known IRA men helped the crime boss

known as 'The Monk' to organise the Brinks-Allied job. They provided the weapons — two AK47 rifles and a handgun and took part in the robbery themselves."

The claims of republican involvement with criminals, and the shooting of a journalist were followed up by a story in the British-based tabloid *News of the World* that a senior IRA figure was at the centre of a child sexual abuse scandal in Belfast.

All the stories, without a foundation, follow a familiar pattern of intermittent propaganda offensives against republicans. Elements within the gardaí, RUC and British intelligence regularly 'plant' stories or 'feed' a line to certain journalists with whom they have built up an unhealthy relationship.

The claims are more often than not attributed to unnamed sources and are never backed up by evidence. Safe in the knowledge that the IRA cannot sue for libel, the stories achieve the double objective of vilifying republicans and helping to further the career of the journalist concerned who can be attributed with having 'inside' information.

Over the years, a particular group of Dublin-based journalists such as Tom Brady, Paul Williams and Stephen Rea, among others, who depend for their material solely on unnamed garda sources, have blamed the IRA for involvement in drug dealing, extortion, selling the cattle drug

Angel Dust, pornographic video rings and dog fighting.

In May 1993, the claims of IRA involvement in pirating pornographic videos had been given such a high profile in newspapers, particularly those controlled by the Independent group, that the IRA was forced to issue a public denial.

MYSTERY BOMB IN NEWRY

A ONE-POUND SEMTEX DEVICE was found outside a furniture store in Newry on Tuesday night, 7 February. The IRA denied planting the bomb.

Sinn Féin Six-County
Chairperson Mitchel
McLaughlin, commenting on
the bomb in Newry, said:

"In this delicate situation we have to ask who benefits from such incidents.

"Once again, at an important point in the bilateral discussions between Sinn Féin and the British government, another bomb turns up to distract attention away from the British government's stalling tactics on movement towards all-party talks and direct political dialogue with Sinn Féin.



● MITCHEL McLAUGHLIN

"Whoever planted last night's device is not involved in the peace process and does not want it to succeed."

Sinn Féin
Ard Fheis 1995
Saturday 25 and Sunday 26 February
MANSION HOUSE, DUBLIN

Members and supporters of Sinn Féin wishing to attend the Ard Fheis must be registered beforehand through their local cumann. The closing date for registration is Friday, 17 February. No registrations will be accepted after that date. For further information contact Ard Rúnaí, 44 Parnell Square, Dublin 1. Phone 8726100/8726932.

SINN FÉIN ARD FHEIS 1995

Céilí Mór

9pm Saturday 25 February

MANSION HOUSE

TICKETS £5 (BAR EXTENSION) ENTRY BY TICKET ONLY

