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REPUBLICAN NEWS

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Orange state must go

AS Patrick Mayhew's talks move from London back to Stormont the British direct ruler is pushing for acceptance by the Dublin government and the SDLP of a unionist plan for an assembly in the North with law-making powers and with no change in Britain's claim to sovereignty over the Six Counties. And as predicted in AP/RN last week the Dublin government and the SDLP are coming under unprecedented pressure to commit themselves to removing Articles Two and Three of the 1937 Constitution.

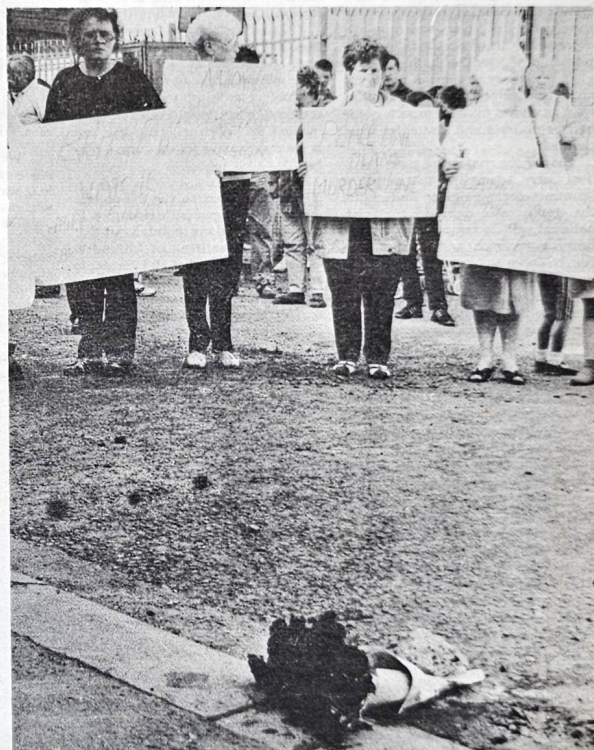
While all this is happening Catholics in the North are being reminded by loyalist paramilitaries of "their place" in the Orange state — the state that would be reinforced under the unionist plan. With sickening predictability loyalist gangs marked the start of the Orange marching season with the killing of two Catholics and the serious wounding of another.

And in the High Court in Belfast a judge gave the go-ahead for an Orange march through the nationalist Lower Ormeau Road scene of a week-end shooting and where people are still in mourning after the betting shop massacre of five Catholics by the UDA in February.

Kieran Abram was beaten to death by a loyalist mob in North Howard Street off the Lower Falls on Sunday under the noses of a British army post. On Tuesday a retired teacher Cyril Murray was shot dead by loyalists in East Belfast.

At this time of loyalist triumphalism — on the streets and at the talks — it is well for nationalists to be vigilant both about their own security and about what Dublin and the SDLP are doing in their names. The lesson that nationalist interests cannot be served by anything less than the complete dismantling of the Orange state has been learned at too great a cost to be forgotten now.

— See *Sectarian murders* p16 and *Talks* latest p3.



● Flowers mark the spot where Kieran Abram was beaten to death by a loyalist mob outside North Howard Street British army base in Belfast

IRA reveals why three were executed

THE IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY has given a detailed account of the events leading to the execution of three County Armagh informers, members of the IRA who were working for British forces. One of the three, Gregory Burns, had been working for British military intelligence for over a decade and the three were responsible for the battering to death of Margaret Perry. The details of how Burns, Aidan Starrs and John Dignam became informers and how the gruesome killing of Margaret Perry was carried out are given in an interview with a spokesperson for Oglagh na hÉireann on pages 6/7.

'Republican struggle remains vibrant' — Adams

SINN FÉIN ACTIVISTS gathered in Belfast on Saturday 4 July to discuss the party's approach to local government elections next May. Using the party's performance in the recent Westminster election as a reference point the conference looked forward to what needed to be done in the months ahead to ensure a good electoral performance.

Calling on party workers to ensure a good electoral performance next year by working "from here on in", Mitchel McLaughlin of the Six-County Comhairle said "elections aren't lost or won in the three weeks leading up to polling day, they are being won or lost now".

In the various workshops the day's agenda was debated in depth with a wide variety of views and opinions expressed in the discussions by delegates from all over the North.

In a plenary session in the afternoon reports from the different groups were given and different aspects of the party's policies and strategies were clarified.

Closing the conference, party president Gerry Adams said that despite a "protracted campaign to undermine the democratic demand for Irish national self determination" by the British government and its allies, Sinn Féin has been attempting to define and project the party's strategy and aims "in a manner which is clearly understood by the broad base of Irish and international opinion".

Despite attempts to prevent a meaningful debate by the use of censorship and other repressive measures, Adams continued: "The republican struggle has kept the British government under pressure over its failure to 'settle the Irish question'. This is clear not only from the extent of ongoing counter-insurgency measures aimed at nationalists as a means of militarily containing armed resistance but also from recent statements from John Major and Chris Patten citing the Six Counties as a priority and from the protracted campaign to politically iso-

late Sinn Féin."

Describing the British as "under considerable pressure internationally to resolve the many instances of denials of national and democratic rights arising from their government's involvement in Ireland", Adams said that Peter Brooke's term at Stormont saw the recommencement of a multi-faceted initiative. He continued:

"Since the last British general election, and the appointment of a new team of ministers at Stormont, efforts have intensified on all fronts to settle the conflict on British terms. This, and the need to satisfy international opinion that 'the British are doing their best' is the main motive for the current process."

Posing the question, can this process push in a democratic resolution to the conflict, Adams pointed out that the British partition of Ireland is undemocratic and that all attempts to resolve the conflict in this context have failed.

Describing the evolution of Sinn Féin's party policy and its public promotion as "seized upon by anti-republican elements", Adams continued:

"The current McCarthyite atmosphere and censored media works exclusively to their advantage. As experienced political activists, Sinn Féin accepts this as part of the daily grind of political struggle. It is unfortunate, however, that genuine statements aimed at advancing the democratic resolution of this conflict have been portrayed as signs of weakness or division. Nothing could be further from the truth. The republican struggle remains vibrant and solid."

Outlining the political core of the politics of *Towards a Lasting Peace*, Adams said that this included:

"Dialogue, inclusive talks as a means of resolving the conflict. A new agreement between London and Dublin to end partition. International assistance to break the deadlock and a programme of national reconciliation."

"It is only through the adoption of procedures such as this that a real peace process will be developed. All elements in the conflict or institutions of Irish and British society have a responsibility to encourage such a process," he concluded.

Commenting on recent discussions with church leaders, Adams said that there had been some misrepresentation of Sinn Féin's view in the media which was "unhelpful especially because of the historic lack of dialogue between Church leaders and republicans." He continued:

"We hope that a start has been made to rectify this but there is still a long way to go not least because those who met us came to us as individuals. While I salute them for their endeavours I would reiterate my view that the refusal of the leaders of the main churches to advocate inclusive dialogue as a means to resolve this conflict is wrong and at odds with their Christian vocation. The churches have an important role to play in helping to create the political conditions for a peaceful resolution of this conflict. Dialogue is central to this."

Describing censorship as part of the problem and a source of injustice, Adams concluded: "Conflict comes from injustice. These and many other matters are a common concern to us all. The Irish people can live together in peace. How peace is established is the challenge and responsibility facing us all. Misrepresenting or misreading the republican position can only serve to perpetuate the conflict."

IN BRIEF...

Relatives seek segregation debate

THE relatives of both republican and loyalist prisoners on remand in Crumlin Road Jail have called on Belfast City Council to hold a special meeting to discuss the problem of segregation in the jail.

The relatives' initiative comes after British 'Security' Minister Michael Mates, whose brief puts him in charge of prisons, ruled out the introduction of segregation last week. His announcement led to trouble between prisoners in the already tense jail.

Their proposals have received support from councillors who, according to Independent Unionist, Hugh Smyth, have already adopted a proposal supporting the relatives' demands.

Sinn Féin Councillor Alex Maskey, supporting the relatives' call said "we would welcome these delegations to the City Hall. This is one issue which we believe would draw cross-party support in the council".

Hynes Dismissed

THE bête noir of the Communications Workers' and Managers' Unions, Telecom Éireann's controversial chairperson, Brendan Hynes, has been sacked by the 26-County Minister for Communications.

Hynes was offered the chance of resigning from his £40,000 per annum post following the passing of a vote of no confidence in him at a Telecom directors' meeting, but, availing of one last chance to use the uncompromising obstinacy which was his mark as chairperson, he waited to be pushed. The minister, Máire Geoghegan-Quinn, dismissed him just before midnight on Friday night 3 July. He had only been appointed to the post last January.

Hynes does not go empty-handed though. He will receive a £7,500 pay-off every year for the next four years.

Claims by Hynes following his sacking that the company had resisted moves towards greater efficiency and that running costs per line are the highest of any phone company in Europe were rejected by the general secretary of the Communications Workers' Union, David Begg, who said that Hynes was not comparing like with like. He pointed out that "a country like Ireland which has a very rural dispersed population cannot achieve the economies of scale that Germany or Britain or other European countries can".

Professor John Scanlon of UCD has been appointed as acting chairperson in Hynes' place.

City Hall bias

BELFAST CITY COUNCIL is once again in the dock over allegations of anti-Catholic discrimination. Five Catholics brought the case after a Protestant woman, whom they felt was less qualified, was given the job of senior services officer.

Summing up, before the tribunal adjourned to decide the case on 2 July, Eilish McDermott QC said the interview procedure was a shambles with no intention of applying fair employment codes of practice. "The woman who got the job didn't even have a basic education," said McDermott, "her unexamined diploma in youth and community work was worth less than the degrees and masters degrees of the five applicants."

McDermott also claimed that John Doherty, chair of the interviewing panel, felt under pressure from unionist councillors to recruit a Protestant.

In a further development the Fair Employment Commission released their latest report which indicted Belfast council for employing only 28 Catholics out of 152 senior posts, only 18% of the total. The same report found that Catholics were under-represented in "manual posts".

Responding to the findings Councillor Hugh Smyth, Independent Unionist, cited "historical reasons" for the imbalance. However, his historical memory only went back to the reform of local government in 1973. The fact that unionist discrimination was, and is, a fact of life in the Six-County state since its establishment was conveniently ignored by Councillor Smyth.

Linfield fanzine attacks McManus

FATHER SEAN McMANUS of the Irish National Caucus who has campaigned against anti-Catholic bias in the North and who recently targeted Linfield Football Club on account of its anti-Catholic ethos has become the target of a mock death threat by supporters of the club.

The fanzine carried a picture of the priest with a bullseye in the middle of his forehead and was captioned "Blues sign new target man".

Reacting to the threat McManus said: "I set out to expose that there was an anti-Catholic, sectarian ethos at Windsor Park and I think the picture proved the point very graphically."

"If that is the top fan magazine for Linfield it reflects the thinking of fans, which in turn reflects the ethos that is tolerated at Windsor Park."



● Sinn Féin party activists pledged at Saturday's conference in Belfast to work "from here on in" to achieve a good result in next year's local government elections in the Six Counties

News

Thick as thieves

THE PARTICIPANTS to the talks at Lancaster House, London to discuss the political future of Britain's last colony, the Six Counties, had barely reached the table when the Dublin government was already making a sacrificial lamb of the Irish national demand for unity and independence.

Albert Reynolds announced in Cork on Monday 6 July that Articles Two and Three of the 1937 Constitution would be "on the table" during Strand Two. That is despite the British giving no indication that its illegal occupation of the Six Counties would even be discussed and with unionists stating that any such discussion would signal the end of the talks as far as they are concerned.

Dublin's disgraceful disregard for the Irish people's national rights has been presented as a means of gaining concessions from unionists on future structures for the Six Counties. But this fallacy was exposed by Ian Paisley's address to the preliminary meeting in the 'Strand Three formation'. On Articles Two and Three Paisley said: "The prospect of amendments to Articles Two and Three is not a quid pro quo to involvement in some future package of agreement on the internal affairs of Northern Ireland. Amendments to Articles Two and Three must be without precondition..."

"For a thief to demand compensa-

tion for ill-gotten gains is the height of lunacy."

The Dublin delegation were aware of this attitude before they entered the talks but through total irresponsibility they have put the articles on the table.

The sight of unionist leaders sitting down with Dublin government ministers has been hailed by media commentators in Ireland and Britain alike as "historic" — "a first in the past 70 years of Irish political life". But what has been largely ignored is the manner in which Mayhew managed to get the obstinate Paisley and Molyneux to the table. To achieve this he signalled from early on that he would weigh the talks heavily in their favour.

The *Sunday Times* of 5 July reported that Mayhew had "given private assurances to the...unionists that if necessary he will override SDLP objections and legislate for the future government of Northern Ireland".

The *Sunday Times* quoted from a letter sent by Mayhew to Official Unionist leader James Molyneux the previous Wednesday. In it Mayhew

said:

"The government is ready to enter Strand Two on the premise that any new political institutions in Northern Ireland will be based on the structures outlined in the sub-committee report of 10 June, including those parts not universally agreed, and to indicate that for its part it would have no difficulty in implementing them..."

In that sub-committee report the unionists and SDLP agreed that an 85 member Six-County Assembly should be established but the SDLP entered objections to every other section of the report. The report is to all intents and purposes a unionist document.

Commenting on the Mayhew letter Sinn Féin's Mitchell McLaughlin said that it indicated Britain's preparedness to back unionist proposals for an internal structure, while Dublin government willingness to weaken unilaterally the South's constitution, clearly placed the unionists in a strong position.

"The real agenda for the talks has been set by Britain and is about strengthening partition. The unionists are now using that to their full advantage," McLaughlin said.

In the Mayhew process so far the Dublin government's slavish attitude towards the British and their



● Mayhew — assured unionists he will override SDLP objections

Orange surrogates has been exceeded only by its arrogance towards the Irish people. Albert Reynolds has absolutely no right to put Articles Two and Three on the agenda. The Irish people's demand for national unity cannot be arbitrarily bartered in this fashion. It is the Dublin government's responsibility at any talks to represent and express the demands and aspirations of the people of the 26 Counties who elected them and to pursue the path of establishing an Irish national democracy.

The onus is on Reynolds and his delegation to persuade the British government that the partition of Ireland has been a disastrous failure and to try and persuade the unionist participants of the benefits of Irish reunification. Anything less than this is to abdicate their obvious responsibility. But to act as recklessly as they have done so far is nothing short of national betrayal.

To hear Ian Paisley rant about thieves is to hear logic turned on its head. The thief in the Six-County equation is Britain which partitioned Ireland against its people's wishes, created an undemocratic sectarian state and has visited decades of war and suffering on the Irish people. Bellicose bigots like Ian Paisley are thieves also. Through their sectarian prejudice and discrimination they have, over the past 70 years, stolen from Northern nationalists the right to work, to decent housing, to equality and the right to a peaceful existence.

It is Britain's "ill-gotten gains"—the six occupied counties which must be returned to the democratic control of the Irish people. This is the only solution which will bring peace. But Dublin will not articulate this position at the talks and the only political party

which resolutely defends this position has been excluded.

Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams announced on Tuesday 7 July that he had written to Ninian Stephen, the Australian Chair of Strand Two. He said afterwards:

"The unionist leaderships have been given an assurance by Sir Patrick Mahew that the union will not be jeopardised by the current talks process; this allied to the public statement that the British objective in the process is to reestablish an elected administration at Stormont, is the main reason why unionists are satisfied despite DUP unease to be involved in this phase of the talks.

"Media manipulation and censorship by the British and the exclusion of Sinn Féin have conspired to keep the content of the talks secret and tilted in favour of the British.

"This is not in the interests of any section of the Irish people.

"It also appears that the British government will use the EC presidency and Dublin's economic dependency on EC finances to pressurise Dublin into adopting a more compliant attitude.

"The Dublin government and the SDLP gave a commitment to seek a change in the Government of Ireland Act. This needs to be pursued by them.

"I have written to Ninian Stephen and sent him a copy of Sinn Féin's *Towards a Lasting Peace* document. In the course of this letter I have pointed out to him that partition is not a solution, that it is undemocratic. I have questioned the British government's commitment to finding a democratic solution to the conflict. I have urged Ninian Stephen not to ignore the republican position."



● 26-County ministers Andrews and Wilson complying with the unionist/British agenda set in London this week

Fusco appeal begins

MEMBERS of the Dublin Anti-Extradition Committee picketed Leinster House on Wednesday 8 July to protest at the Dublin government's continuing insistence on handing over its citizens to face British injustice.

The picket had a dual function of publicising the High Court Appeal of current extradition victim, Angelo Fusco. Fusco, currently free on bail and living with his family in Tralee, is appealing against a District Court order that he should be extradited back to the Six Counties. He escaped from Crumlin Road Jail in 1981. He was subsequently convicted in his absence of killing a British army captain in an incident the previous year when British soldiers attacked a house which a group of republicans were holding. Fusco has now spent eleven years in jail, most of them in Portlaoise

Prison in the 26 Counties. Despite having served so much time in prison, the Dublin government remains committed to handing him over, despite his claims that his actions were politically motivated. In a statement issued on Wednesday, Irish Anti-Extradition spokesperson Nora Comiskey called for Fusco's extradition to be halted "on the grounds that he has already served the equivalent of a life sentence in Portlaoise and that his offences were politically motivated".

The full appeal hearing of Fusco's case begins today (Thursday) and is expected to continue on Friday.



● Dublin Anti-Extradition Committee highlighted the case of Belfastman Angelo Fusco by staging a picket on Leinster House during Mary Robinson's first speech to the Oireachtas

News

Troops terrorise 70-year-old

THE HARASSMENT and intimidation of people living in the border area by members of the British occupation forces is extensive and ongoing but many local people are deterred from publicising individual acts of intimidation inflicted against them for fear of further such treatment by the British army or RUC.

Many of those in the 26 Counties who have been at the receiving end of attacks by the crown forces in border areas may also feel that to draw attention to such treatment will target them for the attention of the political police in the 26 Counties, casting a cloud of suspicion upon them and leading to further harassment.

However one woman who was recently terrorised by British soldiers on the Monaghan/Tyrene border has refused to stay silent and outlined her ordeal at a press conference in her Monaghan home during the week.

Monaghan woman Brigid Low lived in Oxford, England for 40 years and is married to Bill Low, an Englishman. They have been living in retirement in Monaghan for the past ten years.

Each fortnight Brigid Low, a sprightly 70-year-old from Killybreen, near Emyvale visits her cousins, the McKenna family, at Altadavin, Augher, County Tyrone. To do this she is forced to negotiate the huge craters and mounds of earth created by the British army's destruction of the border-crossing at Greagh, leaving her car

on the Monaghan side of the border while she makes the short but arduous 300-yard journey.

On Wednesday, 1 July at 1.20pm Brigid Low set out to make her usual visit to the McKennas with the intention of proceeding to Clogher Residential Home to visit her sick aunt. While making her way across the mounds of earth and the craters a British soldier in camouflage gear and blackened face emerged from behind some rocks pointing a gun in her direction. He challenged Brigid saying, "You have crossed into Northern Ireland". Another soldier then appeared and they stopped and questioned her. Brigid told them where she was going, explaining that to travel by the Augher British army checkpoint would mean a detour of 15 miles, and added that she was in a hurry to visit her relatives and walked on. The soldiers chased her and catching up, one put a hand across her face.

Brigid Low eventually reached the McKenna's home, and on hearing the commotion, John McKenna came out and challenged the soldiers as to

what they were doing to his cousin. When Brigid went into the house the soldier in charge of the patrol, which numbered about eight in all, shouted "this house is under siege". Soldiers then took up positions around the house pointing guns at the windows and doors.

At one stage the family tried to send a child to a neighbour's house to phone the RUC, but the soldiers announced that anyone, including children, who left the house would be detained.

In the two hours that followed one of the frightened children in the house became violently ill and vomited, and Brigid Low collapsed, weakened by her experience.

Eventually an RUC patrol of two cars arrived at the scene. An RUC officer advised that Brigid had broken no law and remonstrated with the British soldier in charge.

In her own words Brigid Low says that she was "taken hostage at gunpoint and kept under house arrest". She eventually proceeded to Clogher that day with the McKennas and checked in with a doctor there. He noted that Brigid's blood pressure was up and gave her an injection and tablets to calm her nerves. Brigid and the McKennas then visited the RUC barracks in Clogher where an official complaint about the incident on the border was made. RUC Superintendent Harper commented that "these young boys are not familiar with that area", to which Brigid responded:

"These young boys should not be in control of sub-machine guns, pointing them at innocent women and children."

Harper undertook to convey Brigid Low's complaint to the Commanding Officer of the British Army's First Staffordshire Regiment, based at Clogher.

"I was terrified" Brigid commented on the incident. She has since written complaints to the Chief Constable of the RUC in Belfast, Dublin Foreign Affairs Minister David Andrews and British Cabinet Minister Michael Heseltine who was the Lows' local MP for many years when they lived in Oxford.

Sinn Féin Councillor Brian McKenna, in whose area Brigid Low resides, has strongly condemned the actions of the British forces. McKenna stated that the incident showed the "total disregard for local people on both sides of the border held by members of the crown forces of occupation in our country". Councillor McKenna has indicated that he intends to support Brigid Low's submissions to the channels open to her in the 26 Counties and will, if the opportunity is afforded him, have the matter addressed by Monaghan County Council in the coming weeks.



● BRIAN McKENNA

Jailed for daring to protest

MAIRE BURKE of Cork City's Householders Against Service Charges Committee is today in Limerick Prison, the result of her determined refusal to pay service charges.

In June 1991, Burke and a man who had been singled out for refusing to pay the charges, were fined. Burke refused to pay and subsequently received a visit from the sheriff, who was empowered to confiscate property in lieu of the unpaid fine.

Burke was, not surprisingly, unwilling to admit the sheriff, but a piece of

paper was waved in her face and she was told that they were authorised to enter and take her furniture. According to Burke, she was then grabbed by a Garda, had her arm twisted and was locked in a room of her own house while her goods were seized.

She later complained about the incident, but, following a local investiga-

tion, she was summonsed for assaulting a Garda. She was found guilty and ordered to pay a fine of £50, plus £45 expenses for the Garda and his witness. Burke stuck to her guns and refused to pay these fines also.

On Monday morning last she was arrested at her home and taken to Limerick Prison, to serve seven days for non-payment of the fine. On Thursday evening, 9 July, a protest, organised by Householders Against Service Charges, will be held outside Limerick Prison in support of Máire Burke's brave stand. This latest incident follows the issuing late last month of 150 ten-day notices to householders in Cork city by City Hall threatening imprisonment for non-payment. Cork Sinn Féin has reiterated its support for Máire Burke and all those fighting against this prohibitive form of double taxation.

British set up new war executive

TWO WEEKS after Lord Brookeborough of County Fermanagh proposed in the British House of Lords that a group should be set up which pooled the secrets collected in intelligence-gathering by the RUC, British Army and MI5 just such a group has emerged.

Brookeborough had been critical of what he saw as an uncoordinated approach and the lack of up-to-the-minute information on collected intelligence.

"Counter-terrorism needs a branch of its own, with its own boss and staff," Brookeborough was quoted as saying during a debate in the House of Lords on the renewal of the Prevention of Terrorism Act. Giving an insight into his military contacts he asked:

"Should we not go back to the centre of the fight against terrorism in the Province? Regarding access to files of the intelligence services, namely MI5, the RUC and British army, these files are not collocated, so what hope have they got of collectively knowing everything that they are doing?"

What Brookeborough was describing at Westminster was a reflection of the age-old British tactic of leaking selective pieces on future 'security developments' to trusted political figures from their establishment. And as he was speaking the new four-strong Provincial Executive Committee (PEC) was coming on stream under the control of RUC Deputy Chief Constable (Operations) Blair Wallace.

As reported three weeks ago in AP/RN Wallace is the person who has been brought in to coordinate the crown forces' operations. In what was described by Whitehall officials as a top-level overhaul of the command structure of security operations Wallace took over the newly created post last week. He will chair the PEC which has full authority over all operational policy, including intelligence gathering, and what was described as "potential threat assessment".

Other members of the PEC are, Major General Ian Freer, British army, Michael McAtamney, Head of the RUC Special Branch and Stormont Castle's designated intelligence coordinator, a senior MI5 officer. The inclusion of a senior MI5 officer is a sign of the oper-

ational and structural changes going on within that organisation, particularly in regard to its projected increased role in Irish affairs.

Wallace's new post has also left him free of all administrative duties to enable him to concentrate solely on coordinating the PEC.

One of the main reasons for the creation of the PEC, acknowledged by the British, is the increasing ability of the IRA to mount coordinated attacks against British forces across the Six Counties.

The PEC structure has got an interesting ancestry, with the strategy first being implemented in Malaysia against resistance guerrillas in the 1950s. A link here is British General Frank Kitson. His 'counter-insurgency theories', were behind every British "terror initiative" used in Ireland from 1969 onwards. Kitson served as a junior officer in Malaysia where it is acknowledged these "counter-insurgency" theories were first developed.

To fight the PEC's war on the ground, it was also learned that the British army is to stay at its reinforced level for the foreseeable future. These additional troops, flown in earlier this year, have enabled British army commanders to deploy more patrols throughout the Six Counties. It could be said that this is in response to the recent British army assessment of the IRA's strength. According to leaks to the Press Association, "it is stronger than ever, more dedicated, and a much more secure 'terrorist' organisation than at any time in the campaign".

However, it would be equally valid to see PEC as part of the British political strategy whereby Britain, in an effort to keep the republican struggle under pressure would use an MI5 coordinated military approach thus giving their talks initiative breathing space.

ATTACK ON HENRY TAGGART

WAR NEWS

BELFAST BRIGADE OGLAIGH NA hÉIREANN claimed responsibility for a close-quarter attack on the crown forces near the Henry Taggart British army barracks in West Belfast.

In its statement the IRA said that on Tuesday evening 7 July, a commandeered van was left outside the barracks to lure British forces out of the heavily-fortified base. As they moved in to examine the van IRA Volunteers lobbed two improvised grenades at an RUC mobile patrol. Both devices exploded.

■ FLAG-POLE BOMB

The Tyrone Brigade of the IRA in a supplied statement described how Volunteers of Oglaigh na hÉireann placed an explosive device inside a flag-pole in Stewartstown, County Tyrone on

the evening of Wednesday 1 July. A device containing one and a half pounds of high explosives was concealed on top of the flag pole, one of many in the predominantly nationalist town. The IRA stressed in the statement that at no time were civilians in danger as Volunteers had the scene under constant observation. The skillful operation was set in place as the RUC were using hatchets to remove national flags, in order to facilitate an Orange Order band parade which was due to march through the nationalist town. Unfortunately the device failed to detonate and the RUC escaped injury.

Waterford threatened with jobs disaster

ALBERT REYNOLDS ruled out any state purchase of the Waterford Crystal company while on a visit to the city on Monday, 6 July.

Union representatives at Waterford were informed last weekend that the company intends to do away with another 500 jobs before the end of the year and introduce pay cuts of 25%. There is a further threat that if these measures don't raise profits to a level acceptable to management, a total shutdown of the Waterford plant in favour of cheaper manufacturing costs abroad is on the cards.

The unions have pledged to fight the job cuts tooth and nail and a delegation of workers met Labour Minister Brian Cowen in Dublin on Monday, 6 July. According to ATGWU official Jimmy Kelly, they intend to hold a follow up meeting with Albert Reynolds.

Kelly said that any further job cuts

would eventually lead to the closure of the plant in favour of the glass being made abroad while exploiting the Waterford brand name.

"Waterford Glass is a national resource and it's up to the government to see that it stays," said Kelly. However, Albert Reynolds' comments in Waterford do not augur well for the future — he said that nationalisation was "not a realistic remedy".

The latest jobs threat comes on top of 1,200 redundancies in 1987 and a bitter 14-week strike in 1990. There have been 300 more redundancies over the past 18 months on less favourable terms than those in 1987.

A mass meeting of Waterford Crystal workers is planned to consider their

position when the company releases a breakdown of the proposed new redundancies sometime next week.

Jimmy Kelly has pointed out that Waterford Crystal workers contributed £200 million to the 26-County Exchequer in tax and PRSI over the past ten years. "Now the country is paying unemployment benefit to many of those people who aren't returning money to government funds."

"It makes more sense economically for the government to take over Waterford Glass than to add 2,000 more workers to the 300,000 already unemployed," he said.

Waterford Crystal was at one time one of the largest employers in the 26 Counties, employing 3,500 people in the mid-'80s.

Sinn Féin has demanded government intervention to save Waterford Crystal and said that a shutdown of the plant would have "devastating consequences for the people of Waterford".

Noel Ryan of Waterford Sinn Féin said:

"The government cannot sit back



● 26-County Industry and Commerce Minister Des O'Malley who ruled out state intervention to save jobs at Waterford Crystal

and allow a number of individuals hijack a national resource. It would be criminal neglect to allow the Waterford name be used in another country because the management favours cheaper production costs.

"Industry and Commerce Minister

Des O'Malley is on record as having ruled out state intervention because 'Morgan Stanley and other top directors would hardly welcome it'. What does this say regarding the government's priorities and their attitude towards Irish workers?"

More factories shut as jobless total soars

■ BY LIAM O COILEAIN

AS THE 'seasonally adjusted' official unemployment figures for June rose by a full 6,300 and Dublin's Minister for Social Welfare threatened cuts in social welfare payments, another 113 Dublin factory workers were coming to terms with the loss of their jobs and 40 workers in Mayo faced an uncertain future, as a liquidator was appointed to their plant.

The Babygro factory in Cherry Orchard, Dublin, famous in homes throughout the country for its one-piece baby clothes, is to close on 1 August. The reason given by management for the impending closure was a lack of new orders and poor trading in Britain. The workers' union, SIPTU, has urged the management to go back to the

British parent company, RH Lowe Plc, to try to reverse the decision.

Meanwhile, in Belmullet, County Mayo, the Atlantic Rubber Teoranta plant has been put into liquidation. The 40 workers' hopes now seem to lie with Udarás na Gaeltachta, which says it is confident of finding a replacement industry.

The twin announcements were both made on Thursday 2 July. The following day the 26-County government announced its official unemployment figures for June. Seasonally adjusted, they show a net increase of 6,300, the official amount of unemployed people in the state now standing at 282,100. The government tried to explain away its abject failure at job creation by blaming the sharp rise on a large influx of students onto the live register. It admitted also that efforts are continuing to massage the figures by moving people off dole queues and into training and educational schemes.

The Irish National Organisation for the Unemployed, commenting on

the new figures, said that they "must shock this government and Irish employers out of their blithe complacency". The organisation called for an immediate government green paper to outline a strategy to eliminate unemployment. According to INOU General Secretary Mike Allen:

"This huge increase shows that no matter how they fiddle the figures the reality just won't go away. Government policy is now a closely woven fabric of utter failure; they have rejected the National Forum on Unemployment, the 'all-party' committee on jobs excludes the major opposition party, the major government initiative this year — the job training scheme — has

only created 18 places, and now even statistical tricks won't come off!"

Allen also criticised the Social Welfare Minister, Charlie McCreevy, who on Friday threatened social welfare cuts if unemployment figures did not improve. "These comments hit a new low in blaming the unemployed for being unemployed," he said. "If the minister wants to find the people who can do something about reducing unemployment he need go no further than the cabinet table. Charlie McCreevy is still speaking like a member of the opposition and doesn't seem to realise that the answers are in his own hands."



● Local resident and Sinn Féin activist Martina Gibney addressing local people at the threatened pedestrian bridge in Crumlin, Dublin

A bridge too far

CRUMLIN RESIDENTS have cried "a bridge too far" after a threat to remove a bridge which is a vital link to their community. Democratic Left TD Eric Byrne urged Dublin Corporation to carry out a study on the pros and cons of removing the bridge but residents have expressed their opposition to any proposal to take away the bridge.

There is anger about lack of local consultation on the issue. As the controversy came to light this week older residents recalled that the bridge was originally erected after a campaign in the 1960s. The bridge crosses the River Poddle and links Bangor Road and St Martin's Park.

The bridge is used extensively by local residents including children going to Harold's Cross National School and Scoil Mollóga. Elderly people also use the bridge to get to Mount Argus Community Hall. Access to bus routes and other facilities would be made more difficult if the bridge were removed.

Reflecting local disquiet Crumlin Sinn Féin have canvassed opinion in the area and have collected a door-to-door petition which shows overwhelming opposition to any proposal to remove the bridge. A public meeting on the issue has been organised in the Community Hall, Cashel Road at



● Eric Byrne TD — lost touch

8pm on Thursday 16 July.

Local resident and Sinn Féin activist Martina Gibney said:

"People should have been informed before any proposal like this was even raised. They are wondering where it came from or who could benefit from the bridge being taken down. This is what happens when elected representatives lose touch with local opinion."



An Phoblacht

REPUBLICAN NEWS

9 JULY 1992

■ The sickening depths of Britain's war

THROUGHOUT HISTORY, and not just in Ireland, the most reviled of individuals, recalled with universal contempt, are those who would knowingly betray their friends. There are few episodes more chilling than finding out that somebody regarded as a comrade is an informer, and has been responsible for who knows how many arrests and killings.

Last week's execution of three such men by the Irish Republican Army was almost universally presented by the media as a gruesome, inexplicable act. Even so, some sections were honest enough to declare, even as they played the incident for maximum publicity value, that they had no sympathies for those killed. Their reasoning was that the three were members of the IRA and they had died in a sordid internal feud.

But what the media preferred not to concentrate on was the truly sordid aspect of the activities of Gregory Burns, Aidan Starrs and John Dignam. They gave the particularly brutal murder of Margaret Perry little attention, preferring to engage in some politically acceptable IRA-bashing. Neither did they emphasise that all three operated with the full knowledge of British intelligence. Gregory Burns' handlers knew of the attempts of the three to kill Margaret Perry, rather than risk her telling the IRA of their racketeering activities.

All three were already under suspension from the IRA when they murdered Perry. Burns' handlers knew of Perry's murder. The RUC Special Branch also became aware of her murder shortly after, when first Dignam, and then Starrs, confessed and, rather than face prosecution, also chose to become informers. The IRA's detailed statement on the activities of all three has not been challenged by any section of the crown forces, who have refused to comment.

The saga dates back to the recruiting of Gregory Burns in 1979. His handlers told him that his information had not led to his brother Seán's death in a 1982 shoot-to-kill incident, but even if this were true, how many other Volunteers did he put in danger, send to their deaths or cause to be arrested? The hidden agenda of the faceless controllers of British intelligence was amply demonstrated when John Stalker's investigation into the whole covert shoot-to-kill affair was effectively silenced before he could reveal anything of their dirty war.

The fact that MI5 and the RUC Special Branch both chose to ignore the killing of Margaret Perry, and allowed her family to suffer the agony of not knowing what had happened to her for a year until the IRA eventually uncovered the truth, is indicative of the reasoning of the crown's intelligence community.

These handlers had no time for any of those who worked for them or anybody unfortunate enough to get caught in the middle (as Perry was). At the end of the day there are no depths to which these self-styled honest brokers in Ireland will stoop to protect their perceived interests.

If the media can learn anything from this affair, it could pay more heed to the daily complaints made by people who have been taken into custody of attempts to intimidate or bribe them into signing confessions or giving information. People would be less intimidated in custody if their interrogators were not so all-powerful, subject to the intense scrutiny and media investigation which should be the case.

Informers are the most wretched of people. They betray their natural friends and allies while relying for their very lives on faceless controllers who have nothing but contempt for them. To choose this path is to never have a relaxed waking moment again. The threat of being exposed is ever present. Paid treachery is a lonely, dangerous and ultimately fatal path.

News



● Gregory Burns at a press conference held in West Belfast in 1987 when he alleged he had been abducted by British intelligence

IRA executes Portadown informers

WHEN the Manchester Assistant Chief Constable John Stalker came to Ireland in 1984 he was hindered by the RUC and British military intelligence from conducting an investigation which would reveal parts of the truth behind the RUC's shoot-to-kill policy as witnessed in particular in Armagh in 1982. It was stated at the time that his enquiry was hindered because British intelligence sought to protect one or more of their agents.

With the arrest and subsequent execution by the IRA of three North Armagh men last week it can be assumed that the IRA now has knowledge of who set the three IRA Volunteers up to be assassinated by the RUC's E4A.

The following article is the result of a press briefing given by a spokesperson for the IRA to a number of journalists as well as AP/RN. It gives a detailed account of the involvement of the three men who were executed last week, how and when they were recruited, their contacts and meetings and the type of information they passed on to the crown forces. It also details the killing of Portadown woman, Margaret Perry, and how the three returned to her grave and smashed her skull with lump hammers.

According to the IRA "the three men were arrested only after the IRA had completed extensive enquiries and in the course of courts martial the three made full confessions of their activities including their part in the disappearance and brutal murder of Portadown woman Margaret Perry".

During the briefing, the spokesperson began by outlining the actions of Gregory Burns, who was described as "recruited by MI5 and handled by British Military Intelligence". The spokesperson said that at the time of Burns' recruitment as an agent in 1979 he was living in Enniskillen, and was initially told to infiltrate Sinn Féin and the anti-H-Block campaign. Throughout this period and up until his arrest by the IRA he

was paid a monthly sum of £200 plus regular payments of between £100 and £300 for specific pieces of information.

The IRA spokesperson continued:

"Burns had four permanent military intelligence handlers code-named: Neil, Nick, Geoff and Sue and one MI5 overseer named Frank. He was trained in photography, counter-surveillance and dead-letter drops [leaving messages in designated places] in special military intelligence compounds inside British army bases at Lisburn, Belfast as well as in counties Tyrone and Armagh. He was also escorted into towns like Banbridge and Dromore and shown how to identify pick-up drops. His permanent phone contact was through a five-digit number with a Newry code".

According to the IRA spokesperson, when Burns wanted a face-to-face meeting with one of his handlers he would phone the number given and introduce himself as Greg and ask for Neil saying "I need to see you". He would then hang up and phone the number again 48 hours later. He would then be given instructions as to where he was to be contacted.

Whenever a meeting for his de-briefing was arranged, "MI5 personnel would arrive in four to five cars and carry out an elaborate surveillance of the area before picking Burns up". Once picked up he would be taken into special military intelligence compounds in one of four British military bases. These were in Lisburn, Belfast and in counties Armagh and Tyrone.

"On occasion he would be

picked up in a Comber van which was fitted out like an office. At other times he was brought to houses in Lisburn and in the Banbridge and Dromore areas."

According to the IRA, from 1979 until 1984 his brief was to gather political intelligence on Sinn Féin and anti-H-Block activists as well as workers in the election campaigns of Kieran Doherty and Joe McDonnell. He regularly photographed people at marches and meetings and identified people from photographs for his handlers.

In 1982 Burns moved to Portadown (his home-town) and was given a similar brief. He again passed on political intelligence but began feeding his handlers regular information he had gleaned on the movements of IRA Volunteers including those of his brother Seán Burns and his comrades Gervaise McKerr and Eugene Toman who were to lose their lives in an RUC shoot-to-kill ambush in November that year.

Commenting on the RUC killing of Greg Burns' brother, the IRA spokesperson said that in the wake of the shooting, Burns' handlers, afraid of losing their agent, told Burns that they had received information from another source and he need not blame himself for his brother's death. The spokesperson went on to say that, Aidan Starrs was also a member of the unit in which Burns' brother Seán was attached and he was due to accompany the three on the night they were killed.

"Whatever the case," the spokesperson concluded, "the RUC were quite aware that the three Volunteers were unarmed and they knew they could easily have been arrested had that been intended. It was always intended that the three would be killed."

Even though the crown forces were responsible for killing his brother Burns continued to work as their agent and, according to the IRA spokesperson, "in early 1983 his handlers briefed him for a role in Europe. He was brought to Amsterdam and given the brief of infiltrating the local Irish community. He was set up by British intelligence with a job in Skipton Airport and introduced to a Dutch national who would act as his handler in

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Amsterdam.

"In 1984 he returned to Portadown and from then until 1987 he resumed his previous brief. By 1987 he was told to infiltrate the North Armagh Brigade of the IRA via a local man, Aidan Starrs."

In an article by AP/RN last week it was described how agents are forced into a position where they become psychologically dependant on their handlers and begin to regard them as 'comrades'. Outlining a similar scenario the IRA spokesperson said that in September 1987, Burns' handlers told him he was under suspicion by the IRA; his handlers concocted a story which they told him to use as a means of raising himself above suspicion.

Burns was told to contact a priest and tell him he had been abducted by three men who he believed were either British soldiers or members of British intelligence and pressured to inform.

Burns did as he was told and a press conference was arranged for him so as to enable him to publicise his story. He sat at the press conference and gave details as to what was supposed to have happened and what was said to him. "They told me it didn't matter how long it took me to get in with Sinn Féin, even if it took a couple of years...I was also told to stay away from the UDR and RUC — not to get into it with the RUC. They were very definite about that".

By getting Burns to do this British military intelligence convinced him that they were assisting in raising him above suspicion and thus safeguarding him from execution. At the same time they were training Burns in the construction of weapons hides and he was told to pass this to the IRA to further secure himself within the organisation. Having succeeded in this, Burns was given the role of a quartermaster within the IRA.

According to the IRA, in his capacity as a quartermaster Burns routinely photographed weapons and dumps, noting serial numbers and other identifying marks, all of which he passed on to his handlers.

The spokesperson continued:

"By 1989 Burns was closely associated with two other IRA Volunteers, Aidan Starrs and John Dignam. The three together were involved in corruption and extortion. At this period Burns began a relationship with a local woman, Margaret Perry."

"By late 1990 all three were suspended pending full investigations into allegations of corruption. In March 1991 Starrs and Burns, fearing that Margaret Perry was about to expose them to the IRA, decided to kill her. Burns kept his British handlers informed and was advised only to do nothing which could compromise his cover. He ended his relationship with Ms Perry but was involved with Starrs in a number of aborted murder attempts on her, all of which he briefed his handlers about."

In June 1991 Burns was in Monaghan Hospital for treatment and phoned Margaret Perry saying he wished to see her and asking her to contact Aidan Starrs.

The IRA statement outlining the killing of Margaret Perry said that "on the day of her disappearance she took a train to Dundalk and, as instructed by Starrs, she met with him in a local shopping centre. Starrs then drove her to Sligo, plying her with alcohol along the way. At the forest near Mullaghmore he overpowered her, bound her hands and gagged her mouth with tape and proceeded to strangle her with the cord from a set of venetian blinds. He left to retrieve a shovel from the car and on return found Margaret Perry struggling. He then beat her around the head with the shovel and buried her in a shallow grave."

Shortly after the killing Dignam was arrested by the RUC over a series of assaults. He broke down telling the RUC of the murder and naming Starrs and Burns as his accomplices. At this point he was handed over to the RUC Special Branch who recruited him as an informer in return for immunity over the Perry killing. Within weeks Starrs was arrested by the RUC and recruited as an informer on the same basis.

The IRA spokesperson said that "from that point and until

their arrest by the IRA last week Starrs and Dignam routinely passed on to the RUC whatever information they could glean locally."

"Dignam was given the code-name 'Big Fella' and was given a six-digit number for Portadown. He was told to phone the number and ask for 'Marty' after which he was to hang up and phone again 15 minutes later. The number he was given was 332424."

"His information to the RUC led to the seizure of rifles from a dump in Garvaghy Park and to the RUC being able to build a picture of the local IRA structure as well as arrangements and locations for IRA training camps."

"Starrs was handled by a man codenamed 'John'. His contact was the same as Dignam's, through phonecalls to Portadown RUC Barracks. His information led to the seizure of quantities of ammunition and to the building up of detailed profiles on republicans in the North Armagh and County Monaghan areas."

According to the IRA spokesperson Starrs was fed information by his handlers on the precise movements of top loyalists, including Billy Wright. He was also given a detailed plan for the assassination of Wright and told to pass this to the IRA. His handlers believed that if the IRA were to act on Starrs' information he would become "all right in the eyes of the IRA". Indeed, his handlers told him: "When the IRA kill him [Wright] you'll be right in there".

Eight weeks ago Burns began to panic over the Margaret Perry killing and he sought advice from his handlers. They told him to frustrate any attempt at identification. Burns and his cohorts returned to Mullaghmore to render identification of Margaret Perry impossible. They found her skull exposed above ground and smashed it with lump hammers. Burns as always kept his handlers informed of every gruesome detail.

"This case, shocking as it is, will serve once again to illustrate the depths of depravity to which British intelligence and the RUC Special Branch will go to secure information for their war against the nationalist people" the spokesperson concluded.

"The three executed made voluntary admissions of their roles as agents and of their involvement in the killing of Margaret Perry."

"We are confident that as the full facts continue to emerge no one will be left in any doubt about the role of M15 and the RUC Special Branch."

"Despite clear efforts by them to confuse the issues and limit the damage to them caused by these revelations, the evidence against them is overwhelming."

Murder of Margaret Perry

OUTLINING the background to the brutal murder of Margaret Perry, a 26-year-old Portadown woman who worked for the civil service, the IRA spokesperson said that when Margaret Perry first became involved in a relationship with Gregory Burns she did not know he was a British intelligence agent. But the relationship was to result in her being brutally killed by one of Burns' cohorts, Aidan Starrs when they thought that she was about to tell the IRA about their activities.

The spokesperson continued:

"Burns believed that Margaret Perry was about to tell the IRA that he was an agent and he discussed with Starrs possible ways of killing her."

"Between the two of them they hatched three different plans to silence Margaret Perry before as they thought, she went to the IRA but on each of the three occasions they went out to kill her they abandoned their attempt."

The IRA said that on 21 June, while Burns was in Monaghan hospital, he phoned Margaret Perry and arranged for her to come and see him. He arranged that she would be picked up by

Starrs in Dundalk from where they would then travel to Monaghan.

But Burns and Starrs had arranged that Starrs would take her away and kill her. Starrs picked Ms Perry up at the arranged location and then drove her to a forest in Mullaghmore, Sligo. He overpowered her and bound her with tape before strangling her with cord from a venetian blind.

The IRA spokesperson said that Starrs believed the woman to be dead and he went back to the car to get a shovel with which to bury the woman. "When he returned he found Ms Perry alive and struggling. He then

set about beating her about the head with a shovel until she was dead. He then dug a shallow grave and buried her."

The next day Starrs along with Dignam returned to the scene of the murder as Starrs had remembered he had left the tape which he had used to gag the woman and he knew his fingerprints were probably on the tape. Starrs and Dignam then drove to see Burns in the Monaghan hospital and the three laughed as Starrs recounted how he had killed Margaret Perry.

The IRA spokesperson said that Gregory Burns told them, in his admission, that he had "informed his handlers of each development and had told them that Margaret Perry had been murdered by Starrs". When a Sunday newspaper covered the story months after her disappearance and reported that North Armagh republicans were responsible for her death Burns again made contact with his handlers and was told "to frustrate any possible identification of the woman's body".

"The three then returned to the grave in Mullaghmore with the intention of cutting the woman's fingers off and smashing her teeth. When they got to the grave the head was above ground and they decided to smash the skull. This they duly did with lump-hammers."



● Margaret Perry — British intelligence were informed of all attempts to murder her and they instructed Burns "to frustrate any possible identification of her body"

IRA denies torture allegations

THE IRA denied that the three executed informers had been ill-treated in their custody:

"Contrary to allegations that the three executed on Wednesday night 1 July, were ill-treated or tortured, we can state categorically that this is untrue. The visible marks on the bodies were caused as a result of the execution."

"The reason for the three being naked was to minimise

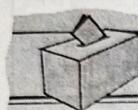
forensic evidence which might have compromised our Volunteers."

"The IRA has a strict policy, scrupulously monitored to ensure that those detained by it are not ill-treated."

"We are very conscious of the fact that ill-treatment can lead to a distortion of the truth."

THE MAASTRICHT CAMPAIGN

THE IRISH TIMES, Saturday, June 13, 1992



YES TO EUROPE

THE MAASTRICHT REFERENDUM

WHERE IS THE NEWS?

■ BY NEIL FORDE

YOU OPEN THE NEWSPAPER, scan the headlines, focusing briefly perhaps on the photos and accompanying captions, reading all or maybe just selective parts. For most Irish adults this is a daily practice. Newspapers have a position of pre-eminence in political society. They play a crucial role in the creation of accessible information, reporting news which can influence and at times generate political opinion. Headlines, photographs and stories can create and become history.

It is this opinion-forming power of the print media that makes it an integral part of political campaigns and elections. The presence of the media has changed how politicians and lobby groups act. With a literate public, political meetings of the back of a truck have become a thing of the past. Instead we have press conferences and photo-opportunities all tailored to the demands of television schedules and print deadlines. Obtaining media coverage is as important a political act as organising a political meeting or canvassing a vote.

Newspapers changed forever on 17 January 1991. The US-led coalition forces began their carpet bombing of Iraq. People turned towards their televisions for information and reports from Baghdad, from Dhahran, Jerusalem. Effortlessly the storyline moved from location to

location. Newspapers had to adapt to this changed environment as 24-hour TV news showed a new dimension of accessibility to information.

Changes in technology gave the papers a means to expand their role. Computer technology gave flexibility to layout and presentation. Papers could also print pictures to a high quality, generating intricate maps. Unlike radio or television bulletins, newspapers are not instantly disposable, their approach to and treatment of news is considerably different from other media.

Daily papers in Britain and Ireland took advantage of the unprecedented public interest in the Gulf War to solidify the changes in their news coverage and presentation.

Overnight we as readers, hungry

for information about a 'modern' war adjusted effortlessly to endless coverage of the Gulf War, running at times to seven or eight pages. Papers produced logos that adorned the top of each page. The *Irish Times* ran hour by hour summaries of the previous day on its front page. The front page stories would provide a lead into the rest of the paper. There was no end to what could be considered news, papers even reported and analysed the television coverage of the war, comparing the methods of differing TV stations. Interspersed would be the advertisements. Circulation increased for the duration of the US-led invasion of Iraq. Ultimately circulation dictated this process.

The Gulf War was only a benchmark in a process which has been underway for many years. However, it meant that if a such a comparable event were to happen closer to home, there was precedent for such blanket coverage which had only previously been seen in the aftermath of an election campaign.

In the months after the Gulf War, the print media did not stop the ball rolling. They had created a new role for themselves and searched for events to fill it.

The timid Dublin media searched for such stories. The economic decline of the 26-County economy merited some coverage but it would not hold the public attention. The Gulf War had all the elements of drama; an initial catalyst, a series of day to day events and a categorical conclusion. Daily coverage on the 26-County economic malaise merited column inches but not the pages that the Gulf War got.

In August 1991, the Sunday Independent published a story that had been whispered in journalistic circles for almost three months; the directors of the newly privatised state sugar company, Greencore, had allegedly defrauded the state. The media machine moved into gear; logos, page upon page of coverage. We got backgrounds, histories, reaction, allegation and counter allegation.

The ink was barely dry when the Dublin media released their second blockbuster, a story that had spent almost a year under wraps; Michael Smurfit, feted industrialist had abused his position as director of Telecom to buy, sell and lease property of which he was part owner to Telecom.

These media events are not confined to the political strata. Ben

Dunne, Bishop Casey and 'Princess' Diana have generated volumes of news coverage. The 26-County Sunday papers killed acres of trees to go colour on the "crisis at the palace". Concurrent with all this the voters of the 26 Counties were preparing to vote in the Maastricht referendum.

At first the referendum did not seem to merit page upon page of attention. In the run up to the Maastricht summit in December 1991, daily papers printed guides and some limited analysis on what was being decided. The summit came and went, no date was set for the referendum, it was considered by the media in the wake of the 1987 Single European Act vote to be a mere formality. In fact in January 1992 few 26-County citizens were aware that there would be a referendum on European union.

The case of girl 'X', a pregnant 14-year-old, allegedly raped and seeking an abortion in Britain gave the Maastricht story new life as the Dublin government had inserted a protocol in the treaty guaranteeing that the prohibition on abortion in the 26 Counties would be maintained after political union. The media cleared their diaries for Gulf War Irish style.

THE MAASTRICHT CAMPAIGN

The weeks running up to the 18 June vote saw a Dublin media in top gear, offering page to page coverage of the Maastricht campaign. Surely this must be in the public interest, the debate could take place through the print media. However, a closer look at the Maastricht coverage in the *Irish Press*, *Irish Times* and *Irish Independent* shows that this was not the case.

The launch of the Fianna Fáil/Progressive Democrat White Paper on Maastricht, the Danish referendum result, the week 8 to 12 June, the day before the vote 17 June, and the day after the count 20 June are the key dates that give a picture of media treatment of the campaign.

Coverage of the campaign can be divided into three story types. First of all there was the principle news event coverage of the White Paper launch, the Bishops' statement, the Danish result, of press conferences etc. This was followed by analysis and interpretation of the campaign events and the people involved. For this papers used their own journalists but most augmented this with guest columnists. There were stories outlining elements of the Treaty and what it might mean but these stories were very much in the minority.

The first question must be how do you ensure fair coverage in a debate like this? Is fair coverage an issue at all? Nobody asked Saddam Hussein what he thought of media coverage of the "mother of all wars". However for George Bush, media coverage of the Gulf was an essential element in his war against Saddam.

The referendum presented voters with a straight decision 'yes' or 'no'. There were pro and anti-Maa-

Members of the coverage of the

trict campaign. The two sides of the coin are roughly equal coverage against the other. Letting the papers allocated on basis that the big parties were in two and so their views of all editorial bias campaign dictated coverage. One journalist at a press conference coverage criteria poll results and would receive on equal to the poll voters. How this deal with the under mystery.

WHITE PAPER SETTING THE

On Thursday the press corps Dublin Castle to launch of their White

It was clear they wanted to emphasise One; that the referendum about abortion". ty was not an issue billion lay at the Four; there is no the National Plan pamphlet called Economic Privileges.

The headline showed a remarkable Dublin government Irish Independent that "EC Treaty never". The "Lunacy to Reynolds from this headline the abortion inju Times led with pledged" with debate mars off for Maastricht

A LESSON IN MEDIA MANIPULATION

MAASTRICHT

THE MAASTRICHT TREATY
STATUS ON RATIFICATION

DENMARK'S DECISION



● Members of the press at the launch of the 26-County government's White Paper on Maastricht on 23 April which was to set the tone for press coverage of the referendum campaign

tricht campaigns. Yet instead of giving the two sides of the argument roughly equal coverage, setting one against the other, fomenting debate and letting the readers decide, the papers allocated coverage on the basis that the big Leinster House parties were in favour of a yes vote and so their views dominated. Most of all editorial bias towards the Yes campaign dictated the nature of the coverage.

One journalist intimated to me at a press conference that his editor's coverage criteria was the opinion poll results and the No campaign would receive coverage roughly equal to the poll performance of No voters. How this editor proposed to deal with the undecided voters is a mystery.

WHITE PAPER LAUNCH —
SETTING THE AGENDA

On Thursday afternoon 24 April the press corps streamed into Dublin Castle to witness the FF/PD launch of their White Paper.

It was clear that the government wanted to emphasise four issues. One; that the referendum was "not about abortion". Two; that neutrality was not an issue. Three; that £6 billion lay at the end of the rainbow. Four; there is no going back. On the same day as the White Paper launch the National Platform launched a pamphlet called *Maastricht — The Economic Pitfalls*.

The headlines of the next day showed a remarkable success for the Dublin government agenda. The *Irish Independent* headline told us that "EC Treaty vote: it's now or never". The *Irish Press* led with "Lunacy to reject it", quoting Reynolds from the previous day. This headline had the accompanying strap "Albert's assurance on abortion injunctions". The *Irish Times* led with "End to injunctions pledged" with a strap "Abortion debate mars opening of campaign for Maastricht". The headlines all

took elements from the Dublin government's agenda.

Inside the papers there was extensive coverage. The *Independent* had 30 stories, of which only three were anti-Maastricht. The *Press* had 13 stories, three of which were anti-Maastricht. In the *Times*, 26 stories, three anti-Maastricht.

The conclusions were that the Reynolds won round one, his agenda was set for the campaign. The Platform press conference was given some coverage inside the *Irish Times* with the headline "Hairshirts across Europe if union enforced, say opposition group". The *Irish Independent* ignored the launch of the Platform booklet to concentrate on "Government 'misusing' public funds on Treaty". This was one of six stories on that page, two pages into the Maastricht coverage.

The *Times* and *Irish Independent* found time to summarise the government White Paper and the *Short Guide to the Maastricht Treaty*. No such summary was offered of the National Platform's booklet.

The *Independent* did find time to have an extensive piece on "Secret societies: is there a hidden agenda?" This was not on the Maastricht campaign pages but it referred directly to the SPUC elements who were also

campaigning against the Treaty. This would be the theme for the campaign with the media focusing on the SPUC campaign as being representative of the whole No campaign.

DENMARK SAYS NO

46,000 votes in Denmark on 2 June, created a dream run-in for the print media; just two weeks from referendum day a new variable had given new life to the Maastricht story. "Denmark says No" in the *Irish Independent*, one of three EC stories on its front page, including "Doubts raised on EC £6 billion. 'Danes' No stuns EC" from the *Press*. "EC faces constitutional crisis as Danes reject Maastricht" was the *Irish Times* headline.

All of the papers had stories on the boost that the Danish vote had given the No campaign on the Treaty. The *Irish Independent* however stuck to the government agenda, coming out with four pages all titled "Maastricht — a new controversy". Twenty-one stories. Five stories covered the No campaign. The paper was content to keep the focus on Denmark and the government, who were "unmoved" and "pressing ahead".

The No stories were headlined

"Unity to cut public sector" and "Hearts and minds can change now". There was also a story about the doubts raised on the promised £6 billion. However, these were only peppered among a range of stories. Rarely in the coverage would two No stories be laid out side by side. Instead we had "Bad for EC, worse for Denmark", "10,000 jobs hanging on Treaty", "Tell voters of cash bonanza".

At this stage in the campaign the National Platform had published another booklet which was not analysed at all in the media. Sinn Féin launched their campaign three days after the Danish vote. However, when the *Irish Press* finally mentioned the campaign launch of a pamphlet five days after it happened they told their readers that it happened "yesterday".

The print media were only prepared to publish claim against counter claim, favouring the Yes side. When columnists took up the issue they did so as individuals. None of their papers considered the obvious inconsistencies in the treaty. Coverage of economic issues was lost in among the mass of stories. Instead the papers hid behind educational articles explaining the two campaigns, but still refusing to

countenance their own critiques. Without exception all editorials urged a Yes vote.

A WEEK IN POLITICS

On Monday 8 June, the Maastricht headline was the agreement by Fianna Fáil, Fine Gael, the Progressive Democrats and Labour to unite on the Maastricht Treaty. The *Irish Independent* kept this off the front page, but it made the headlines in the other two.

The other Maastricht news of the week was the problems that the government were having securing the promised £6 billion. Added to this was the Reynolds decision to use the powers of Section 31 of the Broadcasting Act to commandeer prime airtime for a broadcast by himself two days before the referendum.

The media were virtually silent compared to previous coverage. Only one page in the *Irish Independent* and in the *Times* on Saturday 13 June. On 24 April we had got 30 stories to tell us about the promised £6 billion. Now it seems we need only one to explain how a government minister could monopolise media time.

Once again the No campaign did not make the front page of any paper during the week, despite the fact that all over the state No groups were holding meetings, canvassing and poster. All of this escaped the Dublin media.

The only No group to appear on the front page of any Dublin newspaper throughout the campaign was the so-called 'pro-life' campaign led by Fianna Fáil Senator Des Hanafin.

THE DAY BEFORE

June 17 was the last day before the referendum. The morning papers carried extensive coverage of Reynolds' Section 31 broadcast the night before. There was also coverage of an MRBI poll. Front page stories were divided between the Reynolds broadcast, a press conference by the four pro-treaty parties and the poll. "We'll win 2:1 says Albert" strapped with "Warning on jobs threat by voting No". The *Times* had "Maastricht is likely to be endorsed by comfortable margin poll finds". In the *Irish Independent* there were two stories "New poll predicts big 'yes' vote to Treaty"

and "Taoiseach slams campaign of myths and rumours".

Inside the *Times* three stories on the No campaign together, including one on Des Hanafin.

Alongside this was a story headed "Aherne emphasises economic consequences of No vote". Aherne was allowed to outline his points and set the agenda as was Albert Reynolds and to receive blanket, uncritical coverage.

THE DAY AFTER

It would not be wrong to imply that a more balanced campaign could have swung the vote in favour of No. The bias in the coverage and the insistence of the Dublin government in attempting to manipulate the media shows how desperately they wanted ratification. The interjections by Reynolds and his cabinet deflected criticism away from them onto the issues that the government chose to fight the campaign on.

The No campaign had no success in agenda setting.

On 20 June, the Dublin print media were able to wrap up their stories, by covering the referendum count. We got the constituency by constituency figures. "Yes, a million times" was the *Irish Press* headline, with the sub headline "Europe heaves a sigh of relief". The *Times* headline was "Comprehensive 'Yes' vote heavy blow to anti-abortion lobby". The media had their story ending, a Yes majority and an anti-abortion lobby gearing up for the next referendum. The *Times* had three stories side by side on page 5 "Guns greased for the next big battle", "Anti-abortion group gearing up for the autumn referendum", "One-nil down, but still in the game". Nowhere in the campaign was so much space given to the National Platform.

The Dublin print media has now moved onto other stories, back to the beef tribunal, to the Brooke/Mayhew talks. However there are serious questions about the methods they use to present the news. The Maastricht campaign has emphasised that the print media is engaging in a campaign of filtering the events that make up the political society we live in. We want the news, but what we read is only the news they choose.

**WE'LL WIN 2-1
SAYS ALBERT**

**£6bn aid bid
faces crucial
test at
EC talks**

NO vote 'could lead to disaster'

**DELORS
SPELLS
IT OUT!**

Flying down to

**EC treaty
vote: it's
'now or never'**

**LUNACY TO
REJECT IT'**

News



● Armed and frightened members of the RUC in full riot gear surrounded the friends, neighbours and comrades of Volunteer Pete Ryan as a Celtic Cross was unveiled in his memory on Sunday

HIS DREAM WAS FOR YOU

"It must be very gratifying for Pete Ryan and to the members of Oglaiigh na hEireann to look round today and see armed, frightened men in full riot uniform and carrying automatic rifles having come here this afternoon because they are still frightened of his legacy and his memory a year after his death."

Belfast Sinn Féin Councillor Joe Austin was speaking in the graveyard under the shadow of the historic

Old Cross of Ardboe and overlooking the picturesque Lough Neagh shore at the unveiling of a monument to IRA

Volunteer Pete Ryan, killed along with Volunteers Lawrence McNally and Tony Doris in Coagh on 3 June last year.

In a searing July sun hundreds of Ryan's neighbours, friends and comrades gathered in one of Ireland's most historic and tranquil spots to see the Celtic Cross of black marble dedicated to his memory unveiled by members

of his family.

The scene of a community remembering and honouring one of its own was however interrupted by lines of riot-clad RUC personnel along the walls of the small graveyard, the clicking of safety catches on their rifles and the staccato bursts of their radios. Hedgerows for several fields around bristled with camouflaged British sol-

diers and where the graveyard met the waters of Lough Neagh two patrols boats loaded with Royal Marine Commandos and with forward mounted machine-guns plied their way back and forth during the ceremony.

The proceedings were chaired by Sinn Féin Ard Chomhairle member and Dungannon Councillor Francie Molloy. He congratulated Tyrone National Graves Association for the trojan work they had done in erecting this very fitting monument. The *Last Post* was played as flags were lowered to half mast before the Tyrone Roll of Honour was read out.

He then introduced Joe Austin to give the oration.

Austin referred to Ryan as a Volunteer, a son, a prisoner and an escapee:

"He was also a visionary, he was someone who wanted peace and he knew that to create the conditions for peace this state, which has failed even those who claim allegiance to it, had to be dismantled. He set about that task with vigour, showing no self-interest and prepared to make any sacrifice. He was not a career officer, he was not involved for promotion or finance, he was involved because it was the most natural thing to do to bring about peace and to end the suffering that affects all the people of this island."

He concluded by saying:

"It is a pleasure to note the presence of so many young people here today for Pete Ryan's dream was aimed at you, at a way of life that would prevent you from having to do what he did and what many continue to do. He shared a very stark reality with those people behind the wall, he knew and they knew that the future of this struggle lies in your hands and if they can't control and intimidate you with their guns and their prisons there is no future for them."

Big victory for MacBride in New York

OVERCOMING a last ditch effort by IBM and the British Embassy the New York State Senate has passed the Deare/Holland Bill mandating enforcement of the MacBride Principles by contract compliance sanctions. The vote was unanimous, 57-0.

The vote came on 3 July after Assemblyman John Deare rejected demands that the British government's Fair Employment Standards, be substituted for the anti-discrimination MacBride Principles, and that company certifications be substituted for independent monitoring. A key impetus was a letter by Senator Holland and other Republican Party Senators urging adoption because of the concern of large numbers of Irish American voters in their districts.

Martin Galvin, General Counsel of Irish Northern Aid said:

"Anyone deceived by British gov-

ernment rhetoric about ending religious discrimination in the north of Ireland, should simply look at the depths to which Britain stoops in order to forestall the eminently fair MacBride Principles. Britain is defending its indefensible system of sectarian discrimination because that system is the basis of loyalist support. Now American companies who profit from immoral sectarian practices in Ireland, will pay a heavy price in New York State dollars. Other states will join and the price of sectarian employment will grow higher and higher."

Following last week's unanimous victory in the Assembly, Senate sponsors hoped to bring the Senate bill to the floor early in the week. A series of delays occurred in committee. It soon became apparent that there had been strong behind-the-scenes efforts to block the bill.

IBM, which has 53 employees in the North was spearheading opposition to the bill. IBM also enlisted the support of the New York Business Council, an alliance of business organisations.

In a meeting held on 29 June with MacBride Bill sponsor Assemblyman John Deare, representatives of IBM and the New York Business Council demanded a series of amendments which were deemed totally unacceptable by MacBride proponents. The language also mirrored language suggested by the British government in Chicago recently. IBM asked for the reference to the MacBride Principles to

be deleted and replaced by Fair Employment Standard. This would have substituted British government criteria for the anti-discrimination MacBride Principles.

IBM next requested that all requirements for independent monitoring be deleted and replaced by a certification of fair employment by company executives. This would allow the company to discriminate and protect itself merely by having a company executive file a written statement denying discrimination.

IBM also objected to a provision mandating reasonable steps to safeguard employees, which is necessary to prevent threats from being used to stop nationalists from seeking employment.

Following the meeting an angry John Deare alluded to the 1986 opposition campaign by then Dublin consulate official James Flavin. Assemblyman Deare said "the battle waged by Jim Flavin is now being waged on behalf of the British by IBM". Deare repudiated the suggested amendments.

Assemblyman Deare said, however, that he was still confident of pas-

sage. He praised Senator Joseph Holland for being very aggressive in pushing for a vote in the Republican controlled Senate.

Senator Holland had sent a strong memo to Senator Marino co-signed by Senators Joseph Bruno, John Daly, Kemp Hannon, Norman Levy, John McHugh, Christopher Mega, Dean Skelos, Nicholas Spano, Caesar Trunzo, Dale Volker and Michael Tully.

The memo noted: "This bill is very important to us since there are large American-Irish delegations in each of our districts. Already I have received calls indicating that come election time support may not be as enthusiastic if the Senate ignores this extremely important issue. Furthermore, the Irish community remains in unrest over the recent decision to extradite Joe Doherty from the United States to Northern Ireland."

"I strongly urge to carefully consider the facts of the matter and allow this great state to lead in the fight against discrimination. I am fully confident that my colleagues and I can count on your efforts to bring this measure before the Senate house."

Three cleared in Special Court

■ BY ART MAC EOIN

THREE MEN charged with membership of the IRA were cleared by the Special Court in Green Street, Dublin while a fourth was convicted of the charge on Friday 3 July.

Eamonn Hanna, Vincent McAnespie and Brendan Corrigan were freed after an eight-day trial while Aidan

McGurk was whisked away to Portlaoise political prison in a Garda van with a military escort.

Three of the men were arrested on the evening prior to the funeral of IRA Volunteer Lawrence McNally in County Monaghan following an incident in which gardai fired over 60 shots. Although gardai claimed that they were fired upon, no guns or bullet cases were found in follow-up searches. There were no traces of firearms on any of the accused men. During the trial a Special Branch member from Monaghan barracks admitted that he fired on Aidan McGurk, whom he knew, with intent to kill him.

On the second last day of the trial the evidence of another Special Branch detective was discredited when in an

attempt to prove that Hanna and McAnespie knew each other before their arrest, he claimed to have seen both men together erecting black flags in honour of Lawrence McNally and named the location. When shown photographs of the area he was asked to point out the poles where the men had allegedly been erecting the flags. There were no poles in the vicinity.

Delivering the judgement, non-jury court judge Robert Barr refused to accept Aidan McGurk's testimony that he had spent the evening of 6 June digging a grave for Volunteer McNally and the judge said that McGurk had merely introduced this story to

account for his wearing what the court described as "military style boots", on his arrest. He accused McGurk of having pretended to point a weapon in the direction of gardai in order to throw off the chase. In relation to the other accused the judge said that it was with reluctance that the court accepted their testimonies but that there was not enough evidence to show that they were IRA members.

McGurk is to reappear for sentence on Monday 13 July. The other men are to reappear on the same date to face charges under Section 52 of the Offences Against the State Act, for "failing to account for their movements".

The review that caused a ruckus

On 18 June AP/RN reported on the row in Hollywood over the big box office success *Patriot Games*. This review of the film which we reproduce here caused *Daily Variety* where it first appeared on 3 June. Reviewer Joseph McBride was censured by his editor and his job was threatened.

TOM CLANCY was right the first time, *Paramount's Patriot Games* is an expensive stiff. Mindless, morally repugnant, and ineptly directed to boot, it's a shoddy follow-up to "Par's" 1990 hit, *The Hunt for Red October*. Also based on a best-selling Clancy novel about intrepid CIA analyst Jack Ryan, the ultra-violent, fascistic, blatantly anti-Irish *Patriot Games* stars a dour Harrison Ford, whose box-office allure should ensure a big opening before downbeat word-of-mouth spreads like wildfire.

The *Patriot Games* novel is a right wing cartoon of the British-Irish political situation, full of implausibilities and tending toward overblown action setpieces, but it has an inescapable gut-wrenching

emotional power lacking in this adaptation by W. Peter Cliffl and Donald Stewart.

Director Philip Noyce, whose major previous credit was the low-budget Aussie pic *Dead Calm* is way out of his

depth here, relying on tight closeups that eliminate visual and social context and incoherently handling action sequences in the would-be spectacular climax.

Ford's Ryan, at the onset, has left the CIA to teach naval history at Annapolis. A visit to London with his family places him in the middle of an attack on a high British official (James Fox) by what Ford later identifies as "some ultra-violent faction of the IRA". His rescue of Fox and killing of one attacker makes him the quarry of a revengeful, ice-blooded IRA man (Sean Bean).

The novel's pontifications on the political context are shallow and biased toward the British, but the book does not take the time to address the subject. That's more that can be said for the film, which takes about 20 seconds to do so in a TV soundbite of a Sinn Féin political rep (Richard Harris), whose comments can barely be heard above the Ford family's chatter.

Harris makes a point that should have been allowed to play much more loudly: that when Americans talk of their own uprising against their British colonial rulers, they call



● Paramount Pictures *Patriot Games* is an expensive stiff

the revolutionaries "patriots", not "terrorists." This film has little time for such distinctions or for the nuances of the Irish cause.

The case if sentimentally loaded by painting the IRA faction as monsters who don't hesitate to attack Ford's wife (Anne Archer) and daughter (Thora Birch) as part of Bean's vendetta.

Prince Charles and his family are the targets in the book — an angle that no doubt would have presented insuperable problems on screen — and while making the minister of state for Northern Ireland the

target would seem to make more sense politically. Fox also is a royal (a distant cousin of the queen), which makes his attackers seem as foolishly reckless as those in the book.

A major implausibility in both versions is that the radical cell would allow and help a grieving member (Bean) to put political realities aside to hunt down a CIA man on his home turf. Mad dog Bean and his brighter superior (Kevin O'Donnell) argue about this, but Bean prevails.

Nor does it make sense that the cell would be able to operate so easily and with such

massive firepower on American soil, or that Fox would be so poorly protected when visiting Ford's home as he is in the film. Even a master action director would have trouble making the audience swallow those points, and Noyce's staging of the elaborate finale (much of it in semi-darkness) is laughable.

While Ford is a solid blend of thought and action in his James Bondish role, and his need to protect his family gives the film some gripping moments, the film's moral viewpoint is strictly Neanderthal. Archer, who's playing a supposedly sensitive eye surgeon, defines the moral tone by telling Ford about Bean, "You get him, Jack. I don't care what you have to do — just get him."

Technically, the film doesn't look or sound good, aside from some fascinating simulation by the Video Image process of CIA satellite surveillance.

Hunt for Red October star Alec Baldwin's decision to forgo this project for the Broadway revival of *A Streetcar Named Desire* was greeted with smug head-shaking in Hollywood at the time, but now seems like a wise career move. If producers Mace Neufeld and Robert Rehme don't raise their standards next time out (Ford is pacted for two more Clancy films), "Par's" Jack Ryan tent pole may collapse prematurely.

The sound of tweeting birds

■ BY DARA Mac NEILL

As the credits rolled on *Force of Duty* (RTE1, 1 July and BBC2 8 July) we all felt a little foolish at having been taken in by its pre-launch publicity. The Northern drama to end all dramas, we'd been led to believe. If not truthful then, at the very best, we'd expected something a mite controversial. But this was the anti-climax to end all anti-climaxes. Now I know how those fundamentalists who regularly head off into the hills in anticipation of the apocalypse feel when they awake the morning after to the sound of tweeting birds.

The plot of this supposedly gritty and true-to-life drama, went something like this. RUC man's best RUC friend gets shot. RUC man goes off the deep end and appears in every second scene with a far away look in his eyes and a seemingly unemptying bottle of Bushmills. (I know the feeling!). So frequently did the bottle appear that I'm surprised it wasn't given any lines to say. Certainly it's in the running for a 'Best Supporting Actor' award.

Anyway, Bush in hand, said RUC man heads off to Donegal to sit in... a bush of another variety, consume more 'Bush', and observe his colleagues supposed killers.

Picked up in the south, he's taken in by a kindly cop(!) and the whole experience proves so traumatic that he promptly returns to barracks and kills himself.

If that summary sounds trite it's for the simple reason that the whole programme

itself deserves no other response. Quite simply, it had all the artistic and political depth of your average garden pond. Poor Donal McCann, one of the country's finest actors, reduced to muttering little else but "Aye..." in every breath. But what do you expect from a script co-penned by chief UDR apologist hack, Chris Ryder. Never mind a pen, this man should not be left alone and unsupervised with a bloody crayon. The amount of hype this drama got was incredible, almost on a par with a major cinema release. That it portrayed the 'poor benighted' RUC as the 'pigs-in-the-middle' is no accident. It's all part of their rehabilitation. And just to make sure, you employ Dónal McCann in the central role, someone whom southern viewers will immediately identify and sympathise with. Expect the broadcast of the RUC's annual benefit for sick kiddies soon.



● *Force of Duty* has all the artistic and political depth of your average garden pond

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

National platform must continue

A Chairde,

Whatever about the result of the 18 June referendum, the progressive anti-Maastricht coalition must continue in existence in order to provide an opposition in a battle which, after Denmark's rejection of the Treaty, is still far from over. An opposition even to the extent of standing candidates on a pro-choice, internationalist, self-reliance platform in any subsequent election and to make a reality out of claims of enlarging Irish sovereignty in Europe which have been made to look a bit of a sick joke by revelations in the Brian Nelson case by John Ware and the BBC's *Panorama* team that Ireland was not even able to have the limited sovereignty it has at the moment respected.

For one of the ironies of the referendum is that it has been held on a Treaty which, after Denmark's rejection of it, has now no formal legitimacy vis a vis the Treaty of Rome and will have to be replaced with something else. One wonders if this too will coincide with the promised abortion legislation/referendum or mixture of both in the autumn?

Another irony was the outmanoeuvring, by Albert Reynolds of all people, of Dick Spring, who allowed the Labour Party to be manipulated into ceasing to be an opposition and instead to become identified with Albert Reynolds' inept handling of the abortion issue and the Maastricht campaign by agreeing to the four-party statement when the government hijack of RTE for a purely government statement was already planned.

Joe Murphy,
Birmingham,
England.

'Astounded' by Maastricht letter

A Chairde,

The remarks made by Martin McGovern in his letter on 2 July last, obviously cannot go by unnoticed and unchallenged. His reasons for voting yes to Maastricht as a republican, astound me.

He seems to take the view that Ireland as a small country cannot look after itself, thus reinforcing the imperialist myth that no small country can look after itself. He says that he speaks of Ireland in a 32-County context, the Maastricht Treaty makes absolutely no mention of even a 32-County province. Mr McGovern ignores the blatant facts that the EEC has been severely detrimental to our national self-respect and to our economy. Unemployment has risen from 74,000 in 1972 to 280,000+ in 1992 and is set to rise even further. Emigration, which wasn't even an issue in 1972, has now reached the peak of 50,000 a year. It is now estimated that 50% of young people born in this country have now emigrated. As well as all that, 30% of people live below the poverty line.

He even makes a reference to the film, *The Life of Brian* when he quotes "What have the Romans ever done for us?" Well why don't we ask ourselves "What have the British ever done for us?" Well, let me see... They've built us railways, roads, bridges, left us the inheritance of CIE, and us Paddies are so ungrateful! Shocking!!

He also propagates the myth that Jacques Delors is a socialist and a trade unionist. In my opinion, Jacques Delors has already taken sides in the class struggle, by joining the bankers' and big business club (which is what the EC is), whose exploitative demands and interests are incompatible with workers and small

nationalities. As for the Social Charter, although it is progressive in its own right, I believe it is nothing more than the buy-off for more important priorities.

His general theme seems to be the inevitability of the desolation of Irish national identity in favour of an integrated Europe. I am in favour of limited European integration, but definitely not under its present terms. He seems to have clung on to a colonised inferiority complex of being Irish (no offence intended) which is nothing more than an artificial by-product of imperialism. Ireland as a nation must strangle and bury this psychological complexity, and realise our full potential.

K Q,
Dublin.

Maastricht aftermath

A Chairde,

I would like to reply fully to Martin McGovern's letter in *AP/RN* 2 July, but where do you start? A simple answer would be along the lines of, is Sinn Féin a revolutionary or a reformist party?

Within the reply to that question lies the direction of Sinn Féin's future policies on EC and many other issues.

Sinn Féin's opposition to EC membership lay not with the concept of an economic alliance of European (in the real sense of the word) states, but on its raison d'être. The EC was set up as an exclusive club for pro-NATO states to rival or buffer the Soviet Bloc's Comecon. It was always envisaged as a method of creating a single market where greater exploitation could take place for the benefit of multinational companies, capitalists and the richer states in Western Europe.

Initially smaller and poorer or less developed states such as the 26 Counties, Greece and Portugal were attracted to join when each state could veto or opt out of decisions taken by EC institutions. This is no longer the case, since Maastricht, majority rules — weighed in favour of the richer states. This alone should determine Sinn Féin's position vis a vis the EC — it is an undemocratic institution which a small nation such as a future 32-County Ireland or even the current 26-County state will not be empowered to alter. The Dublin government nor any future Irish government will not have control over its country's destiny. Sinn Féin has always stood opposed to the denial of the right of self-determination, adopting a pro-EC stance now would be reversing that opposition.

Sinn Féin's role while opposing the EC as it stands is to suggest alternatives — an alliance of disadvantaged states; of former colonial states; of states with common problems; or, a structure where the voting is weighed in favour of such states. An alliance enveloping all the states of Europe — former Eastern Bloc states, EC states, non-aligned states, and EFTA states; which allows indigenous industries to develop — with protection if necessary, until such time as they are capable of standing head-to-head with competitors; where first preference in exploiting the country's natural resources (fisheries and agricultural especially) lies with each individual country; where home produced goods can be promoted etc by that country's legislature in preference to imported alternatives.

In Ireland's case, an alliance where we are no longer dependent on grant hand-outs; where our economy is not based on the unpredictability of tourism; where we can rebuild our industrial base for the benefit of Ireland and the new alliance.

In the meantime let Sinn Féin open a Brussels office, let us use the EC to our, and the people of Ireland's benefit, while it still exists. But we should always fight for the dismantling of the EC, because as socialists and republicans we are opposed to the capitalist exclusive NATO-aligned club which was and is envisaged by Eurocrats.

Aengus O Snodaigh,
127 Bóthar na Trá,
Baile Átha Cliath 4.

PS: Maybe the French on 10 September might disintegrate the EC.

What did they do for us?

A Chairde,

In reply to Martin McGovern's letter in particular when he reminds us of the line from *The Life of Brian*, "what did the Romans ever do for us?" What did the EEC ever give us?

McGovern suggests that the EC's been good to us, what with social legislation on equality, jobs etc.

But what really did the EC give us?

- Record unemployment;
- Record VAT levels;
- Milk quotas;
- Fish quotas;
- A mutilated manufacturing base;

- A subservient state totally dependent on EC hand-outs;
- Increased emigration;
- A dilution of our neutrality;
- A move towards a non-existent Euro-culture;
- A ridiculous situation where a Dublin government cannot even promote goods produced here with the Guaranteed Irish symbol.

I hear you shout what about the EC-funded roads? Our history teaches that imperialists build good infrastructure for their military and economic benefits not for

the country upon which they are foisted. If the Dublin government had not squandered the opportunities it has had over the years, many of the things which we have to thank the EC for would have been implemented years ago without the begging bowl mentality.

We might have become less dependent on England since joining the EEC, but replacing one master with another is not the solution to the economic and other problems of Ireland. To gain our future independence we will not have to tackle the Brits but the EC as well. Here's Connolly's quote again Martin, "We serve neither King nor Kaiser but Ireland" — transplanted to the situation today could mean Brussels. And while I'm quoting Connolly "If you remove the English army tomorrow and hoist the green flag over Dublin Castle, unless you set about the organisation of the socialist republic your efforts would be in vain."

McGovern lauds Delors with the title socialist, that he has the interests of the working class at heart — that's what the ICTU said when they forced the PNR and PESP on Irish workers, what Stal-in said during the purges, what Harold Wilson 'socialist' prime minister of Britain said when he sent the troops in to the Six Counties in 1969...

McGovern might have some basis for saying this state's neutrality is based on the Anglophobic utterances of de Valera, but this does not take away from the desire of the majority of Irish people to be neutral. It should be Sinn Féin policy to oppose aligned military groupings such as NATO and push for peaceful coexistence, and suggest that this state join the non-aligned movement or an alliance of fully neutral countries.

Cian O Laoi,
Sráid Seambráich.

Letters to: The Editor, *AP/RN*, 58 Parnell Square, Dublin 1.

PLEASE KEEP LETTERS SHORT

ANC speaker on 'bloody road' to freedom

■ BY NEIL FORDE

THE BOIPATONG MASSACRE, the manipulation of the peace process and the orchestration of violence in South Africa's Black community by de Klerk's National Party minority government were some of the issues raised at a public meeting of the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement (IAAM) last Thursday 17 June.

The meeting was addressed by ANC representative Mandla Langa, Fianna Fáil minister of state Tom Kitt and Terence McCaughy, chairperson of the IAAM.

Terence McCaughy opened the meeting telling those assembled "The last mile is not an easy mile. We knew in our heart of hearts that such iniquity, such a wicked system could not be changed without reverses." McCaughy, introducing the ANC spokesperson, said that he hoped we would all see the day when an embassy of a free South Africa was opened in Dublin.

"The route towards democracy cannot

be stopped" was the message from Mandla Langa, an ANC representative from the movement's London office. Langa gave an address on the current situation in South Africa. He spoke of the deliberations at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa). Codesa is made up of 19 participating parties, including de Klerk's National Party, who signed a declaration of intent last December. The declaration committed the signatories to "bringing about an undivided South Africa".

"We have come from Codesa with a number of scenarios, the routes so far have been full of blood and gore." The

role of Codesa was to formulate a plan to achieve the formation of an interim government, and that elections be held for a constituent assembly before the end of the year. However, de Klerk's National Party were determined to impede the process. The talks stalled on the issue of the percentage majority required to adopt a new constitution. The South African Council of Churches has highlighted this issue describing it as "the key to either majority decision-making or a minority veto".

Mandla Langa emphasised the ANC's commitment to implementing the Codesa plan. The question was "how to get democracy with the least spillage of blood?"

"Quotas would not be an issue anywhere else in the world. A 70% requirement for the passing of key votes was acceptable to the ANC, but the National Party insisted on a 75% requirement."

The ANC, Langa said felt that de Klerk was stalling and "trying to put into disarray what had taken so long to put together". The ANC withdrew from the talks and began with the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the South African Communist Party (SACP) a "rolling mass action". The mass action was planned to coincide the anniversary of the Soweto massacre in 1976.

The murder of 42 people at Boipatong brought home to the interna-

tional community that "violence is an integral part of the government plan. Being a member of the ANC is analogous with becoming a target for murder". Langa said that the ANC had documentation of the possibility of an attack before the Boipatong murders. However the security forces claim that they "got hoax information which took them to another area".

Langa's description of the white security forces' "Operation Springbok and Operation Thunderstorm" and the subsequent fomentation of township violence has clearly observable parallels in the Six Counties today.

The ANC had to say "enough is enough, we could not be seen to be treating with people who had totally callous attitudes for loss of life". The ANC would have "no credibility to continue parleying with such a regime". The ANC had outlined its demands for a resumption of talks.

The ANC called for: The setting up of an international body to monitor the violence, and an international commission into the Boipatong massacre; The disbanding and disarming of all special forces, the suspension and prosecution of all security force personnel involved in violence; The immediate implementation of a programme to phase out hostels for migrant workers and a ban on carrying dangerous weapons.

Tom Kitt, Minister for State at the Department of the Taoiseach told us that this was "South Africa's hour of need". However he refused to condemn de Klerk and his minority government. Seven thousand people have died since de Klerk took office. Kitt could only talk of de Klerk's "commitment to change" and that the "South African government has shown a strength of will and commitment". He was "disappointed at the failure to agree arrangements for an interim government" and was "concerned about the violence".

Kitt's comments were typical of an international community that is pressurising not the corrupt White regime but rather the ANC into concessions. As Mandla Langa pointed out "if a fraction of these killings happened in the White community the government would have been toppled".

The ANC, COSATU and the SACP will continue their mass action with a series of strikes and street demonstrations aimed at places and institutions that symbolise the power of the South African state. The international community must support the ANC now more than ever. Pressurising the ANC into according to de Klerk's demands is complicity in the campaign of murder and repression being carried out by his government.

Notices

REMEMBERING THE PAST

IRA-British truce

■ BY PETER O'ROURKE

ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS during the past 23 years the British government has entered into direct negotiations with the IRA. One of the earliest meetings of the present campaign took place in July 1972.

During the early summer of 1972, within months of the collapse of the Stormont Regime, as the IRA campaign against the British occupation forces throughout the North intensified dramatically, the British indicated that they would negotiate with the IRA.

In order to test the sincerity of the British towards peace in Ireland, republican leaders at a press conference in Free Derry on 13 June, offered a temporary cessation of IRA offensive operations if the British would agree to discuss a peaceful settlement and an end to the British occupation.

The British, hard pressed by the IRA's campaign in the North, immediately took up the offer and secret talks to negotiate a bilateral truce began between both sides.

The demands made by republican leaders were:

- Republican prisoners in Six-County jails be given special category status (Billy McKee and 40 other republican prisoners were on hunger-strike at the time in Crumlin Road Jail);
- No restriction be placed on the choice of republican representative (Gerry Adams was released from Long Kesh);
- Stormont Castle be ruled out as an acceptable venue;
- That the SDLP (which had attempted to get in on the talks) be excluded from any negotiations (conceded immediately by William Whitelaw the British Secretary of State in the North).

A meeting on 20 June between the British and republicans, agreed on a bilateral truce.

Two days later, on 22 June, the IRA announced that a cease-fire would come into effect at midnight on Monday 26 June provided a public reciprocal response was forthcoming from the

crown forces. Whitelaw publicly agreed and the truce came into operation with the IRA ceasing offensive operations and the British suspending repressive action against the nationalist population.

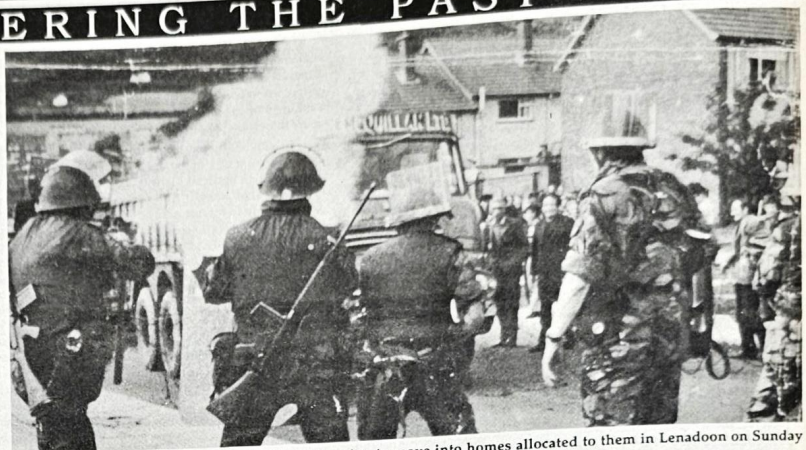
On 7 July, the 12th day of the truce, republican leaders Martin McGuinness, Sean MacStiofain, Gerry Adams, Seamus Twomey, Daithí O'Conaill and Ivor Bell with Myles Shevlin the Dublin lawyer acting as secretary, were secretly flown to London to meet Whitelaw and his staff at the home of Paul Channon, one of his junior ministers, in Chelsea.

The republican demands for a complete cessation of operations were:

- The British government's public recognition of the right of Irish people as a whole to decide the future of Ireland;
- A declaration of intent to withdraw all British forces from Irish soil by 1975 and an immediate withdrawal from certain areas;
- An amnesty for all political prisoners in British and Irish jails and for all internees and detainees and wanted men.

During the meeting, which lasted several hours, it soon became obvious to the republican side that the British had no intention of acceding to their demands. The British were stalling for time and were only interested in the IRA calling an indefinite ceasefire. The meeting ended with the republicans giving Whitelaw one week to come up with a declaration of intent by the British to withdraw from Ireland, which would be examined by them at a further meeting. Two days later the truce broke down and that meeting never took place.

In Belfast, meanwhile, the guaran-



● British soldiers attacking nationalist families trying to move into homes allocated to them in Lendadoon on Sunday 9 July 1972

tee given by Whitelaw to the republican delegation in London that sectarian intimidation by the UDA of the Catholic population would be stopped proved meaningless. Since the beginning of the truce loyalist assassins had escalated their sectarian murder campaign, killing 18 Catholics and forcing many more to flee from their homes in Protestant areas. As the exodus of Catholics increased, the British refused to protect them.

The crunch came in Lendadoon Estate, in West Belfast, two days after the meeting in London, when the UDA, backed up by the British army, prevented Catholic families from mov-

ing into houses allocated to them by the Housing Executive. Following a meeting with the British army, Seamus Twomey, O/C Belfast Brigade, decided to give them until 4pm that Sunday afternoon to move the Catholic families into the Horn Drive area. At 5pm British troops on duty in Lendadoon prevented a lorry loaded with furniture from proceeding to re-house Catholic families in Horn Drive and fired C/S gas and rubber bullets at nationalist supporters.

Twomey told the British commander that he considered that the British army had now violated the truce. After a fortnight, the fragile truce had ended and during the next 24 hours ten peo-

ple were killed in gun-battles in Belfast and other areas.

At 9pm that night, in a statement issued in Dublin, the IRA declared an end to the truce:

"The truce between the IRA and the British occupation forces was broken without warning by the British forces at approximately 5pm today at Lendadoon Estate, Belfast. Accordingly, all IRA units have been instructed to resume offensive action."

It would be 3 years before the IRA and British would again negotiate a truce.

The bilateral truce between the IRA and crown forces ended at 9pm on Sunday 9 July 1972, 20 years ago this week.

Draw Results

Finglas Sinn Féin Private Members Draw results

1st Prize £50. No 17, Alan Daly, c/o Shuggy; 2nd Prize £30. No 55, Martha Ellis, c/o Pat Bell; 3rd Prize £15. No 44, Fintan Malone, c/o Pat

Bell; 4th Prize £10. No 144, Veronica Kenna, c/o Pat Bell; 5th Prize £5. No 31, Paddy Burke; 6th Prize £5. No 28, Paul Molloy, c/o Pat Bell; 7th Prize £5. No 128, Tomas O'Connor, c/o Paul Molloy.

Dundalk draw for Transport Bus results

1st Prize Framed James Connolly Mir-

ror: Brian Mallone, c/o Fra; 2nd Prize Framed Roll of Honour and Bottle: Ken Galbrith, card no 5; 3rd Prize Bottle plus wallet or purse: E. Fox Cox's Demense; 4th Prize Bottle plus Port-laoise belt: Marie Turley, card no 3; 5th Prize Gents shirt, 1 dozen Harp: J. Rattigan, card no 10.

An Cumann Cabhrach Dundalk wish to thank all for their support again.

Imeachtaí

ANTI-EXTRADITION MEETING: meets 6.30pm every Tuesday, USI, 16 North Great Georges Street, DUBLIN

REPEAL 8th AMENDMENT CAMPAIGN: Groups meet, DUBLIN NORTH, every Monday, 8pm, Arthur Conan Doyle Pub; DUBLIN CENTRAL, every Monday, 8pm,

Halpenny Inn; DUBLIN SOUTH, every Tuesday, 8pm, Whelans; DUBLIN NORTH INNER CITY, every Thursday, 8pm, Clonliffe House; **WOMEN'S COALITION,** every Thursday, 8pm, USI, 16 North Great Georges St. **CORK** Meets 8pm every Tuesday, The Other Place, off North Main Street,

PUBLIC MEETING: "Revelations from the Arms Trial". Speaker: Kevin Boland. 8pm, Thursday 9

July, Teachers Club, Parnell Square, DUBLIN. Organised by the Dublin Anti-Extradition Committee

ORGANISING MEETING: Repeal the 8th Amendment. 2-5pm Saturday, 11 July, Ormond Hotel, DUBLIN. Meeting for all Dublin activists

SPONSORED CYCLE: Anti-Extradition Sponsored Cycle from Bundoran to Killala. Saturday 11 July.

Leaves **BUNDORAN** 10am, reaches **KILLALA** 6pm

MEMORIAL UNVEILING: In honour of Vol Joseph MacManus. Speaker: Bernadette McAliskey. 3pm Sunday 12 July. Assemble Market Yard, **SLIGO.** March to Cemetery. Bus travelling from **Dublin** phone 308783

BORDER OPENING: A bus shall be travelling to **LEITRIM** for the border opening from **Dublin** on 12 July.

It shall run at the usual times and from the usual pick-ups. Due to the high demand tickets should be booked in advance. Tel: 2854989, 8202019

SPONSORED CLIMB: Saturday 18 July. Donegal Prisoners' Dependents fund. Sponsored climb of **ERRIGAL MOUNTAIN**

POST MAASTRICHT MEETING: Sunday, 12 July, Buswells Hotel **DUBLIN.** All activists welcome.

I nDíl Chuimhne

DEMPESEY, John; DOUGAL, John; DOUGAN, Julie; KANE, Thomas; McDONNELL, Joe; WOODS, Seamus. In proud and loving memory of Volunteers Julie Dougan (died 8 July 1972), Thomas Kane (died 6 July 1976), Joe McDonnell (died 8 July 1981), Seamus Woods (died 7 July 1988) and Fianna John Dempsey (died 8 July 1981) and John Dougal (died 9 July 1972). "Ireland unfree will never be at peace." I measc laochra na nGael go raibh a anamacha dílis. Always remembered with love and pride by their friends and comrades in the Republican Movement.

DEMPESEY, John (11th Ann). 1st Batt 'C' Company, Na Fianna Éireann. Died on active service 8 July 1981. Today son just like it was on the 8 of July 1981, 11 years ago,

nothing has changed. I sit with tears in my eyes and a broken heart looking at a door you'll never walk through. I pray that the angels look after you until we meet again. Good night my darling son. From your Daddy. Always sadly missed by your sisters Angela-Diana, Martina and brother Stephen. **McILHONE, Henry (22nd Ann).** The Republican Movement, Short Strand and Markets, remember with pride Volunteer Henry McIlhone who died on active service whilst defending the Nationalist people on 27 June 1970. Greater love hath no man than to lay down his life for his people. **McDONNELL, Joseph (11th Ann).** In loving memory of our daddy who died after 61 days on hunger-strike. R.I.P. Deep in our hearts your memories

are kept, for a father we loved and never forget. Always remembered by Bernadette and Joseph Og. Remembered always by Angela-Diana, Martina and Stephen Dempsey. Remembered with love and pride by the McCreesh family, Camclough and abroad. Always remembered by John Dempsey. **WOODS, Seamus (4th Ann).** In proud and loving memory of Vol Seamus Woods who died on active service 7 July 1988. Always remembered with love and pride by Dunganon Martyrs Sinn Féin Cumann. Always remembered with love and pride by Coalisland Martyrs Sinn Féin Cumann. Remembered always with love and pride by Clonoe Martyrs Sinn Féin Cumann.

Remembered with love and pride by the Jim Lynagh Sinn Féin Cumann, Clogher. Always remembered with love and pride by South Tyrone Comhairle Ceantair, Sinn Féin.

Beannachtaí

COSGROVE, Kevin (A wing, Crumlin Road Jail). Happy birthday Old Man, may your next be spent in freedom. From Aunt Maureen and Uncle Danny. Happy birthday Kevin you are in our prayers always, from Granny and Granda. Happy birthday Kevin love and best wishes Angela, Danny Boy, Laura, Emmanuel and Dónal. Happy birthday son from your Da, brothers and sisters.

GLENNON, Davy (H8 Long Kesh). Happy birthday Babes, thinking of you always, see ya soon. Love Hazel XXX "Smack". Hope you have a great day, Davy. I'll be thinking of you. Lots of love Cuddles, "smack" "smack". **Toisfaidh Ar Lá, Up the celtis!** Happy birthday Ruairi, hope you have a great day. Best wishes, Martina XXX. Happy birthday, Davy. Have a smashing day, lots of love, Debs, Shaz XXX. **Mac CARTAIGH, Ruairi (H6 Long Kesh).** Happy birthday Ruairi, lots of love Mary McNally, Scotland. **Toisfaidh Ar Lá, Up the celtis!** Happy birthday Ruairi, see you next week. Lots of love Bridget and Jimmy McNally, Scotland. Happy birthday Ruairi, see you next week. Paul McNally, Scotland. **O'CLEIRIGH, Eamon.** Happy birthday 'Eamo' from Ann and Caroline XXX.

Best wishes from your very, very best mate and letter writer, Ample. Happy birthday Eamo. I want another mirror, from Jessie. Happy birthday from Mam, Dad, Ailish, Steve and Kasim. From Vincent, Tina and kids. From Jimmy and Imelda and all the clan. From Denis, Ellen, Sandra and Nollagh (Cork). **QUINLIHAN, Nessian.** Wishing Nessian all the best for a very happy birthday on the 9th. We will have a drink for you. Also wishing Pierce Mac Auley and Nessian the very best for the 7th. Love and best wishes always, Mam and Dad. From Siobhán and Patrick. From Maurice and Sue. From Cliona. From Emer, Alex, Orlaith and Dearbhla. All the best from all at No 1.

Last Orders

Thursday, 9 July 1992 — LEATHANACH 15

MAIL ON SUNDAY MOUTHPIECE, John Junior, is a man of many strange opinions. His views on the IRA's apparent reluctance to assassinate Diana, Britain's favourite royal, are a case in point.

On Sunday last, in a piece titled "Why did the IRA lie low?", he asked why the O'leah didn't have a go at Di when she visited the Six Counties recently, especially as news of her visit had been leaked to the press in advance. According to Junior, when Di visited the headquarters of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland she was "within spitting distance of IRA territory and therefore of IRA sniper fire".

Citing one famous precedent, he dredges up Mounthatten to remind readers that the IRA has before killed a member of the royal family. He also discounts her sex as a reason for allowing her to live and asks: "Why then did they refrain from striking a blow which would have given them headlines throughout the world and rocked Britain and the British monarchy to its foundations?"

He finds his answer in Charles' and Diana's public mudslinging battle, currently raging in the British media by proxy. "Might it have been," he wonders, "that they [the IRA] feel that the Princess of Wales inadvertently is doing that already?"

THE NEXT TIME some windbag like Conor Cruise O'Brien tries to tell you the Orange Order is really nothing more than a quaint county folk group in bowler hats, ask them about Archie McKelvey.

Archie is an Ulster Unionist Councillor in Banbridge. David Trimble MP testifies to Archie's dedicated service to the cause of unionism and Orangism. But poor old Archie has been ignominiously expelled from the Orange Order for committing a heinous, unforgivable crime against the loyal brethren.

His crime?
Murder? Arson? Robbery? Embezzlement?
No, Archie was expelled for attending a Catholic Church service.

The Orange Order denies it is a sectarian organisation.

THE ORANGE ORDER has written to Banbridge District Council complaining that the council is going too far in appeasing minority parties.

While their colleagues try and talk the Dublin government into agreeing to a revamped Stormont with a little power sharing, the Orange Order has criticised the unionist-controlled Banbridge Council for electing nationalist SDLP members to top committee posts.

Is that the wind of change I hear sweeping around the Brooke/Mayhew talks or just hot air from a sycophantic establishment media?

THE TEN RTE journalists who scabbed on their colleagues during the industrial dispute at the station earlier this year have been hauled before their fellow NUJ (National Union of Journalists) members and punished for their actions.

All ten have had their union membership suspended for a year and have been fined up to £1,000 each. Programme editors Shane Kenny and Barbara Fitzgerald were both fined £1,000, while Eamonn Lawlor, Dermot Mullane, Edward Mulhall, Eddie Liston,

Pádraig O Ciardha, Katie Kahn-Carl, David Davin-Power and Mike Burns were each fined £800.

All were censured following a complaint against them under the NUJ's Rule 18, having been found guilty of "conduct detrimental to the interests of the union".

RTE NEWSREADERS, referring to the French riot police called in to try to break the truckers' blockades of motorways throughout the state, described these armed officers quite accurately as "paramilitary police".

Members of the even more heavily armed Royal Ulster Constabulary are always referred to on the 'national station' as, simply, "the police".

The subtle but effective difference in language shows the degree to which RTE's editorial policy on the Six Counties attempts to 'normalise' a clearly abnormal state.

IN A WORKING-CLASS AREA like Ballymun it's hard to find a bank open.

Some banks won't even allow you to open an account without an initial lodgement of at least £50.

Some banks won't give their own employees a loan.

The trick, if you want a loan at the special rate, is to be a banking group's director. Take Allied Irish Bank director, Tom Mulcahy. He has received £120,694 in loans at a preferential rate of interest, usually only three or four percent. His colleague Brian Wilson has received a mere £101,527. Other directors have borrowed only five figure sums. The Bank of Ireland's Pat Molloy has loans amounting to £79,047, while an individual "connected" to him, a Terence Molloy, has loans of £65,556.

Now what can we do for you?

IT WAS RED FACES ALL ROUND last month when gardai in Mayo locked two men, arrested for being allegedly drunk and disorderly, into a cell containing a Uzi sub-machine-gun, six revolvers and 20,000 rounds of ammunition.

The guards were only alerted to the stash when they heard an unmerciful racket coming from the cell in question. They entered to find both men enthusiastically flinging the ammunition around the cell; one also beating the machine-gun off the cell wall. In what gardai would officially describe as "a follow-up operation", all the guns and ammunition were recovered, but the weapons, the Uzi in particular, were badly damaged.

Such was the bluebottles' embarrassment at the incident that the two vandals were released without charge.

ON THE SUBJECT OF GUNS AND GARDAI, a detective who, two years ago, shot and killed two men who had robbed a bank, was this week awarded £10,000 in court. The unidentified detective is set to collect still more money for his troubles as there are also civil procedures pending.

And Garda John Clinche, who had a gun put to the back of his head during a robbery in Arklow in 1990, was awarded £5,000 for his troubles.

It's a tough job, but somebody's got to collect the shillings.

A GAY RIGHTS GROUP, OutRage, has asked police in London to protect local gay men from off-duty soldiers for the duration of the Royal Tournament at Earl's Court.

The tournament, which begins on Wednesday 8 July, runs for two and a half weeks every summer. Its purpose is to promote the armed services to the public and to raise money for military charities. About 2,000 men and women usually take part.

But every year, according to OutRage, gangs of drunken off-duty soldiers go on the rampage in the area, attacking homosexuals leaving gay bars.

The tournament's organisers didn't seem overly concerned about their boys' annual bit of 'queerbashing' when an OutRage representative rang them up to discuss the matter. He barely had time to introduce himself before they slammed the phone down. Colonel Iain Ferguson, the tournament's director, later told a London gay newspaper that he had "no idea" that anything of the sort happened.

But the best of the lot was Superintendent Peter Rice of Kensington, whose response to the group's request for protection was more honest than tactful. "I refuse to believe that police officers have been ignoring these matters. We're not going to comment," he commented, adding, "I know what your sort think".

WE RECEIVED a legible and interesting letter this week, so, rather than hide it in the letters page, our wonderful editor, in his infinite wisdom, donated it to the cause. Read on...

A chairde,

For some strange reason I was actually listening (sic) to the adverts on TV last night, and saw something rather strange.

Shell have developed a wonderful new car fuel. I think it's rather odd that Shell have taken 20 years longer than certain more politically sound organisations to realise that adding detergent to petrol makes it burn better. What puzzles me is that they say it makes your engine cleaner, whereas in my experience it always leaves things rather black and crispy.

Now the burning question on my mind is, should I continue mixing my own or is the Shell stuff just as good? Perhaps someone could shed some light on the matter.

Puzzled,
Andersonstown, Belfast.

THE CHAIR of the SDLP's Ballymena branch, Declan O'Loan, has written to the *Irish News* to support greater co-operation with the RUC.

The Six-County Police Authority chair, Tom Rainey, recently commented on the lack of SDLP involvement in the Police Community Liaison Committees. The party's chairperson, Mark Durkan, was publicly unimpressed, but O'Loan disagrees with his colleague. He is all for greater expressions of support for the RUC, saying that the party's protests "are not balanced by positive and constructive statements".

EITHNE NI DHRAIGHNEAN doesn't think her name is in the least bit odd.

But the hassle she received from the 26-County authorities when she returned home from the US was unbelievable. Ni Dhraighneán was raised an Irish speaker and her legal name and birth certificate are as *Gaeilge*. But during the entire visa process, she says, "the Irish authorities made me feel embarrassed and peculiar because of my 'non-English' name and background".

An Aer Lingus airport clerk and a doctor ridiculed her name and demanded "the English" for it. An Irish official at the US embassy couldn't read her date of birth in Irish and demanded a full translated version. A woman in Gael Linn was kind enough to translate the document at short notice.

In a letter to Foreign Affairs Minister David Andrews, printed in the *Irish Press*, Ni Dhraighneán says: "I never encountered anything in America that made me feel so much like an unwanted foreigner as what I encountered in Ireland". She concludes: "For years we have been battling the myth that holds that everything English is superior to everything Irish. How can we overcome this demon when even Irish officials ridicule Irish names and reject an Irish legal document and demand English translations? At a minimum, I would hope that the government could put an end to anti-Irish discrimination. Otherwise, we doom ourselves to complete the destruction begun by Cromwell and his like."



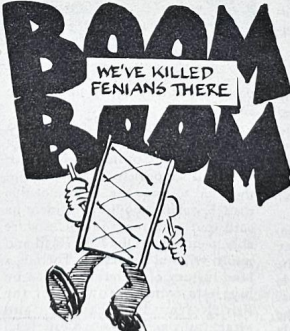
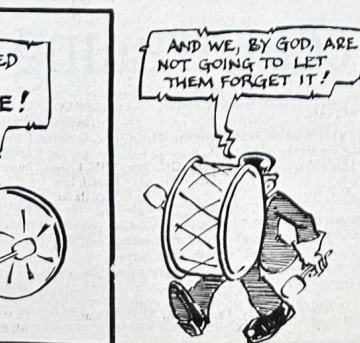
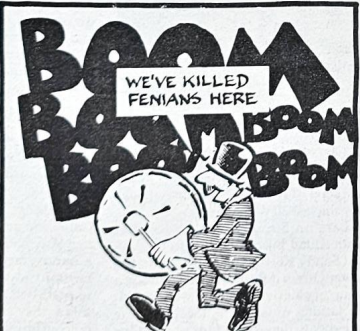
FOR THOSE of you interested in flags and emblems and such-like, here is the badge of the all-new-improved-whiter-than-white-look-no-sectarian-killers-here Royal Irish Regiment.

ON THE SIDE... ON THE SIDE... ON THE SIDE... ON THE SIDE... ON THE SIDE... ON THE SIDE... ON THE SIDE... ON THE SIDE... ON THE SIDE... ON THE SIDE...

NOTES



© CORMAC



News



● Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams attended the protest by local people on Sunday at the scene of Kieran Abram's murder

Two dead and one gravely injured by loyalist gangs

TWO MEN were murdered and one seriously wounded by loyalists in Belfast in the past week. In the first killing a loyalist mob beat a Catholic man to death while the RUC and British army looked on and in the second a retired Catholic teacher was shot in his bed by loyalists in a mixed area just a mile from Stormont.

Kieran Abram, from the Lower Falls Road, was bludgeoned to death early on Sunday morning 5 July, by a loyalist mob in full view of a British Army observation post at their North Howard Street Barracks.

As he walked his dog the loyalist mob attacked him with cudgels and beat him to death, inflicting terrible injuries and leaving him dying on the side of the road.

Ten 'security' cameras cover this street and local people and a local priest, Fr Matt Wallace, have witnessed similar attacks over the years. Fr Wallace, in an interview with a local radio station said he actually witnessed British soldiers join loyalist mobs attacking nationalists, and then running past the British army barracks in order to return to the loyalist Shankill

Road. In one incident last year a breeze block was thrown through the window of a black taxi seriously injuring a teenage student travelling in it.

An eyewitness to Kieran Abram's murder described how she saw him walk past the Falls Road Swimming Baths with his dog, the mob surround him and begin to beat him. She said that at one stage she thought there were RUC members in the loyalist mob, while British soldiers walked about outside the main gate of their base.

Sinn Féin councillor for the area, Fra McCann, accused the British army of "complicity in the killing given the free run afforded to the loyalists". He said that "the week before saw similar attacks down the street and again the British army allowed loyalists to walk



● Kieran Abram — beaten to death by a loyalist mob

past them as they moved towards the Falls Road".

Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams attending a protest at the scene on Sunday with Councillor McCann gave full support to local people in their bid to force the closure of this road. Speaking about the incident he said that "for years loyalists were able to cross onto the Falls Road and return without hindrance. There is a long history of sectarian attacks by loyalists coming down past the British army barracks here and attacking passersby or vehicles,"

Adams said, "and this road must be closed."

On Monday the road was closed.

The second loyalist attack occurred on Belfast's Lower Ormeau Road, the scene of numerous loyalist attacks over the last 20 years later.

Late on Sunday night a loyalist death squad hijacked a taxi in the loyalist Sandy Row area and drove to the Lower Ormeau Road. As they passed a group of elderly men, who were standing talking outside the local Chinese take-away, they fired four shots. One



● CYRIL MURRAY

of the pensioners was shot in the chest and arm and another man was hit with flying shrapnel. The seriously injured 62-year-old man, who had been shot in the stomach in another loyalist gun and bomb attack on a bar in the city's Short Strand district in 1974, was taken to hospital where he underwent emergency surgery. He remains in a critical but stable condition.

The scene of the attack lies between Sean Graham's bookmakers shop, where five men were gunned down in February, and the Rose and Crown Bar, where six men were killed in a no-warning loyalist bomb attack again in 1974. The spot where the shooting took place is between Hatfield Street and Farnham Street. In these streets, as the loyalists were firing, British paratroopers and the RUC were on mobile patrol yet the loyalists were able to make their getaway up the Ormeau Road to the loyalist Annadale area where they dumped the car. To do this they had to cross the River Lagan bridge, which on a Sunday night usually has British checkpoints. On this occasion there were none. The attack was seen by local people as being a reminder to them to keep off their streets as the Orange Order again marches through their district this week.

The third loyalist attack happened in East Belfast on Tuesday night 7 July when the UDA shot dead a retired 51-year-old schoolteacher at his sister's home. A single man, Cyril Murray had recently retired after 27 years teaching in the Holy Cross primary school in Ardoyne. The UDA gunmen hijacked the car used in the murder in Saintfield and it was later found burnt out in the loyalist Braniel estate. The attack took place in Kerslaw Drive on the Upper Newtownards Road a mile from Stormont Castle, seat of British rule in occupied Ireland, and where so-called 'peace' talks take place next week.

In this latest loyalist murder, as in the other attacks, no republicans were targeted, which exposes the UDA statements regarding "innocent Catholics" not being targets as cynical lies. Any nationalist or Catholic who is a handy target is under threat from militant loyalism and their political masters will no doubt be fully aware of this as they sit down for talks with other 'constitutional' parties.

Judge's green light for Orange coat-trailing

MONDAY MORNING outside Belfast's City Hall, and on the day after yet another shooting in the city's Lower Ormeau Road by a loyalist death squad the Committee for Democratic Rights were in the city centre demanding that Orange Order marches through nationalist areas be re-routed.

Councillor Michael Ferguson, spokesperson for the group, told gathered press, the BBC and ITV in front of the City Hall, that the "purpose of the protest was to highlight the fact that nationalist communities throughout the Six Counties suffer

because of these parades".

"Re-routing these marches," he continued, "means that people are not intimidated by the coat-trailing marchers or their attendant British military escorts."

During the interviews Councillor

Ferguson said that this demand is not unreasonable, and a High Court review would be sought on Tuesday by a local resident to try to re-route Wednesday night's Orange march down the Ormeau Road. Late on Tuesday the case was heard and the judge ruled in favour of the Orange Order.

Given Sunday night's murderous loyalist attack and last February's murder of five local men in the bookmakers shop it is both extremely insensitive and triumphalist on behalf of the sectarian Orange Order to tramp through

this, and other nationalist areas.

Despite the fact that the Orange Order describe themselves as being a non-sectarian organisation, their recent decision to expel Ulster Unionist Councillor Archie McKelvey, last year's Chairperson of Banbridge District Council and an Orangeman for 40 years, for attending mass in St Patrick's Catholic Chapel shows clearly the Orange Order's real thinking and reasons for existence.

Orange Grand Master and Official Unionist MP Rev Martin Smyth will be

sitting on the body which examines McKelvey's case.

The Committee for Democratic Rights has pledged to continue the re-routing fight and as the protest came to a close some foreign visitors to the city showing interest about the issue were treated to the spectacle of the City's Lord Mayor, Herbert Ditty, who when challenged by some of the protesters to support the campaign, walked off with his 'master at arms' in frock coat, towards the City Hall entrance followed by the RUC.