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REPUBLICAN NEWS

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● The Irish Republican Army's mortar attack on Heathrow was a timely reminder that the causes of conflict still remain

IN THE WAKE OF THREE IRA MORTAR ATTACKS on Heathrow Airport in London, the IRA's leadership has stated that it remains "positive and flexible" towards the peace process. It reiterates its support for the Irish Peace Initiative, which it says can provide the basis for a permanent end to the conflict and lasting peace.

The attacks at the busiest international airport in the world last week put the Irish conflict back into the international headlines. But like any incident in the conflict, particularly those in the Six Counties which go mostly unreported outside Ireland, it underlined the need to address the core issues so that the conflict can be ended. In their statement the IRA leadership said:

"It is now six months since the leadership of the IRA indicated its positive and flexible attitude to the developing Irish Peace Initiative.

We noted then that the principles and dynamic underlying

the initiative could, if the political will existed or could be created, provide the basis for peace.

Our public statements came in the wake of the announcement by John Hume and Gerry Adams that they had temporarily suspended their talks and that they had, 'forwarded a report on the position reached, to date, to Dublin for consideration'. They added: 'We recognise that the broad principles involved will also be for wider consideration between the two governments.'

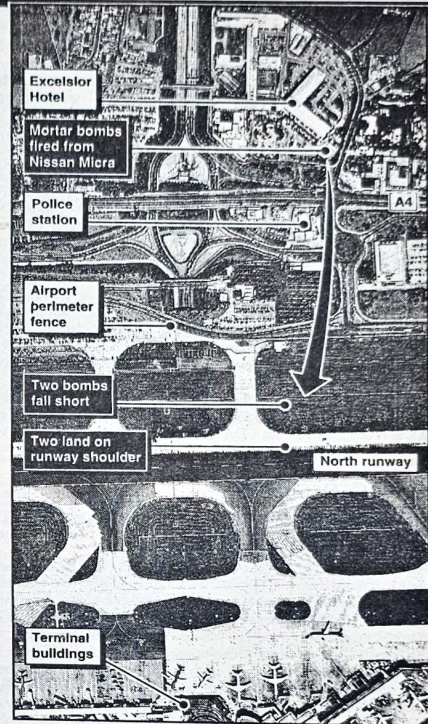
We in the IRA leadership also received a full report of what was involved and our positive

attitude to these developments came because we felt that the processes, principles and framework involved could create the dynamic to move all involved away from conflict and towards a negotiated settlement.

The awaited response of the two governments came on December 15 with the Downing Street Declaration.

Despite the negative attitude of the British government since then and their refusal to build upon the opportunity for peace, the IRA wish to publicly note that our positive and flexible attitude to the peace process is an abiding and enduring one.

This is evident from our responses to developments to date and in our continued willingness to be flexible and positive in exploring the potential for moving the situation forward.



There is a responsibility on the British government to move from its current negative stance. The people of Britain and Ireland deserve better. The continued opportunity for peace should not be squandered.

There is an urgent need to refocus attention and move the peace process forward. We, our supporters and activists have a vested interest in achieving a just and lasting peace in Ireland.

We are prepared to be flexible in exploring the potential for peace. All concerned should leave no stone unturned.

"Our objectives, which include the recognition and exercise of the Irish people's right to national self-determination are well known. Our commitment and unity of purpose remain steadfast.

— Signed P O'Neill, Irish Republican Publicity Bureau.

IRA

'We remain positive and flexible'

News

IN BRIEF...

RUC sex attacker imprisoned

A HIGH-RANKING RUC officer Raymond Lindsay was jailed for six years after being convicted at Belfast Crown Court of a series of sex attacks against young girls.

The court heard that Lindsay used his position — attachment to the RUC's top administrative and policy-making Department the Crime Secretariat at RUC Headquarters — to cover his crimes. He would travel around in his car, fitted with false number plates, and search for his victims who were usually coming home from school in isolated areas. The court heard that from September 1987 until his arrest in March 1993, Lindsay attacked young people between the ages of eleven to 17 as far apart as Belfast and Markethill, County Armagh.

British government to ban UYM?

THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT is believed to be considering outlawing the UDA's Ulster Young Militant (UYM) after Diplock judge Lord Justice Kelly jailed one of its members, Mark Rice, last week for 20 years for his part in the Ormeau Road betting shop massacre.

Rice, from Leven Place in the Tullycarnet estate was found guilty of storing the gun used to kill five Catholics at the Sean Graham Bookmakers in February 1992. The judge castigated Rice for "involving himself in hiding firearms and ammunition for gunmen in the associated terrorist organisations". The NIO is believed to be studying the judges remarks.

The UYM were formed in the mid-'70s by the UDA and is estimated to have a membership of 1,000. The group recruits teenage schoolboys and is described by the UDA as a "youth club".

RUC harassment

A CATHOLIC MAN, Michael Donnelly, who was wounded in a loyalist assassination bid claimed that the RUC had set him up by passing his personal details on to the UDA/UFF.

Prior to the attack, 27-year-old Donnelly said that he had been constantly harassed by two Special Branch officers who told him that his files had been handed over to loyalists. A week before the death bid, the RUC raided his house and made a sketch of its layout. He was told that the sketch would be passed on to a leading loyalist.

The assassin gained entry to the house by the back door which is usually locked, but had only been open for 20 minutes as his children were in the back playing. "The door is directly visible to a security observation post. They were told that the door was open. There was no other way they could have known. Also, the car was stolen only ten minutes before the attack. I'm convinced it was the security forces that set me up".

Justice for Paul Walsh picket

ON SATURDAY, 12 March, over 40 people took part in a white line picket, petition gathering and leaflet distribution in Cork for the Justice for Paul Walsh campaign. The action follows a successful meeting of over 60 people to begin the campaign on Tuesday, 8 March. There was a very good response from the public with many people enquiring about the case and hundreds signing the petition.

Despite a media blackout so far on the case, the campaign is determined to publicise the injustice and create as much public awareness and pressure as possible before the trial on 12 April.

Anyone wishing to help can contact the Justice for Paul Walsh campaign at 135/136 Barrack Street, Phone 311389 or by coming along to the meetings at 8pm on Tuesdays in Connolly Hall.

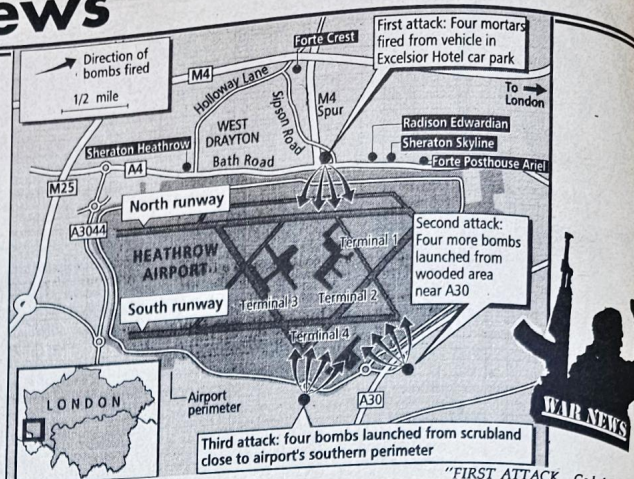
Dungannon councillor harassed

DUNGANNON SINN FÉIN COUNCILLOR Denise Sutton and her husband Kevin have recently become the targets of increased crown forces' harassment. The Suttons car is stopped and searched by the army and RUC every time they go out.

On Monday, 14 February, Councillor Sutton and her husband were stopped on the Sessodanagh Road by an extremely abusive RUC/British army footpatrol. Kevin Sutton was ordered from his car which was searched. An RUC member told Sutton that a motoring fine against him was due and that if he did not have the money on him there and then, they would arrest him. They refused to give him the opportunity to get the money from his house, only 200 yards away and despite the fact that he had legal advice that he had several days to pay the fine.

In the meantime, local man Raymond McMahon arrived on the scene and offered to take Denise Sutton, who is eight months pregnant, to a council meeting she was due to attend. The soldiers and RUC refused to allow this. They set upon the car thumping it and hitting it with rifle butts and threatened to beat up Kevin Sutton.

The Suttons were held at the roadside for over an hour and local people who stopped to talk to them were abused by crown forces. The latest incident is but one in a litany of abuse suffered by the Suttons at the hands of the crown forces.



Mortar attacks rattle British establishment

AS A CONVOY OF British tanks appeared at the boundaries of Heathrow Airport on Monday, 14 March, five days after the IRA launched the first of three multiple mortar bomb attacks, the significance of the attacks was finally sinking in to the British establishment.

Three Scimitar light tanks were observed patrolling beside armed Metropolitan Police squads at Heathrow's perimeter. A spokesperson for the British Ministry of Defence said that the tanks were on a 'routine exercise' from the Windsor Barracks of the Household Cavalry. The last time there was such a 'routine exercise' at Heathrow was during the Gulf War of 1990-'91. The last IRA attack on Heathrow was in 1984.

British army units, including the Special Air Service (SAS) are now believed to be on permanent standby. British Defence Minister Malcolm Rifkind commented that "nothing is ruled out", after MPs' demands to deploy the 2,000-strong Royal Air Force Regiment which specialises in airport defence.

Such reactions followed a five-day period which deeply shook the British establishment. The sequence of the three mortar attacks saw a total of 12 mortar bombs land on Heathrow's main northern and southern runways and on the roof of Terminal Four.

What has shook the British establishment most is that the three attacks have proven the IRA's logistic capability in launching multiple mortar attacks at targets of its choosing and at times of its choosing. That the IRA succeeded in commandeering a vehicle in London, adapted it to hold a launching pad for four mortars and drove it into place, as well as putting in place two other engineered launching pads in and around the perimeter of the world's busiest airport is worrying 'security' chiefs and their Downing Street masters. The firing of 12 mortars, home-built from metal launching platforms, highlighted once again the ingenuity and the ability of IRA engineers to use the materials available to them to prosecute the war.

In a statement claiming responsibility for the Heathrow attacks O'glaigh na hÉireann said that

before every attack comprehensive and adequate warnings using specific IRA codewords were issued. They pointed to the fact that before the first attack a total of eight warnings were given to news organisations. Before the second attack warnings were given almost eight hours before the mortars were launched. The IRA statement added:

"The luck of the British authorities who are deliberately taking these calculated and cynical gambles with people's lives will inevitably run out. Our coded warnings should be heeded."

O'glaigh na hÉireann accused the Metropolitan Police Commissioner Paul Condon and the head of the Special Branch, Commander David Tucker of arrogant boasting when they admitted ignoring a six-hour warning about an attack at Terminal Four.

Despite these early warnings the British government and a combination of M15 and senior Metropolitan Police officers took the initial extremely rash decision not to close the runways or evacuate terminal buildings. It was only after the third mortar attack and through extreme embarrassment that they were forced to shut down Heathrow, moving passengers to secure areas and diverting flights to Stansted Airport. The cost of each diversion amounted to £10,000 per flight.

The obvious embarrassment of senior police officers was palpable when it emerged that the third set of mortars had been launched from ground their officers had cleared the day before. This launcher had been dug one metre into the ground and forced Commander Tucker to announce that "we are very aware of the need to reassess our searching methods. That is the subject of urgent consideration. Another attack is possible."

The IRA statement concluded by giving a breakdown of the three multiple mortar attacks and one IRA alert:

"FIRST ATTACK... Coded warnings telephoned to news organisations 5.07pm Wednesday evening, 9 March. Airport not closed. At 5.56pm four mortars fired from car at Excelsior Hotel. Three land on northern runway, the fourth on a taxi-way. Northern runway finally closed after 25 aircraft take off.

"SECOND ATTACK... Coded warnings issued to news organisations at 5.25pm Thursday, 10 March. Airport not closed. English queen's flight lands at 9.20pm. 0.07am Friday 11 March four mortars land beside Terminal Four, one beside aircraft parking area. Southern runway and perimeter road closed. Terminal Four sealed—no one allowed in or out.

"THIRD ATTACK... Coded warnings telephoned to news organisations 6.19am Sunday 13 March. Southern runway closed but clearance to open it again given by British authorities at 8am. Mortars launched and runway again closed. Three mortars land on apron where several jets are parked. The fourth landed on the roof of Terminal Four.

"ALERT... Both Heathrow and Gatwick airports closed on Sunday evening after coded warnings at 7.10pm. Flights at both airports halted. Heathrow closed at 7.35pm. Gatwick, including the British Rail station shut down at 7.15pm. British authorities now appear to have taken IRA warnings seriously and are obviously under intense political and public pressure to act immediately on IRA coded warnings."

■ RUC DETECTIVE EXECUTED

The Irish Republican Army's Belfast Brigade in a supplied statement claimed that Volunteers under its command executed an RUC detective in North Belfast on Thursday, 10 March.

The Belfast Brigade statement continued: "Detective Constable John Haggan had been under observation for some considerable time by an intelligence unit of O'glaigh na hÉireann both at Willowfield RUC Barracks in East Belfast where he was based and also at a number of sporting venues including Dunmore Park greyhound racing park.

"At approximately 3.15pm a Volunteer approached the RUC member as he stood in a bar at Dunmore Greyhound Stadium situated within view and less than 400 yards from a main RUC base on the Antrim Road in North Belfast.

"Aware that the RUC detective was armed with a concealed handgun the Volunteer walked up to him and shot him at point-blank range. He died within minutes of being shot. He was the 295th RUC member to be killed in the present phase of the liberation struggle."

News



● The body of Francie Brown lies at the scene of his brutal murder at the hands of the UVF last Friday, 11 March



● FRANCIE BROWN

the 1970s in the Portadown, Craigavon and Lurgan areas and with the resumption of these type of attacks it is imperative that nationalists keep a wary eye out for suspicious or unusual movements by strangers.

"Loyalists never lost the ability to use explosives despite what the RUC are now warning about. Indeed by their rearming of the loyalist death squads a number of years ago with South African supplied grenades, British intelligence ensured that for nationalists in Portadown death can come suddenly to anyone whose only reason for being selected as a target is their religion.

"The UVF bombs are crude but deadly devices and are similar to ones used by loyalists in the 1970s. It is believed that a loyalist death squad, reformed recently, are carrying out these latest bomb attacks. In a statement claiming responsibility for last week's bombing the UVF named another Portadown man as their intended victim", concluded Curran.

Comments made by the Official Unionist MP for the area, David Trimble, angered local people. Trimble said that "Mr Brown was in the wrong place at the wrong time".

However, locals said that the remark was disgraceful, saying: "Francie Brown was killed outside the home where he lived, how was that being in the wrong place?"

UVF murder Portadown nationalist

THE UVF BOMB ATTACK which killed 37-year-old Portadown nationalist Francie Brown on Friday, 11 March, was the third loyalist attack in the area in the past three months. Previous targets included a nationalist woman and a nationalist family.

A member of the RUC tripped the booby-trap bomb left at the family's front door. The grandmother lost an eye and suffered other serious injuries when a bomb hidden in a traffic cone beside her car exploded. The nationalist family targeted live only 100 yards from Friday's attack that killed Francie Brown.

Francie Brown died instantly in the explosion outside his brother's

house in Obins Street at 7.30am. The bomb had been concealed in a hollowed out concrete breeze block which had been left against the front right wheel of a truck Brown used in his building work.

It exploded and pieces of the concrete block were turned into lethal shrapnel as the bomb blew upwards leaving Francie Brown with no chance of survival. He was one of three men who regularly used the

truck and it was parked at the same place every evening after 8pm.

A neighbour described how she had seen Brown walking around the truck when the bomb exploded. "He was walking round the van. There was a bang and he just flew back. I saw him trying to get up. I ran over to get the priest, when I came back with him he seemed to be moving."

The dead man's uncle, Patrick Kelly, told how his nephew had only returned from England less than a year ago and had been living with his brother and sister-in-law in the nationalist Tunnel area.

"Francie was a gentleman and I know you've heard it all before, but he was a very easy going and quiet person. People in this area feel at risk and are very vulnerable."

Sinn Féin councillor for the area, Brendan Curran, who survived loyalist gun and bomb attacks several years ago and whose partner, Sheena Campbell, was murdered by the UVF, called for nationalists to be on their guard for further loyalist attacks.

"The use of explosives by loyalist death squads was at a high level in

Multiple murder attempt by UDA

WITHIN HOURS of the Portadown bomb attack in which Francie Brown was killed, another explosive device was discovered outside the SDLP's headquarters in Belfast, this time planted by the UDA.

SDLP administration staff were put out of their Lisburn Road offices for a number of hours as British army technicians immobilised a 'pipe'

bomb. It had been attached to a container of flammable liquid similar to devices left at Sinn Féin offices.

It was later confirmed that the

'pipe' bomb defused was of the type perfected by RUC DMSU member Allan Moore, who shot dead three people in the Lower Falls offices of Sinn Féin just over two years ago.

The spectre of travelling loyalist death squads was witnessed yet again on the Oldpark Road in North Belfast when UDA assassins sprayed a group of nationalists last Saturday night, 12 March. During the gunfire a man in his mid-50s was shot in the shoulder but fortunately not seriously injured.

The loyalist gang had been spotted in a blue Austin Maestro

by people living along Rosapena Avenue immediately prior to the indiscriminate gun attack. After turning onto the Oldpark Road, shots were fired by the gang shortly after 9pm at the group of elderly men standing outside a bookmakers shop where three men were shot dead by loyalists in November 1992.

Local residents, supported by their Sinn Féin Councillor Joe Austin, have called again for the urgent erection of a security barrier across the Oldpark Road to prevent loyalist death squads from gaining easy access to what is

probably one of the most vulnerable nationalist areas in the Six Counties.

"Since the foundation of the sectarian Six-County state literally scores of nationalists have been murdered in this area known locally as The Bone and Ballybone," stated Austin.

"Barriers are erected around Belfast city centre to protect buildings. Surely for a relatively small amount of money the DOE could erect a barrier which would go some way to saving lives in this community. Or is it, once again, a question of property being valued higher than nationalist lives?"

Nationalists in Mid-Ulster fear attacks

NATIONALISTS in the Mid-Ulster area are in increasing fear of attack from loyalist and British crown forces with one family believing they have foiled a British army/RUC attempt to set them up. The incident happened at Loughmacrory, when the family, who had been receiving attention from the crown forces, found six bullets close to their home.

Sinn Féin Councillor Barney McAleer said that the incident was "sinister to say the least" and believed that a "false arrest" was being set up but "the vigilance of this family obviously foiled that". The family contacted their parish priest and the RUC, who said that it was probably some of their members

who "lost" the ammunition. McAleer said it seemed unlikely that live bullets would be carried so carelessly and asked "are crown force personnel not strictly accountable for their weapons and ammunition?"

The incident was raised by

McAleer at an Omagh District Council meeting. The council decided to write to the Dublin and British governments to highlight their concern over the incident.

Councillor McAleer told AP/RN that on the day following the council meeting the crown forces sealed off a large area around where the ammunition was found and carried out further searches.

Meanwhile, Sinn Féin representatives in the Mid-Ulster area, Barry McElduff, has called on the

Department of the Environment to seriously consider the abandoning of illuminated signs for private taxi drivers. McElduff believes that "nationalist taxi drivers are in the firing line of loyalist death squads in many parts of the Six Counties not least in Cookstown where Seán McGrenaghan survived a loyalist murder bid on 20 February".

It is a legal requirement that taxi drivers display their credentials in the form of an illuminated sign.



● BARRY McELDUFF

News

workers in struggle...workers in struggle...workers in struggle...workers in struggle...



● Jenny Storey (centre) vice chairperson of the INOU, speaking at the press conference held to highlight the INOU's opposition to the PCW

New wage deal offers no jobs, no hope

■ BY NEIL FORDE

"AN UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER to mass unemployment and poverty" was how Jenny Storey, vice chairperson of the Irish National Organisation of the Unemployed (INOUE) described the Programme for Competitiveness and Work (PCW) last Friday, 11 March.

Storey was speaking at the launch of an INOU campaign against ratifying the PCW. Even though the PCW has been agreed between the Dublin government, the Irish Congress of Trade Unions, the Irish Business and Employers' Confederation and the Irish Farmers' Association, it still has to be ratified by the actual membership of these organisations.

The INOU campaign calls on trade unionists, employers and farmers to "reject the PCW at their various ballots and consultations on behalf of unemployed people who do not have a vote".

"The PCW offers unemployed people nothing," said Storey "for those 300,000 who will remain

unemployed there will be no real increases in social welfare. While employers' profits will rise and real take home pay will marginally increase, only the unemployed are guaranteed to remain on their current poverty income".

The INOU specifically attacked the job creation targets in the PCW. They pointed out that the net increase of 60,000 jobs over the three years is not enough to meet the actual yearly growth in the labour force which is currently averaging 25,000 a year. This means that unemployment will have actually increased over the lifetime of the new programme.

The INOU also pointed out that over half of the 60,000 jobs

promised by the government will be on Community Employment Schemes. The programme had failed to tackle the issue of how 'wage moderation' can be translated into jobs in the private and public sector. The problems of rural decline, job sharing and cuts in systematic overtime had also not been dealt with.

"Ultimately we are arguing that the programme should be sent back for renegotiation, this time with the INOU present at the negotiating table and unemployment as the central issue of the talks," the INOU said.

Dublin Sinn Féin EU election candidate, Larry O'Toole, welcomed the INOU's campaign for rejecting the PCW. "Member unions of the ICTU should reject this deal. The ICTU should have the representatives of the unemployed and demand a place for them at the negotiating table. An agenda for real economic progress and social reform should be the basis for any future negotiations," said O'Toole.

■ An Post lay-offs

One hundred workers at An Post have been given notice over the past month while another 150 are also set to be redundant by the end of the month as An Post rationalises its postal delivery service in Dublin.

At the same time postal deliveries in Dublin have been disrupted, An Post opened its £20 million Dublin Mail Centre (DMC). Temporary workers left in the Sheriff Street sorting offices have been on overtime since the redundancies.

Many of the workers had been on seven-month and then three-month contracts. However, for the past few months these workers have been on week-to-week contracts. Some of the temporary workers were approaching two years service and would then have to have been offered full-time positions by An Post. These workers have now been made redundant even though there is work to be done at the sorting offices.

The layoffs and the mistreatment of workers shows the hidden side of corporate 'rationalisations'. The £20 million invested in the new sorting office has effectively meant reduced mail services and unnecessary job losses.

■ Average wages?

What is the average working wage in the 26 Counties? According to most sources the average industrial wage is just under £13,000. These workers have committed themselves to an accumulated increase of 8.5% over the next three and a half years. So in January 1997, the same workers will be earning £14,105.

The new Telecom chief executive to replace Fergus McGovern will not be concerned with such minor calculations as his wage will not be constrained by such pay moderation.

Indeed it seems that the £70,000 paid to the current chief executive is too small a remuneration for the new occupant of the job. However, under the Gleeson guidelines for higher public servants £81,000 (a mere six times the average industrial wage) is the top wage payable to any government or public sector official.

Such constraints will not hinder Telecom as their new chief executive will be hired as a consultant and thus receive a six figure salary. Peter Owen the new Aer Lingus chief executive is said to enjoy similar status as he too is hired not as an employee, but as a consultant.

This is not an isolated case. The National Treasury Management Agency (NTMA) was set up outside the Central Bank so its employees would also not be bound by the Gleeson guidelines.

What we are seeing is the emergence of a two tier pay structure in the 26 Counties where the higher professional classes are to be paid obscene wages, while ordinary workers working unsocial hours often in difficult conditions without the perks and perks are continually blamed for all the state's economic ills.

Ordinary workers wages are looked upon as a drain in the economy while managers have to be paid their alleged worth. Dublin government silence over the activities of Telecom, Aer Lingus and other state agencies in the case of executive managers' salaries is an insult to the Irish people.

If you have a story at your workplace, let us know. Contact APIRN at phone 8733611 or Fax 8733074.

Court releases extradition victim

■ BY LIAM O COILEAIN

THE CAMPAIGN against political extradition received a further boost on Monday, 14 March, when the state dropped extradition proceedings against Armagh man Anthony Gorman.

Gorman had been held in Portlaoise Prison on foot of British warrants relating to the killing of a British army recruiting sergeant in Derby in 1992. But he found himself the beneficiary of last month's High Court ruling by Judge Fergus Flood in the case of Joseph Magee, who had faced the same Derby warrants.

The High Court in Magee's case ruled that the offence for which the British had requested him was a political offence under the 1987 Extradition Act and also that he could not receive a fair trial in England due to the prejudicial media coverage which the case had received at the time of the incident.

On Monday, 7 March, the Dis-

trict Court, sitting in the Special Court in Green Street, Dublin, adjourned Gorman's case for a week at the behest of the state, which requested time to study the Magee judgment. On Monday, 14 March, Gorman arrived in court only to be released almost immediately. The state counsel, Eamon Leahy, announced that he had no evidence to offer and Judge Gerard Haughton immediately ordered that Gorman be released.

The Irish Anti-Extradition Committee welcomed the decision, saying that it "demonstrates again an acceptance by the Irish courts that Irish defendants facing political charges cannot receive justice in British courts". Spokesperson Nora Comiskey said

that "this government should be protecting the political offence exception and the rights of its citizens instead of trying to placate the British with stringent laws".

Meanwhile, in San Francisco, the city's 142nd St Patrick's Day Parade (which took place on Sunday, 13 March) to which the four 1983 Long Kesh escapees facing British extradition warrants had been elected Grand Marshals, was one of the biggest in years, despite the 81 degree temperature.

Over 300 bands, dancing groups and floats took part, along with thousands of others who marched or lined the route. None of the four honourees were present, Jimmy Smyth having failed to secure bail to attend, but they were represented on the parade by family and friends riding in four vehicles. Also represented in

abstentia were Gerry Adams and John Hume, elected Honourary Grand Marshals for their role in crafting the Irish Peace Initiative.

Among the politicians who attended in support of the campaign to free the four men were San Francisco Supervisors Bill Maher, Terence Hallinan and Angela Alliotto. The Irish Lesbian and Gay Organisation (ILGO) also marched in the parade for the first time, following the cancellation of the Boston parade by its organisers rather than have ILGO participation, as a judge had ordered.

On 11 March, City Supervisors Terence Hallinan and Kevin Shesley hosted a joint United Irish Societies and H-Block Defence Committee press conference calling for the four men's release. Among those in attendance was veteran civil rights campaigner Oliver Kearney and PJ Caraher,



● ANTHONY GORMAN

father of shoot-to-kill victim Fergal Caraher, while a statement from Sinn Féin supporting the four extradition victims and stressing the party's commitment to the Irish peace process was also read out. Margaret Lynch, wife of Jimmy Smyth, made a passionate plea for US involvement in the search for justice and peace in Ireland.

News

Court sanctions strip-searching

A RULING by the Court of Appeal in Belfast on Monday, 7 March, has sanctioned physical abuse of women prisoners in Six-County jails. It stated that the practices and procedures involved in the forced strip-searching of women prisoners is legal and so entitles the prison's governor "to order a prisoner to be strip-searched whenever he sees fit".

In March 1992, prison authorities in Maghaberry Women's Prison ordered a search of the prison. Included in the search procedure was the instruction that prisoners be strip-searched.

According to ex-POW Carol Ni

Chuilín, this was a politically-motivated decision by the governor "who wanted to try and wreck the structures the women had set up in the wings. He wanted to show that he was the boss."

During the operation, 21

women were forcibly strip-searched. They were beaten and suffered bruising, cuts and strain injuries to their backs and necks. One woman, Karen Quinn, sustained facial injuries that required hospital treatment. In another instance, Bronwyn McGahan was sat on by four male wardens, one of whom ran his hands along her body. Verbal abuse of a sexual nature was hurled at the women during their ordeal.

In an attempt to justify the attack on the women, the prison administration charge the prisoners with assaulting prison staff. The women were all subsequently found guilty and lost privileges. Those who lost remission had their release dates put back by a number of months.

As a consequence, the women sought a judicial review challenging the jail on three points regarding the search operation and subsequent disciplinary processes.

The main legal point questioned the "validity of the actual search".

Diplock Judge Carswell, notorious for his antinationalist attitude, heard the original case and accepted, without question, the prison administration's evidence and reasoning regarding the disciplinary hearings.

However, regarding the point on the actual strip-searching, Carswell produced a frightening and far-reaching verdict.

He said that "searches were lawfully ordered and... that the governor is entitled to order a prisoner to be searched whenever he sees fit, subject only to contrary direction of the Secretary of State". Carswell thus dismissed the case.

The women appealed the Carswell ruling and despite expressing certain reservations about the initial hearing, Carswell's verdict stood, setting his guidelines in law. A humiliating and degrading practice described by human rights groups and concerned people as "akin to rape" has now been given a further endorsement by the British state in the Six Counties.

Carol Ni Chuilín told AP/RN that as an ex-POW, she was not really surprised that the "Orange judiciary" would rule in favour of the British prison regime. She did say, however, that she was disappointed that the whole humanitarian dimension to strip-searching was being ignored.

"Had this attack, carried out on 21 women, occurred on the street there would have been a massive public outcry.

"Nothing was found during this raid. I think it was just an excuse for the prison administration to put the boot in and for them to try and assert their authority."

She said forced strip-searches are carried out all the time in Maghaberry and have been for years. "This is just the first time it happened en masse. This verdict means that for women prisoners, there is the added psychological threat that strip-searching is legal and permissible and will happen whenever a governor decides it."

between the Irish peace process and other current peace processes, particularly South Africa.

In that instance, the ANC had consulted with a wide range of groups asking them to list their demands before formulating their own agenda. Many women felt that attitudes, particularly in the 26 Counties, were changing. The lifting of Section 31 and Gerry Adams' visit to the US had been positive steps.

Bernie Riley gave the submission on behalf of the women POWs in Maghaberry.

"As political activists we want to see a new Ireland free of oppression. This won't come about for women until women are able to realise their full potential and claim their own right to self-determination in the context of Irish national unity."

Councillor Mary Nelis from Derry said that she believed that an Irish charter for freedom should be the next move. "A charter which reflects our needs, our needs as republican women, as nationalist women, our needs as political women, as apolitical women, if we wish to be apolitical, and our needs to be free."

Marie Mulholland brought the day to a close with a song entitled *Big Strong Woman*.

ROSEMOUNT TOWER CHALLENGED



● The Rosemount Towers Campaign continued to voice its opposition to the massive British army lookout posts that have been erected in Rosemount and other parts of Derry. Campaigners organised a public protest on Saturday, 12 March outside Rosemount RUC Barracks. The protest which was also an act of community solidarity, saw many residents coming out to show their opposition to the tower and turned out to be a colourful affair as protesters hung banners and placards from the perimeter fence of the base. The residents' initiative was welcomed by Sinn Féin who offered the protesters their full support.

Women's conference call for freedom charter PEACE PROCESS DISCUSSED

THE DAY-LONG conference by the newly-formed Clár na mBan held in Culturlann Mac Adam O Fiach on Belfast's Falls Road last Saturday, 12 March, attracted 150 women to discuss "A Women's Agenda for Peace". The conference was part of the International Women's week celebrations.

Women travelled from all over Ireland to take part in the lively discussions and there were contributions from women involved in trade unions, justice and women's groups. Also present were students, writers and activists from rural and urban communities.

Rosie Shannon of Clár na mBan opened the meeting. She said that Clár na mBan had been established to create an open forum for women, to encourage them to participate in the political process. "This would secure the recognition and acknowledgement of women's role in shaping Ireland's future within the context of national unity".

She then explained that the conference had been organised for women only because the group felt that it was in this atmosphere that women could

debate freely and address the obstacles to their participation in politics. Oonagh Marron, also of Clár na mBan, warned of the dangers of women allowing their demands for rights to be buried in the interests of common goals. Describing the Downing Street Declaration as a "most insulting" document, she asked: "Are women being asked to forfeit their demands in the interests of achieving peace?"

Professor Mary Cullen of Maynooth University said that the peace debate had to include everyone, "if it is to deal with the needs and aspirations of all the people. No one else but women could put women's issues on the political agenda".

Bernadette McAliskey, civil rights' campaigner and community activist, declared her confidence "that after 25 years of struggle

peace is around the corner". She expressed concerns, however, about the peace process. "Where are the mechanisms of peace?" she asked. McAliskey attacked attempts to brand people who questioned the process as "opponents". "We can all disagree over the nature and mechanics of the process," she said, but asserted that, "after 25 years of struggling for democracy, we have a right to set out our own agenda, and set it out without preconditions".

The conference then broke into workshops which proved to be productive and a written report from these was given after lunch.

This report recognised that many women felt alienated from the peace process and said that it was necessary therefore for women to set out what self-determination must mean. Self-determination for women must acknowledge their role in society and enable them to overcome obstacles to their participation in political structures.

Dodie McGuinness presented the Sinn Féin submission to the conference. She outlined the role of women in the peace process and praised efforts to involve them in the debate.

"Elected women representatives, women's organisations, the women's movement in general, should be discussing at the moment how we can create peace in this country. Women have an equal contribution to make in the search for peace and in our view they have a vested interest in a new Ireland. Peace in Ireland has the potential to transform women's lives."

She went on to reiterate Sinn Féin's determination to ensure that women will not be on the sidelines as we move towards a peace process. "Over 23 years of struggle has created an activism in republican women which demands an equal and just Ireland," she said.

Catriona Ruane, coordinator of the Campaign for Research and Documentation who organised a study group of 16 women from the 26 Counties to attend the conference, said that she found Saturday's meeting very challenging. She had been particularly interested in hearing the views of Sinn Féin women.

Ruane drew comparisons



An Phoblacht

REPUBLICAN NEWS
16 MARCH 1994

ABUSE OF DETAINEES GOES ON

A COMMISSION, headed by a member of the British judiciary, Sir Louis Blom-Cooper QC, has recommended that the interrogation of detainees in RUC detention centres be recorded on video and audio tape.

The 135-page report, of the Independent Commission for Holding Centres, also said facilities in the notorious Castlereagh and Gough interrogation centres were not good and recommended that they be closed.

But despite these recommendations, Blom-Cooper outrageously claimed that while compiling the report he found "absolutely nothing that might give anyone cause for concern about the treatment and care of detainees in custody".

The RUC's initial response to the report attempted to hit the right political and publicity notes, saying that it had "no selfish interest in opposing the recommendations on its own account", and "the RUC is totally committed to the principle and practice of fair and proper treatment of all people in police custody".

However, RUC Chief Constable Hugh Annesley let the cat out of the bag maintaining that the recommendations would "impede the ability of officers to gain an admission of guilt from the detainee".

The reality of "gaining admissions" is well documented in both the Bennett and the 1978 Amnesty reports and in similar reports since.

Direct Ruler Patrick Mayhew also said that he would give the report "careful and detailed" consideration.

But Blom-Cooper's recommendations are not legally binding and can only be implemented with the consent of Mayhew. Also, the commissioner's remit did not allow him to investigate claims of mistreatment of detainees in interrogation centres.

On no less than 31 occasions, Britain has appeared in front of the European Court, and been found in violation of the European Convention 21 times. The British promised Amnesty in 1978 that they would end the physical abuse of detainees. But not surprisingly they have continued the use of violence, both psychological and physical, to extract confessions.

It is obvious that this is a cynical attempt by the British to pacify human rights groups. This report will simply ensure that the British establishment's light for the use of violence during interrogations remains firmly on green.

Coiste Chuimhneacháin na Poblachta 1916 EASTER 1994

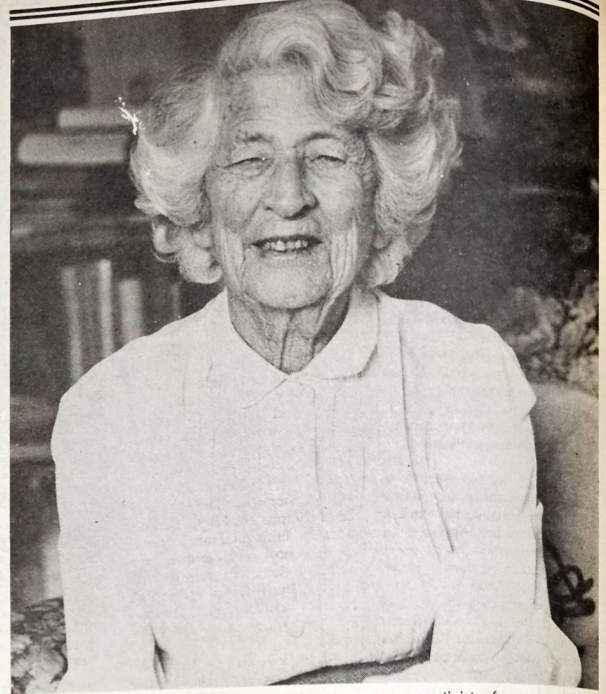


Easter Lilies should be ordered now from:
Coiste Chuimhneacháin na Poblachta
44 Parnell Square
Dublin 1

Requests for speakers for republican Easter 1916 Commemorations must reach the secretary of Coiste Chuimhneacháin na Poblachta by Wednesday, 16 March. Details of commemorations should also be sent to AP/IRN, 58 Parnell Square, Dublin 1, for listing in the paper.

Easter Sunday falls of 3 April this year.

News



Sighle Bean Uí Dhonnchadha

SIGHLE BEAN UÍ DHONNCHADHA (Sheila Humphreys) — a lifelong and highly-respected Irish republican activist, died on Monday, 14 March, aged 95 years. At the age of 17, Sighle was an eyewitness to some of the most exciting events of Easter Week 1916. Her family, the Humphreys, were committed republicans and the legendary names of national heroes were familiar to Sighle and her brothers as family friends.

The daughter of Mary O'Rahilly from Ballylongford, County Kerry and Dr David Humphreys from Limerick, Sighle moved with her brothers and aunt Aine to Ballsbridge, Dublin in 1909, following the death of her father. It was to her aunt Aine that Sighle herself attributed as the source for much of her own nationalist and radical sympathies. Her uncle was Michael Joseph O'Rahilly — An Raghallach, Director of Arms for the Irish Volunteers before the 1916 Rising.

Sighle spoke to AP/IRN in 1986 describing her memories of Easter Week 1916:

"We were so proud of those who took part in the Rising and we looked down on those who were against it or who took no interest in it. We thought nothing could be the same again; and to tell you the truth nothing was."

A former national vice president of Cumann na mBán, Sighle was active in that organisation through the Tan War. She served more than six terms of imprisonment in the cause of a 32-County republic.

Sighle strongly opposed the partition of Ireland in 1921 and continued her activities in pursuance of the republican ideal, despite the

harsh political repression at the hands of the Free State.

In 1922, Ernie O'Malley, as IRA Assistant Chief of Staff, set up headquarters in the Humphreys' home where he was discovered in a secret room during a raid in September 1922. While he made his escape, the entire family was arrested. Sighle subsequently embarked on a brief hunger strike after being put in solitary confinement at Mountjoy and again in October 1923 for 31 days. She was released the following month.

Sighle suffered further at the hands of the Cosgrave regime for her political activities and was jailed on a number of occasions. She was a member of the national executive of Saor Éire, banned in 1931 and served on the Boycott Committee in 1932/33 with her future husband Donal O'Donoghue, whom she married in 1937. She signed the manifesto of the Republican Congress in April 1934.

Sighle never wavered in her unstinting support for the republican cause right up to the present day and was associated with every decade of struggle. She was a personal friend and loyal comrade to republican leaders and

activists of every generation.

She possessed a deep-felt commitment to the nationalist people of the Six Counties. Speaking to Uinseann Mac Eoin in 1980 she said: "I was in Cumann na mBán in the 1919-21 period. It all seems so short now, so abbreviated. A mere 18 months of military struggle before the Truce. That is why I have such admiration for the people in the North—12 years now. They have suffered far more than the people down here, and all because of that decision to put things off until the next generation."

Speaking on her death, Rita O'Hare, Sinn Féin Director of Publicity and a personal friend of Sighle, said on behalf of the party: "It is with deep regret that we learn of the death of Sighle Bean Uí Dhonnchadha (Humphreys). Sighle was involved in the struggle for Irish freedom all her life."

"She continued her involvement and support for those struggling for human rights, dignity and freedom until her last days."

"Sighle was a witness to some of the most significant political developments in the history of our country from 1916 until including the dramatic events of the last 25 years."

"She was a regular visitor to prisoners in the H-Blocks and was a source of comfort and support to their families."

"Sighle, together with the other republican women of her time, remained true to the republican ideals of 1916 and adhered all her life to the principles of the Democratic Programme of the First Dáil."

"We are proud to have known Sighle Humphreys and drew from her inspiration and courage. We extend deepest sympathy to her daughter Croinne and her family."

Irish Peace Initiative tops the agenda

■ BY HILDA
Mac THOMAS

WITH THE EXCEPTION of Sinn Féin, nationalist Ireland is being dined in the White House this Thursday. Dublin premier Albert Reynolds and SDLP leader John Hume, are among those who will attend the function — an unprecedented event, and a further indication of the increased prominence of the Irish nationalist agenda in US politics.

As US President Bill Clinton moves towards the second-half of his term in the White House, it is not just US foreign policy, but also the US electoral scene, which will have to take account of the Irish Peace Initiative. And the recent successful campaign to support Gerry Adams' visa application indicates a significant shift in Irish-American opinion, and in the power of the Irish-American lobby — many of the visa supporters came from the boardrooms of large US and multinational companies.

Coupled with this there is an increased international interest for what Irish nationalists have to say, an interest fired last September by the joint Hume/Adams statement, and the quickening pace of political events that followed.

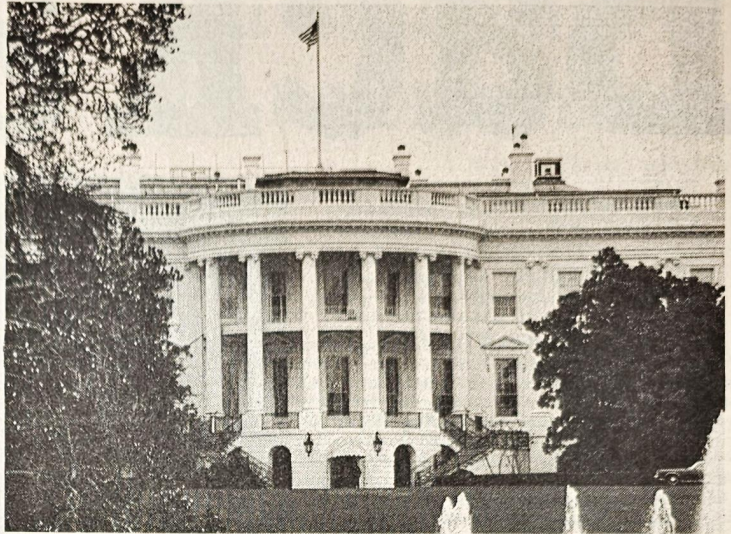
Over 200 foreign journalists attended the Major-Reynolds meeting in Dublin last December prior to the Downing Street Declaration. Close to 300 journalists attended last month's Sinn Féin Ard Fheis. This is in stark contrast

to the way in which the media dealt with recent unionist proposals, such as the OUP's *Blueprint For Stability*.

Of course this increased interest and support for Irish nationalists has not yet been matched by the British government. But last Friday, British Conservative MP Peter Temple-Morris, the joint chairman of the Anglo-Irish Parliamentary Group, called for Dublin and London to adopt a joint policy towards some form of joint sovereignty. Temple-Morris reflects a significant section of British establishment thinking, perhaps more representative than the vociferous Tory right. Sections of the British military in particular also now consider their presence in Ireland as a drag on their reduced budget, and an impediment to their greater involvement in UN-backed ventures around the world.

Major's inability to boldly move in that direction is an indication of his political weakness.

It remains that the Irish Peace



● The White House — where nationalist Ireland (with the exception of Sinn Féin) is being dined on Saint Patrick's night

Initiative is high on the international agenda — perhaps, the next conflict to be solved now that

South Africa and Palestine are on the move. And this boost to Irish nationalists, after years of

marginalisation, is also a tribute to the durability and tenacity of the republican struggle.

Adams welcomes IRA commitment to peace



SINN FÉIN PRESIDENT Gerry Adams this week welcomed the expression of their commitment to the peace process given by the IRA.

Commenting on the statement from Oglagh na hÉireann (see page 1) Adams said on Monday, 14 March:

"I welcome the IRA statement which I consider to be a positive reiteration of its commitment to reaching a negotiated peace settlement. The search for that settlement remains the greatest challenge facing us all.

"It is worth pointing out at this time that Sinn Féin has no great concern to be engaged in bilateral discussions on constitutional matters with the British government. These matters are more properly the business of all-party talks, including the British government and with the Dublin government as the principle representative of the Irish side.

"However, if the British government wishes to indicate a genuine interest in developing a peace process they should recognise our rights as a political party, the validity of our mandate and the rights of our electorate. This is not an attempt to place conditions on talks. It is a recognition of political reality and an obvious requirement if progress is to be made.

"As far as such talks are concerned I have no doubt that Sinn Féin and the British government will be involved in dialogue. The British have conceded this in principle. Unfortunately, they have stalled on the conditions.

"These issues are not the point of the reasonable call for clarification being made by us. Clarification has been provided to all other parties on request. Sinn Féin and our electorate have the right to equality of treatment.

"Neither is clarification

required as a means of negotiation. Clarification is necessary so that we properly explore how the peace process can be moved forward. It should be provided on that basis."

Earlier in the week, Adams had criticised attempts to misrepresent and sensationalise his remarks in a phoned interview on the *Pat Kenny Show* on RTE Radio 1 on 10 March. The following exchange at the start of the interview places Adams' remarks in context:

Gerry Adams: Good afternoon Pat, could I say first of all that I resent very much that Sinn Féin and... and myself and yourself have to conduct this interview under Section 18 and that we can't do it live...

Pat Kenny: These are the rules which RTE has laid down...

GA: Ridiculous rules...

PK: OK... But they are the ones we have to go by today... This attack looks like two fingers to the peace process by the IRA.

GA: Well I don't think so... I think that what it is, unfortunately whether we like or not, is a reminder that the core issues haven't been removed. There are causes of conflict. The conflict is ongoing. Every so often there will be something spectacular to remind the outside world, but on the ground here in the North, all the signs of conflict, the small petty tragic signs of conflict are ongoing. I have always said that it is going to be a difficult task and this attack comes in the middle of a stalemate. And I would ask now for John Major to end the stalemate.

PK: ...

GA: Lets get in to talks, lets move it forward.

Back to ba

"This is and will remain the Conservative and Unionist Party... Unlike the Labour Party we are not in the business of breaking up the United Kingdom." — John Major, Blackpool, 8 October 1993.

WHEN THE BRITISH PRIME MINISTER said these words to the Tory faithful at the 1993 Conservative Party Conference he was going "back to basics" with a vengeance. He touched the roots of the modern Tory Party and of the central relationship which has dominated the policy of Conservative governments on Ireland since the end of the last century. That is, their relationship with the unionists of the Six Counties, to whom the veto over political progress in Ireland was given at a time when the Tories used the Irish issue to threaten civil war in Britain itself.

It was in 1886, at the time of the first Home Rule crisis, that the alliance which was to become the Conservative and Unionist Party was first forged. The Irish Unionist Party in the House of Commons was formed that year to support the Conservatives in opposition to the Home Rule Bill of Gladstone's new Liberal government. Leading Conservatives joined enthusiastically in the anti-Home Rule campaign. Lord Randolph Churchill (father of Winston) coined the infamous phrase when he wrote that "the Orange card would be the one to play".

The lead of such Conservatives greatly encouraged Irish unionist opposition to Home Rule. The Tories linked that opposition to the survival of the British empire, then at its height. Their support gave the stamp of approval of the British establishment — the landed and titled aristocracy — to the unionists in Ireland. The language of the Irish unionists' English allies helped to inflame the sectarian mobs in the Six Counties and made it known that violent resistance to Home Rule would be the ultimate sanction.

After addressing 10,000 unionists at the Ulster Hall in February 1886, Churchill wrote:

"Ulster, at the proper moment, will resort to the supreme arbitrament of force: Ulster will fight; Ulster will be right; Ulster will emerge from the struggle victorious."

And so they did. The British aristocracy defeated the Home Rule Bill in both the House of Commons and the Lords in 1886, and in the House of Lords again in 1893. The issue of Home Rule for Ireland had convulsed British politics and was set to do so again. It was part of a wider struggle, in which the British aristocracy sought to maintain its power. The Tories in Britain were interested in one thing only — to preserve their unrepresentative power in the British parliament and the dominance in British society of those

'born to rule'. The Liberals were more representative of those who had accumulated wealth rather than inherited it — the industrialists, as against the Tory landowners.

Throughout the 19th Century, the Liberals had waged a parliamentary campaign against aristocratic privilege by steadily extending voting rights. The Tories opposed every move to a more democratic system. It was this power struggle in Britain itself rather than any love for the unionists in Ireland which motivated the Tories to lead the opposition to Home Rule.

The crisis came to a head again in 1911. After two general elections, the Liberals formed a government with the support of the Irish Parliamentary Party — the Home Rulers. The time for confrontation with the House of Lords had come. Under the existing system this unelected body was able to block any legislation passed by the elected Commons. They had blocked the budget in 1909 and were set to fiercely oppose Home Rule. The Liberal Prime Minister HH Asquith pushed through the 1911 Parliament Act, which abolished the veto of the House of Lords.

This was the context in which the Conservatives now launched their campaign against Home Rule. If they could defeat this measure, they felt they could hold back the forces of change in Britain which threatened to sweep them aside. Under the Conservative leader Andrew Bonar Law and Unionist leader Edward Carson they acted as one and threatened to form a provisional government in Ulster if Home Rule was passed.

Thus was exposed the myth that there was such a thing as a British constitution. Here were pillars of the British establishment threatening to defy an elected government and negate democracy both in Ireland and Britain.



● British officers at the Curragh in 1914. Their mutiny 80 years ago this week was the culmination of Tory-unionist opposition to Home

Conservative MP FE Smith declared: "There was no length to which Ulster would not be entitled to go, however desperate or unconditional, in carrying the quarrel, if the quarrel was wickedly fixed upon them." Bonar Law told 100,000 unionists at a rally in Belfast that they "hold the pass for the empire" and that the Parliament Act was a barrier to cut them off from the "help of the British people" but that they would break that barrier.

Throughout 1912, unionist and Orange leader James Craig toured Britain where he was feted by the Tories. Walter Long thanked "my dear Jim" for helping out in a constituency "where the seat is none too safe and a speech from you will help us immensely".

The British ruling classes rallied as never before. Some of the wealthiest in the land like Lord Rothschild and Waldorf Astor gave their support and the landed aristocracy were at the head of the campaign. At a rally at Blenheim Palace, seat of the Duke of Marlborough, Bonar Law and Craig addressed 20,000 people including 120 MPs and 40 peers of the realm.

Bonar Law told them that unionists would be "justified in resisting... by all means in their power, including force... I can imagine no length of resistance to which Ulster can go in which I would not be prepared to support them."

Craig wrote to his wife: "What a relief it is to have our leaders' blessing on what we



● FE Smith (Lord Birkenhead) Tory MP who said "there was no length to which unionists would not be entitled to go" to defeat Home Rule.

do, no matter how far we go."

While the high and mighty Tories were rallying in England in July 1912, on the streets of Belfast nationalists were paying the price. The Tory/unionist alliance had whipped up sectarianism to fever pitch. Two thousand Catholic workers were driven out of Harland and Wolff's shipyard.

Lord Willoughby de Broke said that "every White man in the British empire would be giving support" to Orange resistance. It was not all speeches. When the

Ulster Volunteer Force was formed in January 1913, the Tories helped to officer and arm the unionists and guns were stored in Tory clubs. General Sir George Richardson was placed at their head.

The unionists had always opposed Home Rule for all or any part of Ireland. This was personified in Carson, who was a Dublin unionist. But only in northeast Ulster did the unionists form a majority. Unionists now demanded the "exclusion of Ulster" (nine counties) from

the Home Rule Bill. Liberal government in Ireland but already the climbing down in the Tory-unionist Asquith said there to be another game before the Home Rule became law and in early 1914 he gradually crumbled under pressure to the they agreed in "exclusion" — p for the partition of

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basics

— Tory England and the origins of the unionist veto

■ BY MAIRTIN Mac DIARMADA



Unionist opposition to Home Rule

the Home Rule Bill. At first, the Liberal government and Redmond's Irish Party opposed this but already the Liberals were climbing down in the face of the Tory-unionist rebellion. Asquith said there would have to be another general election before the Home Rule Bill became law and during 1913 and early 1914 he and Redmond gradually crumbled under the pressure to the point where they agreed in principle to "exclusion" — paving the way for the partition of Ireland.

The threat of civil war was being used openly against the Liberal government. On 24 September 1913 the 'Central Authority of the Provisional Government of Ulster' was established with Carson as leader. Carson told Bonar Law that his view was that "the whole of Ulster should be excluded, but the minimum would be the six plantation counties". This was now the absolute minimum demand which the Tory-unionist alliance would hold out for.

While force was used against workers during the Lockout in Dublin that year, the armed Tories and unionists went untouched. It was only in December 1913, after the formation of the Irish Citizen Army and the Irish Volunteers, that the importation of arms into Ireland was banned.

One of the most rabid Orangemen, Major Fred Crawford of the UVF, was given the job by Carson of importing arms. In the words of Carson's biographer ATQ Stewart:

"Here was a distinguished

King's Counsel, a former Solicitor General, contemplating an act of breathtaking illegality which might well lead to international complications."

Asquith wrote later that the "government abstained from criminal proceedings upon the grounds of high policy". Historian Dorothy Macardle wrote: "There could be no doubt that to compromise with the Covenanters [the unionists], sacrifice the northern nationalists and even, if Carson required it, to partition Ireland, was the 'high policy' of the government now". (Macardle *The Irish Republic*.)

Throughout the crisis, the Tory-unionists had threatened that if the British army was used to 'coerce Ulster' there would be mutiny and they would refuse to fight. "If Mr Asquith did employ the British army, he would break the back of the army and... then... any man would be justified in shooting Mr Asquith in the streets of London," warned Tory MP Lieutenant-Colonel Pretyman Newman. The Tories threatened to block the Army Act, thus cutting off soldiers' pay and paralysing the British army.

On 9 March 1914, the Home Rule Bill had its second reading for its last session in the House of Commons. Asquith proposed 'county option with a time limit' by which any Ulster county might vote itself out of Home Rule for a period of six years. In a letter to the Catholic Bishop of Derry on 1 March, John Redmond had promised that "the rights and interests of the nationalists of Ulster will not be betrayed by us". But the next day he told Asquith that he would not oppose "exclusion" of Ulster counties for a three-year period.

Carson declared: "We do not



● Roger Casement — "the real government of Ireland is in the Curragh Camp."

want sentence of death with a stay of execution for six years." As the debate continued at Westminster, Liberal Secretary of State for War JEB Seely and First Lord of the Admiralty Winston Churchill were preparing plans to reinforce the British army garrison in Ulster in anticipation of any armed revolt by the unionists.

The plan was to move two battalions of infantry to Enniskillen, Omagh, Newry and Armagh to reinforce these bases. Troops were to be landed by destroyer to secure Carrickfergus and Holywood on either side of Belfast Lough. A squadron of warships was to assemble at Lamlash on the

Firth of Clyde. The Navy was to support with guns and searchlights and General Macready was made "military governor of Belfast in all but name". The entire operation was to take place at daybreak on 21 March.

Sir Henry Wilson, Director of Military Operations stationed at the War Office in London, a man who had helped set up the UVF, told Carson what was about to happen. On 19 March, Carson stormed out of the House of Commons and came back to Ireland to Craigavon, Craig's estate, where the 'provisional government' had its headquarters. (The UVF had been ordered to "wipe out" the police if they attempted to arrest Carson.)

Now the Tory-unionist revolt was reaching its climax, and as threatened, the British army was to be the crucial factor. The British army Commander-in-Chief in Ireland, General Sir Arthur Paget called a conference of senior officers whom he told of the orders he had received from "those swines of politicians".

He told the War Office he would not move troops. Seely tried to negotiate with Paget, who was supposedly under his command, but on 20 March received a second telegram from Paget telling of the 57 cavalry officers at the Curragh camp who would "prefer to accept dismissal if ordered North". It was mutiny.

Seely backed down. The leading officer of the 57, Brigadier General Hubert Gough, travelled to London where he was welcomed by Wilson and got an assurance from Seely that troops would not be used to meet opposition to Home Rule in the North. The mutinous officers were reinstated and in the end it was Seely who resigned.

The *Tory Morning Post* summed it up with the headline: "The army has killed the Home Rule Bill."

A month after the Curragh mutiny, the UVF imported 35,000 rifles. They were unhindered by the RIC or the British army. The message had clearly gone out that the British establishment would not allow the wishes of the majority in both Britain and Ireland to be enforced. Instead, the unionists were armed by the British establishment to resist Home Rule for all of Ireland and to ensure that partition would be the outcome.

Roger Casement said after the Curragh mutiny that "the real government of Ireland, on

the unionist principle, is in the Curragh Camp". On trial for his life for his part in the 1916 Rising, he said in his speech from the dock that the difference between his rebellion and that of the Tory-unionists was that the latter "chose a path they felt would lead to the Woolsack, while I went a road I knew must lead to the dock". In court was FE Smith, by now Lord Birkenhead, England's Solicitor General, and two years later Lord Chancellor in the Lloyd George government that partitioned Ireland. (The Woolsack is the seat in the House of Lords where the Lord Chancellor sits.)

In 1915, Carson had been made Attorney General. "Was it only a year ago that you were nearly arrested for treason?" wrote the Duchess of Abercorn to him.

James Craig became the first Prime Minister of the 'Northern Ireland' state. General Sir Henry Wilson was one of the leading generals in the First World War and then was the military advisor to Craig's government. (He was shot dead at his London home on the orders of Michael Collins in 1922.)

The UVF arms importer Fred Crawford became head of the Ulster Special Constabulary, the 'Specials'.

After their defeat by the Tory-unionists over Ireland, the Liberals were never to lead a government again in Britain and became a party on the margins.

Though played down by many 'revisionist' historians, the Curragh mutiny, 80 years ago this week, was a crucial event in both Irish and British history. A similar crux was reached in 1974 during the the Ulster Workers' Council's strike against the Sunningdale Power-Sharing Executive in the Six Counties. Writing in the *Tory Monday Club* magazine *Monday World* a British army officer claimed that the British Labour government had decided to use troops to end the stoppage but the army had refused: "For the first time, the army decided that it was right and that it knew best and that the politicians had better toe the line." Once again those 'born to rule' had asserted themselves.

The last word goes to Edward Carson. Unionists today would do well to realise the true nature of Tory interest in them. Bitter as a southern unionist at the degree of independence given to the 26 Counties under the Treaty of 1921 Carson declared:

"What a fool I was! I was only a puppet, and so was Ulster, and so was Ireland, in the political game that was to get the Conservative Party into power."



● The Ulster Volunteer Force — armed and led by the Tories.

News

Hazardous industries still protected by secrecy

■ BY GEOROID O'HEARA

"In view of the spate of industrial pollution incidents last year, this Ard Fheis calls for more stringent environmental control of industry, including a strengthening of the Environmental Protection Agency and a Freedom of Information Act to force companies to provide full data on all potential environmental hazards." Motion adopted at 1994 Sinn Féin Ard Fheis.

The European Community Directive on the Freedom of Access to Information on the Environment (90/313/EC) was adopted by the Council of Ministers in June 1990 and came into force on 1 January 1993. It entitles the public to any information, such as monitoring data and reports, which public bodies hold on the environment.

However, as far as environmental activists in the Six Counties are concerned, the directive has made very little difference to the public's ability to access meaningful information regarding industry and its potential to pollute our environment.

The events which followed a recent industrial pollution incident in Derry provide a disturbing example of its failure.

The Du Pont company is the US multinational which, in 1991, was forced to withdraw its proposal to site a national toxic waste

incinerator at its Maydown plant, as a result of overwhelming community opposition.

On Tuesday, 6 October 1992, Du Pont spilled one and a quarter tonnes of a highly-toxic chemical, chloro-butadiene, into the River Foyle. In spite of the fact that the US Environmental Protection Agency lists chloro-butadiene as being among the top 25 carcinogens (cancer inducing), Du Pont waited for four days before notifying any of the statutory authorities or the public.

Later that month, the Department of the Environment announced that, as a result of the chloro-butadiene leak, an Environmental Audit of Du Pont was going to take place.

I immediately wrote to the DOE — as an elected member of Derry City Council, with a seat on its Environmental Services Committee — requesting information

on the Audit, its parameters, the mathematical models it would be using, the name of the consultants who would be carrying it out, who was responsible for their appointment etc. I also asked if the Environmental Audit would be published upon its completion.

In common with many environmental groups throughout Derry and Donegal I received no reply and no information until May 1993. I then received, in letter form, the text of a week-old press release, notifying me that the Director of Public Prosecutions had decided not to prosecute Du Pont over the chloro-butadiene spill. There were still no details forthcoming regarding the Environmental Audit and my request for a copy of the report on which the DPP had based his ludicrous decision has, to date, been refused.

In failing to prosecute Du Pont, the DPP has handed industry a "licence to pollute with impunity".

So much for Freedom of Access to Information on the Environment in the Six Counties! It would seem that it

is now up to environmental groups and concerned individuals to give this legislation some teeth by challenging such absurd decisions, in the courts if necessary.

However, on a more positive note, one development which I must mention, is the proposal by a Derry-based group to establish a central data base where all of the publicly available facts relating to the Foyle Basin would be stored and could be retrieved by interested parties. Foyle Net is just one proposal contained in the recently published Foyle-Basin Survey and will go a long way to providing users with access to meaningful information on their environment. Public bodies, North and South, please note!

At the other end of the county, on 6 August, 1993, a major industrial accident took place at Hickson Pharmachem, Ringaskiddy, County Cork.

An explosion at the plant, heard up to 20 miles away, shook houses within the vicinity. The first fire following the explosion generated a huge mushroom cloud which drifted across Cork Harbour and billows of black smoke then spread across the area. Toxic chemicals spilled into the harbour. A second outbreak of fire was only brought under control four hours after the first explosion and there was contamination of the groundwater on the site.

So what did the Hickson Pharmachem incident tell us about the status of the EC Directive on the Freedom of Access to Information on the Environment in the 26 Counties — never mind the fact that the implementing legislation was only introduced here in May 1993? Was it a case of better late than never?

In its report, *Fire at Hickson Pharmachem Limited: Assessment of Environmental Impacts and Pollution Control*, the 26-County Environmental Protection Agency, established in July 1993, stated that the company had failed to comply with the conditions of its licences.

However, when local environmental activists and Greenpeace attempted to use the EC Directive on the Freedom of Access to Information on the Environment, to have a look at the company's monitoring

data, which is held by Cork County Council, they were refused.

In February 1993, Cork environmentalists requested Professor Rappe's Report on dioxin contamination in Ringaskiddy — which incidentally was commissioned from public funds — also from Cork County Council; to date this has also been refused.

The feeling in the county is that the Freedom of Access to Information on the Environment Directive has been introduced in the 26 Counties in a "minimalist, unclear fashion, typically leaving plenty of reasonable doubt to be eventually sorted out later in court, if you are both persistent and rich".

In conclusion, I would say that although the 26-County Environmental Protection Agency was established amid mounting public concern regarding industry, especially the apparent inability of authorities here to control multinationals, and in spite of the fact that it was given authority over the issuing of licences and ensuring that industry complied with their terms — under the Protection of the Environment Act — the EPA has shortcomings which urgently need to be addressed if it is to win the full confidence of the Irish people.

● It is crucial that its budget is increased from the present £500,000 to the £8m initially estimated for its efficient operation;

● The EPA requires its own laboratories and technical staff. It should not be relying on state authorities if it is to be truly independent;

● There should be a Right of Appeal against the EPA's decisions;

● Industry's right to claim 'confidentiality', thus allowing it to hide the environmental impact of its processes, should be abolished;

● The Minister for the Environment should not dominate the executive's selection procedure. Presently it consists of four people appointed by the minister and seven people picked by him from nominations. In these circumstances it will be difficult to criticise any government policy.



● The fire at Hickson Pharmachem on 6 August 1993 — in July the 26-County Environmental Protection Agency stated that the company had failed to comply with the conditions of its licences

THORP to begin operations

THE THORP NUCLEAR reprocessing plant at Sellafield was given the green light to start its operations after a court in London rejected an application from Greenpeace and Lancashire County Council. Greenpeace and Lancashire Council were attempting to force a public inquiry into the operations of British Nuclear Fuels Ltd's (BNFL) THORP plant, arguing that "the risks of allowing THORP to go ahead far outweighed any employment gains".

More than 12,300 groups and individuals and over 80 local councils had called for a public inquiry, but these calls were ignored and the British parliament passed legislation giving the Secretary of State for the Environment discretion over whether to call an inquiry. That he chose not to do so, was, according to the judge, within the law. Presumably it was the very law that the British parliament passed giving the minister, John Gummer, the ultimate decision as to whether the THORP plant should go into operation or not.

Andrew Collins, QC for Greenpeace argued that by claiming "it

had no requirement to justify its THORP approval by weighing the hazards of greater radioactive emissions against the benefits of jobs and the trade balance", the British government did indeed break the law. Potts agreed, saying the "government position breached existing nuclear regulations" and that "Greenpeace succeeded in an important point of law".

However, the judge went on to point out that "a judicial review gave him scope only to decide whether the government had acted illegally or irrationally" but only in the context of the legislation passed by the British parliament giving

Environment Minister Gummer authority to order an inquiry or not.

The judge went on to admit that he had "no remit either to assess scientific evidence or judge whether a public inquiry would have been desirable, since parliament had expressly given ministers discretion on whether to hold public inquiries".

All that Brian Cowen, 26-County Minister for Energy, could say was that "he was disappointed at the ruling", and his office would study the implications. This inadequate reaction in the face of the growing threat Sellafield poses to Ireland and the health of its people was underlined by the news that while Justice Potts was delivering his judgement in the THORP case, Nuclear Electric was being fined £34,000 "for deliberately leaking radioactive gas into the atmosphere", last July at the Wylfa plant in North Anglesea.



● Has a major tragedy to occur before the 26-County government decides to take action in regards to THORP?

Guide to shrinking EU funds

■ BY NEIL FORDE

IRISH ACADEMICS play a strategic role in the two Irish statelets. Apart from their primary role as scholars and educators many end up holding high positions in state bodies and agencies. Some as in the case of Garret Fitzgerald, Maurice Manning, Dick Roche, John Kelly, have entered government.

Academia is often portrayed as a separate bastion of power from government. Its perceived role is that of both adviser and potential critic of government policy and strategy. Why then is it that only a minority of academics ever raise their heads above the university parapets to enter public debate when they have one of the few accessible avenues to public comment?

The *Undercurrents* series of pamphlets edited by Joe Lee is a welcome but small input into the almost stagnant debate on economic and social issues in Ireland. This is not to say that these issues are not being discussed, they are, but the public debate on television, radio and in the print media is almost nonexistent or restricted to the contributions of a small number of industrialists, bankers and politicians.

The ongoing debacle of the coalition's ineptitude in managing the structural funds applications is a case

in point. The criticisms of EU Commission officials showed that the use of structural funds is not a one sided issue and that as Sinn Féin has consistently maintained it is the use and net effect of the funding not the aggregate amount that is the crucial issue.

The latest *Undercurrents* pamphlet entitled *Managing the EU Structural Funds* is by Alan Matthews, an Associate Professor of Economics at Trinity College Dublin. At £3.95 it is an affordable and readable journey through the policy maze of EU funding in the 26 Counties.

Matthews sets out the ground in his introduction. He believes that "the structural funds are now a major element in Irish economic and political debate". He asks: "What will be their effects, and what difference will they make in the years ahead?"

Matthews believes that we cannot be neutral about the amount of funds for two

reasons. Firstly because of the size of the amounts involved and secondly because the funds are not neutral transfers. They come stamped with the EU's own agenda.

"Do we defer to this agenda and what is the significance of aligning with EU policies?" asks Matthews. He wonders would the 26 Counties have anti-poverty programmes, environmental assessments of infrastructural projects, and other social priorities if it were not part of the EU's criteria for the delivery of funding.

Matthews asks if this "paternalistic intervention of the union has a predominantly progressive impact on Irish society, what does this imply about the value of retaining national sovereignty for those who applaud these values".

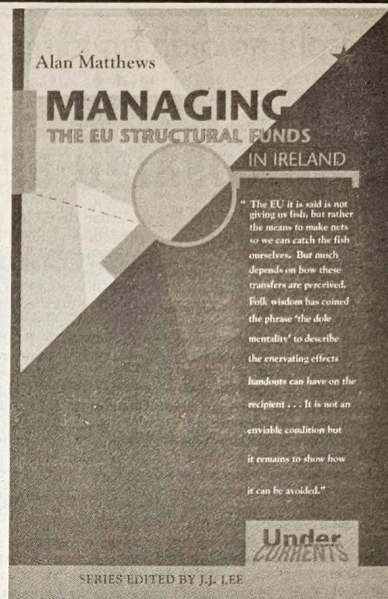
Here is the first major flaw in Matthews' analysis. The EU's role in the creation of progressive legislation cannot be disputed. However, alongside this social agenda is the parallel objective of creating a capitalist open market economy across the EU and the diminution of domestic economic

and political sovereignty that entails. Nowhere in this pamphlet is there any analysis of the use of structural funds as a subsidy for the introduction of transnational monetarism in the EU.

He does offer a good explanation of how the funds are organised and most of the pamphlet deals with how this is done. There are plenty of facts and figures but little critical input from Matthews. It is strange that someone as qualified would be so reticent in offering a critical interpretation of the funds. Yes we want to know how they worked, but a personal opinion from a leading academic on the process would be worthwhile also.

This pamphlet's introduction promised much. The chapters after only partially lived up to their own billing. Matthews could have concentrated totally on the role the funds play in Irish society.

In his introduction Matthews stressed the political importance of the funds highlighting the role they played in the 1992 Leinster House elections. However, there is no mention of the bungling of the funds issue since then or the homogeneity of



approaches from the Leinster House parties. The references and bibliography bears no mention of any political party's input. Surely there could have been room to consider just how the political establishment views the funds.

This pamphlet is useful as an explanation of how

the EU and the 26-County establishment views the structural funds. It has little criticism and interpretation of the funds and is a missed opportunity.

● *Managing the EU Structural Funds* by Alan Matthews is published by Cork University Press priced £3.95.

Splendid clash of champions

■ BY RORY DUNNE

IT TRAVELLED TO BELLAGHY last Sunday to see how the All-Ireland champions Derry and the National League champions Dublin fared in their top of the table clash. It was the Dubs who went home happier with a great win which gives them second place in Division One and qualifies them for a quarter-final meeting with Armagh on Easter Sunday, 3 April.

It was the first defeat for Derry in a competitive game since they lost to Donegal in a league quarter-final last April. And it was only their third defeat in 26 league

games since the start of 1991. Despite this setback, Derry finished top of the table having amassed 12 points before last Sunday's meeting with Dublin.

Things did not look so bad for Derry at the start of the game. Joe Brolly punched Enda Gormley's cross to the net for Derry's first goal after 20 seconds and when two points quickly followed, the Dubs looked lost and it seemed as if the 7,000 spectators present were going to witness a hiding for John O'Leary and his men. A couple of the Dublin players kept their side together. Paul Curran was very good in the half-

back line but the main reason for Dublin's revival was Jack Sheedy at midfield. With Paul Bealin missing in action Sheedy was magnificent. He fought for and won possession, popped up in every part of the ground and was like half a team. He tired a little in the second half but he was easily man of the match.

After Derry went 1-2 to no score up after seven minutes their attack made poor use of their possession

before Dublin's defence settled down. Dublin's attack did likewise and Sheedy got the ball rolling with a point in the 20th minute. Enda Gormley got a point from a free in the 27th minute, but with Dublin adding five points after Sheedy's opener the sides were level 1-3 to 0-6 at half time. Derry had lost left-corner back Tony Scullion and goalkeeper Damien McCusker in the first half through injury and were facing the wind in the second half so prospects weren't great.

That didn't seem to bother them as they scored three points to Dublin's one in the

opening nine minutes to lead by 1-6 to 0-7. After that, they fell away again. Dublin began to shine and they scored eight points in the last 15 minutes. The most important one was Charlie Redmond's from a free in the 53rd minute, for it gave his side the lead for the first time. Dublin got seven points in the last nine minutes and they played some of their best football in recent times during that spell. Dublin looked like winners when Keith Barr put them four points ahead in the 56th minute and when they added two more without reply there was no way back for Derry. Or was there?

In the third minute of injury time they were awarded a 21 yards free that Anthony Tohill took. He drove the ball straight along the ground and with half the Dublin side seemingly on the line the ball somehow crept into the net. That was the final act in a splendid game that Dublin won by 0-15 to 2-6.

After the game I retired to the local clubhouse to discuss the match with fans from both sides and I have to applaud the club for giving the Dublin fans warm hospitality (and free sandwiches!) before their long journey home. This, allied to the hospitality shown to myself and some friends in the Ballymagroarty, Creggan and Pennyburn areas of Derry city on the Saturday night made it a memorable weekend!



● Derry's Brian McGilligan attempts to get his shot past the attention of Dublin's Paul Bealin

Nuacht

Saol i ndiaidh an toirmisc Coiste Ghlóir chun tosaigh arís

D'ÉIRIGH le coiste Bhéal Feirste Thiar de Ghlór na nGael trí dhuais a thabhairt leo i gcomórtas náisiúnta Ghlór na nGael 1993.

Bhuaigh iarthar Bhéal Feirste an chéad duais i Roinn na gCathracha, i Roinn Chúige Uladh agus i Roinn na Sé Chontae.

D'fhógair Aire Ealaíne, Cultúir is Gaeltachta na 26 Chontae, Mícheál D. O hUiginn, na torthaí i mBaile Átha Cliath ar na mallabha agus mhol sé obair leantúnach na ngrúpaí Gaeilge in iarthar na cathrach.

I 1990 d'fhuailing coiste Ghlór in iarthar Bhéal Feirste den phoileasáid d'irdhealú polaitiúil a chuir rialtas na Breataine i bhfeidhm in aghaidh grúpaí neamhspleáchá comhphobail sna Sé Chontae.

Bhain an rialtas deontais do 20 múinteoir náisiúil den ghrúpa faoi choinne dhá bhliain. Cé go raibh bunús mór d'obair an ghrúpa le páistí faoi bhun cúig bliana d'aois chuir rialtas na Breataine ina leith "go raibh baint ag Glór le paraimhdeataigh".

D'ainneoin seo lean Glór ar aghaidh lena obair i seacht náisiúil Ghaeilge sa chathair agus chuir siad feachtas ar bun in aghaidh thoirmeas an rialtais.

D'Éirigh le Glór an cás a bhaint agus tosaíodh ar na deontais a bhronnadh orthu i 1992 arís.



● MICHEÁL D. O hUIGINN

Is iad na príomh rudaí a chuir móltóirí chomórtas 1993 suim ann ná: Naí-Spraoi, pacáiste do naíolan-na le téip, leabhair agus postaí do leanaí; Osaill an cheathrú Gaelscoil sa chathair; Céilidhe i gCumann Oige Chumann Chluain; Ranganna Gaeilge do dhaoine fásta; Díospóireachtaí agus Tráth na gCeist; An t-Ionad Buail Isteach ag an Chaifé Glas sa Chultúrlann; Feis na Bealtaine; Raidió Fáilte, a chraol níos mó Gaeilge ná stáisiún ar bith eile sa tír agus an t-Aifreann Gaeilge seachtainiúil i roinnt séipéal sa cheantar.

I gcoinne ciníochas — i gcoinne impiriúlachas



● Ghlac Sinn Féin Átha Cliath páirt i máirseál sa chathair ar an Satharn, 12 Márta chun agóid a dhéanamh i gcoinne faisisteachas agus ciníochas san Eoraip. An Conradh Frith-Nazi a d'eagraigh an máirseál agus bhí brat Sinn Féin (thuas) i measc siúd a bhí sa pharaid. Scaip baill den phairtí billóga a léirigh seicteachas agus ciníochas grúpaí paraimleata na ndílseoirí sa Tuaisceart agus a spreagathóirí i bhfórsaí an choróin.

Lá Fhéile Pádraig — cosctha i mBéal Feirste

MHILL an Chonstáblacht Ríoga Uladh pleannanna chun Feis a thionóil i lár Bhéal Feirste ar Lá Fhéile Pádraig nuair a chuir siad in aghaidh iarrtais de chuid na n-eagraithe do chéadúnas ólacháin lá amháin.

Bhí sé de rún ag an Choiste Lá Fhéile Pádraig, cónaisc d'oirbhe comhphobail agus eagraithe fhéilte

samhraidh, ollphuball a chur suas i lár na cathrach ar 17 Márta. Bhí ceiliúradh lae beartaithe de chultúr

na hÉireann agus bhí súil ag na heagraithe go dtiocfadh daoine chuig na himeachtaí ó achán cearn den chathair.

Bhí an imeacht le bheith urraithe ag Croft Inns agus bhí na costais eile le teacht ón bhrabach ón bhearsan ollphuball.

Ach tharraing na hurraithe amach nuair a chuala siad go raibh an CRU le cur in aghaidh na

himeachta agus d'éag cibé seans a bhí ann go rachadh an imeacht ar aghaidh nuair a chuir an CRU in aghaidh chéadúnas ólacháin don ollphuball.

Dúirt urlabhraí don choiste, Ciarán O Cuinn, go mbeadh sé dodhéanta leis an imeacht a reachtáil gan an teacht isteach ón bhear.

Dúirt sé gur chuir cuid mhór daoine suim sna pleannanna chun an lá a cheiliúradh i gceart i mBéal Feirste don chéadúair le blianta.

Dúirt O Cuinn gur chuir an

CRU in iúl dó go raibh inni orthu go mbeadh trioblóid ann dá mbeadh bear ar fáil san ollphuball. Ach dhíoltaigh O Cuinn don leithscéal seo.

"Ní chluinim an CRU ag cur in aghaidh díolachán dí in ollphubail i bpáircanna ar fud na Sé Chontae ar an 12 Iúil," arsa sé.

"Beidh Lá Fhéile Pádraig ceiliúirthe i lár cathracha Mhoscú, Nua Eabhrac, San Francisco agus dosan eile. Ach díoltaítear do Ghaeil Bhéal Feirste an fhail leis an lá a cheiliúradh i lár a gcathrach féin."

Forghabháil na Sé Chontae tógtha san Eoraip

IARRADH ar bhaill den Pharlaimint Eorpach smaoineamh ar fhorghabháil na Sé Chontae ag an Bhreatain le linn díospóireachta sa parlaimint an tseachtain seo caite.

Thóg teachta den parlaimint, Neil Blaney, ceist fhorghabháil na Sé Chontae le linn díospóireachta ar "Seimhlitheoireacht agus a héifeachtaí ar shlándáil san Eoraip".

Dúirt Blaney gur chóir do theachtat cuimhniú agus iad ag plé na ceiste "go bhfuil tír s'agam-sa gafa ag ball eile den Chomhphobal seo".

Dúirt sé go raibh an tír smachtaithe ag an Bhreatain leis an láimh láidir, agus go gcoinníonn sí greim air le hidirdhealú den sórt is scannalaí.

Mhaigh Blaney go séantar an ceart sibhialta is bunúsaí ar phobal na hÉireann, an ceart do theinrialú.

Dúirt sé nár chóir go mbeadh sé inghlactha ag an Chomhphobal go bhfuil sé de cheart ag ballstát ar bith cuid de thíre eile a fhorghabháil.

Thagair sé d'fhimíneacht rialtas na Breataine ar phléasc a shaihlídiúirí 80% de bhóithre idir na Sé Chontae agus na 26 Chontae le hiad a dhruimim i laethanta seo an Mhargaidh Aonair, a gheallann saoirse taistil do shaoránaigh iomlána an CE.

Chuir Blaney i leith bhaill na parlaiminte nach raibh siad ach ag magadh nuair a bhí siad ag gearán faoi shéanadh cearta daonna ar fud na cruinne agus iad tostach faoin choimhlínt seo ag dul ar



● Ag cur i gcoinne an séanadh ar a chearta sibhialta i leith saoirse taistéal — muintir ó dhá thaobh an teorainn ag athógáil na bóithre atá scriosta ag fórsaí an choróin

aghaidh ar leac an dorais.

Dúirt Blaney gur mhaith le bunús na ndaoine in Éirinn agus

sa Bhreatain deireadh a chur le fhorghabháil na Breataine ar na Sé Chontae. D'iarr sé ar rialtas na

Breataine an fhíric seo a aithin agus gníomhú air "nó ní bheidh síocháin go deo ann".

News/Letters

Mexican rebels inspire a continent

■ BY DARA Mac NEILL

AT FIRST GLANCE, it appeared to be an object lesson in how not to stage a revolt.

On 1 January, several hundred members of the previously unheard of Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN) occupied a number of key towns in the southern Mexican state of Chiapas. Declaring war on the government, they called on their compatriots to join them in the battle to liberate their country from 65 years of one party rule by the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI). Nothing happened. Within a week, rapidly mobilised army units had pushed the EZLN back to the mountains and jungles whence they had so dramatically emerged. A bullish government called for nothing less than total surrender.

And then it all began to go horribly wrong for the PRI. Militarily chastened, but not defeated, the rebels launched a bruising public relations counteroffensive.

Subcommandante Marcos, the EZLN's articulate balacava-clad spokesperson, hosted dramatic press conferences for the world's media in jungle clearings. With authority and eloquence he documented the all too apparent ills of contemporary Mexican society: poverty; corruption; the treatment of the indigenous as second-class citizens in their own country; human rights abuses; police and army brutality; the theft of land by ranchers with the compliance of the police... the list went on and on.

For close on 70 years the ruling PRI had managed to keep Mexico's secrets hidden from the outside world through the judicious use of corruption, patronage and repression at home, and brilliant diplomacy abroad.

When confronted with student-



● SUBCOMMANDANTE MARCOS led pro-democracy protests in 1968, they simply ambushed a 10,000 strong demonstration in a plaza in Mexico City centre and fired 15,000 rounds into the unarmed crowd. Between 300-500 were killed and the moment crushed. In the mid-1970s, a guerrilla movement in the south of the country was nipped in the bud by an onslaught of army terror. In both cases, the outside world heard little.

Over the last two decades some 540 Mexicans have 'disappeared' following detention by the police. According to political scientist and human rights activist Sergio Aguayo, Mexico's record in this respect is comparable to that enjoyed by Argentina whilst under control of the Generals.

In a full 65 years, the ruling PRI have never officially lost a presidential election. In 1988, the current president, Carlos Salinas, was beaten at the polls. However, his successful bid for power was aided

by the fact that computers tallying the votes mysteriously went down halfway through the count.

The six-yearly handover of power is a clever device. No president is allowed more than one term, thus the bald appearance of dictatorship is avoided. Equally, the same device — each president chooses a successor who then goes through an election he knows he cannot lose — serves to keep the party faithful happy as they know, sooner or later, each will get their turn at the public trough.

Since 1988, Salinas has marketed Mexico as a rapidly modernising, progressive and inherently stable country. In other words, safe for foreign capital.

In 1993, his successful propaganda operation was duly recognised when the US agreed to ratify the NAFTA accords. The accords created a free-trade zone, after the European model, composed of Mexico, the US and Canada. Mexico was now in the big leagues.

That the EZLN chose to stage their revolt on 1 January, the day NAFTA came into operation, was

no coincidence. Salinas had marketed NAFTA as the means whereby the country's much vaunted social stability could be shored up. Thus the revolt exposed the brittle nature of Mexican stability, whilst simultaneously registering deep-rooted fears over the likely impact of the NAFTA on the country's populace.

In 1989, the top 10% of Mexican society earned, or rather owned, 38% of the national income. But even those figures hide a more appalling reality. Just 35 of Mexico's wealthiest families took home more that year, than the poorest 15 million people at the bottom of the scale.

Current income distribution figures are difficult to come by, but one telling statistic indicates that little has changed since then. In 1988, Mexico had two billionaires. In 1993 that figure had leapt to 13, the fourth largest number in the world. For many, NAFTA will merely accelerate this process of deepening inequality.

In early March the government assigned a series of draft accords



● Freedom fighters of the EZLN, forcing the Mexican government into reform

with the EZLN rebels, which promised a series of reforms in several areas: land distribution, social spending and political reform. At present, the rebels are debating the worth of the draft accords and must now decide if they have received enough to allow them to lay down their arms. Although getting the government to the negotiating table was, of itself, a remarkable achievement they will be well aware that, when it comes to dispensing promises of reform, the PRI's generosity knows no bounds. What will be of more concern to them will be the framework and the timetable for the implementation of the reforms.

For the ruling PRI, Latin America's most astute and durable dictators, the immediate priority is to confine the reform momentum to the state of Chiapas. They are well aware that the EZLN's local revolt had a national agenda; any one of the grievances cited could have been justifiably made in any given part of the country.

Indeed in recent weeks, stories began to emerge of youths in Mexico City voicing defiance by donning black balacavas, after the manner of Subcommandante Marcos. Equally, in rural areas, indigenous craftworkers engaged in the manufacture of 'native dolls' in traditional dress for sale to tourists, have been voicing their defiance by clothing their dolls in the ubiquitous black balacava.

In 1919, Emiliano Zapata — from whom the EZLN take their name — rounded on Mexico's leaders for their betrayal of the revolutionary agenda he fought for. In an open letter to the president he asked simply: "What have you done with the blood of your brothers?" Shortly after, he rose in revolt.

Time is running out for Latin America's brilliant dictatorship.

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

Anti-Northern bias?

A Chairde,

On reading your report on the sport section last week (24 February) I found a brief and to my mind, biased report on the Derry vs Kildare NFL game. Your reporter Rory Dunne reports: "The only blemish in the match was the sending off of Johnny McDonnald of Kildare and Kieran McKee of Derry in the 58th minute." It also mentions some verbal abuse shouted at the referee after the match, and also that two Kildare players were allegedly struck afterwards.

What Mr Dunne in his report failed to mention was the absolutely horrendous tackle on Derry's centre half-back, Gary Coleman, who up to then was having a brilliant game in defence. All-Star Coleman was stretched off to hospital requiring some 40 stitches for a very serious gash to the leg. What Mr Dunne also fails to mention (but thankfully was not overlooked by most media outlets) was the striking of a Derry player after the game by a Kildare official wearing a Kildare tracksuit.

Whilst we all deplore actions of this nature at GAA matches we expect facts to be

presented in a balanced and fair manner from your journalists. As an ardent reader of your newspaper every week I have noticed throughout both last season's championship campaign and now this seasons NFL a certain readiness to criticise northern teams in your reporting. So come on Mr Dunne let's give northern teams the credit they deserve, who after all are playing in more difficult conditions than teams from other parts of our country and who are at the moment giving more back to the GAA than most from elsewhere.

Ageing Lavey gael
South Derry.

Soft on fascists

A Chairde,

I would like to draw the attention of your readers in London to an article that appeared in the weekly listings magazine *Time Out* (16-23 Feb) by Malcolm Jones and Catherine Pempster. The article deals with the case of Frank Portinari and James McCrudden, both jailed recently for gun running to the UDA. Portinari and McCrudden were caught with a cache of weapons and a rifle was found later at Portinari's workplace, an infant's school.

What struck me about the piece was its almost sympathetic tone, interestingly in a magazine that prides itself on its supposed 'liberal' standpoint.

It quotes former workmates of Portinari's, describing him as a 'sound bloke', almost laments the loss of his job and home and the effect that this has had on his wife and kids; and reprints without question Portinari's 'explanation' that he was forced to gun run for the UDA because they had 'threatened his family'. There was little effort made by the reporters to make clear what the weapons were to be used for, ie the indiscriminate murder of 'taigs'; it was left to the brief words of the judge to point out that Portinari was a 'courier for murder' at the end of the article.

It came as no surprise to us to learn that Portinari was a close friend and colleague of C18 activist Eddie Whicker; we take loyalist/British fascist links as said, the point made by the journalists that Portinari was born into a Catholic family means nothing in the world of the ideological British fascist for whom support for loyalist paramilitaries is seen as a logical extension of their own politics.

The remarkably low sentences received by these men (five years for Portinari, 30 months for McCrudden) have been rightly compared in other publications to that of Irish republicans convicted of similar sentences, yet no mention of this was made in the article.

To place the whole thing into context, in 1990 three activists from Red Action and Anti-Fascist Action were arrested after they confronted a well-known fascist activist who was lurking around the edge of the annual Bloody Sunday demo, knocking him unconscious.

For this two of them were sentenced to four years prison each and the youngest at 21, with no previous convictions, three years. Possession of firearms and ammunition with intent to endanger life carries a life sentence, yet Portinari and McCrudden (total seven and a half years) will do less time than two of the aforementioned (total eight years).

It has long been clear that the state treats republican/socialist violence far different to loyalist/fascist violence and that this translates accordingly in the courts is not surprising. What perhaps is a little more surprising to some is that it is clear that

the so-called 'liberal' press are just as willing to swallow this unquestioningly as their right-wing tabloid competitors. A Richards, London.

Long Kesh Escape

A Chairde,

The POW Department is currently researching the history of the 1983 escape from Long Kesh. We would like to appeal to AP/RN readers to help our research by sending us on any clippings, preferably front pages, of newspapers from that time, other written material, and videos they may have covering news of the escape. Please send them to:

The Video Project
POW Department
15 Cable Street
Derry BT48 7HF.

If you are sending video material, please ring us before you post it so that we can make appropriate arrangements.

Go raibh órad maith again as bhur gcuide.

S Gargan,
POW Department.

Writers' Week

A Chairde,

I would appreciate the

opportunity to inform your readers that a Writers' Week will take place on the Aran Islands in the month of May 1994.

In the past, writers like Lady Gregory, Yeats, Synge and many more found powerful literary inspiration on the beautiful islands.

Throughout the week emphasis will be placed on encouraging creativity in both stimulating and informal surroundings. All categories of writers are welcome. In order to facilitate talented and, as yet undiscovered writers on low income, there will be no attendance fees for lectures, discussions, etc.

Accommodation will consist of a fully serviced camping site, hostel, B&B and hotel facilities as required. Free entertainment will be provided. All work produced during the week will be published in a limited edition and circulated to potential publishers.

For further information please send large SAE to: Maeve O'Neill, The Secretary, Writers' Week, Inis Oirr, Aran Islands, County Galway.

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

PLEASE KEEP LETTERS SHORT

Imeachtaí

ANTI-EXTRADITION MEETINGS: 7pm, every Tuesday, Anti-Extradition Office, 29 Mountjoy Square, DUBLIN

BALLYMURPHY SEVEN PICK-ET: Every Saturday, 2-4pm, O'Connell Bridge, DUBLIN

COMMEMORATION: Volunteer Tom Smith Commemoration. Assemble 2.30pm, Thursday, 17 March, Berkley Road Church, and march to Glasnevin Cemetery, DUBLIN. Speaker: Tom Hartley

FUNCTION: Featuring the Irish Brigade, Friday, 18 March, KIL-DRESS, County Tyrone. Everyone welcome, pay at door.

DRAW RESULTS

LARRY O'TOOLE ELECTION
1st Prize: Ray Dyer, ticket no 54, c/o Larry; 2nd Prize: Margaret Lakes, ticket no 42, c/o Andy; 3rd Prize: Sonia Hunt, ticket no 128, c/o Larry
Thanks for your support

Notices

JOIN SINN FÉIN

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

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

Name.....

Address.....

Tel..... Age.....

In nDl Chuimhne

KEENAN, Colm, Mac BRADAIGH, Caoimhín; McCracken, Kevin; McDONALD, Patrick; McGILLAN, Eugene; MURRAY, Kevin; SMITH, Thomas. In proud and loving memory of Volunteers Colm Keenan (died 14 March 1972), Caoimhín Mac Brádaigh (died 16 March 1988), Kevin McCracken (died 14 March 1988), Eugene McGillan (died 14 March 1972), Patrick McDonald (died 15 March 1974), Kevin Murray (died 15 March 1974) and Thomas Smith (died 17 March 1975). "I've always believed we had a legitimate right to take up arms and defend our country and ourselves against British occupation." — Mairead Farrell. Proudly remembered by their friends and comrades in the Republican Movement.
FARRELL, Mairead; SAVAGE, Seán; McCANN, Dan (6th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of the Volunteers of Ogligh na hÉireann, Mary Queen of Gael, pray for them. Always remembered by Bee, Dec, Steph, EEP and the Volunteer Jim Lynagh Republican Flute Band, Glasgow, Scotland.
Mac BRADAIGH, Caoimhín (6th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of a dear friend, Volunteer Caoimhín Mac Brádaigh, who died on 16 March 1988 in defence of his people in Milltown Cemetery, Belfast. A true soldier, sadly missed by his friend and comrade Dermot.
Mac BRADAIGH, Caoimhín (6th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of my friend and comrade Volunteer Caoimhín Mac Brádaigh, Ogligh na hÉireann, killed by a pro-British gunman on 16 March 1988. Always remembered by Kevin McMahon.
Mac BRADAIGH, Caoimhín (6th Ann.). In loving memory of my friend and comrade Caoimhín Mac Brádaigh, who was killed on active service on 16 March 1988. Always remembered by his friend and comrade Pádraig Wilson (H5 Long Kesh).
Mac BRADAIGH, Caoimhín (6th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Kevin, one of the dearest friends I've ever had. You had something special comrade, I loved your mischievous and I loved your depth. Irreplaceable. Always remembered by Danny Morrison (Long Kesh).
Mac BRADAIGH, Caoimhín (6th Ann.). In loving memory of Caoimhín Mac Brádaigh, killed on 16 March 1988. Always remembered by Fergal Maguire (H1 Long Kesh).
MARSHALL, Sam (4th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Sam, murdered by pro-British agents. "This is the harvest Britain has sown. Her actions will eventually seal the fate of her rule in Ireland." — Bobby Sands. Always remembered by Seán) Nash, England.
McCANN Dan (6th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of

Dan, murdered with Mairead and Seán on foreign soil fighting for what they believed in. From your dear friend and comrade. I will never forget you, Jim.
McCracken, Kevin (6th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of my dear son Volunteer Kevin McCracken, Belfast Brigade, Ogligh na hÉireann, who died while on active service on 14 March 1988. Time enfolds another year, simple words son very true we will always love and remember you, Mary Queen of the Gael and Saint Patrick pray for him. Loved and deeply missed by your loving mother and father.
McCracken, Kevin (6th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of my dear brother Volunteer Kevin McCracken, Belfast Brigade, Ogligh na hÉireann, who died while on active service on 14 March 1988. Always remembered by your sister Deirdre and Scap.
McCracken, Kevin (6th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of my dear brother Volunteer Kevin McCracken, Belfast Brigade, Ogligh na hÉireann, who died while on active service on 14 March 1988. The tears in my eyes may not glisten, I may not always look sad, but there's never a night or morning I don't long for the brother I had. As I recall the day we had to part just three small words, I miss you. Always remembered by your loving sister Siobhán, Kevin, Caoimhín and Shannon.
McCracken, Kevin (6th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of my dear brother Volunteer Kevin McCracken, Belfast Brigade, Ogligh na hÉireann, who died while on active service on 14 March 1988. Quietly today your memory we treasure, missing you always, forgetting you never. Always remembered by your loving brother Stevie.
McCracken Kevin (6th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Kevin McCracken, Belfast Brigade, Ogligh na hÉireann, who died while on active service on 14 March 1988. A little tribute true and tender just to show we still remember. Will those who think of him today, a little prayer to Jesus say. Always remembered by Damian, Maria, Pádraig and Stacey.
McCracken, Kevin (6th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Kevin McCracken, Belfast Brigade, Ogligh na hÉireann, who died while on active service on 14 March 1988. Hold him in your arms, O Lord and touch his smiling face, for he was very special and cannot be replaced. Loved and remembered always by all your nephews and nieces.
McCracken, Kevin (6th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Kevin McCracken, Belfast Brigade, Ogligh na hÉireann, who was

killed on active service on 14 March 1988. Happy memories silently kept of a special friend we shall never forget. Saint Martha pray for him. Always remembered by Nora and Róisín.
McCracken, Kevin (6th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Kevin McCracken, Belfast Brigade, Ogligh na hÉireann, who was killed on active service on 14 March 1988. Mary Queen of the Gael pray for him. Always remembered by Mal and Noreen.
McCracken, Kevin (6th Ann.). In loving memory of my friend and comrade Volunteer Kevin McCracken, who was killed on active service on 14 March 1988. Always remembered by his friend and comrade Pádraig (H5 Long Kesh).
McCracken, Kevin (6th Ann.). Precious memories of my dear friend Volunteer Kevin McCracken, who was murdered on 14 March 1988. Sweet Jesus may he rest in peace. Loved and missed by your dear friend Deirdre Lennon.
McCracken, Kevin (6th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of my dear friend Volunteer Kevin McCracken, killed on 14 March 1988. RIP. We often speak of you with pride you were a brave and fearless soldier with so much love for your country and its people. We will never forget you or your brave comrades who have laid down their lives. Always remembered with love and pride, big Ma and Tina.
McCracken, Kevin (6th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of my dear nephew and our cousin Volunteer Kevin McCracken, Belfast Brigade, Ogligh na hÉireann, who died on active service on 14 March 1988. RIP. Mary Queen of the Gael pray for him. Always remembered by his Uncle James and cousins Séamus, Mary, Geraldine, Michael, Seán, Anne, Eileen, and families.
McDONALD, Patrick (20th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of our son, Volunteer Patrick McDonald, who died on 15 March 1974, while on active service. RIP. May the green sod of the land he loved rest gently on his grave. Remembered with love and pride and never forgotten by his loving mother and family.
McDONALD, Patrick (20th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of my brother, Volunteer Patrick McDonald, East Tyrone Brigade, Ogligh na hÉireann, who died on active service on 15 March 1974. RIP. A true patriot asleep in his grave, who for his people his life he gave. Always remembered with love and pride by his sister Bernadette, brother-in-law Brian and family.
McDONALD, Patrick (20th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Patrick McDonald, Ogligh na hÉireann, who died on 15 March

1974. Ireland unfree shall never be at peace. Always remembered by JJ.
McDONALD, Patrick; MURRAY, Kevin (20th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteers Patrick McDonald and Kevin Murray, Ogligh na hÉireann, who died on active service on 15 March 1974. Always remembered with love and pride by the Dungannon Martyrs Sinn Féin Cumann; By the Coalisland Martyrs Sinn Féin Cumann; By the Clonoe Martyrs Sinn Féin Cumann; By the Jim Lynagh Sinn Féin Cumann, Clogher; By the Colm Keenan/Martin Hurson Sinn Féin Cumann, Cookstown; By the Martin Hurson/Fergal O'Hanlon Sinn Féin Cumann, Galbally; By the Eoin McNamee Sinn Féin Cumann, Kildress; By the Martin Hurson/Séamus Woods Sinn Féin Cumann, Pomeroy; By the South Tyrone Combatants Sinn Féin; By the Tyrone National Graves Association.
MURRAY, Kevin (20th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Kevin Murray, who died on active service on 15 March 1974. Always remembered with love and pride by your loving daughter Edel, son-in-law Martin and grandchildren Kevin, James, Martin and Evita.
MURRAY, Kevin (20th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of our father Volunteer Kevin Murray, who died on active service on 15 March 1974. Always remembered with love and pride by daughter Helen and grandchildren Liam and Seán.
MURRAY, Kevin (20th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of our father Volunteer Kevin Murray, who died on active service on 15 March 1974. Always remembered with love and pride by his loving sons, Colin and Kevin (Crumlin Road Jail).
MURRAY, Kevin (20th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Kevin Murray, who died on active service on 15 March 1974. Always remembered with love and pride by daughter-in-law Brenda and grandchildren Kevin and Orlagh.
O'DONNELL, Kevin Barry; O'FARRELL, Seán; CLANCY Peter; VINCENT Patrick (2nd Ann.). In loving memory of Volunteers Kevin O'Donnell, Seán O'Farrell, Peter Clancy, Patrick Vincent, who were murdered by the SAS on 16 February 1992. Life springs from death and from the graves of patriot men and women spring living nations. Dead but not forgotten. Always remembered by your friends and comrades Kevin and Niall, Magilligan Jail, Derry.
QUINN, John; NUGENT, Malcolm; O'DONNELL, Dwayne; ARMSTRONG, Tommy (3rd Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteers John Quinn, Malcolm Nugent, Dwayne O'Donnell and civilian Tommy Armstrong, who were killed on 3 March 1991. You were fine and outstanding men who have the respect and admiration of every-

one who had the privilege of knowing you. They may kill the revolutionary, but never the revolution. Always remembered and sadly missed by their friend and comrade Brian (Crumlin Road Jail), Paula and family.
QUINN, John; NUGENT, Malcolm; O'DONNELL, Dwayne; ARMSTRONG, Tommy (3rd Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer John Quinn and his two comrades, Volunteers Malcolm Nugent and Dwayne O'Donnell and their friend Tommy Armstrong, who were murdered by agents of British imperialism on 3 March 1991 in Cappagh, County Tyrone. Take them in your arms Lord and give them special care, make up for all they suffered and all that seemed unfair. Always remembered by Niall and Poilin.
QUINN, John; NUGENT, Malcolm; O'DONNELL, Dwayne; ARMSTRONG, Tommy (3rd Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteers John Quinn, Malcolm Nugent, Dwayne O'Donnell and civilian Tommy Armstrong, who were murdered by pro-British forces on 3 March 1991. Always remembered with love and pride by Frankie Quinn (H8 Long Kesh).
SMITH, Thomas (19th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Thomas Smith, who was killed during an escape attempt in Portlaoise Jail on 17 March 1975. Never forgotten by the republican POWs, Portlaoise.
SMITH, Thomas (19th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Thomas Smith, who was killed during an escape attempt in Portlaoise Jail on 17 March 1975. Proudly remembered by the Republican Movement, Dublin; By the Volunteers Tom Smith/Christy Harford Memorial Band, Dublin.

Comhbhrón

BRADY. Deepest sympathy is extended to the family and friends of Joe Brady, who died recently. From Gerard Kearns and all the Kearns family.
EARLEY. Deepest sympathy is extended to the Earley family circle on their recent bereavement. He will be sadly missed by all of us who worked with him. From Vince Doherty, Dublin.
EARLEY. Deepest sympathy is extended to the Earley family circle on their recent bereavement. From Seán and Marie.
EARLEY. Sincere condolences are extended to the family and friends of our friend and comrade Dessie Earley, who died on 3 March. From the republican POWs, Portlaoise.
FANNING. Deepest sympathy is extended to all the family of Mrs Fanning, mother of Eugene. She will always be sadly missed. From Frances-Mary, England.
FOLEY. Deepest sympathy is extended to Pat and Breeda Foley, Rusheen, Ballylongford and to the Foley family, Tubbertureen, Moyvane, County Kerry on the death of Joe Foley.

Go ndearaidh Dia troaire ar an am. From Bill O'Shea.
HARRISON. Deepest sympathy is extended to Jerry Harrison and family on the death of his mother Mrs Harrison. From Owen, Jimmy and Conor, Portlaoise Jail.
HUMPHRIES. Deepest sympathy is extended to Croinne and the family of Sheila Humphries. From republican POWs; From the Sinn Féin POW Department; From the Sinn Féin Women's Department.
KINSELLA. Deepest sympathy is extended to Donnacha and family on the death of his mother, who died on 10 March. From the Drumm/Scullian/Breslin Sinn Féin Cumann, Clondalkin.
MARTIN. Deepest sympathy is extended to John Martin on the death of his mother Maureen. From the Republican Movement, Dundalk.
MARTIN. Deepest sympathy is extended to John Martin on the death of his mother Maureen. From PJ, Eileen and family.
MARTIN. Deepest sympathy is extended to John Martin on the death of his mother Maureen. From Mickey, Bernie and family.
SHEEHY. West London republicans deeply regret the death of Andy Sheehy of Limerick and London. Sympathy is extended to his family and friends.

Beannachtaí

CARMODY. Birthday greetings are extended to Joe Carmody (Portlaoise). Happy birthday John. Thinking of you always. Love mam xxx; From uncle Gerry and family, Limerick; From the Lynch family, Limerick; From all your comrades in Limerick city; From the Bromell family, Limerick; From Mick Hanley, Limerick.
HAPPY Saint Patrick's Day to Niall and Kevin (Magilligan Jail). Don't drink to much green beer (ha) from Lorraine and Saoirse and the Murphy family.
O'NEILL. Birthday greetings and best wishes Marty (H5 Long Kesh). From your fiancée Pamela Kane (Limerick Jail).
McKEE. Happy birthday to Michael 'Beaky' McKee (H8 Long Kesh). From Seán and Margaret and family.

Cuimhní Breithlae

KELLY. In loving memory of my brother Patrick, murdered by the SAS at Loughgal in May 1987, who should have celebrated his 37th birthday on 19 March 1994. To those who have a brother, love him while you may. For I wish with all my heart that I had mine today. Sleep in peace brave Irish soldier. Everyday I think of you, for Ireland's cause you fought and died, 'tis in a martyrs grave you lie. Saint Patrick pray for him. Always remembered by your sister Mairead; I measc laochra na nGael go raibh a nam. From your loving family.

THE SUNDAY EXPRESS last week made a passionate plea for more extraditions from the 26 Counties to Britain and the Six Counties. In the process it demonstrated a frightening ignorance of Irish affairs.

In a tough front-page story responding to the first two Heathrow attacks and titled "Major slaps down Provos", the Express told us that the PM had promised "to keep up the pressure on Dublin to change extradition laws". These laws, the Express told its readers, recently resulted in the release of "terror suspect Michael McGee".

This is a reference to Joseph Magee, released last month by the High Court in Dublin which accepted that the offence cited on the British warrants was clearly a political offence and ruled also that he could not receive a fair trial in Britain because of prejudicial media coverage.

The British have been notorious in the past for the sloppiness of warrants presented in Irish courts. Maybe the Sunday Express, with its keen eye for detail, should be put in charge of this vital task?

For our part, we welcome this week's release of Anton German and call on the Dublin government not to extradite Angel Fishco.

(Sunday Express subs please copy)

SUNDAY TIMES corresponding Liam Clarke is a journalist (indeed, a legend in his own by-line) whose objectivity when covering matters Irish is legendary. He has contributed to the growing reputation of his paper, which now ranks alongside the Sunday Independent in terms of quality and journalistic technique.

In a collaboration with fellow scribe Andrew Malone last Sunday, Clarke claimed that the Heathrow mortar attacks were in fact a "failure" because the mortars hadn't detonated. This, he felt, pointed to the existence of a mole within the IRA who had worked to disable the devices.

But if that claim beggars belief, consider his next conclusion, concerning the controversy over whether the English queen's plane should

have been allowed land during a security alert.

According to Clarke: "The queen's flight was allowed to land at the height of the security alert on Thursday. An Ulster security source said this suggested confidence on the part of the security forces that the second attack would prove as flawed as the first."

Such convoluted and optimistic insights into a propaganda disaster speak wonders for the British stiff-upper-lip mentality — but little for journalistic standards. The small-bore calibre of Clarke and Malone is further demonstrated later on when they tell us that "the attacks were the first example of a mainland 'back-to-back' attack, in which one incident is immediately followed by another on the same target". You learn something every day.

CITY OF LONDON police were last Friday, 11 March, ordered to pay £40,000 to six people arrested during a demonstration in 1989 calling for the release of the Guildford Four.



The six were demonstrating peacefully outside the Guildhall in April 1989 when President Mikhail Gorbachev visited the City of London with Margaret Thatcher. Thatcher had highlighted human rights abuses in the Soviet Union and supporters of the four miscarriage of justice victims wanted to show how such abuse was also allowed to happen in Britain, where the government was refusing to reopen the case.

When they went to unfurl their banner and raise their placards, they were jumped on by police, their placards torn up, and they were dragged off to Bishopsgate Police Barracks, where they were held for over four hours before being released without charge.

The six said that they had been assaulted, wrongfully arrested and falsely imprisoned, but a hearing of evidence in the case did not go ahead when the police increased their settlement offer from £10,000 to £40,000, the largest sum paid out in compensation in their history.

FOUR YOUNG people whose pictures were splashed all over the front pages of British newspapers as suspected incendiary bombers are also surely entitled to a few bob compensation.

Scotland Yard released pictures of the four, taken by security cameras in one of the London West End stores recently hit by an IRA incendiary campaign, with a warning to the public not to approach any of the four. "They are not to be regarded

as terrorist suspects at this stage, but we are very keen to interview them," said anti-terrorist squad commander David Tucker, Churchill-Coleman's aptly-chosen bungling successor. Their colour photos were splashed all over the front pages of British newspapers on Friday, 11 March, with headlines suggesting their guilt, but by Saturday a small paragraph in newspapers revealed that all four had been eliminated from police enquiries.

Dúirt Siad

The Irish have silver tongues and magic pens. What that allows them to do, when it suits them, is to avoid confronting uncomfortable realities. — Daily Telegraph defence editor John Keegan, calling for increased security measures in the wake of Heathrow, Tuesday, 15 March.

Nobody is at risk. Not even their own people, but the publicity they're getting is great. It embarrasses all the security agencies, makes the government cringe and better still, keeps the pressure on Major. — Senior RUC officer on the Heathrow mortar attacks, the Irish Press, Monday, 14 March.

Bring back the tanks. Army set for Heathrow recall. — Mail on Sunday front-page headline, 13 March.

We could round up three-quarters of the IRA before breakfast tomorrow with internment. — Tory MP Andrew Hunter, chair of the party's backbench Northern Ireland Committee, calling for internment North and South of the border, BBC Radio Four's Today programme, 13 March.

In Ulster Mr Hume is seen for what he is: an embattled, grasping politician with a sectarian constituency. But in Europe and America, he comes second only to Mother Theresa in the global sainthood stakes. — Anti-nationalist vitriol from Bruce Anderson in the Sunday Express, 13 March.

I often had great crack with Protestants here in Armagh. We drank together regularly before the Civil Rights Movement started. They'd come into the pub wearing their sashes. I respect them, but I think they suffer disorientation. They conceive of this conflict in religious terms, whereas for us it's political. I've tried to imagine myself in their position. I pity them for having thrown their nationality to the wind for mercenary reasons. They sold themselves cheap to the British, and little thanks they're getting for it. As for the British, I'd be more than happy to forgive them everything, if only they'd go home and leave us to build our own country. — Jim Fields, former internee, the Observer magazine, 13 March.

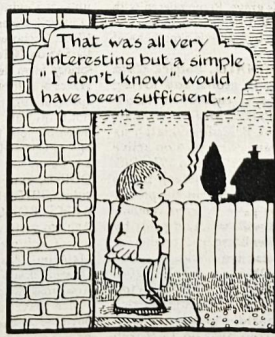
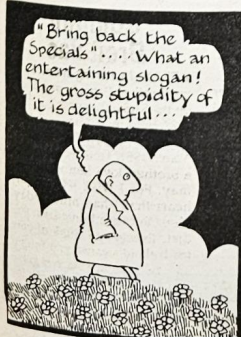
I hate the people who did this. I could never forgive them. Basically I feel the same as Rab did about the Catholics. You couldn't trust them. The biggest majority of them would be like the IRA. I was brought up to have nothing to do with them. My daughter will be the same. There's a nursery school across the road, but I won't send her there because there's Catholics in it. I'll send her up to Taughmonagh because the school there is all Protestant. — Donna Hutchings, widow of UDA man executed by the IRA, the Observer magazine.

As far as I am concerned the people who killed my son are ordinary human beings who have been brought up in a warped society which tells them that Catholics are evil and inferior. The state here was founded on that principle. I hold no grudge against the killers. If someone handed me a gun and told me where they were I wouldn't harm them. I would have no problem sitting down and negotiating with them. I have no wish for revenge. If I blame anyone at all for this it is people like Paisley, Robinson and Sammy Wilson who persist in telling people that they should hate us. — Sinn Féin Councillor Bobby Lavery, father of UDA victim Seán, the Observer magazine.

As for the army and what they do for you, do you want a joke? The first year's all right, then they forget about you. When the regiment asked me if there was anything I wanted I said a video. They sent it over with the rental papers. They sent me my Northern Ireland service medal in a jiffy bag.

The IRA is the best terrorist organisation in Europe. Whoever caused my injury thought that what they were doing was right, even if it is a load of bollocks. But I don't forgive him, not for a minute. Given the chance I'd like to put him through what I've been through. — Former member of the Royal Anglian Regiment, crippled in an IRA bomb attack, the Observer magazine, 13 March.

I forgave the soldier who shot me the day after it happened. I'm a practising Catholic; my religion is important to me, and I felt I had to forgive. My grievance is with the British government. I have no quarrel with the loyalist people. I dearly wish we could all live in harmony. — Emma Groves, who was blinded by a rubber bullet in the wake of internment, the Observer magazine, 13 March.



News

Heathrow under siege

■ BY NEIL FORDE

LAST WEEK'S three IRA mortar attacks on Heathrow Airport labelled by the British media as the "busiest international airport in the world" left this prestige economic resource in chaos over a five-day period. The *Financial Times* described the attacks as "the boldest" since the declaration was signed last December and there were calls for the British army to be brought in to protect airports.

The three mortar attacks provoked a range of reactions from the British establishment, including calls for troops to be used to protect the airport, other tougher measures including internment, and the exclusion of Sinn Féin from the peace process.

Thousands of travellers were stranded in airport terminals and hundreds more were stuck in traffic jams on the approach roads to the airport. One major route into the airport, the A4 from Bath, had

to be closed on the night of the first mortar attack which effectively shut down half the airport for three hours.

This meant that up to 180 flights had to be diverted or delayed from what *The Guardian* described as this "strategic economic target".

Reaction from the Tory cabinet after the first bombing was muted. Only Patrick Mayhew, Home Secretary Michael Howard and John Major ventured public comment. Howard addressing the Commons

while speaking in favour of another year of the PTA said that: "I don't know if that incident is supposed to send some message to this house as we conclude our debate."

Howard was then prompted to use the mortar attack as an appeal for Westminster unity in passing the PTA. Major's only contribution was to say that the Wednesday night attack will "make no difference whatsoever to the search for peace".

Major's response was not matched by many of his backbench MPs including Terry Dicks, Henry Bellingham, and Ivan Lawrence. Dicks, whose constituency borders Heathrow, called for an armed presence at the airport. By Sunday night in the

wake of the third attack, Defence Secretary Malcolm Rifkind said he was "ruling nothing out".

Henry Bellingham, a member of the Conservative backbench 'Northern Ireland' Committee said "IRA-Sinn Féin should now be treated with complete contempt unless they sign the declaration tomorrow". He also called for a security crackdown.

Ivan Lawrence, chairperson of the all-party Commons Home Affairs Select Committee called for troops to be used at the airport which already has a 24-hour armed police presence.

Overall the assertions by Major and Michael Howard that "we will not be blown off course" were debunked by not only a section of Tory backbench opinion but by the English media.

The *Daily Telegraph* asserted that "an increasing number of Conservative MPs who have always been sceptical about the Downing Street Declaration now want the government to withdraw the offer to the IRA to join talks".

However, Major's cabinet adopted what the *London Independent* described as "a stance of studious under-reaction" because of their "determination not to hand the IRA a propaganda victory".

It was clear by the start of this week that the Tory cabinet wanted to defuse the media reaction to the Heathrow attacks. However, the *Financial Times* on Monday, 14 March claimed that the cabinet would meet this week to discuss using army patrols at the airport.

Heathrow's contribution to the economy of Southeast England cannot be underestimated. It handles more than 47 million passengers a year to more than 80 destinations. In trade it amounts to more than £34 billion

a year. It is not just an airport for London, but an international hub airport joining Europe to America.

Its facilities, including hotels, one of which had to be evacuated last week, its aircraft maintenance facilities and other associated industries are only operating at Heathrow because of its international business. These profit-making industries are all threatened by the IRA attacks.

These issues were highlighted across Britain's newspapers last week. The *Financial Times*, 11 March, said that "Heathrow ranks alongside the City of London, itself devastated by an IRA bomb last year, as a prime and heavily-defended target".

Defending Heathrow now, like the City of London, means that the cost of IRA activity in Britain can be gauged by the millions of pounds being lost to the British economy weekly. The IRA campaign can close down not only international airports but other transport networks and whole sections of London and other cities.

Finally, much media speculation was made of the fact that none of the mortars actually exploded. Endless newswriting was devoted to deciphering just what was the IRA intent.

Nowhere was it better summed up than in the words of a senior RUC officer in the *Irish Press*, Monday, 14 March. He said:

"The Provos are piddling about. If they really wanted to cause death and destruction, they could do it. It's second nature to them. What they are doing at Heathrow is hinting at the potential. They're having a good laugh, and keeping morale high back here in Belfast..."



● Heathrow at a standstill — the airport which generates £34 billion in trade a year is a crucial economic resource

CORRALLED, BATTERED AND SHOT AT

"CROSSMAGLEN two weeks ago, last week Coalisland and now Omagh — a pattern seems to be emerging," was how the latest unprovoked RUC plastic-bullet attack was put in context by Sinn Féin representatives after 16 nationalists appeared in the British courthouse in Omagh on Tuesday, 15 March.

The 16 were ordered by a British judge not to be in the Omagh area on Friday or Saturday next, when they were released on bail and had overnight curfews imposed. Relatives of the 16 nationalists said in a statement that they were horrified by the RUC actions and the use of batons and lethal plastic bullets against young people. The RUC attacked the nationalists as they left a dance on Friday, 11 March. They were arrested and taken to various RUC barracks as far away as Enniskillen and Strabane. Some ended up in hospital.

Omagh Sinn Féin Councillor Francie Mackey told *AP/RN* that he visited the homes of a number of the young people after the vicious RUC attack.

"After receiving accounts of what actually happened last Friday night from a number of witnesses I can totally repudiate the RUC's version. They said falsely that they were dealing with a riotous mob and issued lies to the media in a feeble attempt to cover-up their totally bigoted behaviour."

"From 11.45pm onwards, the RUC had a higher than normal

presence around the town, stopping young people who were attending a regular dance. This heavy RUC presence was very visible in John Street, with armoured vehicles carrying riot equipment and Alsatian dogs. Surrounding streets were sealed off as young people began to leave the dance.

"As the young people came into Church Hill they were blocked by RUC Landrovers who shunted them down into John Street. Eyewitnesses have told how they saw people being beaten about the head and body by the RUC wielding three foot long batons. Many of the injured were covered in blood."

Despite pleas for them to stop they continued causing serious injury to many and arresting anyone they could throw into their vehicles. Mackey continued:

"At this stage plastic bullets were being fired causing some of the worst injuries. Some of those arrested received no medical attention until the following morning, despite injuries such as broken fingers and bruised and badly-cut limbs. In one case one

of the injured was bleeding so profusely that his clothing was completely soaked in blood and it was obvious even to the RUC that immediate hospital treatment was needed.

"I will be raising the whole issue at the next Omagh Council meeting demanding a full independent

inquiry into this attack.

"I will be asking why this large number of RUC with riot equipment and dogs in the area? Why was the area sealed off allowing people to walk into the situation and not out again without suffering injury at the hands of these uninformed thugs?"



● FRANCIE MACKEY

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