

Inside

Exclusive

IRA
interview

12/13



British
bad faith
revisited



4

Peace

Talks

Now

RALLY

3pm Sunday
February 18
Dunville Park,
Belfast

Speaker:

Gerry
Adams

An Phoblacht

REPUBLICAN NEWS

50p

ENGLAND, SCOTLAND,
WALES 55p

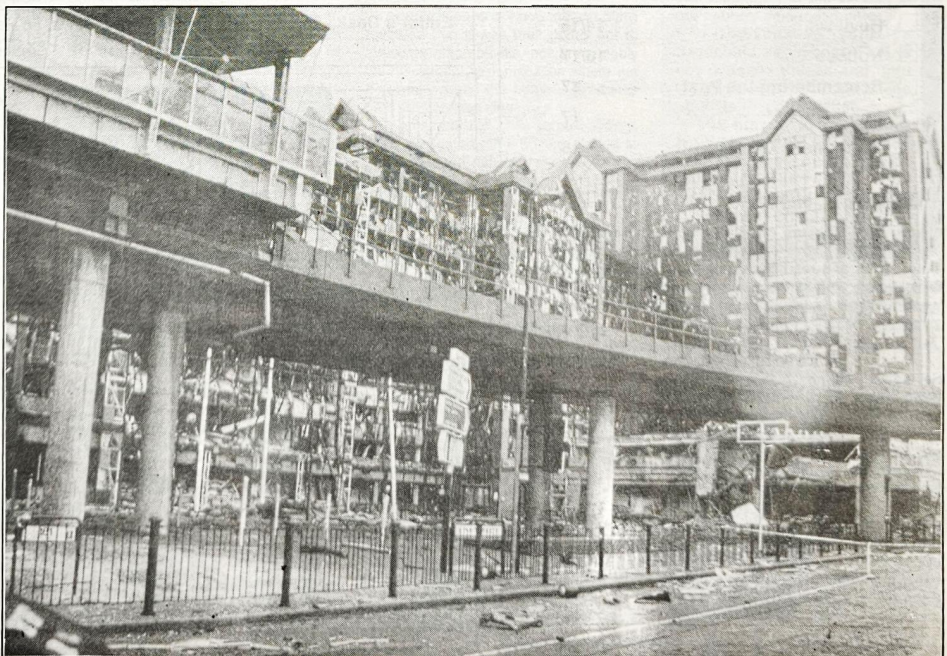
Srálth Nua Imi 19 Uimhír 7

Déardaoin, 15 Feabhra 1996

IN ANNOUNCING the end of its cessation on 9 February the IRA said: *"The resolution of conflict in our country demands justice. It demands a negotiated settlement. That is not possible until the British government faces up to its responsibilities."*

This message is repeated in an interview in AP/RN this week. It was a week of tragedy for the people of Ireland and Britain, but efforts to reconstruct the peace process must now be redoubled.

IRA says 'Negotiate'



An Phoblacht

REPUBLICAN NEWS

Contents

NEWS

IRA cessation ends...IRA ce

<input type="checkbox"/> IRA statement	3
<input type="checkbox"/> Canary Wharf bombed	3
<input type="checkbox"/> British bad faith revisited	4
<input type="checkbox"/> Prisoner releases cancelled	4
<input type="checkbox"/> Call for doors to stay open	5
<input type="checkbox"/> Poll shows support for talks now	5
<input type="checkbox"/> US focus on talks	5
<input type="checkbox"/> The failure thus far...	9
<input type="checkbox"/> IRA interview	10/11
<input type="checkbox"/> Media reaction	12
<input type="checkbox"/> Seventeen months	13
<input type="checkbox"/> Pay deals under scrutiny	6
<input type="checkbox"/> Unions oppose RVH cuts	6
<input type="checkbox"/> Britain guilty in Strasbourg again	7
<input type="checkbox"/> Sparks fly at Derry trial	7

FEATURE

<input type="checkbox"/> Dance culture and drugs	19
<input type="checkbox"/> Michael D Higgins interviewed	20

REGULARS

<input type="checkbox"/> Editorial	8
<input type="checkbox"/> Reviews	14/15
<input type="checkbox"/> Notices	16/17
<input type="checkbox"/> Remembering the Past	17
<input type="checkbox"/> Fógraí bháis	17
<input type="checkbox"/> Leathanach Gaeilge	18

EDITORIAL NOTE

Because of pressure of space due to the ending of the IRA cessation, AP/RN this week has had to drop some news items and regular columns and features, including Mála Poist. We ask contributors to bear with us and to continue their correspondence, particularly for our letters page.



Editor's Desk

"I am a soldier serving in Northern Ireland and I have been stuck in this shitty army for six-and-a-half years." So begins an anonymous article in the February issue of the *Bassline*, the dance music magazine in the Six Counties. It tells a tale of woe from a poor Welsh squaddie. Our friend "saw the light" when he came to the Six Counties and went to "a rave in a Northwest nightspot". He took ecstasy and "it got to the stage when the club had about 40 squaddies going there on a Saturday night and all of us were getting off our faces... and on the Sunday we all went to church with pupils like frying pans".

Alas, the fun was not to last. One of the squaddies was found out by the officers and "to get himself out of this mess the little prick decided to give 18 names and one of those names was mine". To make a long story short, they were all forced to undergo a urine test and nine, including our friend, tested positive for drugs and are now awaiting court martial. He's on punishment shovelling horse manure. "However, being a trained soldier I have managed to climb the fence now and again to make my way to the Northwest club for some mad parties."

After such an admission I just hope his officers don't read *Bassline*, or my column, because the squaddie identifies himself to his former dance friends:

"I'm the one who always got his top off, I'm covered in tattoos and I've got a distinct Welsh accent."

The hapless squaddie signs off with best wishes to his "civilian muckers in Coleraine".

Editor's Desk

While squaddies can get locked up for drugs now, back in the 1960s the top brass was handing out the gear to them. Secret British government files opened to public scrutiny on 31 January reveal how troops were experimented on with LSD by the Ministry of Defence. Sixty soldiers took part in the experiments over several years at Porton Down in Wiltshire where military boffins were testing the drugs for use as chemical weapons. While a massive dose of the drug killed an elephant, none of the soldiers suffered more than some "unpleasant

experiences" and many more pleasant ones. During one test, 28 men showed signs of disintegration and an officer reported that by the time they reached hospital they were "inappropriately hilarious".

The files give conclusive proof that British soldiers in the North are still on LSD, because one of the experiments showed a soldier "talking gibberish and whistling down his handset" which is routine behaviour for the troops we know so well.

Editor's Desk

"I didn't even know who Nelson Mandela was until I arrived in England," revealed South African (sorry English) runner Zola Budd this week. This despite being a student at university in South Africa a dozen years ago. Then the *Daily Mail* newspaper provided the necessary money and political clout to take her to England. It was relatively easy for the paper, who regularly complain about foreign immigration, to 'persuade' the Tory government to push her ahead of the queue for British citizenship. Zola Budd is White.

President Mandela — still a prisoner when Zola changed nationality — will get to watch her try to repeat her early '80s Olympic feats if she runs for South Africa this summer in the USA.

Editor's Desk

Former Dublin cabinet minister Conor Cruise O'Brien is to speak at Belfast's House of Orange on 21 February. His talk on 'Ancestral Voices' looks set to be a big hit in the Lower Ormeau area, where the natives had a few plastic bullets fired at them last summer courtesy of members of the RUC. The Cruiser will speak just half a mile from that area, but alas no nationalist residents have been invited.

Editor's Desk

Just in case you thought the British never apologised to us bog trotters, NIO Minister of State Sir John Wheeler apologised to Official Unionist deputy leader John Taylor last week. He regretted that "the Union Flag was not flown at Armagh RUC station on 25 December 1995 and 1 January 1996, due to an unfortunate oversight which will not occur again."

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IRA cessation ends...IRA cessation ends...IRA cessation ends...IRA c



IRA bombs Canary Wharf

AT 7.01pm on 9 February a massive IRA bomb detonated at South Quay Station beside Canary Wharf on the Isle of Dogs in London. Massive damage was caused to the area and two civilians, Inan Bashir and John Jeffries, were killed.

IRA coded warnings about the location of Friday's bomb had been issued at 5.35pm allowing British police an hour and 25 minutes to evacuate the area.

The warnings included one to RTÉ in Dublin, while several others were also communicated to other news agencies in Belfast and Dublin. A warning relayed to the *Irish News* in Belfast stated the bomb's location as: "South Quay Station, Marsh Wall, Isle of Dogs, London." Scotland Yard and the RUC were thus aware of the precise location of the device. The statement also warned: "Immediate evacuation."

Following the huge blast a further statement from Oglai na hÉireann was released shortly before 1pm, Saturday, 10 February.

It read:

"Volunteers of Oglai na hÉireann planted the bomb which exploded in Canary Wharf in London. They did so under the direct instructions of the army leadership. The regrettable injuries could have been avoided had the British security forces acted promptly on clear and specific warnings."

The bodies of the two civilians were found in the rubble of the blast at 8pm on Saturday.

The massive damage caused by the bomb will run into tens of millions of pounds, stated John Gale, a director of Harris Claims insurers who has clients in the area. The buildings, mostly office blocks, which took the brunt of the blast were the Beaufort Court, Euro Trade Centre, South Quays 1, 2 and 3. The South Quay Plaza was totally destroyed.

Badly damaged companies included Builder House owned by Builder Group PLC, Midland Bank, Guardian Printworks, Bell Cable Media (the third-largest cable TV and telecommunications company in Britain), and South Quay railway station.

"The damage is severe," said Gale. "There is going to have to be a certain amount of controlled demolition." Estimates by the Association of British Insurers say the damage may be as high as £150 million.

Despite the IRA warnings only four London police officers were directed by Assistant Commissioner Anderson Dunn to clear the station, while train services south, beyond Canary Wharf, were only suspended at 6pm.

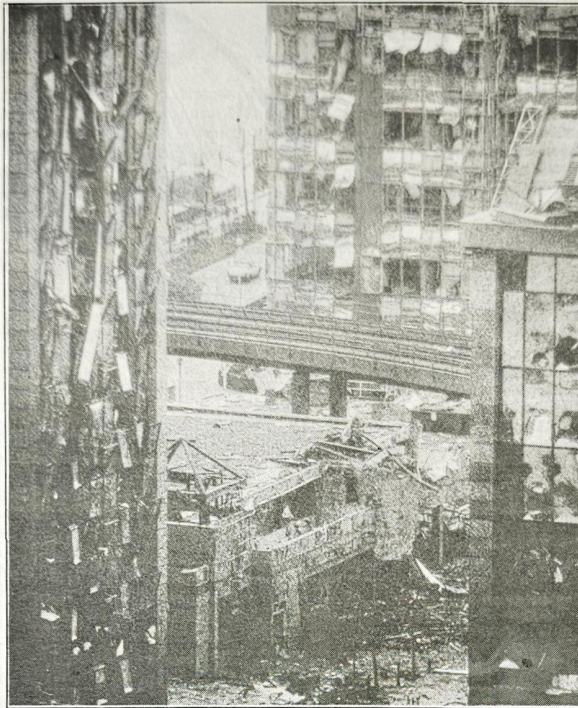
Over the next hour 16 more police officers were sent to the area.

Dockland workers and residents of the Isle of Dogs asked why so many people were on the quay when the bomb exploded although nearby office blocks were evacuated a full 45 minutes before the blast. Residents were told nothing.

Tony Ashkins, of Albert Grove, said: "If they knew about the bomb an hour before it happened, then why didn't they put a warning on the early evening news."

Father Christopher Owens of St Lukes, Barkentine Estate said:

"Planting the bomb was of course wrong, but the nationalist community must be very angry with John Major for wantonly throwing a



Wreckage in London's Docklands where two people died and up to £150 million of damage was caused

wantonly throwing a spanner in the works of the peace process."

Neville Walker, one of those injured said that he had been evacuated from his offices a few yards from the seat of the blast, only to be told he could go back ten minutes later. He was at his desk on the fourth floor at Franklin Mint 30 minutes later when the explosion wrecked the building. Other workers in this building had gathered outside the

had said a word to us and people were coming and going freely."

A spokesperson for Scotland Yard revealed that it was their policy not to evacuate office blocks, nor presumably the newsagent at the location where the IRA had warned the bomb was. It was here the two men died.

It emerged that while some buildings were evacuated, others were alerted to the danger but people were told to stay

"Planting the bomb was of course wrong, but the nationalist community must be very angry with John Major for wantonly throwing a spanner in the works of the peace process."

— Fr Christopher Owens of St Lukes, Barkentine Estate, East End

rear of the building, 50 yards from the bomb, but were allowed back in again several minutes later.

Many others described how the police did not suggest any sense of urgency, with people ambling about near the truck containing the explosives.

Carolyn Vautier, another office worker had actually been trying to buy a ticket at South Quay Station minutes before the blast while Steve Holmes, owner of the nearby Tradewinds bar, said: "No one

inside. Several businesses that did not receive warnings said they would seek meetings with the London police authorities as soon as possible.

Thatcher's showpiece Canary Wharf development, which she opened, has recently been rescued by a consortium of banks, but the explosion is likely to make the 2.8 million square feet of empty property even harder to let.

Just days before the attack, at a

IRA cessation ends after 527 days

THE FULL TEXT of the Irish Republican Army's statement issued at 5.30pm on Friday, 9 February 1996 reads as follows:

"It is with great reluctance that the leadership announces that the complete cessation of military operations will end at 6pm on 9 February.

As we stated on 31 August 1994, the basis for cessation was to enhance the democratic peace process and to underlie our definitive commitment to its success. We also made it clear that we believed an opportunity to create a just and lasting settlement had been created.

The cessation presented an historic challenge for everyone and the Irish Republican Army commends the leadership of nationalist Ireland at home and abroad. They rose to the challenge. The British prime minister did not.

Instead of embracing the peace process, the British government acted in bad faith, with Mr Major and the unionist leaders squandering this opportunity to resolve the conflict.

Time and time again over the last 18 months, selfish party political and sectional interests in the London parliament have been placed before the rights of the people of Ireland.

We take the opportunity to reiterate our total commitment to our republican objectives. The resolution of the conflict in our country demands justice.

It demands an inclusive negotiated settlement. That is not possible unless and until the British government faces up to its responsibilities.

The blame for the failure thus far of the Irish peace process lies squarely with John Major and his government.

Signed: P O'Neill.

lecture organised by the Corporation of London, British deputy prime minister Michael Heseltine described London as one of the world's top financial capitals, employing 600,000 people.

Heseltine said London carried out foreign exchange deals worth \$450 billion a day, more than the US and Japan put together. London, he concluded, was the Eurobond dealing capital of the world and in 1994 over half of the international equity trading was carried out there.

"The City of London remains the powerhouse of the British economy, and if capital could somehow be induced to flee, then the country would be sorely damaged," said the *Daily Telegraph's* City Comment on Monday.



Support for Belmarsh POWs

BY LIAM O COILEAIN

LONDON SAOIRSE CAMPIAGNERS joined with representatives of An Cumann Cabhrach in a demonstration outside London's Belmarsh Prison last weekend to commemorate the 20th anniversary of the death of Irish POW Frank Stagg.

The campaigners gathered outside the high security prison on Sunday, 11 February, to demand the release of all POWs and to condemn in particular the disgraceful conditions endured by the five held in Belmarsh's Special Secure Unit awaiting trial on charges relating to the 1994 escape from Whitemoor Prison. Their trial date has only lately been put back to September next.

"Prisoners are not a small cog in a big wheel, they are a big part of the equation," said Patricia Campbell, a relative of Belmarsh prisoner Peter Sherry. "There has been no peace in the last 17 months for the POWs or their relatives. As far as the British authorities are concerned it was business as usual on the issue of holding our prisoners hostage. Conditions for the prisoners in English jails actually deteriorated during the cease-fire. That is not peace."

At a press conference in Dublin on Wednesday, 7 February, Fine Gael TDs Mary Flaherty and Charles Flanagan and Senator Dan Neville, launched a detailed report on their visit to republican prisoners in England. They found only "minor progress" since their previous visit and added: "The ongoing punitive treatment of Irish republican prisoners calls into serious question the sincerity of the UK government statements which asserted publicly almost 18 months ago that in a cease-fire situation the 'British response would be generous and imaginative.'"

They concluded that "the current Home Office treatment of prisoners is actually damaging and destabilising the peace process".

Nine republican prisoners who had been due to be released, by the Dublin government at the weekend as part of the peace process, from Portlaoise and Mountjoy Prisons remain in prison. The men were scheduled to be released on Saturday morning, 10 February, but the decision was reversed because of the previous evening's explosion at Canary Wharf.

Seven of the eight republican prisoners who had been held at Frankland Prison in Durham have been moved. Vincent Donnelly, Harry Duggan, Pat Hayes, Denis Kinsella and Seán McNulty have been moved to Whitemoor Prison in Cambridgeshire, while Tommy Jack and Paic Mac Fhloinn are now held in Full Sutton Prison in York. The only remaining republican prisoner at Frankland is Joe McKenny, who was recently reclassified to Category B.

Terminally-ill POW, Pat Kelly, was moved back to Maghaberry Prison from the City Hospital in Belfast on Friday, 9 February.

British bad faith revisited

BY BRIAN CAMPBELL

NEVER WAS NEWS of an IRA operation received with such astonishment. As TV screens in every pub and living room in the country flickered from channel to channel to catch any scrap of news, republicans — taken just as much by surprise — tried to take stock.


There had been enough signals in the past months that the IRA was not prepared to see republicans forever jump through hoops and climb over obstacles at the behest of the British government and unionists. This paper took a decision a number of months ago to no longer use the word 'crisis' in relation to the peace process because commentators ridiculed us for crying wolf. But it was clear that the peace process had been in crisis for some time. Maybe it was astonishing that we were astonished.

On Friday the first reaction I heard was from an SDLP supporter from South Armagh. "The British were making fools of them," he said, referring to republicans, "it was bound to happen".

Republicans, however, have to engage in a deeper political analysis. Many pointed to events after what became known as the first hunger strike, which ended in December 1980, to find an explanation for what happened. Does that teach us anything?

In October 1980, after four years of protest by republican prisoners to gain political status had been met with brutality and inflexibility from the British side, seven prisoners began a hunger strike. As it progressed, behind-the-scenes contact was made with the British. In terms which were to be echoed in the early '90s, the British promised an imaginative and flexible approach if the hunger strike was called off. Calls came from taoiseach Charlie Haughey, church and community leaders to end the hunger strike to allow a settlement to be worked out. The prisoners were told by one intermediary that one of their main demands, the right to wear their own clothes, would not be an obstacle in negotiating a settlement.

Eventually, on 18 December with Seán McKenna close to death, an intermediary — a Catholic priest — told the prisoners that a solution was there and he would be back that night with a document from the British confirming it. On the basis of that



Republicans saw themselves and their struggle on the moral high ground as they entered that unbearably sad second hunger strike. They had tried in good faith to find a negotiated solution but found themselves the objects of a British strategy to criminalise their struggle as a means to finally defeat it. They saw no choice between a hunger strike and accepting criminalisation. While it is

assurance, the prisoners called off their hunger strike.

Immediately, the British position changed. Their imaginative and flexible response was nowhere to be seen. They lapsed into their previous hard line. It was as if they sensed that the prisoners were beaten and could never relaunch their hunger strike.

For their part, the prisoners worked hard to find a compromise. Bobby Sands suggested that some prisoners would end their protest and report sick, allowing them to wear pyjamas instead of the

dangerous to draw exact parallels, the bottom line is that both today and in 1981, Britain spurned a genuine attempt to find a negotiated solution. The question is why.

Maybe it is that British strategists are still tempted by a solution which removes republicanism from the equation, particularly when their government's slender parliamentary majority depends on unionist support. But it is a short-sighted and wrong-headed strategy which fundamentally underestimates the strength of republicanism. Republicanism

While it is dangerous to draw exact parallels, the bottom line is that both today and in 1981 Britain spurned a genuine attempt to find a negotiated solution. The question is why

prison uniform and excusing them from having to do prison work. It was a formula designed to get round the impasse over those two main demands and prevent another hunger strike. When the prisoners attempted to implement it, the British, through the prison administration, rejected it out of hand. They saw the prisoners' attempts at compromise as a sign of weakness.

Like republicans today, the prisoners felt they had acted in good faith. They felt that if they continued to seek a compromise they faced inevitable defeat. Bobby Sands then announced a second hunger strike, which he would lead.

emerges from basic injustices in Irish society. It can't be "rooted out" or "crushed". It can't be "marginalised" or "demonised". Peace can only come when those basic injustices — not least partition — are addressed. We thought that point had been accepted. Someone obviously forgot to tell the Conservative government and their unionist allies.

Sinn Féin is quite right to stick to its strategy. The peace process must be rebuilt. Only through inclusive negotiations without preconditions can peace emerge. That is not propaganda, it is the basis of resolving any conflict.

SUPPORT THE BELFAST RALLY

Sinn Féin is calling on nationalists from across Ireland to support a march and rally demanding immediate all-party peace talks;

The rally is to be addressed by Gerry Adams and will be held at Dunville Park on the Falls Road at 3pm on Sunday, 18 February.

**PEOPLE ARE ASKED TO ASSEMBLE AT LOCAL
POINTS BEFORE MARCHING
TO DUNVILLE PARK**

ASSEMBLY POINTS

- Poleglass, Twinbrook, Lenadoon and Andersonstown areas: The Busy Bee car park, 1.30pm;
- Turf Lodge and Greater Ballymurphy assemblage: Top of Whitecroft Road, 2pm;
- St James: bottom of the Whitecroft, 2.30pm;
- Beechmount: Beechmount Avenue, 2.45pm;
- Ardoyne and Bona: Shamrock, 1.30pm;
- New Lodge: Dickey Reilly's, 2pm;
- Lower Falls: Divis Street, 2.30pm.

on ends...IRA cessation ends...IRA cessation ends...IRA cessation



CALL TO KEEP DOORS OPEN

BY ANTON O MORDHA

THE DECISION of the Dublin government cabinet sub-committee on the Six Counties that there will be no further ministerial contact with Sinn Féin until there is a new IRA cease-fire has been the cause of considerable concern in Sinn Féin and in nationalist circles generally.

Gerry Adams writing in Monday's *Irish Times* said John Bruton "knows that our party is committed to dialogue, that we are not involved in armed actions and that we have a democratic mandate. What of those whom we represent?"

Are they to be discriminated against by the Irish government in a crude attempt by that government to pressure an organisation for which Sinn Féin and our electorate have no responsibility or control?" In his address to Leinster

House on Tuesday, Bruton said: "We appreciate that there are people in the Republican Movement who believe in peaceful politics and who are using their influence to get the IRA to stop killing."

DIFFICULT TO UNDERSTAND

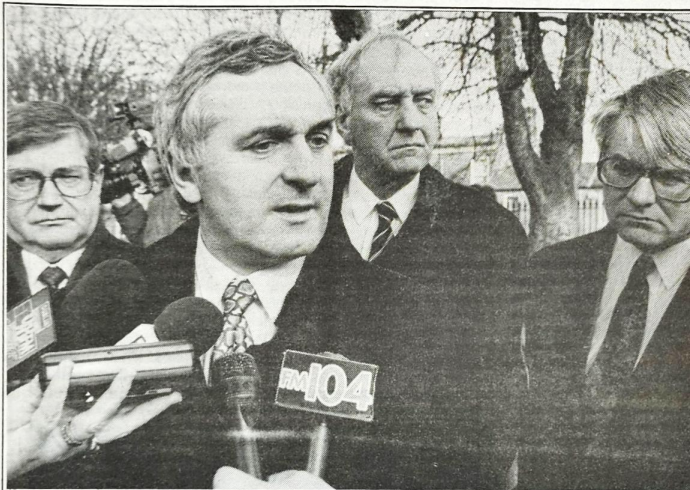
Given this statement it is difficult to understand why he is refusing to meet people whom he accepts have no responsibility for the renewal of hostilities. Bruton has, however, been at pains to

point out that contact at "official level" was ongoing. The door, he claims has not been closed.

Fianna Fáil's reaction to the ending of the IRA cessation was to call for all channels of communication to be kept open, and at first they seemed to disagree with the government's position on ministerial contact with Sinn Féin, but later modified their stance. Bertie Ahern said: "I understand the procedure that governments do not meet Sinn Féin in a formal position and I wouldn't argue with it." The Fianna Fáil leader has been in contact with Gerry Adams and has promised to keep lines of communications open. Meanwhile, in Dundalk on Tuesday, former Taoiseach Albert Reynolds met the Sinn Féin president in an attempt to save the process.

ESSENTIAL

Progressive Democrat leader Mary Harney stated that many people admitted that Gerry Adams was essential to the peace process, but that without "Gerry Adams and his associates" there may have been no need for a peace process. Fianna Fáil's James McDaid responded saying "perhaps without the intransigence of successive British governments where nationalists were impoverished by a Stormont regime, denied civil rights, there may have been no need for a Provisional IRA".



Fianna Fáil leader Bertie Ahern has called for government contact with Sinn Féin to remain active. He was joined by Ray Burke, David Andrews and Martin Mansergh when he met the US ambassador in Dublin on 12 February

US focus on talks

THE URGENT NEED for all-party negotiations remains the main focus of the Clinton administration's agenda.

Describing the London bombing as "deeply disappointing" a senior US diplomat in Dublin told the media "there are always hiccups in any conflict resolution situation. To us it makes sense to have negotiations before elections and we are keeping our fingers crossed that we can keep moving forward."

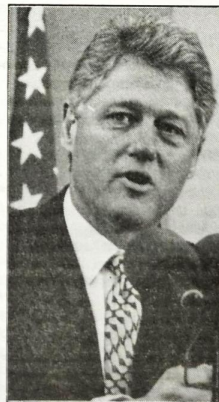
In a statement issued by the White House on Friday, 9 February, President Clinton

"condemned in the strongest possible terms" the bombing. However, he went on to say the US "stands ready to assist the two governments in continuing their search for negotiations and peace".

Clinton reportedly told a meeting last week that the British prime minister was now "the problem". Despite pressure, a presidential source told the *London Independent*, that the Clinton administration is resolved to maintaining close ties with Sinn Féin leader Gerry Adams. "There won't be any pulling of visas or anything like that."

Congressman Peter King is urging Taoiseach John Bruton to "reassess" his position in relation to Sinn Féin. "It is imperative for the cause of peace that Prime Minister Bruton meet Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams as soon as possible."

Describing himself as "deeply troubled and saddened by the explosion in London", Senator Edward Kennedy said this development made "talks more imperative than ever. I hope all sides will do all they can to see that the process goes forward."



PRESIDENT BILL CLINTON

TOM poll shows 73% back talks

THE Troops Out Movement carried out an opinion poll on Saturday, 10 February, in the wake of the London Docklands bomb. The poll was planned well before the end of the cease-fire, but campaigners decided that it was more important than ever to go ahead and find out exactly what people in Britain thought the government should be doing.

Seventy-three per cent of people polled said the British government should hold all-party peace talks immediately, without preconditions.

Sixty-one per cent said Britain should withdraw from Ireland and 64% thought John Major's recent call for an elected assembly had jeopardised the peace process.

A spokesperson for the Troops Out Movement said that the poll showed how removed the government and main opposition parties are from the opinion of most people in Britain: "The vast majority of people in Britain want peace and understand this means talks must begin. They do not want preconditions to talks and think that John Major is stalling the process and thereby jeopardising the peace."

"The Troops Out Movement does not have the financial resources to commission an 'official' opinion poll. However, we have consistently pointed to dozens of opinion polls over the last 20 years showing majority support for British withdrawal from Ireland. This poll confirms that view."

The poll was carried out in six towns and cities in England: London, Bristol, Brighton, Birmingham, Sheffield and Newcastle.

The total sample polled was 1,299 (693 men and 606 women).

People were asked three questions relating to government policy on Ireland. The three questions and results were:

1. Do you believe the British government should hold all-party peace talks immediately, without precondition?

Yes	No	Don't know
73%	20%	7%
2. Do you believe that Britain should withdraw from Northern Ireland?

Yes	No	Don't know
61%	22%	17%
3. Do you think that John Major's recent call for an elected assembly could jeopardise the peace process?

Yes	No	Don't know
64%	14%	22%

People from all age groups from 18 upwards were polled and the answer 'yes' to all three questions came from supporters of the three main political parties.

Nine-year misery

RECOVERY, progress, competitiveness, are these terms familiar? They are the language of the right-wing economists who dominate economic policy-making globally. It is also the language of Irish employers, of Leinster House politicians and over the past nine years has been used to coerce and erode the power of trade unions in the 26 Counties. Why bring up the obvious? Well it's time for the fourth in the current era of national wage agreements.

In 1987, we had the Programme for National Recovery (PNR). This was followed by the Programme for Economic and Social Progress (PESP) in 1991. In February 1994 the employers' organisations, the ICTU, the IFA and others signed up for the Programme for Competitiveness and Work (PCW). The Dublin government has now commissioned the National Economic and Social Council (NESC) to propose themes for a new programme.

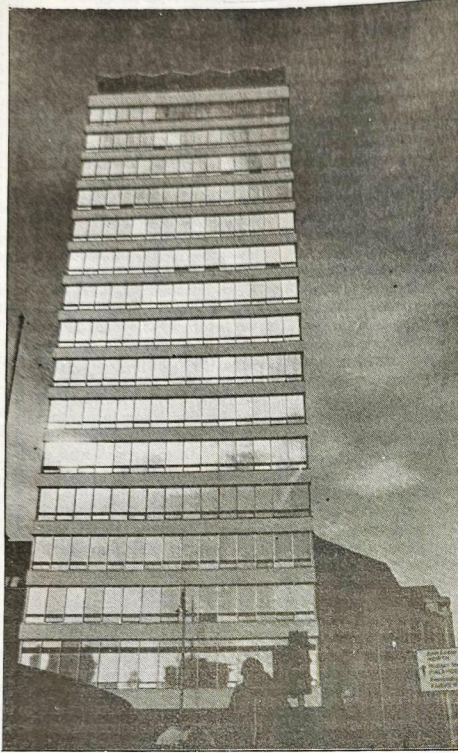
What does it all mean? Well previous programmes have all trod a very similar path with a wage formula as centrepiece. In the PNR, it meant wage increases of not more than 2.5% for 1988 to 1990. In the PESP the increases were on average just over 3.5% for the years 1991 to 1993. There was also an option of an extra 3% local productivity clause. Cases are still going through the Labour Court of workers attempting to get increases owed to them.

WORKERS WORSE OFF

The PCW agreed in February 1994 commits workers to average increases of 2.66% for 1994 to 1996. This accumulates into nine years of below inflation wage increases. Many workers are no better off in 1996 than they were in 1988. The profitability of some of their companies though and their managers' salaries have increased by vast amounts.

The key to the three programmes was supposed to be the development of a social partnership between the Trade Union Movement, the employers' organisations and the Dublin government. The Trade Union Movement committed itself to these three programmes in the belief that low wage increases would be matched by government action on a whole range of crucial social issues.

TIME TO CASH IN WAGE PROGRAMMES



Dublin's Liberty Hall, symbol of a Trade Union Movement that has lost its way and conceded to the ideology and agenda of employers

For example, the PNR tells us that "greater social equity... is a prime objective of government policy". There was a promise of a "a major review of health policy" while the 26-County government also recognises "the importance of the educational system in the promotion of equity in society".

INEQUITABLE STATUS QUO

Nine years later the Trade Union Movement has secured almost nothing. The same inequitable, exploitative status quo that existed in 1988 is even more powerful in 1996. We have had three tax amnesties, a 60,000-plus increase in unemployment, and social-welfare payments which have actually decreased in real terms. There will be free third-level education, but the distribution of resources at primary level is still hugely imbalanced.

Workers' rights have been eroded by the 1990 Industrial Relations Act and by the

support of the government for multinationals who ban unions from their plants. There is still the same underfunded two-tier health service with lengthening waiting lists in the public sector.

The net result of the three agreements is that unions have conceded to the ideology, the economic agenda of employers. IBEC, the employers organisation even dictated the title of the PCW.

There is little doubt that the Trade Union Movement, the employers and the Dublin government will sit down for negotiations later this year. The INOU is also lobbying to be included in the negotiations.

For such a new programme to have a remote chance of being desirable the Irish Trade Union Movement has to secure substantial changes in the current economic status quo. They have to set their agenda publicly now. Only then can we begin to tell what they've won because the last nine years have clearly shown what was lost.

Health workers back RVH

A MASS MEETING of health workers from Belfast's Royal Victoria Hospital (RVH) heard union leaders warn the British government they wouldn't be allowed to run down the RVH's health provision without a fight.

Announcing the formation of the joint RVH-Belfast City Hospital union campaign Victor Murphy of the Joint Union Committee at the City pledged that the Health Minister Malcolm Moss, and the Department of Health "would not be allowed to divide the hospitals, the workers or their communities".

The meeting, supported by the Falls and Shankill Women's Centres, the Women's Support Network, West Belfast community groups and trade unions UNISON and NIPSA rejected the McKenna proposals on the reorganisation of acute hospitals and are organising a mass rally on 27 March at Belfast City Hall.

Breda Hughes representing the Royal maternity said the "Royal maternity was part of the fabric of North and West Belfast for the past 200 years", a sentiment shared by Marie Mulholland of the Women's Support Network and Roberta Donaldson of the Shankill Women's Centre.

Inez McCormack of UNISON said McKenna's team "were not experts, but a bunch

of hacks cutting away to please their political masters".

She described the McKenna report as, "an ill-disguised attack on the people of Northern Ireland and their health care, particularly the most disadvantaged groups in areas of greatest need".

£13.6 MILLION CUTS

Meanwhile the Western Health Board (WHB) is set to lose up to £13.6 million as the British government forces through 'efficiency cuts' and implements government changes in the allocation of money to the health boards. Efficiency cuts of 3% will cost £5.2 million and the capitation formula will result in a £8.4 million shortfall in funding.

Tom Frawley, chief of the WHB, painting a bleak picture said, "longer waiting lists for vital surgery will result from the cuts while residential home beds for the elderly will be lost".

Sinn Féin's Mary Nelis accused the British government of destroying the health service. "This is merely more evidence that health and social services are now dictated by market forces".



SPARKS FLY AS MAJOR TRIAL NEARS END

BY MARTHA McCLELLAND

AN OPEN CLASH between the presiding magistrate and the defence counsel erupted in Derry Courthouse last week as the longest, costliest magistrates' trial in the history of the Six Counties neared its end. With the prosecution in the John Major case floundering, the crown resorted to desperate tactics.

The clash came when defence barrister Martin McCann objected to Magistrate Ken Nixon repeatedly interrupting a defence witness giving evidence. McCann drew attention to the sharp contrast in Nixon's manner when dealing with the RUC as opposed to defence witnesses, describing it as "completely inconsistent with your role as an impartial judge".

Outraged Nixon recessed the court, returning to demand an apology. Refusing to apologise, McCann said his presentation may have been regrettable, but he stood over the content. In a tense moment Nixon threatened to adjourn the court before relenting and allowing the case to proceed. In a comment, the irony of which was obviously lost on himself, Nixon complained "the only time I interrupt a witness is when asked to do so by the prosecution".

The desperation of the prosecution was again exposed when they questioned defendant Paul Fleming about an assault charge already dismissed by the court. Successfully challenged, the crown switched tactics. In a desperate attempt to secure a charge of conspiracy to pervert the course of justice, the prosecution questioned Fleming about "counter-summoning" RUC men he was charged with assaulting. Fleming was interrogated at length on whether these "counter-charges" were discussed amongst other defendants and where these mythical discussions took place.



Summing up Fleming's case, defence barrister Joe Brolly said the RUC behaved corruptly with witness after witness getting into the box and lying. He gave numerous examples. All defence counsels involved in the case has serious reservations about RUC evidence, stated Brolly. The barrister accused the RUC of "using the DPP and the court to carry out a petty vendetta against local republicans". He pointed out that many groups had been at the protest against Major, but only republicans were before the court.

Barrister Brian McCartney argued that RUC Sergeant Penny's claim he was acting in the course of his duties when he forcibly removed sit-down protestor Fergal Melaugh, was no defence at all. Citing fundamental principles for police conduct drawn up by Lord Gough, McCartney said that the law required the RUC to inform individuals that they are

breaking the law before they are forcibly removed, otherwise the RUC would be guilty of common assault.

SILLY LIES

Accusing the RUC of attempting to pervert the course of justice, McCartney focused on the crucial debriefing meeting after the protest at which almost all the RUC witnesses

In a comment, the irony of which was obviously lost on himself, Magistrate Nixon complained "the only time I interrupt a witness is when asked to do so by the prosecution"

attended. McCartney pointed out that RUC witnesses had lied about it

taking place, about attending it and about having notebooks. Individual "silly lies" McCartney asserted, became more serious when they involved every RUC member in the case. McCartney concluded that "the risk that comes from this cannot be overcome by evidence in this case, and its significance cannot be ignored".

Meanwhile a court case resulting from an RUC riot following a loyalist band parade through a nationalist area of Castlederg, a week after a Saoirse march was stopped collapsed on Friday, 9 February after the DPP withdrew all evidence against nine defendants. A tenth defendant had charges withdrawn on Thursday. Crown prosecutor David McAughy explained that "certain information" had been brought to the attention of the DPP on Wednesday and Thursday and he asked the judge to dismiss the two-week-old case.

Significantly, the Castlederg case has close links with the Derry trial. There is an overlap of 15 RUC witnesses who gave "evidence" in both cases, in some instances the "evidence" was identical with only the names of the accused changed and in both cases RUC statements were a tangle of contradictions.

When the Derry case resumed on Monday, defence counsel asked the magistrate to take into account the significance of the Castlederg case. Nixon refused outright saying: "What takes place in another court had nothing to do with my court."

Later defence solicitors faxed the DPP directly, seeking information under the disclosure rule as to why the Castlederg case had collapsed and pointing out the overlap in RUC witnesses. The DPP responded, but claimed they would be unable to meet a 4pm deadline. In a remarkable coincidence, at 5pm the solicitor's office was contacted and told, presiding Judge Nixon had been mysteriously struck down with flu and the case was to be postponed for a week.

Britain guilty again in Strasbourg

THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT has again been found guilty by the European Court of Human Rights at Strasbourg. The court ruled on Thursday, 8 February that by denying Belfast man John 'Anto' Murray access to a solicitor for 48 hours after his arrest, Britain breached his right to a fair trial.

The decision, sure to embarrass the British, is being seen as a landmark decision and was an important test case. Murray's solicitor Kevin Winters said it could open the door to a lot of "similar cases."

The court's 12 to seven vote will be further pressure on

Britain to amend its Emergency Provisions Act or suspend the application of some of its provisions.

Murray had argued that he was deprived of his rights under Articles 2 and 6 of the European Convention on Human Rights covering his

right to silence and access to a solicitor. He also claimed that he was discriminated against under Article 14 in that people arrested in England and Wales do have access to a solicitor from the moment of their arrest.

The court ruled that the right to silence was not absolute, but depended on the circumstances of the case and whether there was a prima facie case against the defendant. The judges said that the Diplock Court judge in

this case could draw an adverse inference from Murray remaining silent during interrogation and his refusal to give evidence at his trial.

PARAMOUNT IMPORTANCE

But the court also ruled: "It was of paramount importance for the rights of the defence that an accused had access to a lawyer at the initial stages of police interrogation."

Central to the judgment is that while the British government can continue to defer access to a solicitor or draw adverse inference from a defendant's silence they cannot do both at the same time.

Murray, who was awarded £15,000 in legal costs, will now return to the Belfast Court of Appeal to try and have his

conviction for falsely imprisoning RUC informer Alexander 'Sandy' Lynch overturned.

Sinn Féin justice spokesperson Barry McElduff described the decision as a "significant victory".

Paul Mageean of the Committee on the Administration of Justice said "this decision confirms that the EPA violates the right to a fair trial. The government will have to change the law on access to legal advice and the right to silence." The Standing Advisory Commission on Human Rights also welcomed the judgment.

The decision brought the usual reaction from unionist politicians, with Peter Robinson of the DUP calling the European court a "loony institution."

WHAT WE HOPED would be unthinkable when the IRA's historic and generous cessation was announced in August 1994, has come to pass. It took over 17 months of begrudgery, delays and preconditions, but the British government has managed to waste the best chance to build a lasting peace in decades.

The London bomb claimed two civilian lives and republicans extend their sympathy to the relatives and friends of those tragically killed.

Again and again in our editorials over the past 17 months as precondition after precondition dragged out the wait for substantive negotiations, this paper warned that the peace process could not survive without the positive engagement of the British government.

As the cessation came into effect on 1 September 1994 *AP/RN* commented:

"At any stage in this conflict, the British government could have shown the courage and the justice to demilitarise its role and move towards Irish national democracy. The world will judge it very harshly indeed if it now refuses to show that sense of courage and justice. New relationships will have to be forged between all the people of our country and a readiness on the part of all political representatives to engage in inclusive, democratic dialogue is essential now."

By 22 September, as the first British delaying tactic swung into gear, *AP/RN* warned that "ironically, the artificial wrangle created by the British government concerning the permanence of the IRA cessation, has left John Major

An Phoblacht

REPUBLICAN NEWS

Peace process must be restored

dangling on a hook of his own devising".

On 8 December, as one coalition government in Dublin collapsed and another was about to be formed, we said that the peace process "has been delayed by the events in Leinster House, but a much more serious threat is the foot-dragging and negativity of the British government". By the end of the month, John Major had introduced the stumbling block of weapons. "The British government knows, as does every serious observer, that to create a precondition out of the arms issue is unrealistic," said *AP/RN*. "As we look forward to the New Year of 1995 the cloud which still hangs over the peace process is the attitude of the British government."

Unfortunately, the negative pattern set by the British government was to continue throughout that year. "Apparently rudderless, Major's government seems always to be playing for time. Its actions

seem designed more to please its Official Unionist supporters in the House of Commons and its own right-wing backbenchers, than to contribute constructively to the peace process." (5 January).

As the framework document was published in February, *AP/RN* noted that the British government "may use the unionist veto as a mechanism to stop the peace process, or simply to stall it, as they have done for the past six months".

On 16 March we dismissed the decommissioning precondition:

"It is a soundbite, a red herring, a distraction, a ploy... Britain has a duty to create peace in Ireland. There is no need to look for victory, or defeat. There is no need to delay negotiation."

7 September: "In opposing movement to all-party talks, Britain stands isolated. Only the jingoists are happy. Jingoists don't make peace."

5 October: "If John Major

digs deeper behind his irresponsible and impossible demand for an IRA surrender, then this phase of the peace process will end in despair and the hope born of years of hard work and risk will be lost."

WHERE TO NOW?

Republicans were by no means alone in these analyses and the ending of the cessation may have been predictable given the intransigence of the British government, but that did not lessen the shock to republicans caused by the bombing. It has confronted us all with the spectre of a return to armed conflict. We must now do all in our power to prevent that.

How can this be done? We can get nowhere without dialogue. The hasty decision of the Dublin government to end ministerial meetings with Sinn Féin will not help, but as contact with officials continues, with meetings being arranged on Wednesday, we hope that sense will prevail in this regard.

Calm and determination to restore the peace process are now essential. Whatever happens, the political and constitutional problems of this island and our neighbours will only be resolved finally by dialogue. The essential requirement is all-party negotiations.

Opposition to change and progress on the part of the British government have led to the failure of the peace process. So far.

But the central strategy of Sinn Féin will remain the peace strategy. The peace process was a republican initiative and republicans will continue in the search for peace as diligently as ever.

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as Major backs Stormont

Sparks fly in Crossmaglen

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CALLS TO FREE SICK PRISONER

Terrorists seek volunteers

IRA cessation ends...IRA cessation ends...IRA cessation ends...IRA c



The failure thus far...

BY HILDA Mac THOMAS

IT WAS ONE of those events that makes you remember the very details of how you heard about it. A friend rang. His mother had just seen this newflash on RTE announcing the end of the IRA cease-fire. Had I heard anything? I thought: she must have misunderstood, she caught the end of a report on Bosnia. Flicking through the channels, looking through pages of teletext... nothing. A bad joke. Then another friend phoned — Channel 4 News were reporting a bomb explosion in East London. My heart sank. I had to phone my friend and confirm. Then I burst into tears. Later I found out without surprise that similar scenes of shock, disbelief, despair, and sadness had taken place in republican homes across Ireland.

It was like a culmination of all those emotions that had been experienced time and again over the past year, and more often recently, by many in Ireland. Last Friday's bomb, with the shattered buildings, the broken glass, the injured, and the two young men who died, was awful and tragic. For people in Ireland, particularly for those republican activists who had spent the last 17 months tirelessly campaigning for change and calling for talks, what happened in Canary Wharf mirrored the fate of the Irish peace initiative, the shattered hopes, the debris of an attempt at bringing real, lasting peace to the people of the island. The cost of last Friday is first and foremost a human cost. And to the casualties of Canary Wharf must be added the people of the Six Counties, who have been deprived of a chance of lasting peace, this time round.

There is a moral implication to carrying out an operation like last Friday's. In the same way there is a moral implication to the actions of the British government, and of the unionists, over the past year. And the question to be asked, particularly of the British government, is: why, when the guns fell silent, when the IRA in particular, on 31 August 1994 declared a complete and unilateral cessation, why didn't they carry out their promise of bringing about substantive all-party talks? Why did they squander 17 months in debating semantics? Why did they display distrust and hostility, and insist on surrenders, complete or symbolic? Why did they finally suggest just about the worst possible solution in the context of the Six Counties — an election?

REALISTS

Modern-day republicans are realists. They know, and have said publicly, that while the British could not

defeat the IRA militarily, nor could the IRA defeat the British. They know, and have said publicly, that there is no military solution to this conflict. They know, and have said publicly, that Sinn Féin on their own cannot apply enough pressure to move the situation on, and therefore need allies for their peace strategy outlined in *Towards A Lasting Peace*. They also know, and have said it often enough, that peace cannot last unless it is based on agreement of all parties to the conflict. Britain and Ireland, unionists and nationalists, and of course republicans, political activists, the IRA, and those tens of thousands of people who support them and vote for them. They know that such agreement will take time to reach, and will involve compromise on all sides. And that it will require dialogue.

Why did the British government not encourage dialogue? Irish nationalists want it. Loyalists want it. A section of the unionists want it, although this is belied by the pronouncements of their leaders. Some unionists seemed ready to accept the IRA cessation at face value in September 1994. This readiness, far from being encouraged, quickly evaporated after the British government — which had promised

through the Downing Street Declaration that it would "facilitate and encourage agreement" among the people of Ireland — took a hardline stance.

Gerry Adams wrote in the *Irish Times* on Monday: "We pointed out, with a growing sense of desperation, that there could be no negotiated peace without peace negotiations, that without peace talks there was no peace process."

HAVE WE DONE ENOUGH?

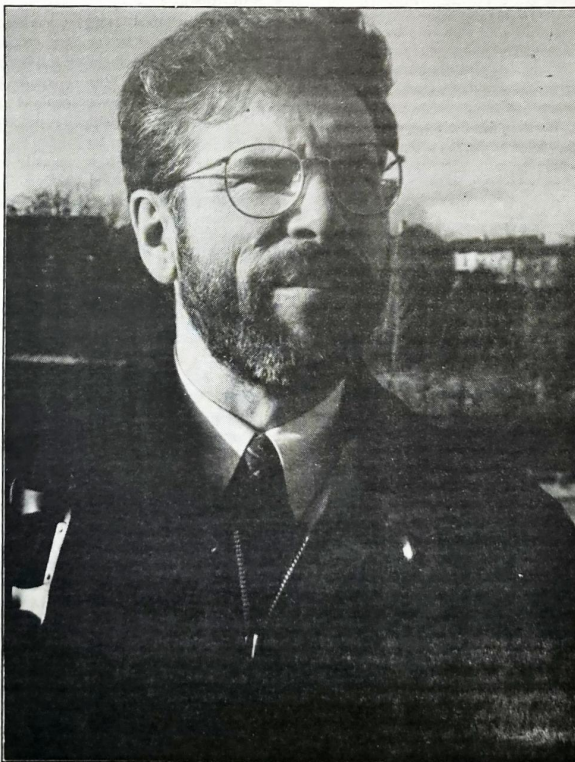
All those engaged in the peace process will be asking themselves also, have we done enough to keep it going? Those who stood on the sidelines and criticised John Hume for talking with Gerry Adams, those who criticised Albert Reynolds for moving quickly and decisively from the outset, those who left it to the same tireless, overstretched campaigners to highlight the injustice of the situation and campaign for democratic changes in the North, should reflect on their commitment to real peace. For example, where were the democrats who object to aggressive Orange marches when peaceful protestors on the Ormeau Road were beaten and dragged off the streets? Peace-making

is hard work, and it involves everyone on this island. Lip-service is not enough.

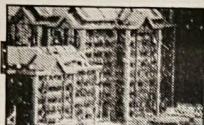
Nor are knee-jerk reactions good enough. One might expect unionist politicians like Paisley to sit and gloat on television on Friday night, and put forward all the 'what did you expect' and 'I told you so'. Their entrenched obduracy makes political disaster a self-fulfilling prophecy. More alarming was the Dublin government's decision to end public, official dialogue with Sinn Féin. To isolate and marginalise republicans has never proved either successful if the objective is to cut into their support, nor productive in terms of securing a cessation of hostilities. Much has been said at government level in the past few days which is aimed at some propagandistic occupation of the 'moral high ground'. As feminist theologian Mary Condren wrote on Tuesday, insisting that republicans condemn last Friday's bomb has nothing to do with peace-making and everything to do with 'our addition to the moral high ground'.

Fortunately at this time there are some signs of light in the darkness. Many republicans, and non-republicans, will hang on to those two words in the IRA communiqué of last Friday: "The failure of the peace process thus far..." Then there is the comforting sight of Sinn Féin leaders affirming forcefully their determination to pursue their peace strategy, come what may. There is the obvious wave of popular support for peace talks to begin now, as expressed in various peace rallies and the sentiments expressed by people from a loyalist background on TV programmes and at rallies, denouncing the decommissioning demand as a means to stall all-party talks. There is the honesty of some British politicians like Kevin McNamara and Peter Temple-Morris in criticising their government for its negative stance and the willingness of many to remain engaged in discussion and debate on the best way to put the peace process back on the rails. There are so many reasons to hope that the 'failure thus far' can be transformed into ultimate success.

As Gerry Adams pointed out on Monday, "it is simply not good enough to walk away from a peace process which took so long and so much effort to build." This goes for all republicans of course, and is a warning against despondency and cynicism. It goes for all those nationalists who want to see a resolution of the conflict, all those loyalists who courageously followed the IRA cessation with their own, and advocated dialogue and negotiation throughout the last year. It goes for all those unionists who understand that 'No' is not the right answer and for the Dublin government who should not confuse their leadership role in the peace process with that of referee in an external dispute. But most of all, it goes for the British government which needs to abandon at last the logic of war, and adopt that of peace.



"We pointed out, with a growing sense of desperation, that there could be no negotiated peace without peace negotiations, that without peace talks there was no peace process." — Gerry Adams



n ends...IRA cessation ends...IRA cessation ends...IRA cessation

IRA blames Major for

■ The following is the full text of an interview with a spokesperson for the General Headquarters Staff of Oglagh na hÉireann:

AP/RN: The shockwaves from the IRA bomb attack in East London on Friday are still reverberating. Many people will be asking: "Just what brought the 18-month-long IRA cessation to an end?"

IRA: Put plainly and bluntly, the end of the cessation was brought about by John Major's cynical misuse and betrayal of the historic opportunity offered by the Irish peace initiative.

AP/RN: Can you expand on that reply?

IRA: The IRA leadership delivered a complete cessation of military operations on a clear, unambiguous and shared understanding that inclusive negotiations would rapidly commence to bring about political agreement and a peace settlement. The British government committed itself to this publicly. So too did the Dublin government.

Let us be crystal clear about this. John Major reneged on these commitments, publicly given. He has acted in bad faith throughout the period of the IRA cessation, introducing one new precondition after

British government in the Irish peace initiative.

For 18 months the British chose to ignore the opportunity which existed and put sectional, party political considerations above progress by underwriting and reinforcing the unionist veto that they themselves had bestowed.

AP/RN: Wasn't it naive to expect the British government to deliver on their commitments?

IRA: On the contrary. Trusting the British government played no part in our decision of 31 August 1994. Twenty-five years of countering British political and military strategies were sufficient guard against that. In fact the British government was not consulted. Our approach was based firmly on political realities and on our responsibility in seeking a just and lasting peace settlement.

It was the Irish peace initiative, put together by Irish nationalist parties which we responded to. When it emerged we responded on 3 October 1993 by stating: "Oglagh na hÉireann welcomes this initiative... if the political will exists or can be created, it could provide the basis for peace."

It was in fact the nationalist parties who persuaded us that the potential existed, within the nationalist consensus, for a viable alternative dynamic for change.

So on 31 August 1994 we announced a complete cessation of military operations stating that it was our wish to: "Enhance the democratic peace process," and to "significantly contribute to the climate,"

IRA: It isn't a question of optimism or pessimism. It is a question of realism. The fundamental issues at the heart of the conflict are unchanged. There is only one place for all the political representatives of the Irish people to go and that is to the negotiating table. Current British policy prevents all those with a democratic mandate from sitting around that table. Their denial of Irish democratic rights is at the core of the conflict. Where national rights are denied; where justice is denied; where the rights of a community are denied then there is inevitable conflict.

AP/RN: Is it your view that the peace process is completely over?

IRA: In our statement announcing the end of our complete cessation of military operations we said: "The resolution of conflict in our country demands justice. It demands a negotiated settlement. That is not possible until the British government faces up to its responsibilities."

The peace process, thus far, has been thwarted by British and unionist intransigence but the search for a just and lasting peace must continue. What is required is a meaningful process that is capable of leading to a negotiated settlement. A peace process which is subverted by Britain, and used in a vain attempt to secure an IRA surrender is no more than a sham. Oglagh na hÉireann firmly formed a view, before our 9 February statement, that there wasn't even a glimmer of hope that Britain, and in consequence the unionist leaderships, were remotely engaged in positive engagement, at this time. Oglagh na hÉireann therefore couldn't persist in a sham whose sole purpose had become the attainment of an IRA surrender.

AP/RN: What then of the role of others in the peace process. Was enough done to press forward?

IRA: Let me again refer you to our statement of 9 February. We noted that our cessation of August 1994 had: "Presented an historical challenge to all involved. We commend the leaderships of nationalist Ireland at home and abroad, they rose to the challenge. The British prime minister did not."

However, we must take John Bruton to task for his speech in Leinster House on Tuesday, 13 February, when he claimed that he was betrayed by the IRA. John Bruton knew well the basis upon which we agreed to a complete cessation of military operations in August 1994. It was a quid pro quo understanding that all-party talks would commence rapidly. It was a clear and unambiguous understanding which the previous Taoiseach was clear about and



Destruction in London's Docklands after the

which John Bruton was informed of when he assumed office. Let him not cry betrayal to us 15 months later.

When we were approached with a possible alternative way forward we were sceptical. We have been open to persuasion. The wrecker of the Irish peace process, the one who acted in bad faith from the outset was the British prime minister. He actually began his 'address to the British people' on

When we were approached with a possible alternative way forward we acted in good faith even though we were sceptical. We have been open to persuasion

another. He has betrayed the Irish peace process and has deliberately squandered this opportunity to resolve the causes of the age-old conflict between Britain and the Irish people. He did so to keep himself in power.

In place of the promised negotiations we have had a year and a half of stalling, prevarication and provocation with various political devices being put in place for putting off a negotiation scenario for the foreseeable future.

From all of this we could only finally conclude that the surrender or political defeat of Irish republicans was the actual agenda for the tactical engagement by the

which would allow for "the inclusive negotiations necessary if there is to be a resolution of the conflict".

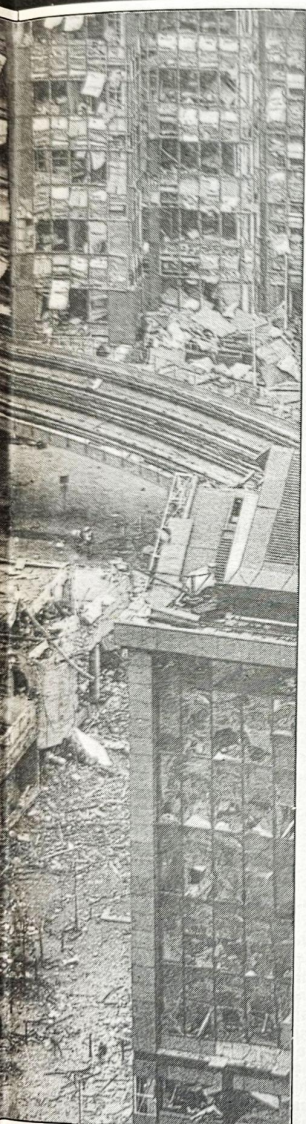
The political will to make peace and the putting in place of inclusive negotiations as the essential mechanism for doing so are the critical tests which were put to the British government. They were in fact the litmus test of their seriousness about peace-making. They have clearly demonstrated their absence of will. They have clearly rejected the means to peace.

AP/RN: Where then do we go from here? Are you optimistic about the way forward?

...on ends...IRA cessation ends...IRA cessation ends...IRA cessatio...



for end of cessation



the IRA bomb on 9 February

Monday, 12 February, with a direct lie lifted from a fabricated communiqué which was exposed in Sinn Féin's document *Setting the Record Straight* in November 1993.

[The British government version of the communications opens with a message which it claims was sent by Sinn Féin's Martin McGuinness. The message begins: "The conflict is over but we need your advice on how to bring it to a close." No such message was sent. Ed.]

AP/RN: Let us turn to the very immediate consequences of the Canary Wharf bombing. Two innocent civilians died and scores of others were injured. What is your response to that?

IRA: Our claim of responsibility noted that "regrettable civilian injuries could have been avoided had the British forces responded promptly to detailed and specific warnings which they received". That said, let me say, that we profoundly regret the loss of innocent life and the injury of non-combatants and though it won't be any comfort to those who have suffered we accept totally our responsibility in that regard. However, let us deal with the facts: at 5.30pm we announced an end to our cessation. From 5.35pm multiple warnings were given to various agencies on both sides of the Irish Sea. Warnings were also sent directly to South Quay, Canary Wharf. We indicated that a massive bomb would detonate at South Quay at 7pm and called for its complete evacuation. We persisted with calls right up until 7pm. At 7.01pm the bomb detonated. Two people in a shop, not 200 yards from the bomb site pinpointed by us, were killed. We deeply regret this. We have given our account which can be independently verified. The British forces must explain why, after a full 91 minutes, they had allowed civilians to remain in proximity to a massive bomb which they had not only been warned about, but which they had actually located. Adequate and verifiable warnings should be acted upon. We can of course speculate why the British forces acted as they did. That is for them to answer. We wish only to offer our condolences to the relatives of the dead and to those injured. We did all in our power to prevent injuries.

AP/RN: Many wonder if Canary Wharf a one-off action or a shot across the bows of the British government. What do you say?

IRA: Let me repeat our statement of 9 February: "It is with great reluctance that the leadership of Oglagh na hÉireann announces that its complete cessation of military operations ended at 6pm, Friday, 9 February."

We in Oglagh na hÉireann will continue to assert Irish national rights in the face of British denial for as long as is necessary.

AP/RN: What of the possible loyalist response. Do you anticipate that they will end their cease-fire?

IRA: Let us be absolutely clear about this. The IRA have no desire to engage loyalists in any military sense. We do know that they have continued to very actively target

nationalists during the last year and a half.

On the other hand they have shown themselves capable of imaginative and radical thinking at times. If their leadership is strong enough to prevent them reinvolving themselves in the murderous sectarian attacks on nationalists and Catholics which have been their stock in trade for the past 75 years then that would of course be welcome.

As republicans we are absolutely

The end of the cessation was brought about by John Major's cynical misuse and betrayal of the historic opportunity offered by the Irish peace initiative

opposed to sectarianism, but history has shown that the British government 'dirty tricks department' has armed and unleashed loyalism at any stage where the British are under significant pressure about their own role in Ireland. We can only hope that loyalists will not allow themselves to be used as surrogates or dupes for either the British or the unionist leaders.

The basic flaw in loyalist working-class ideology is that their sole objective has been to maintain an elite British and unionist upper-class establishment. All their killing is based on not wanting change. It is a massive contradiction for organisations made up of working-class people. Let us hope that such contradictions have been resolved.

AP/RN: Could you give us your views of where the nationalist consensus now stands and where does Sinn Féin go from here?

IRA: From our position we feel that nationalism in Ireland has a general consensus on a number of fundamentals:

- 1) There is broad agreement that what is required are real and meaningful negotiations about how a settlement can be achieved;
- 2) There is agreement that current political arrangements have utterly failed and must be replaced;
- 3) There is agreement that there can be no internal settlement within the Six Counties;
- 4) There is agreement that Britain has a central role in enabling and persuading parties to participate in arriving at a settlement in Ireland, but that there cannot be peace unless Britain wants it;
- 5) There is broad agreement that Britain has, thus far, failed to live up to its responsibilities;

6) There is also agreement that the most urgent task facing all of us is the ending of conflict in Ireland on the basis of a just and lasting peace.

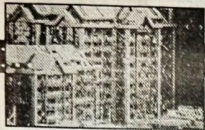
As to what Sinn Féin now does, that of course is a matter entirely for Sinn Féin. They, like us, will follow their own counsel. Sinn Féin has already stated publicly that they are absolutely committed to their peace strategy. We naturally wish them every success.

AP/RN: Since the ending of your cessation there has been considerable speculation amongst journalists, commentators and some politicians about possible IRA splits and about relations between Sinn Féin and yourselves. Do you have any comment?

IRA: Setting aside the fact that there is a degree of mischief-making in some predictable quarters, let us deal with the question of IRA splits. It is worth pointing to the high levels of discipline shown by IRA Volunteers over 18 long months of cessation in the face of continuous provocation. Let us not forget that the British forces didn't have any cessation of activities. House raids, arrests, harassment, the firing of plastic bullets, the recruitment of informers and the refortification of military strongholds continued apace.

We take this opportunity to salute the patience, fortitude and discipline of all our Volunteers. They compare more than favourably with activists in any liberation movement worldwide or indeed in Irish history. There are no splits, we are united in all our actions. Our commitment and determination remain steadfast.

As to your latter point. Sinn Féin came forward with a strategy for peace through negotiated settlement some years ago. It has said publicly on many occasions that it will continue, whatever the prevailing circumstances, to pursue that strategy and that goal. We have no problem with that and have only praise for their sterling efforts to introduce national democracy to Ireland. But Sinn Féin is not the IRA. The IRA is not Sinn Féin. We will listen carefully to any parties or persons who have an opinion or advice to offer us, but in the final analysis we make our own decisions and follow our own counsel.



BY MEADBH
GALLAGHER

SATURDAY'S *Irish Times* editorial put it as plain as *Irish Times* editorials get: "Neither administration seems to have been expecting a breakdown in the IRA cease-fire at this time. So much for the two government's antennae."

Mary Holland, in the same paper, tried to explain why this was so: "A return to violence seemed unthinkable. It was easier, instead, to dismiss the Sinn Féin leader as crying wolf." Observers, including herself, she wrote, had failed to spot the signals, even though Sinn Féin "warned, to the point of boring many people, that if the peace was not seen to yield results, the process would collapse."

Ed Moloney (*Sunday Tribune*) felt that "most observers and participants in the process believed there were a few more weeks, even months



to play with..." The *Observer* comment was: "After 17 months of cease-fire we are all guilty of taking peace too much for granted... It's hard to resist the conclusion that just as mainland Britain grew tired and bored of Ireland's war, it grew tired of its peace; it stopped listening to the complexities of the arguments."

Papers were quick to move back into gear with pre-August '94 simplistic rhetoric. The *Star's* subbers were in a rush to reintroduce words like "evil" and "cowards", but in no rush to report with accuracy. Paddy Clancy, the man who brings you "what the papers say" on *Morning Ireland*, brought an exclusive to the *Sun*. Beside a picture of Gerry Adams, Rita O'Hare and Martin McGuinness, he said: "The IRA's peace negotiation front men have been ousted." His source? "A reliable republican source."

The *Sunday Express* was paying to the feuds within the British intelligence services: "Throughout the 17-month cease-fire, both the police and Dame Stella Rimington, the self-styled cream of international intelligence services had boasted privately that they had the IRA under close surveillance and knew precisely what they were up to."

ends...IRA cessation ends...IRA cessation ends...IRA cessation

Back to the reaction

All the papers gave column inches to their 'security' correspondents' speculation on how and why the RUC, M15 and their intelligence cronies had all failed to predict both the IRA cessation and its breakdown. By Monday, *Guardian* journalists were reporting that the RUC was blaming M15 for ignoring warnings and for having "played down evidence of growing opposition to the cease-fire". The *Irish News* reported on the curious failures of communication between Scotland Yard and the RUC on Friday night after the newspaper had relayed the bomb warning to the RUC.

The *London Times* got it wrong on Saturday, its lead article stating: "A breakaway group of the IRA was believed to have been responsible for the explosion at one minute past seven." The *Sunday Times* lead tried to recover lost credibility, opening with: "The Irish government turned away yesterday from its policy of appeasing Sinn Féin." Eoghan Harris, by the way, blamed the 26-County government, for "playing footsie with the IRA". Its editorial recommended the same

relations to breaking point" and "a chill" which will affect everything "including the economic climate".

MAJORITY OPINION

While the vast majority of opinion writers and callers to phone-in programmes made clear they opposed Friday's South Quays bomb, they also rounded on the British government and unionists for their refusal to negotiate.



Few were arguing that they could not understand the reasons for the cease-fire breakdown. Softly, they put it, softly, but the message was there: expediency and survival for British political leaders was more important than the worth of the life of a single person, British or Irish. Writing in the *Irish Independent*, Bernard Purcell exemplified the softly, softly critics: "Perhaps the best hope now is that Mr Major can show as much ingenuity in restoring the peace process as he has deployed in avoiding all-party talks."

In the *Evening Herald*, Purcell wrote: "Mr Blair is especially determined not to be seen to adopt an independent approach to what his party's high command sees as a notorious vote loser."

Others were in no mood to go easy on the politicians. In an article written before the IRA bomb, James Kelly in the *Irish News* wrote: "But then again perhaps they don't give a damn. I looked in the other afternoon at *Westminster Live*. It looked more like *Westminster Dead*. It was a 'Northern Ireland debate' and there were only about six or seven MPs present. It looked as if the rest had fled from a

plague."

The *Sunday Business Post* editorial said "the recent behaviour of John Major and the leadership of the Ulster Unionist Party has been inexcusable and sickening." Describing Major's unwillingness to promote dialogue as "an outrage", the paper stated that the British had shown the "utmost bad faith", "have been petty and vindictive" and that "an opportunity has been squandered wilfully and wantonly".

In the same paper Tom McGurk said those responsible for wrecking the process had blood on their hands. Major, Mayhew and company, he felt, "from the outset stood against the spirit of the peace process" and "now must stand utterly condemned. To attempt to twist a unilateral and unconditional surrender into the work of malevolent and utterly irresponsible people".

The paper's lead article gave a view from the United States: "Washington sources claim that Clinton has privately stated that the British government has shown bad faith by failing to push for all-party talks. Clinton reportedly told one meeting last week that the British premier was now 'the problem' in the peace process and that he was unable to fulfil pledges he gave

on it. The boy said: "I am praying that the troubles don't start again. Everybody should start talking to each other and sort this out."

The *Sunday Mail* reported Catherine Hamill, who "won President Clinton's heart with a touching plea for the peace to last"... "could only sob: 'Why won't they talk any more.'"

The editorial message for Major was: "The statesmanlike decision would be to talk to everybody he can and step up the search for peace."

Unionist duplicity did not escape notice, and from some unusual quarters. Anthony



Bevins in the *Observer* said David Trimble told David Frost in November that "even if decommissioning was put to one side, elections could lead to negotiation only 'at a later stage when we solve the weapons issue'."

Confirming this, Trimble himself wrote in the *Sunday Independent*: "The Mitchell Commission was unable to resolve the weapons issue to the satisfaction of the British government and ourselves. Therefore, the target date will not be met because the prior condition had not been met."

The most amazing turnabout of the peace process was columnist Eamon Dunphy. Having pilloried John Hume two years ago he has now come round to identifying British and unionist intransigence. "Who is afraid of peace?" he asked. "The unionist bigots," he answered and went on:

"We suspended disbelief about the root causes of the northern tragedy, the ugly sectarianism most reprehensibly represented by the creepy Vanguard movement in whose interests Mr Trimble last addressed a northern assembly of the type he has been advocating in recent weeks."

He ended his piece "Tíocfaidh ár lár".

The *Irish News* editorial on Monday reflected the anger of nationalists: "Having failed to measure up to their responsibilities during the peace, the British and Irish governments are in the process of destroying any hope we have of re-establishing the IRA cease-fire."



to republicans because of his insecure parliamentary position."

FAMOUS CHILDREN

Two children made famous by the peace process were quoted. In the *Sunday Express* Brian Burns spoke to the boy who was photoed throwing a ball against the wall with the words "Time for Peace - Time to Go"

on ends...IRA cessation ends...IRA cessation ends...IRA cessati



OBSTACLES ALL THE WAY FROM BRITISH GOVERNMENT

Seventeen months

IN THE MONTHS after the announcement of the IRA's 1994 cessation, the British government continued its strategy of stalling and blocking, both in Ireland and abroad, any positive initiative to move the peace process to a successful conclusion. The British Cabinet deliberately ignored the warnings not only from Irish republicans, but all those committed to the peace process, about the growing crisis caused by their stalling. **NEIL FORDE** presents a chronology of Britain's 16 months of spurned opportunities.

31 AUGUST 1994:

● IRA announces "complete cessation of military operations".

6 SEPTEMBER

● Within a week of the IRA's cessation Gerry Adams, John Hume and Albert Reynolds met in Dublin and stated that their objective was "an equitable and lasting agreement that can command the allegiance of all". However the response of the British government was only to quibble over the intent of the IRA statement, and refuse to recognise the positive opportunities created.

12 SEPTEMBER

● A British government spokesperson tells the London *Independent* that it did not foresee all-party negotiations starting until the autumn of 1996

16 SEPTEMBER

● Major travels to Belfast. He announces lifting of the 1988 broadcasting ban on Sinn Féin and the opening of ten border roads. Major also reinforces unionist veto with proposal for referendums.

24 SEPTEMBER

● Gerry Adams arrives in the USA after the British government lobbied at the highest level for his visa to be denied. John Major then dispatched Michael Mates and Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd to the USA to attack Adams.

3 OCTOBER

● US Vice President Al Gore has phone conversation with Gerry Adams as Clinton's administration lifts its long-standing ban on official contacts with Sinn Féin.

In the same week British army and RUC forces increase their harassment of nationalist areas.

21 OCTOBER

● Major returns to Belfast to announce that he is making a

"working assumption" that the IRA cessation is permanent. He refuses to set a date for talks with Sinn Féin, who still have to go through a three-month stalling period. Faced with mass activity on border roads, Major concedes that all roads will be open. No time table is given though.

He lifts exclusion orders on Adams and McGuinness, but legislation remains in force. Major promised a review of troop levels, but no withdrawals were announced.

Major also proposed an investment conference in December from which Sinn Féin was to be excluded.

22 NOVEMBER

● Mayhew makes commitment to be in talks with Sinn Féin before Christmas. He stalled on such a meeting for a further six months.

9 DECEMBER

● British officials finally meet with Sinn Féin at Stormont

JANUARY 1995

● Sinn Féin are denied access to John Major's Economic Conference in Belfast. Economic Development Minister Jane Denton continued to refuse to meet Sinn Féin.

Eight republican POWs are released in the 26 Counties adding to the nine that were released in December. There are still no releases of POWs held by Britain. In fact conditions of POWs held in Britain are worsening.

22 FEBRUARY

● Framework documents are launched, after months of deliberate attempts by Britain to erode the positive nationalist position on securing lasting peace. Major proposes internal assembly plan for the first time claiming that all parties had been consulted on the proposals. No such proposal had been put to Sinn Féin.



Rally at Dublin's GPO on Sunday, 11 February. It was one of a number of peace rallies held by various groups in Dublin, Belfast and Derry in the days after the ending of the IRA cessation. At all the events Sinn Féin members participated and carried placards calling for all-party talks

1 MARCH

● British Home Secretary Michael Howard renews the Prevention of Terrorism Act, even though the Dublin government had lifted its 46-year-old State of Emergency.

14 MARCH

● Patrick Mayhew announces the first British troop withdrawal from the Six Counties. Four hundred soldiers will leave, but with nearly 19,000 still remaining

13 APRIL

● An IRA Easter statement called on all parties to "resolve to leave behind the failures of the past and seize this potential opportunity to build a new and free Ireland".

3 MAY

● RUC attacks demonstrators picketing a visit to Derry by John Major.

10 MAY

● Britain allows ministerial contact between Sinn Féin councillors and British ministers

24 MAY

● Nine months after the IRA cessation, Patrick Mayhew finally meets Gerry Adams at the Washington Trade and Investment Conference. The meeting was overshadowed by Mayhew's introduction of three new conditions to stall the much needed all-party talks. There would have to be a commitment to progressive disarming by the IRA. There would be agreement on the modalities by which that would be accomplished. There would be an initial surrender of some weapons to signal the

start of the process. The latter became known as Washington Three.

JUNE

● The British army begins to extend and fortify bases in South Armagh. The RUC attacks a nationalist protest on the Springfield Road

18 JUNE

Martin McGuinness says that exploratory talks between Sinn Féin and the British government have ended and it is time to move to all-party talks.

3 JULY

● British release convicted killer Paratrooper Lee Clegg, after less than two years of a life sentence. Still not one republican POW released by Britain.

12 JULY

● RUC seal off the Lower Ormeau in Belfast imprisoning the nationalist community to allow Orange Order marches.

6 SEPTEMBER

● London-Dublin summit collapses over British insistence on making Washington Three the criterion for any international body on the arms issue.

26 OCTOBER

● The British government circulates their *Building Blocks* document. It showed no change in their position and again proposed the internal Six-County assembly suggestion.

31 OCTOBER

● Michael Ancram and Martin McGuinness meet. McGuinness asserts that there are major difficulties and regrettably the

impasse in the peace process has not been broken.

3 NOVEMBER

● The British government reject proposals from John Hume and Gerry Adams for an international body led by George Mitchell to analyse the arms issue while all-party talks got under way.

28 NOVEMBER

● Bruton and Major agree to launch a "twin-track process" with the aim of achieving all-party talks by the end of February 1996. The two governments would hold preparatory talks while the International Body on Arms would take submissions reporting in mid-January 1996.

7 DECEMBER

● IRA statement addresses the decommissioning issue. It said: "This demand which has elevated into a precondition for the commencement of all-party political negotiations, blocks the inclusive dialogue essential if the causes of conflict are to be removed, it is also a demand which the British government has stridently and repeatedly made, even over the course of the last week".

23 JANUARY 1996

● Mitchell report launched and rules out Washington Three as a possibility. In the House of Commons John Major ignored the report's recommendations proposing instead to hold elections in the Six Counties. His government would not honour the commitment given last November to hold all-party talks in the twin-track process.

I ran into a sports reporter from Chicago at Lansdowne Road last year after the Boys in Green beat Portugal. Little did any of us know at the time that the precious 1-0 victory deserved longer savouring.

Anyway, this fella surprised me because he actually knew his stuff about soccer. He had a wealth of stories and yarns to share with the group and the pints were lowered almost as fluently. But the point of this story is that big Mike's abiding passion, although he appreciates soccer (which most Yanks hate because "those guys just never score") is basketball.

American Football was so-so and he detested baseball, but basketball he claimed, is the closest he had ever come to witnessing sporting perfection — ballet on a sports court.

Last weekend the best of America's multi-million dollar National Basketball Association (NBA) arrived on Channel 4, which was also the first terrestrial station in Ireland or Britain to bring us regular American Football. Now, although we played the game a bit in school, it was never a big favourite of mine, perhaps because 5' 6" in my stocking feet is a stretch. But enough of my sporting shortcomings. I never rated basketball for directly the opposite reason the Americans don't understand soccer — there's just too much scoring. It's a cultural thing.

But what the hell, I'm open-minded and on Sunday, 11 February (11.20pm), I tuned in as



Mark Webster introduced coverage of the All-Star Game, a mid-season showpiece contested by the cream of the Eastern and Western Conferences. Keep an eye on the schedules over the coming months because from this week Michael Grade's station will be bombarding us with live games and review programmes.

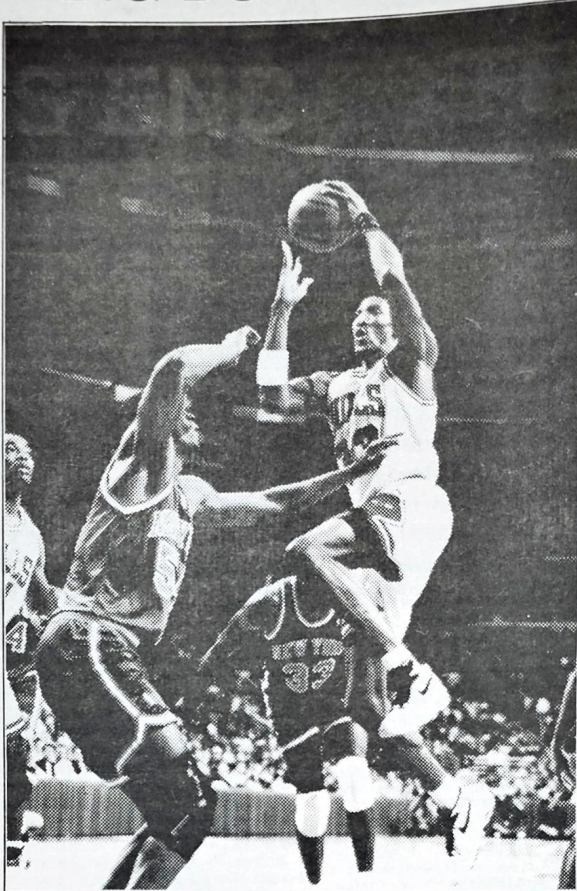
I'm not yet a complete convert, but having seen Michael Jordan, Shaquille O'Neal and Co in action, and knowing that a tactical appreciation will grow after a few hours in front of the tube, I'm willing to give it another go.

After all, they don't get the big bucks for nothing, I'm only a guy and it's a sport.

The first episode of the BBC's new comedy drama, *Ballykissangel* (BBC 1, Sunday, 11 February, 7.30pm), which centres on the arrival and experiences of a young English priest in a rural parish in Ireland, was refreshingly free of Paddywhackery and stereotypes.

This was probably to be expected given the quality of the cast, which includes Stephen Tomkinson as the new priest, Niall Tobin as his scheming parish priest, Dervla Kirwan (*Goodnight Sweetheart*)

BIG BOYS RULE



The best of the NBA — coming to a small screen near you

in a modern bar worker's role for a change, along with Tina Kellegher (*The Snapper*) and Tony Doyle (*Between the Lines*).

The opening episode did not make the mistake of overexerting itself, but

introduced us to the characters while the ancillary plot centred on another new arrival, an automated air-conditioned confessional, complete with fax machine, acquired by local tycoon Tony Doyle

(Brian Quigley) on approval from the Mafia.

Thankfully, the only reference to the troubled recent history of the Catholic Church in Ireland came during a conversation between the new priest, Father

Peter Clifford, and the town's leading anti-cleric, Assumpta Fitzgerald (Dervla Kirwan), who gives him a lift to his new parish. "One thing this country needs is priests from England," she says. "We have enough of yours," he responds. "We have enough of ours."

Ballykissangel, if it avoids the pitfalls of Irish RM tomfoolery, should be a pleasant and witty diversion of a Sunday evening. It is also good PR for tourism in and around Avoca, County Wicklow, where the six-part series was filmed.

Jim Smyth's *Dog's Dinner* (Network 2, Tuesday, 13 February, 10pm) is not at all unappetising but it is definitely exotic fare which may take a little getting used to. In a largely uninformative but highly-entertaining and diverse first episode he brought us from the GPO and an interview with De Valera, to various locations around the country, alternated with snatches of Gillian Bowler's kitchen and living room. Smyth's in-your-face home video style presentation is wacky and often funny, weak in parts but always moving swiftly along.

And he does get around. The point of it all was supposed to be the influence of foreign food and drink on Ireland — this is a food and drink show, by the way — but this was largely incidental to Smyth's manic train of thought spiel. Quite what the point was of accusing de Valera of killing Elvis Presley at the end escaped me but never mind. Not a bad effort at all.

BY LIAM O COILEAIN

HOW THE MIGHTY FALL

SPORTSVIEW

I went to the Down vs Louth National League match on Sunday and came away a sadder man. A good team doesn't become a bad team overnight, goes the old cliché. Quite right, it takes about 18 months.

"Come on Down, for f*** sake, the cease-fire's over!" was one shout from the crowd during a dismal first half when Down scored just one point. The 1994 all-Ireland champions went on to lose to a poor Louth team and are now headed for Division Three.

At the start of the

match, one man in the crowd proudly told his friends that he had put £100 on Down at 12-1 to win the all-Ireland. On the evidence of this display there is one bookie in Newry who will dine out with style on his foolishness.

A better outside bet is Cavan. Martin McHugh has them super-fit and very motivated. If he can sustain that through to the championship they might surprise a few people. Last week they struggled for the first 20 minutes against Down then cruised away. On Sunday they fought Dublin all the way, losing out by just two points.

Worth a few quid at 12-1 for the Ulster championship (66-1 to go all the way).

At the start of the Clare v Tyrone match at Ennis the announcer told the crowd that a "VIP from Tyrone" was present. Glad to say that when he said it was Fine Gael TD Austin Currie, the booing could be heard all the way to Coalisland.

Last week I praised Mick McCarthy. This week I'm not so sure. He has given his backing to a scheme to build a 63,000-seat sports stadium, a conference centre, hotel, indoor

arena and casino in Dublin's Phoenix Park. The casino — which would be the largest in Europe — will include 1,100 slot machines and has led to massive protest from local people. So far 20,000 objections to planning permission have been lodged.

Ireland may need a new sports stadium but not at the price of a monster casino and the social problems it will bring with it. Mick needs to tread carefully. He has no place supporting harmful commercial interests over the concerns of ordinary people.

BY BRIAN CAMPBELL



Austin Currie — not the most popular man in Tyrone

DESIGNER SQUALOR

The blurb tells us that *Trainspotting* is "harrowing and hilarious". It's more disturbing than harrowing and only funny at the start. Afterwards you wonder what there was to laugh at. Everyone in the film is a junkie. All the main characters are heroin addicts except one — and he's addicted to violence. He specialises in "glassing" people in the face.

It has to be said that it's superbly made, with a couple of wonderful set-pieces and Ewan McGregor plays a stormer as the main character, Renton. It's supposed to show heroin addiction from the junkie's point of view and McGregor is convincing. It's sure to be criticised for "glamourising" heroin, but it doesn't do that.

Nor is it social realism. Even the trashed out flat where the junkies shoot up — and where a baby dies of neglect in the middle of the film — is carefully contrived and subtly lit. Irvine Welsh who wrote the book on which the film is based says it's about "the culture and the lifestyle in a non-judgmental way".

Be that as it may, what we actually get is a kind of designer squalor. Disgust is stylised; the pain heroin abuse causes to those around the addict is invisible. Laugh with Renton as he fights the habit and then fails again. Share his contempt for his "so-called mates". If this is humour it says a lot

FILM REVIEWS

Trainspotting

Clockers

about the sick state of the society Renton is supposed to be kicking against. But it's not rebellion, it's a cop-out. A bit like this movie.

BY MICHEAL Mac DONNCHA

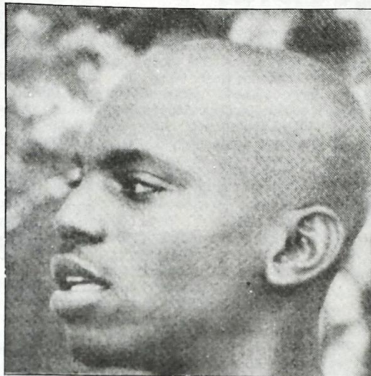
Clockers is evidence that Americans can still make great films. That the director was Spike Lee has everything to do with it, of course. His continuing exposé of the Black urban experience in the United States has been brought further to the mainstream in this engrossing production which features the talents of the brilliant Harvey Keitel.

Apparently *Clockers* hasn't packed out cinemas Stateside, which isn't really surprising. A nation fed on a shallow cinematic diet is not going to easily recognise brilliance, especially when it comes in the form of a story from the Black perspective. For many Americans, *Clockers* is "too Black". This is also the reason why it is so breathtakingly refreshing.

The backdrop to the opening credits is a disturbing litany of close-up photographs of various victims of drug-related murders. Bullet holes in foreheads, scores of young Blacks,



Ewan McGregor as Renton plays a stormer in *Trainspotting*



Mekhi Phifer in Spike Lee's brilliant *Clockers* men and women lying prostrate in pools of thick blood, a shocking statement of what the drugs culture is doing to the Black community. The film's main

list of social ills, but what *Clockers* demonstrates is that in the Black community, drugs is violence.

Strike spends his day 'hanging' with the brothers in the project, eventually becoming involved in the drugs trade. Brutalised by racist police and exploited by a ruthless drug dealer, he manages to retain an attractive innocence, drinking bottles of chocolate mousse and seemingly out of his depth in a increasingly dangerous environment.

Strike takes a shine to a youngster in 'the hood' who he amuses with his electric train set, but who he eventually introduces to the culture of guns and drugs. The child's mother is probably the strongest character in the film. She

fearlessly defends her son's interests, cutting the 'brothers' down to size and warning them to lay off her kid. "You're selling your own people death," she tells them defiantly. To see such a powerful woman character is in welcome contrast to the usual Hollywood portrayal of women as either victims or femmes fatale.

Clockers provides an invaluable insight into the mini-holocaust that drugs is wreaking on communities in the United States. The film is a must for those who wish to understand the marginalisation and oppression of Black Americans. Quite simply *Clockers* is great, great cinema. Go see it.

BY SEAN Mac BRADAIGH

UNCLE JOE SAYS...

The period following the Great Imperial War of 1914-18 was one of optimism for Britain's communists and socialists. Men returning from the bloodbath of the trenches were not willing to put up with the injustices and inequalities of the past.

Against this and the Russian revolution of 1917 and on the instructions of Lenin, the British Communist Party was founded in 1920. *Enemy Within: The Rise and Fall of the British Communist Party* is an intriguing and interesting account of its history and politics and Soviet connections until its winding up in 1991.

BOOK REVIEW

Enemy Within: The Rise and Fall of the British Communist Party
By Francis Becket
Published by John Murray
Price £19.99 Stg

A party which started out calling for armed insurrection went on to make as many somersaults as a circus act, mostly on the word of Moscow.

From its beginnings in the early '20s and the General Strike of 1926, through to the fight with Mosley's fascists and its recruitment of volunteers to fight the fascists in the

Spanish Civil War in the '30s the book charts the party's fledgling years, during which it also tried unsuccessfully several times to affiliate to the British Labour Party.

Its stance before the Second World War was at first to back Britain's war effort, and then on the orders of Stalin, to oppose it. When Hitler invaded Russia in 1942 it changed back again, becoming a major participant in the Second Front campaigns.

After the war it won some support and even some 'respectability', gaining a number of MPs. After the death of Stalin in 1953 the party began to tear itself apart and question what Stalin was

doing in the name of 'socialism'. It marked the end of the old order. It was unable to change during the radical '60s, where most young people were joining single-issue campaigns (such as CND).

The author follows the party's route in the Trade Unions throughout the 1970s and into what he calls the 'awful '80s', a decade of vicious infighting and splits against the background of Thatcher's Britain and the Miners' Strike of 1984-'85. It was eventually to lead to the dissolution of the British Communist Party, who renamed themselves Democratic Left.

BY CIARAN HEAPHEY



British Communist Party member Mick McGahey, who rose to membership of the TUC General Council

Imeachtaí

FUNCTION: 8pm, Thursday, 15 February, Victoria pub, Holloway Road, LONDON, England. Irish rebel music and speaker from Sinn Féin. Táille: £3/2. Organised by the Wolfe Tone Society

LOBBY: Major — Don't Scrap the Peace Process. Lobby of the British parliament calling for all-party talks, Thursday, 15 February, LONDON. Organised by the Irish Peace Initiative, Box 10132, London SW2 2XE or tel 0171-609-1743

WELCOME-HOME FUNCTION: For recently-released POW Jimmy Campbell. Friday, 16 February, Derrytresk Social Club, DERRYTRESK, County Tyrone. Music by Village Folk

PICKET: All-Party Peace Talks/Release the Prisoners. 1.30pm-3pm, Saturday, 17 February, Pearse Brothers Bridge, Rathfriland, DUBLIN. All welcome

SPONSORED CLIMB: Of Mullagharn. Assemble 11am, Saturday, 17 February, McDermott's Gravel Pit, Lenagh Road, GORTIN, County Tyrone

TORCH-LIGHT PROCESSION: In Support of Irish Peace Initiative Demands. Assemble 8.45pm, Saturday evening, 17 February, Main Car Park, DROMORE, County Tyrone. Speaker: Gerry McHugh

WHITE-LINE PROTEST: Free Paddy Kelly. 2pm, Saturday, 17 February, Antrim Road/Cliftonville Road Junction, BELFAST. Organised by the Free Paddy Kelly Campaign

COMMEMORATION: 12th annual Volunteers Henry Hogan and Declan Martin commemoration. Assemble 2.30pm, Sunday, 18 February, St Joseph's Cemetery, DUNLOY, County Antrim. Prominent speaker

PUBLIC LECTURE: The North — From Civil Rights to the Peace Process and Beyond. 8pm, Tuesday, 20 February, AT&GWU Hall, Middle Abbey Street, DUBLIN. Speakers: James Stewart (Communist Party of Ireland), Declan Bree (Labour TD). Organised by the James Connolly Education Trust

FUNCTION: Featuring **CANCELLED** Saturday, 24 February, Cap...

PARADE: Strabane Memorial Flute Band 10th anniversary parade. Assemble 2pm, Sunday, 25 February, Ballycolman shops, STRABANE, County Tyrone. All bands welcome

TORCH-LIGHT PROCESSION: In Support of the Irish Peace Initiative Demands. Assemble Friday evening, 1 March, GREENCASTLE, County Tyrone

PUBLIC MEETING: Against extradition. 8pm, Friday, 1 March, Gaelic League Hall, Thomas Street, LIMERICK. Speakers include Marie Quinlivan and Eamon O Cuiv TD. Nessian Quinlivan and Pearse McCauley will be in attendance. Organised by the Limerick Anti-Extradition Committee

THE Kevin Lynch Memorial Band, Dungiven, are looking for new members. Anyone wishing to join please phone 01504742280 after 6pm or contact any band member

SAOIRSE EVENTS

SAOIRSE LONDON: Next meeting at 7.30pm, 22 February, Camden Irish Centre

FUNCTION: Thursday 29 February, the Victoria pub, Holloway Road, LONDON. Táille £3/£2

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InDíl Chuimhne

BAILEY, Seán; BEST, Paul; CLANCY, Peter; DAVEY, John; MCGRILLEN, James; O'DONNELL, Kevin Barry; O'FARRELL, Seán; O'NEILL, James; STAGG, Francis; VINCENT, Patrick. In proud and loving memory of Volunteers Seán Bailey (died 13 February 1976), Peter Clancy (died 16 February 1992), James McGrillen (died 15 February 1976), Kevin Barry O'Donnell (died 16 February 1992), Seán O'Farrell (died 16 February 1992), Francis Stagg (died 12 February 1976), Patrick Vincent (died 16 February 1992), Fian James O'Neill (died 12 February 1976) and Sinn Féin members Paul Best (died 18 February 1976) and John Davey (died 14 February 1989). There are only two ways of righting wrongs: reform and revolution. Reform is possible when those who inflict the wrong can be got to see things from the point of view of those who suffer the wrong. — PH Pearse. Always remembered with love and pride by their friends and comrades in the Republican Movement.

CLANCY, Peter (4th Ann). In proud and loving memory of our dear son Peter, who was killed in action on 16 February 1992. From the Clancy family.

CLANCY, Peter (4th Ann). In proud and loving memory of our dear friend Peter, who was killed on 16 February 1992, along with his comrades Seán, Patrick and Barry. Sadly missed by Thaddeus, Ursula and family.

CLANCY, Peter (4th Ann). In proud and loving memory of our dear friend Peter, who was killed on 16 February 1992, along with his comrades Seán, Patrick and Barry. Sadly missed by Donal, Lynn and family.

CLANCY, Peter (4th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Peter Clancy and his three comrades, Volunteers Seán O'Farrell, Barry O'Donnell and Paddy Vincent, killed on active service on 16 February 1992. Too good in life, to be forgotten in death. Always remembered with love and pride by Orlaith and Anthony, Coalsland.

CLANCY, Peter (4th Ann). In proud and loving memory of our dear friend Peter, who was killed on 16 February 1992, along with his comrades Seán, Patrick and Barry. Sweet Jesus have mercy on him. Sadly missed by Kathleen.

CONNOLLY, James Joseph (7th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer James Joseph Connolly, West Tyrone Brigade, Ogligh na hÉireann, who died on active service on 6 February 1989. "There can never be peace in Ireland until the foreign, oppressive British presence is removed." — Bobby Sands. Always remembered by the Séamus Harvey Sinn Féin Cumann, Ballybofey; By Comhairle Ceantair Sinn Féin, Tir Chonail.

DAVEY, John (7th Ann). In proud and loving memory of John Davey, murdered on 14 February 1989. Let me carry the cross for Ireland's freedom. Always remembered by his loving wife Mary and family.

DAVEY, John (7th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Sinn Féin Councillor John Davey, who was killed by pro-British agents on 14 February 1989. Always remembered by his friends and comrades in the Fergal O'Hanlon/John Davey Sinn Féin Cumann, Lavey; the Casement/Hightstead/Kelly Sinn Féin

Cumann, Maghera; the McCusker/McMullan/O'Hanlon Sinn Féin Cumann, Swatragh; the McGinn/Rodden/Donaghy Sinn Féin Cumann, Killea; the O'Carolan/Kilmartin Sinn Féin Cumann, Dungiven; the Séamus Cumann, Sinn Féin Cumann, Steele Sinn Féin Cumann, Newbridge; the County Derry/Southwest Antrim Commemoration Committee.

MacManus, Joseph (4th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Joseph MacManus, who was killed on active service on 5 February 1992. "Everyone in this country is oppressed and we can't successfully end our oppression as women until we first end the oppression of our country." — Máiréad Farrell. Always remembered by the Séamus Harvey Sinn Féin Cumann, Ballybofey; By Comhairle Ceantair Sinn Féin, Tir Chonail.

O'DONNELL, Barry (4th Ann). In ndíl chuimhne, ar mo dheartháir, Barry agus, a chónradaithe a fuair bás ar an 16 Feabhra 1992. Do thugas mo ghnúis ar an ród seo romham, ar an ghníomh, do chím. Is ar an mbás do gheobhadh. Le grá Bóisín.

O'DONNELL, Barry (4th Ann). In ndíl chuimhne Barry agus a chomradaithe Seán, Peter agus Paddy, a fuair bás ar an 16 Feabhra 1992. Ag smaoineamh ort i gcónaí. O do thuismitheoirí Jim agus Celine, do dheirfiúir Deirdre, agus do dheartháireacha Niall agus Séamus.

O'DONNELL, Barry (4th Ann). In proud and loving memory of my brother Barry, Volunteer of the East Tyrone Brigade, Ogligh na hÉireann, who was killed on active service on 16 February 1992, with his three brave comrades Seán, Peter and Paddy. Ar dheis Dé go raibh a nanam. Always remembered by your sister Caoimhe, Slip and Seánín.

O'DONNELL, Barry (4th Ann). In proud and loving memory of my brother Volunteer Barry O'Donnell, East Tyrone Brigade, Ogligh na hÉireann, who was killed on active service on 16 February 1992, with his three brave comrades Seán, Peter and Paddy. Always remembered by Feargal, Tim, Caoimhin and Ché.

O'DONNELL, Barry (4th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Barry O'Donnell and his three comrades, Volunteers Seán O'Farrell, Peter Clancy and Paddy Vincent, killed on active service on 16 February 1992. Your names we often mention, our thoughts are with you still, you haven't been forgotten, by us you never will. Always remembered with love and pride by Seán and Ciara, Coalsland.

O'DONNELL, Barry; VINCENT, Paddy; CLANCY, Peter (4th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Barry, Paddy and Peter, who were killed on active service on 16 February 1992. They were men with a vision, men with a cause, men who defied their oppressors' law. Men who traded their chains for guns, born into slavery they were freedom's son. From Irene and Austin O'Farrell.

him down, as he lay upon the ground, they shot him four times more. From his mother Irene and brother Austin.

O'FARRELL, Seán (4th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Seán, killed on active service on 16 February 1992. From his father Tom.

O'FARRELL, Seán (4th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Seán and his comrades Barry, Paddy and Peter. "Ireland unfree shall never be at peace." — PH Pearse. Always remembered with love and pride by Batman.

O'FARRELL, Seán (4th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Seán and his comrades Barry, Paddy and Peter, who were killed in action on 16 February 1992. Always remembered by Sharon.

O'FARRELL, Seán; O'DONNELL, Barry; VINCENT, Paddy (4th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Seán, Barry and Paddy, who died on active service on 16 February 1992. Always remembered with love and pride by the Clancy family.

O'FARRELL, Seán; O'DONNELL, Barry; VINCENT, Paddy; CLANCY, Peter (4th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Seán, Barry, Paddy and Peter. I think of the traitors who bargained and sold, I'm sorry my rifle has not done the same, to the quislings who sold out the patriot's game. From Fear Beag.

O'FARRELL, Seán; O'DONNELL, Barry; VINCENT, Paddy; CLANCY, Peter (4th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Volunteers Seán O'Farrell, Barry O'Donnell, Paddy Vincent and Peter Clancy, who were killed in action on 16 February 1992. Always remembered with love and pride by Anthony and Paddy Fox.

O'FARRELL, Seán; O'DONNELL, Barry; VINCENT, Paddy; CLANCY, Peter (4th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Volunteers Seán O'Farrell, Barry O'Donnell, Paddy Vincent and Peter Clancy, East Tyrone Brigade, Ogligh na hÉireann, who were killed in action on 16 February 1992. Always remembered with love and pride by the Dungannon Martyrs Sinn Féin Cumann; By the Coalsland Martyrs Sinn Féin Cumann; By the Clonoe Martyrs Sinn Féin Cumann; By the Jim Lynch Sinn Féin Cumann, Clogher; By the Martin Hurson/Fergal O'Hanlon Sinn Féin Cumann, Galbally; By the South Tyrone Comhairle Ceantair Sinn Féin.

O'FARRELL, Seán; O'DONNELL, Barry; VINCENT, Paddy; CLANCY, Peter (4th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Volunteers Seán O'Farrell, Barry O'Donnell, Paddy Vincent and Peter Clancy, East Tyrone Brigade, Ogligh na hÉireann, who were killed in action on 16 February 1992. Always remembered with love and pride by the Colm Keenan/Martin Hurson Sinn Féin Cumann, Cookstown; By the Eoin McNamee Sinn Féin Cumann, Kildress; By the Martin Hurson/Séamus Woods Sinn Féin Cumann, Pomeroy; By the Frank Ward Sinn Féin Cumann, Carrickmore, Creggan; By the Ahern/Loughshore Martyrs Sinn Féin Cumann, Ardboe, Mooretown and Stewartstown; By the Tyrone National Graves Association.

O'FARRELL, Seán; O'DONNELL, Barry; VINCENT, Paddy; CLANCY, Peter (4th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Volunteers Seán O'Farrell, Barry O'Donnell, Paddy Vincent and Peter Clancy, East Tyrone Brigade, Ogligh na hÉireann, who were killed in action on 16 February 1992. Always remembered with love and pride by the Colm Keenan/Martin Hurson Sinn Féin Cumann, Cookstown; By the Eoin McNamee Sinn Féin Cumann, Kildress; By the Martin Hurson/Séamus Woods Sinn Féin Cumann, Pomeroy; By the Frank Ward Sinn Féin Cumann, Carrickmore, Creggan; By the Ahern/Loughshore Martyrs Sinn Féin Cumann, Ardboe, Mooretown and Stewartstown; By the Tyrone National Graves Association.

O'FARRELL, Seán; O'DONNELL, Barry; VINCENT, Paddy; CLANCY, Peter (4th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Volunteers Seán O'Farrell, Barry O'Donnell, Paddy Vincent and Peter Clancy, East Tyrone Brigade, Ogligh na hÉireann, who were killed in action on 16 February 1992. Always remembered with love and pride by the Colm Keenan/Martin Hurson Sinn Féin Cumann, Cookstown; By the Eoin McNamee Sinn Féin Cumann, Kildress; By the Martin Hurson/Séamus Woods Sinn Féin Cumann, Pomeroy; By the Frank Ward Sinn Féin Cumann, Carrickmore, Creggan; By the Ahern/Loughshore Martyrs Sinn Féin Cumann, Ardboe, Mooretown and Stewartstown; By the Tyrone National Graves Association.

O'FARRELL, Seán; O'DONNELL, Barry; VINCENT, Paddy; CLANCY, Peter (4th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Volunteers Seán O'Farrell, Barry O'Donnell, Paddy Vincent and Peter Clancy, East Tyrone Brigade, Ogligh na hÉireann, who were killed in action on 16 February 1992. Always remembered with love and pride by the Colm Keenan/Martin Hurson Sinn Féin Cumann, Cookstown; By the Eoin McNamee Sinn Féin Cumann, Kildress; By the Martin Hurson/Séamus Woods Sinn Féin Cumann, Pomeroy; By the Frank Ward Sinn Féin Cumann, Carrickmore, Creggan; By the Ahern/Loughshore Martyrs Sinn Féin Cumann, Ardboe, Mooretown and Stewartstown; By the Tyrone National Graves Association.

STAGG, Frank (20th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Frank Stagg, Ogligh na hÉireann, who died on hunger strike 12 February 1976. I

An eviction
in the 1850s
— the
tenants'
campaign
was
betrayed by
Sadleir and
Keogh



THE POPE'S BRASS BAND

John Sadleir, a nationalist MP and a leading member of the Independent Irish Party, betrayed the Tenant Right League during the early 1850s at the height of the agitation for land reform.

Sadleir, who was born in County Tipperary in 1815, became a prominent member of the 'Irish Brigade' and later of the Catholic Defence Association. Founded by George Henry Moore, the Irish Brigade, which became known as 'The Pope's Brass Band', because of its close association with the Catholic hierarchy, included about 24 liberal MPs, among them John Sadleir and William Keogh (who as a judge, was to preside over the Fenian 'State Trials' during the 1860s), who came together in 1851 in order to oppose the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill.

In August 1852, the Tenant Right League, established by the Young Irelander, Charles Gavan Duffy and Frederick Lucas two years previously to secure improvements and protection for tenants suffering from the effects of the Great Famine, entered into an alliance with the Brigade and formed the Independent Irish Party.

Following the agreement between the Irish Brigade and the Tenant Right League, Sadleir, Keogh and other members of the Independent Irish Party took a pledge not to accept government office. The new party had immediate success at the polls. At the general election later in the year, 40 out of 48 of its candidates were elected.

The success of a national party, however, was to be short lived. After the election, when the government offered only part of what the Tenant League was fighting for, Sadleir and Keogh reneged on their pledges and accepted office in Lord Aberdeen's government. Roundly condemned by nationalists, for their perfidy, the Independent Irish Party disintegrated during the following years.

Sadleir became Lord of the Treasury and in 1853 was elected MP for Sligo. With his financial affairs in ruins and having embezzled over a million pounds from the Tipperary Joint-Stock Bank, which he owned, he committed suicide in 1856. Keogh, the infamous judge during the Fenian trials of 1865-67, became mentally unstable and took his own life in 1878.

John Sadleir committed suicide on 17 February, 1856, 140 years ago this week.

Fógraí Bháis James Flynn

THE DEATH of James Flynn has broken another link with the republican struggle of the 1930s and '40s. A native of Drumenaon, County Leitrim, he spent most of his life in Dublin.

Born in 1912 James joined the IRA in Leitrim in the 1930s. He went on active service during the 1939 bombing campaign in England. Intercepted by British police he was deported to Ireland in 1940. He settled in Drimnagh in Dublin and was well known for many years on his butcher's stall in the Leavagh Market.

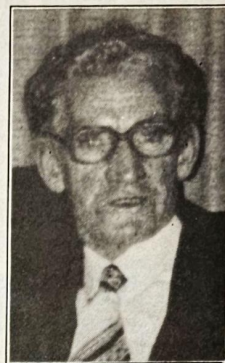
Always a faithful supporter of the prisoners' dependants during the 1940s and '50s, he offered his services to the IRA again during the 1956-62

campaign. His support continued right up until his death last month.

James is survived by his wife Maureen, son Séamus and daughter Eilís to whom the sympathy of republicans is extended. I measc laochra na hÉireann go raibh a anam uasal.

In a verse tribute his comrade of 1939, Pearse McLaughlin has written:

"When Ireland needed service, on that long and painful road,



The burden of her service was his constant care and load.

Our comfort is his memory now — he is with the chosen ones above,

He lived and died by Ireland's side, and gave her all his love."

EAMONN SCALLY

THE DEATH occurred on 31 January of Eamonn Scally of Ballycastle County Antrim.

He was born in 1920, son of John Scally, North Antrim IRA. As a young man, his family survived on a few dairy cows on rented land. He had a keen interest in his locality, especially anything to do with boats, fishing and the sea. He remembered his grandmother from Rathlin who was a native Irish speaker, trying to keep the language going in the family by always conversing to the children in Irish.

Eamonn left school at 12 years old to work for farmers to help the family get by. He then worked as a motor mechanic, eventually owning a bookie shop and bar.

He had a keen interest in all things Irish, from sports and history, to the language. He was elected to the board of the local hurling club and served there for many years. He ran in local elections and was narrowly defeated by a unionist.

From a young age, Eamonn organised the Casement Commemoration Committee, and could be seen in Murlough Bay every year at the commemoration. He headed the North Antrim National Graves Association and was instrumental in getting a cross erected at Murlough Bay where Roger Casement wanted to be buried. He was also present at

the unveiling of the monument to Roger Casement in County Kerry.

He organised demonstrations in Ballycastle from Bloody Sunday through to the Hunger Strike of 1981.

He was a close friend of John Turnly who was assassinated by British agents in 1980. He could be seen at protests from North Antrim to South Derry to Dublin over the past 26 years, to highlight the need to break the shackles of British colonialism in Ireland.

Eamonn was dedicated to his family and country. He leaves behind a large family circle from Ballycastle to San Francisco. North Antrim has lost a son and a true Gael.

(continued from page 16)

want my memorial to be peace with justice. Always remembered with pride by Peadar O'Murchú.

STAGG, Frank (20th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Frank Stagg, Oglagh na hÉireann who died on Hunger Strike on 12 February 1976. "Ireland unfree shall never be at peace." — PH Pearse. From Galway Sinn Féin.

Comhbhrón

HAYES. Deepest sympathy is extended to Mick Hayes and family on the death of his mother. From Mary and Patrick McLaughlin, Buncrana, County Donegal.

JENNINGS. Clonakilty Sinn Féin extends deepest sympathy to the wife, family and relatives of Billy

Jennings, who died recently. A true and loyal republican.

JENNINGS. Deepest sympathy is extended to the Jennings family, Clonakilty, on the death of Billy. From Clir Cionnath O'Suilleabháin.

MCDONNELL. Deepest sympathy is extended to the family and friends in Ireland and abroad of Seán McDonnell, National Organiser, Cumann na Phoblacht, who died in London recently. From Tony and Phyllis Kearns, Dublin.

SCALLY. Deepest sympathy is extended to Ciarán Scally and family on the death of his father. From San Francisco Irish Northern Aid; From the Ulster Gaelic Club, San Francisco.

WATTERS. Deepest sympathy is extended to Pat and the Watters family on the death of Bernard, Pat's father. Go ndána Dia trócaire ar a anam uasal. From

the Patsy Kelly Sinn Féin Cumann; From the West Tyrone Comhairle Ceantair, Sinn Féin; From the Michael McVerry Sinn Féin Cumann, Cullyhanna; From the Newry/Armagh Comhairle Ceantair, Sinn Féin.

Buíochas

KIERAN DOHERTY/Sons of Ireland RFB would like to thank the people of Clonard, Ballymurphy and Beechmount for the accommodation at such short notice and also the march organisers in Derry.

THE Volunteer Tom Williams RFB thank the members of the Spirit of Freedom RFB for the hospitality and kindness shown to the band over the Bloody Sunday weekend.

CORRECTION

We said in an article on drugs on Thursday, 1 February, that Sid Johnston "blamed his brother-in-law", for a car loaded with drugs found at Johnston's house. The sentence should have read, "Johnston blamed his former brother-in-law by his first marriage." AP/RN wishes to apologise unreservedly to Mr Johnston's widow and family for any distress caused.

NOTICES DEADLINE

The deadline for notices is 5pm on the Monday before publication. In order to be included, notices must be received by post, phone or fax at our Dublin or Belfast offices before 5pm on Mondays.

The address for our Dublin office is Notices, An Phoblacht/Republican News, 58 Parnell Square, Dublin 1. Phone 8733811/8733839, Fax 8733074.

Our Belfast office is 535 Falls Road, Belfast BT11 9AA. Phone 600279, Fax 600207

Agóid ban in aghaidh ionsaithe foréigneacha



Mhairséil mná i mBaile Atha Cliath chun 'An Oíche a Athghabháil' Déardaoin seo caite, 8 Feabhra, i ndiaidh ardú d'ionróirí in aghaidh ban sna sráideanna agus in aghaidh an thoréigin leanúnaigh ar mhán sa bhaile. D'eagraigh Women's Aid an

imeacht agus bhí ionadaithe i láthair ó 26 ghrúpa eile ban.

Bhí an mórsuíl tórise eagraithe le haghaidh dhéanamh faoi shraith alt sna nuachtáin agus clár theilifíse agus raidió a mhol gur chóir saoirse agus saoil bhan a chiorú mar fhreagra do dhúnmharaithe agus ionsaithe

foréigneacha ar mhán san sráideanna ar na mallaibh.

Chuir colún thuairmíochta i roinnt pháipéar náisiúnta in iúl go raibh cuid oen mhilleán don thoréigin in aghaidh ban ar fheimeachas.

Ach dúirt cathaoirleach Women's Aid Roisín McDermott

nár bh aon fhreagra do na hionsaithe ar mhán cuirfú faoi bhrú. Arsa McDermott:

"Eilimid nach n-iarrrat ar mhán freagracht a ghlacadh do na heachtraí ar na mallaibh d'fhógraíocht fhir in aghaidh ban trí mholtai de chur i bhfeidhm cuirfúna."

Fógraíocht Cois Life

Tá an stáisiún Ghaelach Atha Cliath, Raidió na Life 102, tar éis ceadúnas fógraíochta a fháil ón IRTC.

Dúirt Anna de Barra le AP/RN go raibh an stáisiún ag fanacht leis an ceadúnas le dhá bhliain anois. Go dtí seo bhí cláracha ar an stáisiún urraithe ag comhlachtaí cosúil le Bus Éireann nó Nestlé Rowntree, ach ní rabhadar in ann earraí nó praghasanna a lua. Dar le de Barra d'fhéadfadh fógraíocht ar Raidió na Life teangmháil a dhéanamh idir táirgí chomhlachtaí agus an Éireannachas.

Bionn an stáisiún ar an aer ó 5in go dtí 10.30in Luan go Déardaoin, ó 5in go méan oíche Aoine, agus ó méan lae go méan oíche Satharn agus Domhnach.

Chun tuille eolas a fháil ar fhógraíocht ar Raidió na Life, is féidir teangmháil a dhéanamh leis an stáisiún ar (01) 6794780 (fón) nó (01) 6790214 (faics).

Plean shé phointe do mhorshiúlta léirithe ag an LOCC

Tá plean shé phointe do mhorshiúlta conspóideacha sna Sé Chontae soiléirithe an tseachtain seo ag an Lower Ormeau Concerned Community.

Tá an LOCC ag iarraidh an sórt foréigin a sheachaint an samhradh seo a tharla le linn séasúr máirseála an Oird Oráistigh an bhliain seo caite. Ghortaigh an CRU roinnt náisiúnaithe go dona, cuid acu scaoilte le piléir phlaisteacha, nuair a thiomáin siad paráideanna Oráisteacha trí cheantair náisiúnacha i mBéal Feirste, Ros Earcáin, Baile Eachaigh agus Port an Dúnaí.

Dúirt urlabhraí an LOCC John Gormley go bhfuil an grúpa ag súil gur féidir le heachtraí na bliana seo caite a sheachaint má thugtar feidhm dlíthiúil dá mholtai.

Dúirt Gormley go raibh an LOCC i bhfách le ceart daoine chun máirseál is go rachadh 98% do mháirseál na Sé Chontae ar aghaidh gan athrú má ghlactar lena bplean. Dúirt sé áfach gur chóir go n-aithneofai cearta chónaitheoirí nár mhaith leo máirseál ag dul trína gceantar.

Is iad na sé phointe de plean an LOCC ná:

Go bhfuil an reachtaíocht ar ord poiblí i láthair na huairé uireasach maidir le ceist pharáideanna conspóideacha;

Go bhfuil an ceart ag daoine chun máirseála ach nach bhfuil sé gan choinníoll

agus caithfear mothálachtaí daoine eile a chur san áireamh;

Go bhfuil an ceart ag cónaitheoirí easaontú le paráideanna ag dul trína gceantar, sa chás sin caithfidh na heagraithe bealaí eile a lorg;

Gur chóir go mbeadh an ceart ag daone dul trí lárionaid thráchtála de bhailte agus de shráidbhailte ach gur chóir do dhílseoirí áiteanna ina bhfuil bunús mór an phobail ina náisiúntóirí a sheachtaint agus gur chóir do náisiúntóirí déanamh amhlaidh i gceantair aontachta;

Gur féidir le bealaí traidisiúnta a athrú de réir athruithe sa daonra ar an bealaí sin;

Go gcaithfidh eagraithe

gealltanais a thabhairt maidir le hiompar na máirseálaithe agus an lucht leanúna le cinntiú go seachnaitear griosú seicteachas.

Tá an LOCC chun an plean a chur chuig grúpaí pobail, pairitithe polaitiúla agus na heagrais mháirseála uilig ag lorg a dtuairimí.

Dúirt John Gormley gur theip an dlí maidir le hord poiblí go dtí seo mar nach n-aithníonn sé mothuithe an phobail. Tá súil ag an LOCC a dúirt sé go rachadh na pointí seo isteach i reachtaíocht nua dlí.

Tá an LOCC ag lorg cruinníu anois leis an CRU a luaite agus is féidir le fáil amach cad é mar a bheith siad ag plé le mórshiúlta na bliana seo. Tá súil ag an LOCC go n-

aithneoidh an CRU na meáncoaga a rinne said anuraidh nuair a d'ionsaigh siad pobail áitiúla chun slí a dhéanamh do mórshiúlta dílseacha nuair a bhí bealaí eile ar fáil acu.

Arsa Gormley:

"Chuir láimhseál an CRU de pharáideanna na bliana seo caite leis an fhadhb. Beimid ag iarraidh orthu cad é an plean atá acu do pharáideanna na bliana seo."

Tá an LOCC ag iarraidh cruinníu fosta leis an Ord Oráisteach. Dhiúltaigh an t-ord bualadh leis an LOCC ó bhí Lúnasa na bliana seo caite ann.

Tá an chéad pharáid Oráisteach eile le bheith ar an Bhóthar Ormeau ar Luan na Cásca, 8 Aibreán.

Ag tús an scéil

Athinsint é seo ar scéal theacht na nGael go hÉireann mar atá i Leabhar Gabhála Éireann. Tá an leabhar dírithe ar leanaí agus é maisithe dá réir, ach tá saibheas ann do chách.

Scéal ársa é seo mitheaseolaíocht, ach cá fíor nach an fíor scéal é. Níl sé ar nós scéal nó bréag scéal an Chruithin mar atá ag Ian Adamson — níl sé ag iarraidh seasamh polaitiúil an lae inniu a chruthú. Tá an scéal simplithe chomh mór agus is féidir, ach san am céanna déantar iarracht

an bun rithim agus bun foclaíocht a choimeád. Foinse ana mhaith é seo ar miníu ar logainmneacha.

Bhí Inis Ealga faoi na ríotha Mac Cuill Mac Céacht agus Mac Gréine nuair a tháinig Ioth Mac Bhreoghain ar Éire ó thuaisceart na Spáinne. Mharraigh Tuatha Dé Danann é thois gur shíl sé gur raibh na heachtrannaigh ag saintiú an tír dóibh fhéin. Mar thoradh ar sin tháinig loingeas ó Chlanna Mhíle chun díoltas a imirt. Leanann an scéal faoi

LÉIRMHEAS LEABHAIR

Teacht na nGael go hÉireann
Le Clíodna Cussen
Foilsithe ag Coiscéim
Praghas £3

na cathanna a lean, mar a tháinig Banba, Fodhla agus Éire ar an tír agus cé fáth gur dúradh:

On deisceart
Tagann binneas ceoil,
On tuaisceart
Ollúna an aos dána.
Agus mar a roigheadh
Éire i dhá leath.

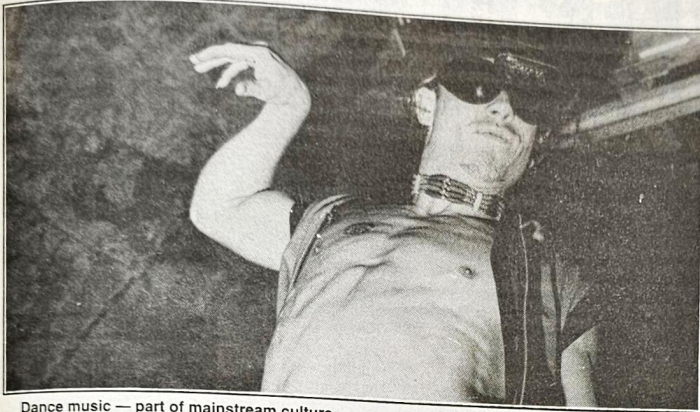
Le DEIRDRE
Níe an TSOAIR



TEACHT na nGAEL
go hÉIRINN

Clíodna Cussen

BEWARE THE DEMON DANCERS



Dance music — part of mainstream culture

WHAT IS IT ABOUT MUSIC? Rock and roll scared the pants off a past generation of parents and pulpit thumpers. Punk rock sent them totally ga-ga. And now the "fast, non-melodic beats" of dance/rave music prompts a new wave of hysteria.

Of course this latest fear of youth culture owes much to the presence of drugs, in particular ecstasy. While many young people enjoy the scene without taking drugs, it is undeniable that dance music and drug taking is now part of mainstream youth culture, with an estimated 20,000 clubbers attending dance venues in the Six Counties every weekend. *AP/RN* spoke to a number of young working-class nationalists who regularly go to these clubs and take ecstasy.

"I remember the first time I went to a rave, I didn't know anything about it. But it was just brilliant. I couldn't wait to get back the next week," said one. For the last two years the dance music scene and ecstasy has been at the centre of his social life. He said he had been involved in car theft to pay for drugs.

He and his friends estimate that around 80% of people aged 18-23 are into dance music. They argue that the dance scene — and the drug taking that accompanies it — is not a passing fad. It has been around since 1988 with no signs of its popularity waning. (It has become known as rave, but in fact rave, as a style of music, died out about five years ago.)

And what of the dangers? "You're more likely to win the Lottery than die from Es. I think I'll take the chance," said one 23-year-old from Belfast, smiling.

But a number of the people who spoke to *AP/RN* were worried about the dangers. A recent survey found that there is

no longer such a thing as pure ecstasy. Guardian journalists bought 14 E tablets in ten British cities and had them analysed. Not one was pure MDMA (the chemical shorthand for ecstasy) and nine had no MDMA at all. Some contained a related compound which is cheaper to manufacture. Two contained Ketamine, a tranquilliser and anaesthetic which can produce hallucinations and paralysis, and even coma.

The situation is made worse by many clubs profiting from ecstasy users' need to drink water to avoid the deadly effects of dehydration. Those who spoke to *AP/RN* confirmed that the main dance venues sold small bottles of water for £1.50 and turned off the cold water in the toilets. "In Scotland, clubs have to provide drinking fountains. They should do the same here," said one.

Many young people call for the drug to be legalised and its quality monitored. They recognise that drug dealers have only one thing on their minds — profit — and have no scruples about putting drug users lives at risk.

One young man from Derry cited the experience of Black communities in the United States, whose militant political voice has been overwhelmed by the demoralising effects of drug abuse. He argued that the drug culture suits British interests. "It takes away people's interest in politics," he said.

The problems associated with the drug culture are many and complex. But, not surprisingly, the people who

■ *AP/RN's* BRIAN CAMPBELL looks at the dance music culture in the Six Counties

spoke to *AP/RN* argued that the banning of dance music is not a solution.

"If someone says you're not allowed to do this, not allowed to do that, people don't like it. They'll rebel against it. What would it have been like if they'd banned punk or rock and roll? It would have been the same," one said.

Well-known dance music DJ Eddie Wray argues that drug use is part of all popular music. "Ordinary discos have 20 times the drug problem of dance music venues where there is the strictest door policy you could think of," he claims. He has been vocal in expressing his anger at those who wish to ban dance music. "This music is here to stay. It is the only music there is — it is today's disco music," he says.

Sixty years ago the moral guardians of Ireland warned the young people of the day against the evils of jazz music. It would, they said, corrupt our wholesome youth. Today, unionist councils, the RUC and the Tories are to the fore in banning dance music. Republicans should not be part of that reactionary cabal.

There are problems associated with the dance scene and there are many whose only interest in keeping the scene alive is to make profits. An easy response is to ban it. That should not be our response. Banning dance music is not a solution.

Councillors tour USA

SINN FÉIN Councillors Seán MacManus (Sligo) and Caoimhghín O Caoláin (Monaghan) have recently returned from visits to the United States, where they completed a gruelling tour of meetings and interviews.

MacManus began his tour in San Francisco, where the highlight of his visit was Irish Northern Aid's Annual Testimonial Dinner, with the city's mayor as guest of honour. He then travelled to Los Angeles and then on to Orange County, before leaving California for Portland, Oregon and Seattle, Washington, speaking to well-attended meetings and the media.

Before his return home, MacManus travelled to New York city and Upstate New York, where he attended the Mid-Hudson Branch of Irish Northern Aid's annual dinner. MacManus described his trip

as, "exhausting but very necessary in terms of informing public opinion in the US about the crisis in the peace process caused by Britain's rejection of the Mitchell report".

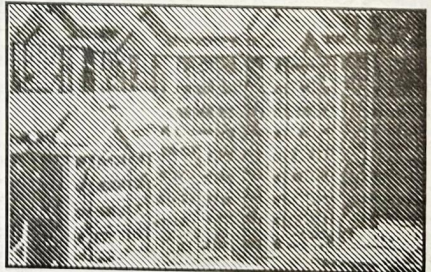
Caoimhghín O Caoláin toured the Mid-West, visiting Chicago, St Louis, Kansas City, Cleveland and Detroit. He met the editorial boards of major newspapers in these cities and spoke on radio and TV. During his visit to Cleveland, O Caoláin met with Dr Alan Boesak; the well-known South African politician and founding patron of the United Democratic Front, which led the successful anti-

Apartheid struggle. Boesak and O Caoláin took part in a forum at Oberlin College as part of their programme of activities to commemorate the birth of Martin Luther King Junior.



Dr Alan Boesak speaking with Sinn Féin Councillor Caoimhghín O Caoláin in Oberlin, Ohio, on 3 February

Next week CRISIS



WHERE TO NEXT?

Continuing coverage of the fall-out from the breakdown in the IRA cessation

In the first AP/RN interview with a Dublin government minister, Michael D Higgins, Minister for Arts, Culture and the Gaeltacht, talks to ANTON O MORDHA

FIGHTING HIS CORNER

APPOINTED in January 1993 as Minister for Arts, Culture and the Gaeltacht, Michael D Higgins has already made a considerable impact in his time in office. He rescinded the censorship provisions of Section 31 of the Broadcasting Act, he has been to the fore in the redevelopment of the Irish film industry, and has recently turned the sod on the headquarters of Teilifis na Gaeilge, which will go on air next October.

"What we're doing is pushing past and recovering from a terrible period in politics," says Michael D Higgins. "I entered politics in the second half of the 1960s when there was a kind of heady celebration of solidarity, when there was a great deal of belief in ethical issues."

There was a great interest by people in the Northern hemisphere in issues of underdevelopment and exploitation of the southern hemisphere. "There was a great interest in disarmament, all of these kind of things, past the Cold War, and what we've had is a kind of very extreme, rather ignorant, and right-wing philosophy, that had its hegemony, its most extreme form in this kind of Reaganomics and Thatcherism."

The Maastricht Treaty was the creation of that particular political climate in Europe, he says. "There was a great deal of anti-state hostility, there was a great deal of assault on solidarities, there was an emphasis on the private and the individual." It has resulted in a nightmare in both the United States and Britain. "What it has created are people living in isolation, fragmented, with their private videos, behind security systems, with no connection between themselves and their neighbours."

According to Higgins this period "visited despair" on many people of the left. "I think there is some evidence as well that the left lost their nerve in many different countries." What the left has to do is to redefine itself in terms of its ethical messages, and in terms of its economic strategies, and in terms of its social policies.

So how successful has Labour been in achieving left-wing objectives in the rainbow coalition government?

"I think the only way to test that is to put together other models of combinations of parties in government," he says, comparing the present government with one that the PDs would be in. Hardly a strenuous test, for a party claiming to be on the left.

But what has this year's budget achieved?

"If you have an imposed set of disciplines that derive from Maastricht, if you have a kind of parameter there, the question is how you adjust the economy in between." The budget won't end mass unemployment, he argues, but it will discriminate positively in favour of the long-term unemployed. "I think that next year's budget, taken together with this one will be able to deal more generally with employment." It's important, he says, to make a start on the long-term jobless. If you take out of the 276,000, the 70,000 or 80,000 that are the core, they were the people who needed priority. "I think that this budget is not a once off, employment will still be the target of next year's budget."

The government is on target to have "substantially implemented" the recommendations of the

Commission on Social Welfare by the end of next year, he says. The largest number of housing units in the history of the state were built last year. "That's a straight political difference," he claims.

What then is his view of developments in the peace process?

"I support the Tánaiste's view entirely in relation to what has been happening and when he expressed his deep dissatisfaction at the responses [to the Mitchell report]." He supports demands that the communiqué of 28 November be fulfilled "in the spirit and in the letter". As regards proposals that have been made for elections: "Let people come to talks, and let's discuss anything people want there."

What of the bipartisan approach that has been adopted in Westminster? He thinks it's important that the peace process and 'twin-track' approach do not become a political football in Westminster. "At the same time I think that there is a need for a sharper engagement by the British Labour Party in relation to what is going on," he says. "My personal opinion is that historically the British Labour Party has not had a long sustained interest in what they would call 'the Irish problem'. There is some evidence that this has changed in recent years — that they have been engaging the problem."

Two of Michael D Higgins' most notable achievements have been in the field of broadcasting: the abolition of Section 31 and the establishment of Teilifis na Gaeilge. He says he was very conscious of the position of people who had been marginalised and who were being continually told that they should be part of the conventional political process. "Their taking what is for them a courageous decision, needed to be respected."

My primary approach towards Section 31 was entirely as an issue that it was a bad piece of broadcasting legislation. It was from the perspective of censorship in broadcasting that I began."

Higgins rules out suggestions that he rescinded the order as part of developments in the peace process. "Under Section 31, the people's right to know was being affected." "I wanted to let the RTÉ Authority exercise its discretion and I wanted to take the censorship blanket out of it."

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"My motivation was entirely distorted, I was supposed to be in favour of giving succour to this, and the other form of violence, which I don't and never did." The point, he maintains, was a "matter of fairness".

The minister has been clearly stung by criticism of his decisions, particularly by Independent Newspapers.

Speaking about the decision to establish Teilifis na Gaeilge he says: "I think it's like a 15-round heavyweight contest at this stage and I'm coming out of the corner again. I sometimes think that the bell has



MICHAEL D HIGGINS — I think it's like a 15-round heavyweight contest at this stage and I'm coming out of the corner again

gone and that the contest is over, only to find it starting all over again.

"How representative is the largest group of papers in this country, where you have four or five individuals who run an agenda that isn't accountable to anybody? That agenda attacked me from the first day I was appointed as minister. It has been a sustained set of defamations, libels and distortions of everything I have tried to do in every area." There was an almost unstoppable tide of vilification in relation to Section 31 during that year.

"There was a campaign against John Hume, and his talking to Gerry Adams, and then they later said 'we were wrong', well the point was how much damage had they done in the meantime?" Was this fair treatment of the North? Was this fair treatment of an issue of censorship? Was it fair treatment of a new minister? He was "willing to let history judge", but I know what conclusion that I have come to.

"There are people who quite consciously, and they're quite entitled to their opinion, want this country defined by the philosophical principle 'I consume, therefore I am.' Alternatively, he suggests, we can invest in creativity and encourage the tolerance that will enable us to do other things, but in addition to that, we can live more comfortably in the wider community of nations."

He argues that the alternative agenda that Independent Newspapers had was that we should have "about ten years of unending apologies for what's left of ourselves, that we abandon our commitment to the Irish language, that we keep watching American soaps and so forth, and every now and again we read on the back page of people ostentatiously consuming in the style of the last days of Nero".

But has he not enjoyed a considerable level of popularity in the media?

"I suppose the favourable reaction that has been there has been to some extent based on the fact that I was doing something entirely new. I was the first Minister for Arts, Culture and the Gaeltacht." Between now and 1999 £22.6 million will be spent on waterways, changes were made in the first four months in relation to the film industry, there was a commitment to a development plan for the arts, and the department has been looking at the museum, the library and the national monuments.

"What all these have in common is that they were all dealing with the imaginative and the intellectual life of the people... I think politicians sometimes underestimate how important that is to the public."

"NOTE: This interview was carried out at the end of January before the ending of the IRA cessation."