



An Phoblacht

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REPUBLICAN NEWS

20 Feabhra
Thursday, 20th February 1992

They died that we might be free

Joe Doherty
deported



— See page 4



● The coffin of Volunteer Peter Clancy outside his home

FOUR COURAGEOUS YOUNG Irish republicans died when they were ambushed by British soldiers in County Tyrone last Sunday. It was a scene tragically familiar in Irish history as a group of Irish people went out to meet vastly superior British military forces, risking everything in the effort to rid their country of foreign rule and sacrificing their lives in the struggle.

Republicans salute Volunteers O'Donnell, Sean O'Farrell and Peter Clancy. None of them was over 23, all

of them born after the present phase in the Irish people's struggle for national freedom began. They grew up in County Tyrone, and living in that county which has borne the brunt of British rule, they came to the conclusion that they had no option open to them to achieve justice but to resort to armed resistance.

Their tragic deaths were gloated

over by unionist leaders and many British media commentators. Ignoring the grief of four more Irish families they treated their deaths as successful 'hits' by the British army. There was no focus on the 'godfathers' of British violence who authorise the policy which dictates that no republicans are to be taken alive in such circumstances. Last week the man ultimately

responsible for that shoot-to-kill policy, British Prime Minister John Major, met with John Hume and the unionist parties. After the meeting the three unionist leaders appeared to be in a jubilant mood and expressed confidence regarding their demands for a more repressive British military policy.

John Hume alone appeared ill-at-

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'92 Sinn Féin Ard Fheis

BALLYFERMOT DUBLIN

Sat 22nd and Sun 23rd February

News

THEY DIED THAT WE MIGHT BE FREE

(continued from front page)

ease with what had been agreed and when we take account of the fact that four young Irishmen were executed by the SAS less than a week later, Hume's unease becomes more understandable. The question on the lips of many nationalists now is: "Did John Hume give his consent to an all-out military offensive on republicans?"

Major stated, following the meeting, that further discussions would be held on "security and political matters to help crack terrorism". Ian Paisley hailed the talks as a breakthrough, giving nationalists throughout the Six Counties good reason to expect an increase in British military repression. Molyneux too was in confident mood as he left, with the promise that there would be some "unpleasant surprises" to come.

Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams has challenged SDLP leader John Hume to say if this week's killings were one of those "unpleasant surprises" which Molyneux had promised. Paisley's reaction to Sunday's executions — "They certainly got a surprise last night and I think more are on the way" — would seem to leave no doubt as to the nature of the London discussions.

The four Volunteers who were executed by the British SAS were named as Kevin Barry O'Donnell (21), Sean O'Farrell (22), Peter Clancy (21) and Patrick Vincent (20). Earlier, all four Volunteers had taken part in an attack on the RUC barracks in Coalisland, County Tyrone.

Around 10.30pm on Sunday evening, February 16th, two

active service units (ASUs) of the East Tyrone Brigade, Irish Republican Army, positioned themselves in the centre of Coalisland in preparation for the attack on the heavily fortified barracks, which is situated at a junction of four roads in the town centre. One of the ASUs had a 12.7mm heavy machine-gun mounted on the back of a commandeered truck and was also armed with back-up AKM assault rifles. It was this unit which drove towards the barracks and opened fire on the main observation post.

In support of this unit, another ASU took up covering fire points at various positions overlooking the barracks. After firing a sustained burst at the barracks, the truck moved off towards Dernagh Crossroads, followed by the second ASU, which proceeded to pull out, after covering the first ASU's withdrawal. Both ASUs headed towards the prearranged pick-up point for the dispersal of weapons, adjacent to St Patrick's Church in Clonoe.

With the operation over, some of the Volunteers began to take down the 12.7mm machine-gun, still mounted on the back of the truck, while others started moving off into the surrounding countryside. Two Volunteers, using a stepladder at the side of the truck, had removed the machine-gun's ammunition belt to a waiting car, and were dismantling the gun itself from its mounting on the truck, when they came under heavy and sustained gunfire.

A third Volunteer was still in the cab of the truck and was hit several

times as the gunfire poured in from different directions, as was the fourth Volunteer, who was positioned beside a waiting car. People living nearby reported hearing prolonged shooting for up to ten minutes with tracer bullets cutting across St Patrick's grounds.

Local people also stated that there was no warning given at any time, and there was no exchange of fire, one witness saying it all sounded like one type of gun. All four Volunteers had been hit at this stage and when the firing ceased for a short time, one Volunteer managed to get to his feet and raised his hands to surrender. With this, the SAS attackers again opened up, despite seeing his hands in the air in a clear gesture of surrender. He was fatally wounded.

Meanwhile, the other Volunteers who were travelling along three different routes from the crossroads, were also coming under heavy fire from concealed positions. Despite this, they managed to evade capture and certain execution by other SAS units who were covering all four roads leading from the crossroads in ambush positions.

The SAS killers, who were at Dernagh crossroads on Sunday night, did not succeed in their mission to execute all those Volunteers involved in the attack and those who survived are today in their own parts of East Tyrone, quietly remembering their fallen comrades and friends. They, like the rest of the risen people of occupied Ireland, will continue the task of removing from our country these foreign, paid assassins and their controllers in the British government.

Peace and freedom and justice for the Irish people will be the memorial to Patrick Vincent, Kevin Barry O'Donnell, Sean O'Farrell and Peter Clancy.

OBITUARIES



● Volunteer Kevin Barry O'Donnell

Kevin Barry O'Donnell

KEVIN BARRY O'DONNELL was born in March 1970, one of a family of three brothers and three sisters. He attended Primate Dixon Memorial school, Coalisland, and then St Patrick's Academy, Dungannon, after which he began a course at Loughry Agricultural College, Cookstown. He then moved to England to start an agricultural degree at Harper Adams Agricultural College which was halted with his arrest on weapons possession charges.

During his teenage years Barry, as he was known, played Gaelic football for the Fianna Club as well as Stewartstown Harps, while his fluency as an Irish speaker was well known. Barry held various positions as a Volunteer in Oglagh na hÉireann and had taken part in numerous operations against British crown forces, from the day he joined in 1988. He was recognised by his republican comrades as a dedicated Volunteer, and when he began his studies in England he continued operations against British military targets throughout that country. To his family, comrades and friends the entire Republican Movement sends its deepest sympathy.

Patrick Vincent

PATRICK was born in 1971, and had one sister and one brother. Unlike his three com-

rades who lived in nationalist districts, he lived in a predominantly unionist area close to Dungannon. He attended Edendork primary school in Dungannon before going to St Joseph's secondary in Coalisland.

Patrick managed to get a job as a crane driver after leaving school and could be seen about the country living his life to the full, enjoying the humour and craic among his friends and comrades, without ever letting the British forces become aware of his actions in Oglagh na hÉireann. Patrick joined Oglagh na hÉireann in 1991 and despite the fact that he was only in the Army for one year he was involved in many IRA operations during that year.

He was described as a person who had no fear, one who met anything straight on. Due to Patrick's security consciousness the crown forces were never aware of his involvement in any of these operations, this lack of knowledge helped Patrick assist his comrades in freely moving about East Tyrone in their many attacks in that area.

"Patrick was totally dedicated to the struggle", was a phrase used by one of Patrick's friends when he heard what had happened at St Patrick's Chapel grounds on Sunday night. He said:

"Every time I pass St Pat's, in the days to come, I'll remember his smile, his love of the craic, and what he died trying to remove, the obscenity that is the British presence, from our country."

Patrick's friends and comrades in the Republican Movement are determined that his wish will come true, sooner, rather than later. To his loving family, republicans extend heartfelt sympathy in their great loss.



● Volunteer Seán O'Farrell

Seán O'Farrell

SEAN was born on September 1969, and like his close friend Barry, grew up in Coalisland and also attended Primate



● St Patrick's Church Coalisland — Scene of the SAS ambush

Dixon primary school before moving to St Joseph's secondary school.

After leaving secondary school Seán did a welding course at Craigavon Training Centre and gained employment as a welder with a local company. As he grew up Seán developed a strong interest in Irish traditional music, playing different instruments, notably the tin whistle. Throughout the year Seán could be found at many fleadhanna ceoil throughout Ireland, playing in sessions with fellow musicians. He was also very interested in the Irish language and always spoke his "cúpla focal" whenever he had the opportunity.

Seán joined the ranks of Oglagh na hÉireann in 1988 on the same day as his close friend Barry O'Donnell and both took part in many operations as Volunteers in the East Tyrone Brigade. Seán and Barry had been arrested together and held on remand in Crumlin Road Jail before being released after a period of months. During his time in prison Seán was never deterred and his commitment was such that on release he reported back for active service in the Coalisland area and resumed operations with his comrades.

Both were held in very high regard by their local community and lived life to the full, always ready with a smile or a joke for their friends and comrades despite the seriousness of their commitment to the armed struggle. On Thursday, February 20th, both comrades are being laid to rest in their native County Tyrone, and as one close friend put it, "they joined together, fought alongside each other, died together, and will be buried together". Their memory will strengthen our determination to rid our land of the paid, foreign assassins who killed them, and the government which directed those assassins.

The Republican Movement sends deepest sympathy to Seán's loving family and friends.

Peter Clancy

PETER was born on August

1970, one of a family of two sisters and five brothers in the Coalisland area. He attended Aughmullan Primary school, and then St Joseph's, Coalisland before getting employment as a fitter welder, the same trade as Seán O'Farrell.

Peter played Gaelic football for Clo-noe O'Rahillys, one of the many thriving GAA clubs throughout County Tyrone.

Of the same generation as Barry and Seán, he also joined the ranks of Oglagh na hÉireann in 1988 and swiftly became a resourceful and experienced Volunteer in the struggle against the crown forces. With characteristic bravery Peter was to the fore in these attacks, and, on one occasion recently, was injured in a blast bomb attack on an RUC jeep close to the British barracks in Coalisland.

It was typical of his dedication that after recovering from his injuries he returned to active service in his own area alongside his comrades who were killed with him on Sunday night. Peter will be remembered as a Volunteer whose dedication was second to none, and as a good member of his community in Coalisland. To Peter's large family circle the Republican Movement gives heartfelt sympathy in their time of mourning.



● Volunteer Peter Clancy



● Members of Oglagh na hÉireann salute the remains of their comrade Volunteer Kevin Barry O'Donnell



● The remains of Volunteer Sean O'Farrell being carried to his home



● One of the mourners bearing the scars of the RUC's attacks on those mourning the death of Volunteer Sean O'Farrell

RUC ATTACKS MOURNERS

The RUC has been accused of "provocative and abusive behaviour" at the homes of the four IRA Volunteers killed on Sunday night, February 15th.

Coalisland Sinn Féin Councillor Francie Molloy attacked the RUC's behaviour at a time when the families of the dead require nothing more than the right to mourn free

from the type of provocation demonstrated by the RUC.

The attacks occurred as the remains of the four were brought from Craigavon Hospital to their homes on

Monday night, February 16th, and resulted in one man being very severely injured in the head after being beaten by a baton-wielding RUC man.

After the attack Councillor Molloy called on the RUC to withdraw its heavy and aggressive presence so that the families can grieve for their loved ones in peace.

"The families of these young men" said Councillor Molloy, "have the right to grieve for their sons. This is a particularly difficult time for the families whose only desire is to bury their loved ones in peace and with dignity."

News

Four Volunteers gunned down

WAR NEWS

THE EVENTS of the past week have been overshadowed by the tragic deaths of four Volunteers of the East Tyrone Brigade who were executed by members of the SAS on Sunday night, February 16th.

Their deaths came after they had mounted a machine gun and rifle attack on Coalisland RUC Barracks. They made good their escape and headed towards St Patrick's Chapel at Dernagh Crossroads. The SAS lay in ambush for them and waited until the Volunteers had removed the ammunition belt from the heavy calibre 12.7 machine gun before they opened fire from their ambush position.

In a sustained burst of gun-fire, which lasted up to ten minutes according to local people, the four Volunteers were shot dead. One eye-witness said that, although wounded, one of the Volunteers raised himself from the ground and put his hands up in surrender. He was hit several times from the SAS positions and died.

In a statement issued through the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau, Dublin, the IRA said:

"Those killed on Sunday evening at Dernagh Crossroads, Coalisland, were Peter Clancy, Kevin Barry O'Donnell, Seán O'Farrell and Patrick Vincent. All were Volunteers in the East Tyrone Brigade IRA who were on active service at

the time of their deaths.

"Two weeks ago eight Irish nationalists were gunned down by pro-British killers. Yesterday evening four Irish nationalists, at least one of whom had his hands in the air, were gunned down by an official British death squad. All of these killings are aimed at crushing the resistance of all our people to foreign occupation. They will fail.

"To the families of those who died in Coalisland the leadership of the IRA extends its deepest sympathy."

■ RANGERS' BARRACKS BLASTED

Elsewhere in the Six Counties the IRA continued to attack crown forces personnel and other targets. The North Armagh Brigade claimed responsibility for causing the explosion at the Royal Irish Rangers Barracks in Charles Street, Portadown.

The attack occurred on Monday, February 17th, when Volunteers succeeded in breaching the tight security around the heavily fortified barracks. Upon gaining entry they then planted the 15lb semtex bomb



● The scene of the gunning down of four IRA volunteers, February 16th

which exploded, damaging the base.

■ BRITS ATTACKED ON MANY FRONTS

Despite the massive concentration of British forces around Belfast, Volunteers of the IRA show time and time again their ingenuity in managing to breach the security cordon and carry out a number of operations designed to stretch the crown forces and expose the NIO's policy of Belfast being a 'normal' city.

On Wednesday, February 12th, two elaborate hoax devices were placed in commandeered vehicles and parked outside the Kings Hall where the Motor Show was taking place.

On Friday, February 14th, a 300lb car bomb was driven to Adelaide Street and parked there. A smaller 2lb bomb was left nearby where it exploded at approximately 1.30am. It was intended that this initial explosion would lure the crown forces to the vicinity where the larger 300lb car

bomb would act as an anti-personnel device. The car bomb only partially exploded causing injury to five RUC members.

On Saturday, February 15th, two incendiary bombs exploded in the food hall of Marks and Spencers in Donegall Place. Minor damage was caused by the bombs but extensive flood damage was caused by the store's sprinklers.

Sunday saw a series of carefully co-ordinated attacks using blast incendiary bombs aimed at pubs and hotels. The Shaftesbury Inn was destroyed while the Fortwilliam Golf Club escaped with only minor damage as the bomb left there only partially exploded. At the Greenan Lodge Hotel Volunteers left two blast incendiaries, only one of which exploded.

The York Hotel on Botanic Avenue was the other target in this series of attacks on hotels but in line with their latest tactic of moving in quickly to defuse bombs thus putting civilian lives in danger, British army technical officers defused the bomb. Also on Sunday a 20lb bomb exploded on the railway line between Central Station and Dunmurry.

At Brougham Street in the New Lodge area of Belfast on Monday, February 17th, four RUC members were injured when they were attacked by Volunteers with a blast grenade. Also on Monday hoax devices caused widespread disruption at Central and Botanic stations, whilst that night 20 rounds were fired at Fort Whitehead. On Wednesday Volunteers in Belfast planted a blast incendiary in a sports shop in May Street. A fire started by the explosion caused extensive damage to the premises.



JOE DOHERTY DEPORTED

■ BY ART Mac EOIN

JOE DOHERTY was deported from the United States to Britain on Wednesday, February 19th. It was the final violation by the US authorities of Doherty's rights over the past eight years.

The Belfast republican was flown into the hands of the British at whose behest he was kept in US pris-

ons for nearly a decade without ever being charged with a crime in the US. He landed at Heathrow Airport, Lon-

don, late on Wednesday night.

In a statement, Martin Galvin of Irish Northern Aid said that the development was "an American tragedy".

He asked: "How can America celebrate George Washington, a patriot who won freedom for all Americans by fighting the British crown and then betray Joe Doherty into the hands of the British crown for fighting for Irish freedom?"

"We have prostituted fundamental American principles of granting political asylum to beleaguered patriots, at the behest of the British.

"Joe Doherty has accomplished much by his personal courage in focusing American attention on the entire issue of British rule in Ireland. Britain, had it foreseen what Doherty would achieve might well have decided to allow him to

live quietly in America.

"We must not accept this as a defeat, but as a step upon which to build more American political and moral pressure so that Joe Doherty and all those forced to live under British rule can have freedom in Ireland."

As AP/RN goes to press it seems that Doherty is still in Britain but that he will be flown to the Six Counties as soon as possible for a court appearance. He is wanted in the North to serve a life sentence imposed on him in 1981 for the killing of SAS Captain Herbert Westmacott in a gun battle between the IRA and the British army on Belfast's Antrim Road in 1980.

Sectarian murder by IPLO

A 17-YEAR-OLD Protestant youth was killed in a random sectarian attack in the Ballysillan area of Belfast on Monday night. Andrew Johnston, who was working behind the counter of a video shop on the Upper Crumlin Road in North Belfast, was shot a number of times when a lone masked IPLO killer burst into the shop at around 8.15pm. It is believed he died instantly.

A teenage girl also working in the shop escaped uninjured because she was kneeling down behind the shop counter. Johnston was a member of the local Elim Pentecostal Church, where his parents run the youth club. The killing occurred despite calls from Sinn Féin's Gerry Adams and Martin McGuinness for no retaliation in the wake of the Ormeau Road killings of five Catholics.

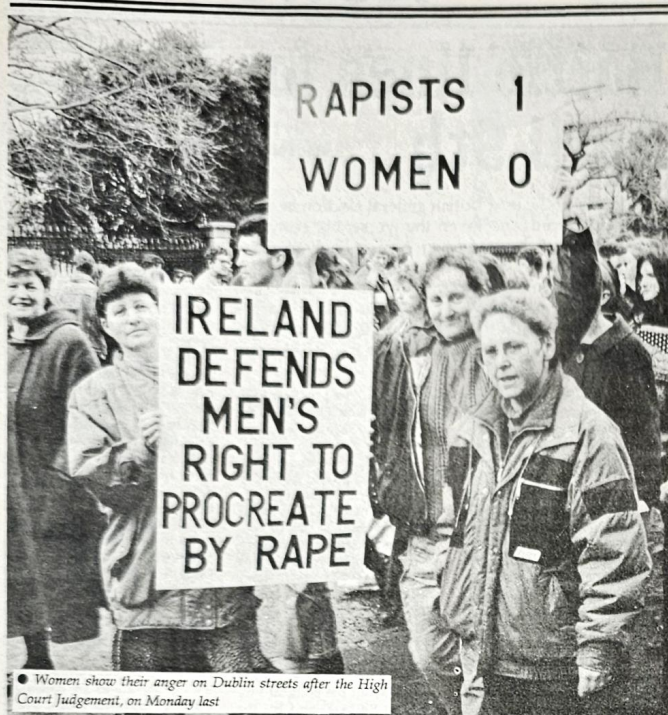
Commenting on this latest sectarian attack, Martin McGuinness said that the killing "comes in the wake of appeals by myself and Gerry Adams for no retaliation against Protestants."

"The republican community that we represent supports our analysis that sectarianism is a diversion that suits Britain's dishonest propaganda position that it is an honest broker keeping two tribes apart."

"The IPLO has no credibility within the republican community. On behalf of the republican people who for 20 years have steadfastly endured and resisted all that the British could inflict on us, I call upon the IPLO to immediately cease its activities and to disband."



● GERRY ADAMS



● Women show their anger on Dublin streets after the High Court judgement, on Monday last

THE DAY INNOCENCE WAS SACRIFICED “Nightmare scenario” becomes a reality

■ BY PAULINE BENNETT

“Yesterday innocence was sacrificed on the altar of the letter of the law” — June Levine speaking the day after the judgement.

“The state acknowledges the right to life of the unborn and, with due regard to the equal right to life of the mother, guarantees in its law to respect, and, as far as is practicable, by its laws to defend and vindicate that right.” — 1983 Amendment

RARELY has there been an issue so emotive or so distressing as that of a 14-year-old rape victim made pregnant and now being refused access to an abortion by the 26-County state.

On Monday, February 17th, in a judgement by Justice Declan Costello, an injunction was granted to the Attorney General to prevent this girl from traveling to Britain to procure an abortion. Every woman and every parent in the country was forced to face the bleak reality of the 1983 ‘pro-life’ amendment and its interpretation which now amounts to a complete disregard for women’s lives.

In this case the story is particularly tragic. The girl had been a victim of sexual abuse from the father of her best friend for a number of years and, as with many of these cases, was intimidated into silence by the abuser. The abuse and pregnancy only came to her mother’s attention when she

abortion. They were in contact with sympathetic gardai in their area, who were handling the case, and they told them of their intention and asked if foetal tissue could be used for genetic fingerprinting in order to be used in evidence possibly to secure a conviction of the rapist. The gardai then contacted the Director for Public Prosecutions for technical advice on how to organise the evidence.

The DPP contacted the Attorney General’s office to find out about the admissibility of such evidence. The Attorney General, Harry Whelehan, let it be known that such evidence would not be admissible and that he would be pursuing an injunction to prevent the abortion. This he has said, is completely in line with his role as upholder and implementer of the constitution.

At this stage the family was already in London and the girl was under untold stress. The father rang the gardai in Dublin to tell them where they were, in order to facilitate the acquisition of evidence. The gardai who appear to be none too happy about the role they were forced to play, told him that the family were to come back to Ireland. This was to face a court hearing on the application for an injunction from the Attorney General preventing the abortion. He was told that a refusal

would result in prosecution, even for his daughter.

Understandably shaken and scared, they returned to face the “nightmare scenario” that supporters of the 1983 amendment had said could not happen. The girl in the meantime is in a “fraught emotional state” and is under constant medical supervision.

The judgment made on Monday made the 1983 “nightmare scenario” a brutal reality. The judgment consisted of four points.

The first referred to the eighth amendment which is very clear as to the duty of the court to protect the life of the unborn equally. The fact that the Oireachtas did not make any laws deciding the interpretation of the amendment, left the judge with no alternative other than to apply the clear directive from the constitution. This is an indictment of successive governments who have not taken on their responsibility in the wake of the amendment to interpret it. It is their ineptitude that has directly led to this particular judgment.

On the very real threat of suicide by the girl due to her highly distressed state, Costello said that the threat to the girl’s life came from herself and was of a different magnitude to the “threat” of abortion. The judge was sure that since the girl was in the care of her parents she would make it through “the difficult months”. He felt that the threat to the unborn child was imminent because if the injunction was not granted then the termination would almost certainly take place.

This part of the judgment is undoubtedly the most disturbing part. It is clear that women are seen as less than even second-class citizens in the 1937 Constitution. In this case their quality of life is not considered, only their ability to carry a child to full term. Did the people of the 26 Counties really vote for this interpretation in 1983? Again, had the Oireachtas qualified the terms of reference in the amendment this judgment may never have been delivered.

The rest of the judgment was given to the points of European Community law and of the mother’s right to liberty.



● Sinn Féin show their opposition to the High Court injunction

Under the 1937 Constitution a citizen has the right to personal liberty. While Costello recognised this right he pointed out that since a precedent set in a case in 1966 “a person should be deprived of their liberty upon the belief that they would commit offences if left at liberty”. He went on further to say that “if a constitutional right is being abused by exercising it to commit a wrong then the court may restrain the wrongful act even though this may involve a curtailment of the exercise of a constitutional right”.

On European Community law he acknowledged the defence’s assertion that under EC law abortion is a service and that there is meant to be free access to these services in the community under the Treaty of Rome. However, he pointed out that the clause of exemption included derogation on the grounds of public policy. Costello said that the Eighth Amendment “was clearly an expression of public policy”.

There was a sad inevitability to this week. The 1983 amendment to the constitution has slowly but very surely eradicated women’s rights and the consequences of this judgment are difficult to comprehend.

The first is that many women who are contemplating having an abortion will not talk to anyone for fear of such consequences. They may not seek the much needed pregnancy advice and counselling (which as it stands have been driven underground) and will travel to Britain even more frightened and uninformed on the option they have chosen.

The second and very harrowing result is the prospect of women turning to back street abortionists.

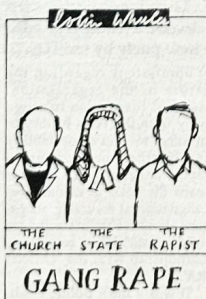
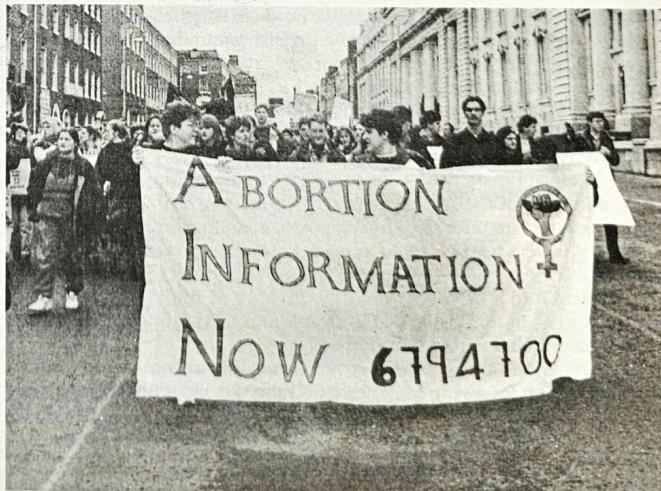
Next is what this judgment has done to rape victims. The state has legislation to protect women from this violence, it is even starting, albeit very slowly, to face up to the fact of widespread child sexual abuse. Those working in this area point out that reporting of such crimes has increased dramatically in recent years, as has the rate of convictions in the courts, although we are still only seeing what is believed to be the tip of the iceberg. There is now serious concern that the horrific ordeal of the 14-year-old will make victims frightened to report the crimes against them for fear of dire legal consequences.

Men who rape women and children were, in effect, given the right in Monday’s judgment to procreate through rape.

As Nell McCafferty put it at a meeting of Dublin women activists after the judgment, “in the eyes of the state we are no more than cabbages. They have made us cabbages”.

Pledging the party’s continued support for the child and the family involved in the case, and opposition to the judgment and its implications, Andrée Murphy of Sinn Féin Women’s Department said:

“We were told in 1983 that individual women would never be targeted. Today we see the criminalisation of a 14-year-old rape victim. The 1983 amendment to the constitution has slowly but very surely eradicated women’s rights. It has to be repealed before it criminalises more women.”



noticed that her daughter had missed her period.

The parents decided that in the distressing circumstances the best thing for their daughter would be for her to have an



An Phoblacht

REPUBLICAN NEWS
20th February 1992

■ Mawhinney excuses loyalist terror

RECENT REMARKS by British 'security' minister in the Six Counties Brian Mawhinney, regarding the loyalist campaign of sectarian murder against nationalist civilians, has outraged nationalists North and South and has rightly resulted in his censure by the whole spectrum of nationalist political opinion on this island.

For the past 20 years and at intervals before that, the nationalist population of the Six Counties has endured a vicious campaign of genocide perpetrated by various loyalist groups. In an insult to those nationalists, particularly considering the recent horrific attacks in Belfast, Mawhinney, in a BBC radio interview on Sunday, February 16th, defended the legal status of the UDA — the UFF's alter ego — and then attempted to make a case for their murderous activities which he described as being "reactive rather than pro-active".

Mawhinney's qualification of loyalist terror was the nearest yet that a British minister has come to a public admission that unofficial loyalist violence is part of his government's counter-insurgency network. It mirrors the views of unionists such as Peter Robinson who last year said of loyalist paramilitaries: "Essentially the IRA is an anti-state, anti-establishment body doing everything possible to wreck the political process and the state itself, whereas the Protestant and loyalist paramilitary organisations are anti-IRA, they are essentially counter-terrorist organisations."

The fact is that of the hundreds of nationalists killed over the past 20 years, only a small minority have been republican activists. The vast majority have been ordinary civilians targeted at random and often killed in the most brutal manner imaginable. This loyalist terror campaign fits into Britain's strategy in Ireland and as shown by events as recent as the Brian Nelson trial, is in many cases directed by British military intelligence.

The political/military approval of this campaign is based on the assumption that because of it the nationalist population will be intimidated into giving up their legitimate demands for civil rights and national unity.

The Dublin government's newly appointed Foreign Minister David Andrews attacked Mawhinney's remarks on the basis that violence should be condemned from whatever quarter it emanates. It is long past time, however, that the Dublin government woke up to the reality that the British government and its armed agencies are the greatest perpetrators of violence in Ireland. It has been shown on countless occasions that the British army and RUC provide intelligence, weaponry and personnel to the unofficial loyalist gangs. Through its co-operation with these forces, the 26-County government, as well as abdicating its national duty, is showing an insensitivity to the cry for justice from the northern nationalist community.

As for Mawhinney's claim that the loyalist paramilitary murders are "reactive" it must be pointed out that such murders long pre-date the present IRA campaign. The unionist state itself was born in the midst of sectarian pogroms between 1920 and 1922 and loyalist terror, in its official or unofficial guises, has been used to instil fear in the hearts of northern nationalists ever since.

Loyalist terror has always been "reactive" to the legitimate and democratic demands of the Irish people. The formation of the UVF in 1912 was a "reaction" to the rise of Irish national consciousness; the pogroms of the '20s were a reaction to the prospect of national independence and unity; and the dark days of sectarian terror in the 1970s were, as often as not, a reaction to a perceived political advance of the nationalist position. It is a tactic that has failed and will fail in its aim of driving the nationalist population into submission.

Condemnations by the British government of "violence" must surely seem paper thin following Mawhinney's remarks. How can any nationalist have confidence in a 'security' minister who views their personal security as of lesser value than that of others? Mawhinney's words should serve to put the British government's true position on sectarian violence into clear focus.

News

Battle lines for April 9th

By Hilda MacThomas

THE DATE of the next British general election is about to be announced, and given the worsening economic climate, the British government is most likely to go for the earliest date of April 9th. But while British voters make up their minds about the economic and social policies of the various parties, the Six-County parties will once again fight the election on the 'constitutional' issue, the hallmark of the North as the 'failed political entity'.

In the unionist camp, Ian Paisley's Democratic Unionist Party will attempt to claw back the votes which it lost to its rival the Official Unionist Party, led by James Molyneux, in the local elections of 1989. Then the DUP attributed their electoral decline to their loss of identity, after three years of electoral pacts with the OUP aimed at "smashing the Hillsborough diktat". The electoral pact has now been abandoned in all non-marginal constituencies. In Strangford, John Taylor of the OUP will be defending his seat against the flamboyant — and rabid — DUP Councillor Sammy Wilson.

In constituencies where a split unionist vote would lose the seat to either Sinn Féin or the SDLP, unionists have agreed on a single unionist candidate: the DUP's William McCrea in Mid-Ulster, Ken Maginnis for the OUP in Fermanagh/South Tyrone.

The exception is West Belfast, the Sinn Féin seat, where it seems that the OUP leadership has decided, against the wishes of its local organisation, to allow the DUP a free run, with Ian Paisley Junior as a

candidate. In the past year Paisley junior made his name in the campaign to secure the release of four UDR men from prison.

There are those in the loyalist camp who go one further. In January a Derry councillor, Ken Kerr of the Ulster Democratic Party, the political flag of convenience for the UDA, suggested that loyalist voters in the West Belfast constituency should cast their vote tactically in favour of the SDLP candidate Joe Hendron. This was met with indignation by Official Unionists like Fred Cobain who dismissed Kerr as knowing nothing about the political situation in Belfast, and by the Shankill Road-based group Justice For All who said that there was "no acceptable nationalist candidate in West Belfast".

Last week the Alliance Party declared that once again it would not field a candidate against Gerry Adams next April, also in the hope that its voters will rally behind Joe Hendron. The unholy alliance to take the West Belfast seat from Sinn Féin now extends from the SDLP to the Alliance Party and the UDA, a fact which will not escape the notice

of the voters of that constituency.

In most constituencies, however, the contest between the OUP and DUP will hinge on competing "security policies" and claims of being the best defenders of the 'Union'. While the OUP spokesperson on security, the former UDR major Ken Maginnis, has been plugging his 'selective internment' policy for quite a while now, the DUP has recently launched an impressive programme which ranges from sealing off the border to curfews of nationalist areas.

As for the 'Union', the debate in the unionist camp in the last few years centred around the question of devolution versus integration: some unionists argued that devolution made the Six Counties a place apart in the 'United Kingdom' and more vulnerable to being cast adrift by Britain. Recent integrationist declarations by British ministers, in particular Peter Brooke and Douglas Hurd at last October's Tory Party Conference, will be quoted by the OUP leader James Molyneux as evidence that the British government is finally coming to its senses in that respect. And rumours that the Conservatives are considering the possibility of a post-election pact with the unionists in the event of a hung parliament, will further add to the OUP's political weight in the unionist electorate. Hard days ahead for Paisley's team.

The nationalist vote will be split between the SDLP and Sinn Féin, as it has been since 1982. Sinn Féin's share of the nationalist vote varies between one third and 40% depending on the election. A low point was the 1986 by-elections in the aftermath of the signing of the Hillsborough Treaty, designed

birth to the Workers' Party" and Joe Sherlock TD attacked General Secretary Seán Garland who he accused of having a "secret army".

The De Rossa motion sought to stand the party down and required all members to re-apply for membership in an effort to weed out elements who disagreed with his new approach. In this respect De Rossa was being as authoritarian as the Stalinist old guard he opposed. The motion also sought to repudiate "any vestiges of democratic centralism" and to "reject the concept of revolutionary tactics". This was in line with De Rossa's wish to cast the party in the classic mould of a western European social democratic party. It was seen as in line with the direction recently being taken by many of the Communist Parties throughout Europe. It was also an attempt to once and for all divorce the party in the public mind from the bogey man of the 'Official IRA' which has bedeviled the party's public image over the years.

The Workers' Party has never been a revolutionary organisation but it has over the years used revolutionary rhetoric for internal reasons. These have

THIS PARTY'S OVER

■ BY ART Mac EOIN

FOLLOWING HIS FAILURE to get the required two thirds majority for his proposal to "reconstitute" the Workers' Party at an extraordinary Ard Fheis in Dún Laoghaire, Proinsias de Rossa is set to depart from the party in its present form. This weekend's Ard Chomhairle meeting is due to see a complete split with the likely formation of a new party by six TDs.

De Rossa had publicly stated that his position would become untenable if the motion was defeated. However, after the vote — 242 in favour and 133 against — was announced, he said that it was a "bad decision" but did not follow up his threat to step down. He later told journalists that he would not make a decision on his future until the next meeting of the party's Ard Chomhairle.

The special conference was an extremely acrimonious affair which has dealt a severe body-blow to the future of the organisation.

In their obvious confidence of success, supporters of the De Rossa motion let flow a stream

of admissions regarding the nature of the organisation. Many of these wish to move away from the WP's history in an effort to gain respectability and further parliamentary seats. They turned on their heads the years of denials and indignation at recurring allegations about the party's activities and in particular its continuing relationship with the 'Official IRA'.

It was a most public washing of "dirty laundry", something previously unknown for an organisation so rigidly authoritarian and deeply clandestine. Belfast councillor Mary McMahon admitted: "I was in the Official IRA. It was to give

News

in particular to bolster up the SDLP under severe electoral pressure from Sinn Féin. But the context is not as favourable for John Hume's party this time round.

An indication of that could be found at the SDLP's annual conference, last Autumn: badly attended, downbeat, lacklustre, it projected a party demoralised and lost for a successful policy. Even more reason why Hume should try hard to appear to be still on board some political initiative, and last week's meeting with John Major was just that vehicle.

And yet the meeting with Major, dubbed by the media the 'Major initiative', left a lot of unanswered questions for nationalist voters. In particular, what did Major promise which left the Reverend McCrea 'pleased'? Did John Hume give his consent to an all-out military offensive on republicans?

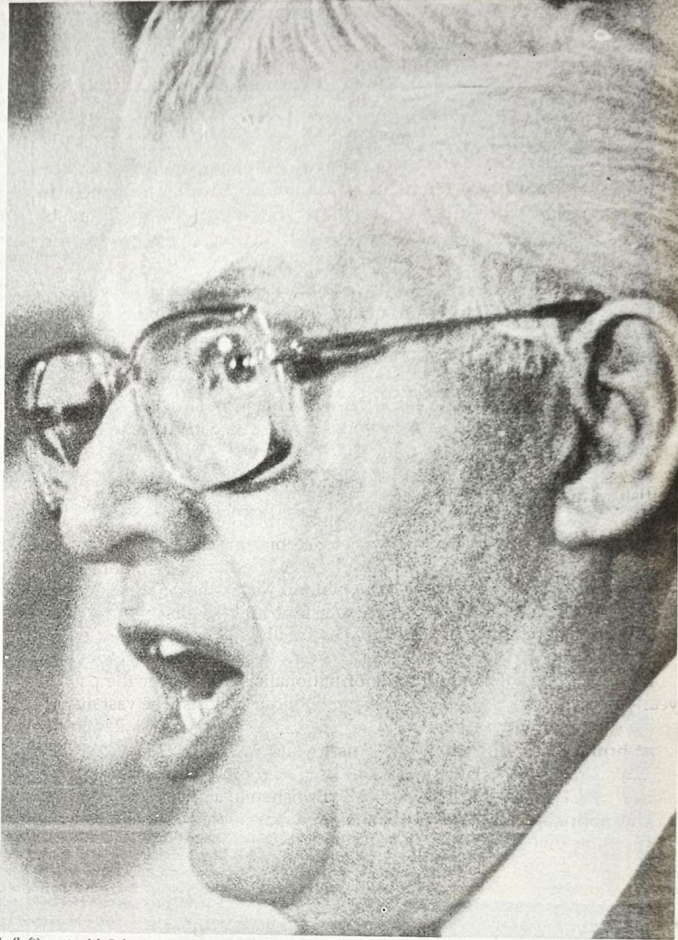
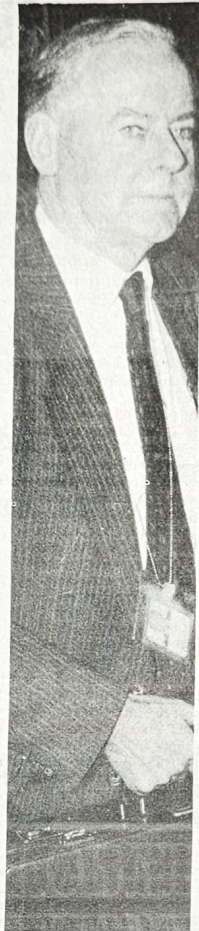
The political background to the election will be the debacle of the Brooke Talks, six years of Hillsborough Agreement with precious little to show for it, no sign anywhere of this 'pragmatic unionist leadership' which Hume promised would emerge as a result of the agreement. Worse again, Hume's assertion that the British were 'neutral' in relation to Ireland, and that it was up to nationalists to persuade unionists to join a united Ireland, not only was rejected by British Minister Peter Brooke in an interview with author Padraig O'Malley in his book *Questions of Nuance*, but flies in the face of facts, including Hurd's and Brooke's declarations at the last Tory conference, and the persistent rumour of a possible deal between the Conservatives and the unionists after the elections.

The many instances of obvious collusion between crown

forces and loyalist death squads, and the fact that while Dublin officials met with their British counterparts under the auspices of the 'intergovernmental conference', the British were running agents like Brian Nelson who were engaged in murdering innocent Catholics, has made a mockery of the promise made by the Irish establishment, including the SDLP, in 1985, that the Hillsborough Agreement would end the 'nationalist nightmare'.

The SDLP has very little to offer by way of positive achievements this time round, and will probably centre its campaign on attacks on the IRA and Sinn Féin. In this, the SDLP, the British and the unionists will speak with one voice. This union may not do the SDLP much good with the nationalist voters who, regardless of their attitude to IRA actions, do not believe for one minute that the IRA is responsible for the oppression and injustice meted out to them, nor that Sinn Féin should be excluded from talks.

Nevertheless, the SDLP have a well-oiled electoral machine and they have been involved in fighting elections since the party's birth in 1970. On the ground they are often nothing more than an electoral machine, with in-depth knowledge of the register based on accumulated experience: a practice which until recent years Sinn Féin activists had been reluctant to adopt. The result is the perception that the SDLP vote is a disciplined one, which will come out no matter what. The truth lies somewhere in between. But neither ideological voting nor electoral expertise will be sufficient to keep the SDLP share of the nationalist vote at the level it reached in the post-Hillsborough euphoria.



● Rumours of James Molyneux's (left) pact with John Major could mean hard days ahead for Paisley



● GARLAND

been to justify the existence of their fundraising and disciplinary paramilitary wing and to cloud their lack of radical political leadership to the working class in the 26-Counties. It is also used to cloud their blatant capitulation to imperialist aggression in the North.

The WP has in fact been an extremely reactionary organisation. It spearheaded the revisionist offensive against the ideal of national liberation over the past number of years. It has been to the forefront in creating an anti-nationalist consensus amongst a segment of the southern establishment and has done this through using the most devious of tactics. The



● DeROSSA

physical expression of its reactionary nature has been the brutal activities of its members in the North. It has been the most oppressed section of Irish society — working class northern nationalists — who have borne the brunt of this reactionary violence.

The reactionary development of the WP reached a high point last week when De Rossa, a former intern in the 1950s, gave implicit support for the introduction of internment without trial, North and South. That such measures would be countenanced by them makes a mockery of WP claims to a 'liberal agenda'.

The 'old guard' faction led

by former General Secretary Seán Garland receives much of its support from the Six Counties and areas such as Cork and Waterford. Hand in glove with the 'OIRA' and steeped in the methodology of Stalinism, they circulated a document to delegates calling on them to reject the De Rossa proposal. They said this proposal sought to "liquidate" the party and that its proposers were trying to justify a move to a social democratic parliamentary party and/or defect or merge with the Labour Party. Another objective was "To break with the party in Northern Ireland which they see as an albatross around their electoral necks."

Pat Rabbitt, it was alleged, had initiated a full-time party employee, Noel McFarlane, to the Dáil bar for a discussion in April of last year where Rabbitt told him that he intended to defect to Labour and asked McFarlane to join him. According to Rabbitt's version of events, given to journalists at the weekend, McFarlane asked him to stand as party leader after seeking a meeting with him in a Dublin pub and had told him that he was acting as an emissary for a group of people from Belfast from where he had just returned. If he, Rab-

bitte, was to agree to the proposal he was told that "money will flow from Belfast".

In a veiled attempt to justify the continuing acts of thuggery and intimidation by the Stickies in the North, the Garland/Lowry document claimed: "Yes there have been incidents where people defended the party and themselves against the thugs of the Provisional IRA/IPLO". They added that WP members had an "unqualified right to defend their party, their homes and their lives. We will never accept the word of the Provisionals/IPLO, their supporters or their fellow travellers against that of our comrades in Northern Ireland..."

In what was seen as another justification for the WP armed wing's finance raising activities, Gerry McCann, a delegate from the Markets area of Belfast, asked "Does anyone here really believe that the Workers' Party is self-sufficient?" Then, looking directly at TD Eamon Gilmore, he asked: "Where do you think the money came from?"

He asked people to consider where the party had got the money for the cars, offices and back-up which had been necessary to get people elected to

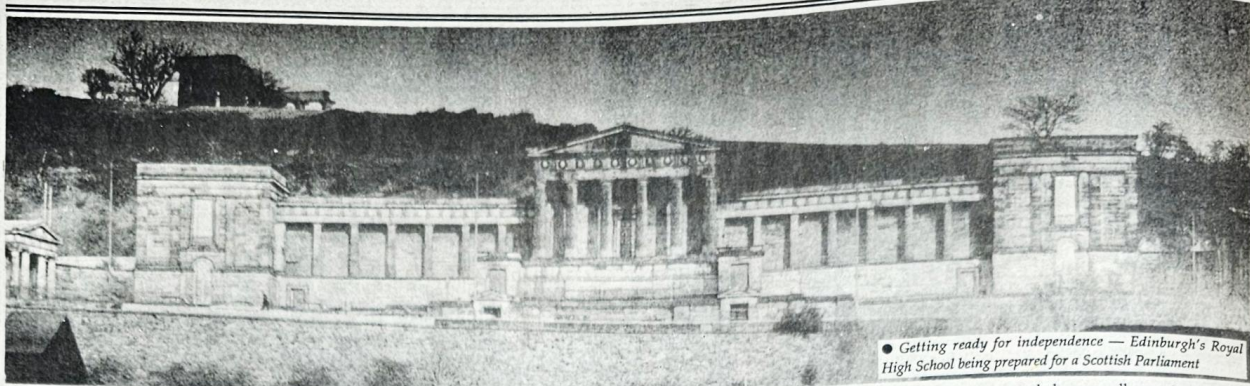
Leinster House. The 'holier than thou' attitude adopted by the pro-De Rossa wing is completely unbelievable. It is impossible that they were not aware of the activities of the OIRA over the years and it was through the WP's interpretation of 'democratic centralism' that many of them achieved senior positions in the organisation.

Garland, as party treasurer, also dismissed the widely held belief that WP TDs contributed a significant amount of their Leinster House salaries to the party. He revealed that: "Deputies Byrne and Rabbitt made a commitment to contribute a monthly sum of £75 each to the centre, that is £17.30 per week less than the attendance allowance for one day..."

It seems the wounds opened at the special and theis have signalled the final disintegration of the WP. Several leading members of the De Rossa wing have already made statements indicating that they would not stay in the party if the De Rossa motion was defeated. They haven't got many options open to them and it is likely that De Rossa, McCartan, Gilmore, Byrne, Sherlock and Rabbitt will leave to form their own party.

There is a doubt hanging over the future of Tomás MacGiolla who is a close associate of old guard members Goulding and Garland and has signalled his opposition to the formation of any new party. A decision will be made following the Ard Chomhairle meeting of Saturday, February 22nd. If they do decide to form a new party there is a possibility that they may eventually be joined by a leading defector from the Labour Party — Emmet Stagg. He resigned the party whip following a parliamentary party meeting on Wednesday, February 19th, when he failed to receive assurances that Labour would not enter future coalitions with Fianna Fáil or Fine Gael.

The current bursting of seams in the WP is the inevitable conclusion of the counter-revolutionary road down which those such as Cathal Goulding led a former section of the Republican Movement in the late 1960s and early 70s. As has been repeated throughout modern Irish history, the road to betrayal, compromise, political confusion and the abandonment of principles began with a withdrawal from the struggle for national freedom.



● Getting ready for independence — Edinburgh's Royal High School being prepared for a Scottish Parliament

Scotland — on the march to independence?

■ BY AN
EDINBURGH
NATIONALIST

IN THIS ARTICLE an Edinburgh nationalist explains recent developments in Scotland where demands for autonomy from the British government at Westminster are growing. Major change is likely, shaking the constitutional structure of the United Kingdom, with obvious implications for the British union with the Six Counties.

WITH SCOTTISH INDEPENDENCE or a devolved Scottish assembly, currently the preferred option for over 80% of the Scottish electorate, it is clear that major constitutional change will happen whatever the outcome of the next general election.

In this article I hope to explain to Irish people how we have arrived at this situation and outline how Scotland's relationship with England has differed from the blatant oppression meted out to the Irish people.

Westminster, undoubtedly, has not treated Scotland as an equal party in the union. But in order to understand why this was merely accepted we must go back and look at the whole picture from the Act of Union in 1707.

King William III, still concerned about a possible Jacobite comeback in Scotland and the separation of the Scottish and English thrones which had been joined together earlier, saw union of the two countries as the answer. If the Scots agreed to union they could share in the new colonial prosperity; if not they would be excluded. The new commercial class was mainly for it, but the ordinary people were very much against the idea.

The Act of Union was passed in 1707 through a Scots parliament voting itself out of existence largely as a result of Scots lords accepting English patronage and joining the Westminster payroll.

Scotland, as a nation, continued to exist with structures such as the Presbyterian church, law and education retaining their Scottish character. But as a state, a self-governing entity, older than a united England or France, she ceased to be. Risings in 1708, 1715, 1719 and the famous one in 1745 involving 'Bonnie' Prince Charlie and eventual defeat at Culloden, subdued the Scots for some years to come.

The Highland chiefs were allowed to bring themselves back into government favour by raising clan or district regiments to serve in the vastly expanding British army. Strange indeed that so soon after they had been so fiercely fighting the British army, these same Clansmen with their chiefs as officers,

became the pride of the same British army.

The Highland clearances came about as a result of Napoleon's blockade of Britain, when England grew short of food and imported wool to make uniforms for her armies. It was realised that sheep, which produced both food and wool, would flourish on the Highland hills. Since cattle and sheep were not compatible, one spoiling the pasture for the other, landowners evicted the natives from their homes, turning their estates into great sheep runs making huge profits.

This permanent emptying of a vast area of the country, forcing many Scots into exile, must rank as one of the most shameful episodes in Scottish history.

Why then did such a proud people allow themselves to be treated in this manner? Part of the answer lies in the fact that many Highland men were lost in the European wars. The clans had lost their leaders, their structures and much of the pride in their identity with, for example, the wearing of tartan being outlawed by the Westminster government.

Great fortunes were made by some Scots through trading as part of the British empire and it would be fair to say that Scotland did quite well out of Britain's exploitation of other nations.

By Queen Victoria's reign the process of eliminating all aspects of Scottish cultural life, such as the Gaelic language, was well underway and the process of creating 'North Britain' had begun.

The 1920s and 1930s saw a series

of concessions offered by Westminster to Scotland, each seemed to grant a measure of devolution, but in reality made the union embrace all the tighter. In 1926 the full status of a Secretary of State was granted to the Scottish Secretary. This, coupled with the transfer of departments of government such as agriculture and fisheries from London to Edinburgh, could be likened in many respects to similarly limited autonomy as exercised by Dublin Castle before 1922.

The Scottish National Party was formed in 1934 following an amalgamation of the National Party of Scotland and the Scottish Party, but was unable to make much of an impact until the 1960s when they had their first MP elected, sensationally overturning a 16,000 Labour majority at Hamilton. Nationalist fortunes shot up with eleven MPs elected to Westminster in 1974 and support peaked at 36% of the electorate during 1977.

Labour, terrified by the rise of Scottish nationalism, had converted from their unionist position in the second election of 1974, so that by 1979 a referendum was to be held on the question of the establishment of a Scottish assembly. Although the assembly lacked teeth, such as tax raising powers, it was sabotaged through an attachment requiring that 40% of the whole electorate would have to vote 'yes' for its introduction to become a reality. The 40% amendment came from an expatriate Scottish Labour MP, representing a London constituency, and was a democratic outrage. In reality it translated into a two thirds

rule because all uncast votes counted as a 'no' vote.

It is interesting to note that many Scottish members of Neil Kinnock's current shadow cabinet such as John Smith, Robin Cook and Brian Wilson played prominent roles in the anti-devolution campaign despite the fact that they were, in essence, campaigning against their own party policy.

The Labour MP for West Lothian, Tam Dalyell, continually asked the question about Scottish representation at Westminster should an assembly come about. In other words, would Scottish MPs still be able to concern themselves with parliamentary business south of the border since English MPs would play no part in a Scottish assembly?

The West Lothian question, as it has become known, still haunts the current campaigners for a '90s style Scottish assembly and to my mind has not been satisfactorily answered.

The results of the 1979 referendum were a disappointing 51.6% in favour and 48.2% against. Devolution was dead and the advent of the Thatcherite government meant that it stayed that way until the late 1980s.

The ravages of the Thatcher government's policies towards Scotland throughout the 1980s led to a reduction in Tory support north of the border in the general election of 1983 and to their humiliation at the 1987 election when they retained only ten seats out of a possible 72 in Scotland.

However, it was Labour and not the SNP that benefitted immediately from Scotland's rejection of Thatcherite loony right-wing policies. They gained 50 seats in parliament at the last election. These Labour MPs have since been dubbed the feeble 50 due to their impotence in resisting Thatcherite policies being forced on an unwilling Scottish electorate.

The Scottish Labour Party also has the problem of its comrades south of the border moving increasingly towards the right in a desperate attempt to woo the voters of the south-east of England who had prospered under Thatcher's government.

This made non-payment of the hated Poll Tax a non-starter for the Scottish Labour Party leadership, although this policy of civil disobedience would have been hugely popular in Scotland at the time.

Shortly after this decision the nationalists overturned a 19,000 Labour majority at the Glasgow Govan by-election. Most people saw this result as an endorsement of the non-payment campaign which the SNP had now committed themselves to. In the aftermath of the

Govan defeat, Labour returned to devolution, joined the cross-party convention which had been set up by the church in the 1980s. The convention groups within Scotland agreed to take action to force the authorities, all the Scottish trade unions as well as political parties, Labour, Liberal Democrats and the SNP.

The nationalists met one meeting and then when it became clear that independence was not on offer as one of the choices in the forthcoming referendum at the time.

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BODY SHOP IS USER-FRIENDLY BUT NOT UNION-FRIENDLY

FURRY ANIMALS COME FIRST

SUPPORT THE BODY SHOP STRIKERS

Since 1971, the Body Shop has been an active force for the promotion of human rights and the environment. The Body Shop's commitment to these issues is reflected in its products, which are made from natural ingredients and are free from animal testing. The Body Shop's commitment to these issues is reflected in its products, which are made from natural ingredients and are free from animal testing.

What can you do? Please respect the picket by not passing it. Based on the Body Shop's values.



● The Body Shop Grafton St. Where the management are "real shits"

they were "at the leading edge of employee-management relationships and continue to enjoy a happy employee relationship".

The Body Shop talk of "caring environments" and "loving relationships", yet this has not been represented in the wage packets of

the Body Shop staff. Body Shop's environmental image guarantees profits for the shareholders and franchise owners. It is clear that Body Shop marketing strategy is just that — a strategy aimed at profits. The political and environmental agenda is essentially a sham.

The right to join a trade union is a fundamental right. In Dublin in 1992 workers are being dismissed for attempting to join a trade union. The Body Shop strike is not the only example.

Welden Costello, a former waiter at the Montclare Hotel, has taken a case against the Montclare for unfair dismissal. Costello claims he was dismissed from his post for trade union activities. His case was heard in the Labour Court on Monday and he awaits its recommendations. Costello's case is representative of many individual workers in Dublin's service industry who, like the Body Shop workers, have paid a high price for asserting a fundamental right.



● Mont Clare Hotel, Dublin — where workers are sacked for asserting a fundamental right

THE BODY SHOP has captured a large section of the lucrative cosmetics and toiletries market through a careful marketing package. This emphasises an environmentally conscious and caring approach. None of their products can cause ozone depletion, none are tested on animals and all use natural ingredients wherever possible. Every employee is allowed half a day's paid time off a month for voluntary work. However, an environmentally caring approach does not extend to the workforce. It seems that profits and market share are the only determinants behind the Body Shops strategies.

Pickets have been in place outside the Grafton Street branch of the Body Shop since the beginning of February. The official SIFTU strike began when management of the Dublin outlets, a company called Aylwyn Investments laid off nine part-time workers, citing a downturn in business. The staff on strike, including workers who were not made redundant, claim that management had sacked them because of their SIFTU membership. They claim that management had refused to recognise their right to be in a trade union and had branded the workers as trouble makers.

Nine workers were made redundant, six in Grafton Street and three in Henry Street. The workers went to the Labour Court on January 31st and February 8th. No figures were produced to substantiate the claim of an alleged "down-turn in business".

At the January 31st Labour Court meeting, the management walked out when asked to produce figures proving that there was a downturn in business. On February 8th they produced percentage figures. The shop in Grafton Street was the number three retail outlet in the Body Shops overseas locations. In 1991 it was the number one overseas retail outlet. Aylwyn Investments would make no comment on the strike to AP/RN.

The day the strike started the Body Shop organised a promotion offering free hot cider. Workers not on strike were sent out on the street to canvass customers. The Body Shop has now brought around ten workers from their outlets in the Six Counties to work in Dublin. Paying for the lodgings and expenses of these workers does not seem to be affected by the "downturn in sales". Three of the original workers are still working in the Grafton Street branch.

The Body Shop was the retailing success of the 1980s. They have 700 retail outlets spread over 40 countries. Interim profits increased £2.46 million in the first

six months of 1991 — £500,000 of that profit came from the outlets in the 26 Counties. It seems that the Body Shop is trading on its environmental image to capture market shares and there the caring stops.

In 1988 the Body Shop's founder and managing director Anita Roddick addressed the Irish Management Institute's annual conference. Roddick told delegates that the key to her success was a combination of a "holistic" approach to business and a "loving relationship with her staff". Trade unions were, she told the delegates, "unnecessary", they are only needed "where the management are real shits".

That same week in 1988, staff at the Dublin branches approached IDATU for membership. The issue that prompted staff to seek trade union membership was the unfair dismissal of two sales assistants. Each was awarded £600 after the Labour Court ruled they had been unfairly treated.

The Body Shop will, it seems, exploit every conceivable opportunity to present themselves as politically and environmentally conscious. In June 1991, the Body Shop sponsored a series of events promoting Amnesty International. The Body Shop produced bags, T-

shirts and leaflets advocating Amnesty's cause. Amnesty members were allowed inside the Dublin stores to collect signatures. In the Grafton Street Body Shop an exhibition and a "writeathon" were held.

Amnesty is an international human rights organisation, which highlights human rights abuses all over the world. The United Nations Universal Declaration on Human Rights is a pivotal document in Amnesty's work. Article 23 endorses the right to belong to a trade union, a right which the Body Shop's Dublin management ignores.

Voluntary work and fashionable political associations are an essential part of the Body Shop's world-wide marketing strategy. Roddick's holistic approach has also been articulated by Peter McDonald who began the Irish Body Shop franchise. His company Aylwyn Investments run seven shops in all, three in the 26 Counties and four in the Six Counties.

In a press interview three years ago McDonald claimed that "staff working in a dynamic caring organisation with a definite philosophy of protecting the environment, like the Body Shop, have benefited and become identified with the company". McDonald claimed that there was little turnover in staff at Body Shops. Staff were encouraged to become involved in socially aware projects.

Neither Body Shop head office or Peter McDonald would make a statement to AP/RN on the strike. The British office did say they were aware of a strike at the Dublin branch but were not prepared to comment. They believed

Govan defeat Labour once more turned to devolution as a means of containing nationalist sentiment and joined the cross party Scottish Convention which had been established in 1988. The convention was a broad church in that many different groups within Scottish society agreed to take part such as the local authorities, all the major churches, the Scottish trade union movement, as well as political parties such as Labour, Liberal Democrats, Greens and the SNP.

The nationalists attended only one meeting and quit the convention when it became clear that their policy of independence in Europe was not on offer as one of the convention choices in the form of a multi-option referendum at the end of the process.

Since then the Tories have been reduced to nine MPs and the 'Scottish Question' has hit the British headlines. Three main factors have been identified in this process. The first was the live TV debate staged between the leaders of the four political parties in Scotland, in Edinburgh's Usher Hall before 2,500 people, where Alec Salmond, the SNP's articulate young leader, was perceived to have won the debate convincingly.

The second factor in nationalist upsurge was the announcement that Ravenscraig, Scotland's giant steel plant, was to close. The 'Craig' was seen as an industrial symbol of Scotland whose importance far outweighed its value in material or job terms. Indeed George Younger, a previous Tory Secretary of State for Scotland, had publicly put his job on the line to ensure its survival once before. Scottish Labour MPs once more could only stand back powerless as Ravenscraig's closure was announced. The SNP on the other hand promised that it would be renationalised under an independent Scottish government and would remain open.

A third factor was the conversion of the Scottish edition of that Tory rag *The Sun* from supporting rabid right wing Tory policies in Scotland to urging its readers to "Rise and be a nation again!" Will *The Sun's* Irish edition follow suit, I ask myself.

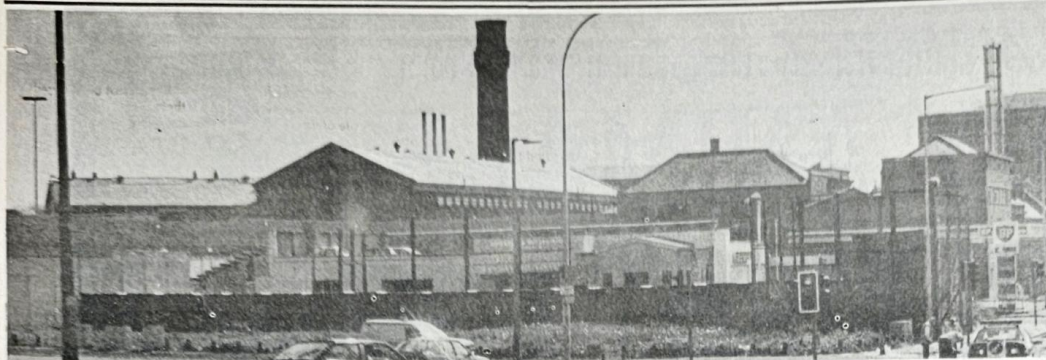
The situation in Scotland just now is an exciting one. We face only two real choices since the status quo is no longer an option. The first of these is devolution whereby a Scottish parliament with limited fiscal powers would be set up, though it would still recognise the ultimate power of Westminster whose parliament would still decide our policies on vital issues, such as defence.

Independence in Europe, on the other hand, as advocated by the SNP, involves an explicit rejection of the authority of the Westminster government and no fudging on issues, such as the scrapping of all nuclear weapons on Scottish soil.

The feeling in Scotland right now is that a rising tide of support for independence is gaining momentum. 300 years of English domination as well as the convention's half-hearted devolution scheme could be swept away when the self-determination dam finally bursts this year.

If Scotland does vote for her independence this year, leading to a dis-United Kingdom, the demoralising effect this could have in Westminster circles might well hasten progress towards British withdrawal and a United Ireland and peace.

News



CRUMLIN ROAD CONDITIONS DETERIORATE

RELATIVES of republican remand prisoners have outlined the appalling conditions in which their husbands and sons are being held in Crumlin Road Jail. They have also urged for the immediate publication of the report on the jail by British Lord Colville. Speaking at a press conference on Friday, February 14th, Sinn Féin spokesperson on prison issues, Francie Molloy, said that conditions at the jail were posing a serious threat to the health and safety of prisoners.

Describing prevailing conditions and the harsh prison regime as "the direct result of the failed policy of

forced integration", councillor Molloy said that prisoners were being forced to live in conditions "where even their

basic needs are being denied". He continued:

"Prisoners must wait two or three days before being allowed to wash or sleep out. They are locked in their cells for up to 23 hours a day. The cells in which prisoners are forced to live, sleep and eat are unhygienic due to the often overflowing chamber pots, the lack of proper cleaning (sometimes prisoners have had to wait weeks on end before their cells are cleaned out) and the infestation of cockroaches and other insects. There is a serious risk of infectious disease."

The lives of prisoners who have chronic medical conditions such as asthma and diabetes are being deliberately put at risk by the systematic neglect of prison officers, medical officers and prison doctors, Molloy told the conference. Outlining a recent example, Molloy said that on Friday January 24th, at 9pm, a Belfast republican prisoner, Kevin Cosgrove, had collapsed in his cell with a serious asthma attack:



● FRANCIE MOLLOY

"The cell lights were off and the alarm bell in his cell, like all of the other cells over the last few months, had been switched off. The only way of alerting prison staff was for the sick man's cell mate to shout and bang the door. After banging and shouting for quite a while, the prisoner was forced to break the glass in the peephole in order to be heard."

When prison officers finally came to the cell, they called for a medical

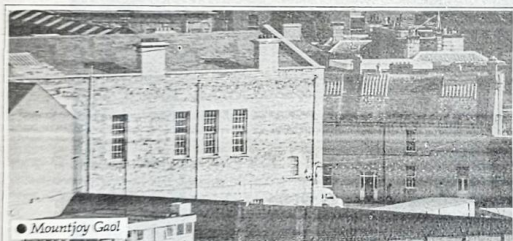
officer who brought Kevin his inhaler. Kevin has since been put in a cell on his own so now if he collapses he will have no one to raise the alarm.

Describing Kevin Cosgrove's experience as "not an isolated incident of neglect", Molloy said that there had been other cases where prisoners have been refused medication, such as the refusal of insulin to diabetics.

As well as the lack of medical treatment and poor living conditions, prisoners also face the continuing threat of collusion between loyalist prisoners and prison wardens, often resulting in brutal sectarian attacks. Molloy outlined a recent case in which Belfast prisoner Peter Montgomery was severely beaten by two loyalist prisoners and a prison warden. He said that on Wednesday January 8th, at 3pm, Peter Montgomery had been on his way out to a visit. He continued:

"The prison officer opened the gate for him to go through even though there were two loyalists on the other side of the gate waiting. As Peter came through the gate the loyalists attacked him. During the attack Peter had his nose ripped open by one of the loyalists. At one stage a prison warden joined in the attack, grabbing one of Peter's arms and slamming it against the wall. While doing this the warden was heard by all the wing to call Peter a 'Fenian bastard.'"

Describing the NIO as directly responsible for the prison policy which has created these problems, Molloy called upon Lord Colville to make his report public. He said it was to be hoped that the report would suggest that "the current policy in Crumlin Road Jail must change, forced integration must end, and all remand prisoners must have the right to live in safety and in accommodation which is humane".



● Mountjoy Gaol

Prisoners punished for signing petition

A 19-YEAR-OLD woman prisoner has been sent to Limerick Prison as punishment for her part in a prison protest. The dispute centred on the imposition of an early lock-up on women prisoners in Mountjoy Jail.

Prison officers imposed a new lock up time half-an-hour earlier than previously. The loss of this association time in a prison where conditions and facilities are widely recognised to be inadequate was an unacceptable imposition on the prisoners. Sheila Maguire from Dublin organised a petition which all the prisoners signed. Those who signed the petition have been punished with lost remission while Sheila Maguire was moved to Limerick and put into an isolation cell. This development

again gives the lie to the claims made by the Department of Justice last year when the women's section was reopened and a number of women were moved to Limerick from Mountjoy (including Dublin republican prisoner Pamela Kane). The Department claimed that the women's section was reopened for women from that region; it is clear that it is actually being used as a punishment block, and in the case of Pamela Kane, as an isolation unit for a republican prisoner.

OBITUARY OF BARNEY MURPHY

THE REPUBLICAN COMMUNITY was saddened to learn of the death of 77-year-old Barney Murphy from Newbridge, County Derry. A veteran republican who kept his principles throughout his life, Barney Murphy was a popular figure in the district where he lived. This fact was borne out when he stood in Magherafelt as an independent in the local elections during the 1981 hunger strike and topped the poll.

Born in 1914 and growing up during one of the most turbulent times in the history of Ireland's struggle for freedom and independence, Barney

Murphy was to throw his full support behind the republican cause. In the '50s Barney was one of many Irish nationalists to be interned.

DEATH OF GERRY BEACOM

THE FUNERAL took place on Wednesday, February 5th, of 34-year-old Gerry Beacom of Swanlinbar, County Cavan. Gerry was secretary of the local Pat McManus Sinn Féin Cumann and his untimely death came as a great shock to his many friends in the Republican Movement and throughout the West Cavan community.

A former shop steward in the Anearby plastics factory in Ballyconnell, Gerry took a keen interest in the affairs of his district and his county. A former player with the local GAA senior team, he was a very popular and able member of Sinn Féin.

Following Requiem Mass his Tricolour-draped coffin, bearing also the colours of his local GAA club, was borne the considerable distance to the local cemetery. Wreaths were laid on behalf of various branches of the Republican Movement and following the graveside prayers, local

A noted Gaelic footballer, Barney won all honours possible with the Sean O'Leary club and represented his county with distinction. A fluent Irish speaker, he also organised classes in the local hall, sharing his love of the Irish language and culture with younger generations.

There was a large attendance at his funeral mass which was fittingly held in the Newbridge GAA club, the local chapel being currently under repair. The Tricolour-draped coffin was carried by family members, old comrades of Barney's from the fifties, republican activists, neighbours and local members of the GAA. Burial took place afterwards in the local Newbridge cemetery. To his brother, sister, nephews, nieces and family circle, the Republican Movement extends their deepest sympathy.

republican Peter Albert McGovern spoke eloquently of his friend.

An oration was given by Cavan/Monaghan Sinn Féin Constituency Organiser Caoimhghín O Caoláin, who stated that decency was the hallmark of Gerry Beacom throughout his short adult life.

O Caoláin went on to speak of Gerry's understanding of the ongoing nationalist nightmare and how he was always an implacable foe of injustice wherever it reared its ugly head.

His contribution locally to the development of Sinn Féin as a political force in the constituency will be sadly missed by all his party colleagues and friends of the republican cause.

I measc laochra na nGael go raibh a anam dílis.

The sympathy of the Republican Movement is extended to Gerry's sister Mary, her husband and family and to all Gerry's relatives and friends.

Reviews

Radio Times

AMENDING A PEOPLE

■ BY DANNY MORRISON

DELETE OR AMEND Articles Two and Three of the Constitution, say the Free State revisionists echoing the demands of unionists, and the bottom falls out of the IRA's argument. It's so simple you would think that they would've come up with the idea earlier.

Article Two of the 1937 (Eire) Constitution states that "the national territory consists of the whole island of Ireland, its islands and the territorial seas". Article Three carries the proviso that "pending the re-integration of the national territory" the laws enacted of parliament (Dublin) will apply only to the 26 Counties.

To change these articles a referendum is required. Should they lose the referendum do you think the revisionists will work to implement the 'constitutional imperative' of re-uniting Ireland? Don't you know they will — as hard as ever.

If the territorial claim was deleted would the unionists feel more secure? Sure they would. More secure to screw nationalists into the ground. "See! Your own people don't even want you, they would

crow." Fresh from this triumph, unionists would aspire to greater triumphalism.

It has only been within the last few years, probably due to the loyalist campaign, that I actually took note of these articles about which I had only vaguely read and heard. And I have to be totally honest. Up until quite recently I didn't feel particularly comfortable or enthusiastic about campaigning for their retention in a constitution which really means so little to me.

Last week, Dick Spring was quoted on BBC radio as stating that "day in and day out" the IRA uses Articles Two and Three to justify its activities.

I decided to conduct a Danny Morri opinion poll to test the validity of this alleged link between the Irish Constitution and the psyche of an IRA Volunteer.

There are 48 republicans in this Block, H-4. I polled 20 men who are serving sentences of between seven years and life for a wide variety of IRA activity between 1976-90. Those polled came from Antrim, Armagh, Belfast, Derry, Tyrone and Monaghan and were divided into two age groups: 20-30 and 30-40 years old. They were aware of what Articles Two and Three stood for. I asked them three questions.

"Before joining the IRA had you heard of Articles Two and Three?" Nineteen said no. "When you were joining or had joined did the IRA at any stage mention or explain Articles Two and Three to you?" Again 19 said no. "Have you ever perceived your actions or the IRA's actions as being designed to implement Articles Two and Three?" Again 19 said no. To be more precise, one man (20-30 age group) claimed that he knew what they were before he became involved, then had them explained to him by an IRA recruiting officer, but didn't believe he was fighting for them. A separate man (20-30 age group) said he hadn't heard of them until the campaign to have them deleted brought them to public prominence and that he now felt he was "most certainly" fighting for their implementation.

I also checked the Constitution of Ogligh na hEireann (for the IRA's aims and objects), which is reproduced in the appendix of Martin Dillon's book *The Dirty War*. Nowhere

does the IRA mention its cause being bolstered by, or its cause relying on, the 1937 Eire Constitution or the Republic of Ireland Act 1949.

I believe that the contemporary republican concept of legitimacy for the armed struggle owes more to the oppressive conditions that people find themselves in, and their conviction in the efficacy of armed struggle, rather than to any legalistic claim that the IRA Army Council is the government of Ireland. Or that the expression of nationhood to which people in the 26 Counties subscribe gives the IRA its justification.

For several reasons I didn't ask the men for their position on the articles being deleted or amended. This is because the debate and the arguments are still taking shape and something more considered than the characteristic republican dismissal of things constitutional may be required. Besides, if a majority had said, Yes, they object, such an admission would tend to give propaganda to the revisionists — that is, that the IRA needed the territorial claim in order to advance its own legitimacy. If a majority said, No, stuff their articles, this could be interpreted as disingenuousness and could also act to discourage other republicans from becoming involved in the campaign for their retention. It's like heads, they win; tails, we lose.

I believe the real issue is about the Irish people in the 26 Counties and their identity. The debate is about their values, not

yours or mine as republicans, though our fate may be wrapped up in their decision. As I have demonstrated above, the campaigners for the deletion of Articles Two and Three are being dishonest when they say to the people of the 26 Counties that the IRA claims it is killing in their name and that dropping the territorial claim will help reconciliation in the North or between the North and the 26 Counties.

These revisionists should cut the drivel and say what they really think. That they wish the North would wake up and find itself parked off the coast of Africa. That they don't want, and do not wish to financially contribute towards, a united, independent Ireland. That they are afraid of the unionists and perhaps also the nationalists. That their country consists of 26 Counties and that the nation stops at Dundalk.

I say: let them have a referendum! The question, of course, will be loaded. You can be sure that the electorate would not be trusted with a question like, "Do you agree to consign the nationalist people to their fate?" No mention will be made of Britain's territorial claim to the North contained in Section 75 of the Government of Ireland Act 1920 in case the electorate thinks, Hey, wait a minute. It will not be pointed out to voters that the unionists had no objection to the national territory being all 32 Counties in those days when they and their allies politically controlled the whole

country and denied everyone else the vote.

But still, let there be a loaded referendum. Of course, the elected representatives of the oppressed will not be allowed to air their views. But sure, what's another injustice.

If the revisionists got a majority then republicans throughout Ireland would feel bitter, and disappointed and sad at the tragedy it represented, especially the snub to the patriotic dead of successive generations.

Republicans are fighting and dying and making sacrifices for the objectives of freedom, peace and justice. It is no accident that it is only a sovereign democratic Ireland that can guarantee the entire people those rights, though the unionists fiercely resist re-unification. Some of their objections are legitimate — for example, the Catholic ethos of the 26-County state, the fear of being swallowed up or impoverished or repressed. The Catholic ethos frightens me and I'm a Catholic.

But the unionist assertion of the right to partition Ireland is made exclusively in their interests and has been at a high, unacceptable cost to nationalists for which Britain as guarantor bears the most responsibility. Daily we pay a heavy price for the union with Britain.

Deleting Articles Two and Three is to signal the abandonment of nationalists to this union, a fate which they will not accept and have never accepted.

Not now, not ever. Never.

A shadow over boxing and sport

■ BY BREANDAN Mac RUAIRI

A STRANGE MIXTURE on the sporting front this week.

The conviction of former World Heavyweight Boxing Champion Mike Tyson on a charge of rape leaves a shadow over boxing and sport generally. That such an impressive talent could end up in such serious trouble is quite stunning. Of course there should be no clouding of the issue, rape is a vicious and inexcusable crime, Tyson has been found guilty and must pay the penalty.

Having made that point, the saga of Tyson's life is a dramatic one that is not irrelevant to the case. His is a life story which the most eminent of Hollywood script-writers would have difficulty concocting. Fighting his way out of a New York ghetto Tyson became the youngest heavyweight champion ever, the most exciting boxer to emerge for decades and a millionaire over-night. When his longtime coach and personal mentor Cus D'Amato died, the young boxer became easy prey for the hangers-on and fast-buck merchants. Going downhill fast the lowest point yet

came last Tuesday in an Indiana courtroom. An ill-advised and out of control fighter has harmed a young woman irrevocably and destroyed his own future.

It seems there are many, particularly in the US, who are unconvinced of Tyson's guilt; the question is frequently posed that if he were articulate, educated and white, would things have been different? Perhaps. Even taking into account his remarkable background, "Iron Mike" is still responsible for his own actions, while those of us who marvelled at his boxing prowess feel disgusted and let down.

Another sportsperson in trouble this week is celebrated German world sprint champion Katrin Krabbe who was suspended for four years at the weekend from taking part in competition because she failed to comply satisfactorily with a dope-test.

There is more to the case than is immediately evident and doubtless we will hear

more in the coming weeks. Apart from the fact that the evidence against her is highly questionable, the controversy must be viewed in the context of increasing tension in German athletic circles. East Germany was one of the powers in world sport. However, since the union of the two German states many of the prominent athletes from the old Eastern regime are deeply unhappy with the new German athletic authorities. Many of them who would have been committed to the sporting methods of the Honecker administration now feel downgraded and discriminated against. Krabbe's experience will lend to this conviction.

Meanwhile, many of her rivals around the world whom she defeated are gleeful at her misfortune, they continue to question the legality of previous East German athletic exploits. I hope their glee is ill-founded and that in time Krabbe and her other two colleagues will be vindicated. The East German political system may have been flawed but the achievements of the East Germans in climbing to the pinnacle of world sport was quite outstanding and deserve credit and respect. Beggardry should be sidelined!

So to Saturday afternoon and the Irish rugby team's latest encounter, this time with the Scots. In this column a few weeks ago I expressed optimism for the future of the Irish side. After the latest escapade that sentiment is fast diminishing. Again Ireland lost a match



● Tyson—responsible for his own actions

they might well have won, and the half-backs must carry much of the blame for this devastating defeat. I say devastating primarily in reference to the lack of leadership and confidence and general ineptitude which permeated the performance.

I still argue that Ireland has an excellent attacking three-quarter line, if only someone would give them a decent supply of the ball. On Saturday they got two opportunities to run at the Scots, on one occasion Wallace went over for a brilliant try, on the other the ball was moved the length of

the field only to be held up short of the try-line when desperate defenders conceded a penalty which Keyes converted. Until the selectors find players of sufficient ability to remedy this major shortcoming the team will be running into oblivion.

The country's top hurlers got back to inter-county action on Sunday afternoon with the resumption of the National Hurling League. While the competition is never a reliable indicator of All-Ireland prospects, some counties will be pleased with their results, as

something of a trend is emerging after three series of games. Comfortable wins for Cork and Tipp could have been expected, while the continuing success of Galway and Limerick is further proof that both counties are on the way to building young, strong and effective teams. Down, too, will take great heart from their first victory in the top flight after a rousing battle with Laois at Ballycran. Another competitive and exciting summer surely lies ahead.

Also on Sunday horse-racing commanded attention with the first outing of the year for Cheltenham Gold Cup favourite Carvill's Hill at Leopardstown. I confess to having little interest in the sport unless of course I find myself on the receiving end of a "red-hot" tip or national pride comes into play. The possibility of an heir to Arkle or Dawn Run always excites the imagination.

Carvill's Hill won again and now seems unstoppable in his pursuit of another Irish Gold Cup success, although it now seems that the horse's nationality is a major bone of contention. He certainly was born, bred and trained in our own dear land. However, last year his owner's sent him to England to be looked after by Champion trainer Martin Pipe. Carvill's Hill's quality and potential have ensured his popularity with the British racing public who have suddenly claimed him as one of their own. I wonder what the auld horse thinks of this usurpation of his birthplace.

Nuacht/News



● Cúrsaí creideamh go mór sa tosaigh sa nuacht

Cumhacht agus leabhair

CUIREADH mé ag smaoineadh faoi leabharlaine agus an chumhacht atá acu an tseachtain seo. Tharla le déanaí go ndeachaigh cara de mo chuid chuig leabharlann cathrach na Gaillimhe ag lorg leabhair ar scríobh an t-Athair Padraig Standún. Súil le Breith an teideal a bhí uaithe, úrscéal i nGaeilge ar foilsíodh le déanaí i leagan Béarla faoin ainm Lovers. B'fhéidir go bhfaca sibh clúdach an leabhair. Ní féidir é a chailleadh nó tá sagart lán-ghléasta ina luí ar leaba agus bean lomnocht taobh leis. Ríomhaíonn an t-úrscéal scéal sagairt ó Conamara a bhfuil a chéile agus feastalaí tí ag iompair clainne agus is eisean atá freagrach as. "Athair" in achan bealach, is léir.

B'ionadh le mo chara nuair a nach raibh sí abálta an leabhar a fháil imeasc na n-úrscéalta eile ach b'ion-

tas níos mó uirthi nuair a fuarthas an leabhar sa deireadh i roinn na leabhar fírice. Léiríonn sé, dá laghad, dí-

mheas ar an Ghaeilge mar theanga liteartha nó murach sin s'f tuairim an bhainisteora sa leabharlann gurbh ábhar dáiríre a bhí i scéal faoi sagart agus gnéas. Ach tá cumhacht níos mó ná 'd'fionú leabhair' ag na leabharlanna.

Tamall ó shin i mBaile Atha Cliath baineadh dhá leabhar faoi shláinte ban de na seilleana poiblí. Leabhair b'iad seo le údair mheasla, Every Woman's Life Guide le Miriam Stoppard agus The New Our Bodies, Ourselves le Angela Phillips agus Jill Raukensen. Tharraing foireann na leabharlaine na leabhair as soláthar tar éis comhairle dli a duiro go raibh seans ann go gcuirfí an dlí orthu mar gheall ar 'eolas ginnhille' a bheith san áireamh sna leabhair.

A r ndóigh tá daoine ag rá anois go bhfuil cinsireacht 'cúl doras' in úsáid faoi na dlíthe a thagann as an leasú a ritheadh cuid bliana ó shin don bhunreacht maidir le ginnhilleadh. Is furas an liomhaint sin a chreidiúnt tar éis an dá chás ar ghlaic an tÁturnae Ginearalta in aghaidh an girseach 14 bhliana déag d'aois, cás amháin a stad ar díospóireacht poiblí faon cheist agus an dara cás a stad a clann ó an cailín a thabhairt go Sasáin le ginnhilleadh a fháil.

Tá ceseitanna faon meoin seo i mbéal an phobail arís anois. Tá daoine fiú ag iarraidh, go leath mhagúil, an mbeidh eolaire gútháin na Breataine ar an chéad leabhar eile a choscar. Deir siad nach ionadh ach an oiread go bhfuil grúpa eile ag smaoineadh faoi chás cúirte a ghlacadh in aghaidh cuid leabhrán ar fhóilsigh an Eaglais Chaitliceach féin (trína comhlacht foilsitheoireachta Veirtas) ar cheisteanna ginnhille. I gcuid de na leabhráin seo iarrtar ar leitheoirí litreacha gearrín a scríobh chuig grúpaí a thacaíonn le cearta ginnhille agus tugtar na seoltaí. Is ionann solathar na seoltaí sin agus eolas faoi ginnhilleadh féin a chur ar fáil ar ndóigh. Níl dabht ar bith go bhfuil an dlí — mar atá sé — ina asal ceart faoi láthair.

IN BRIEF...

Support for Judith Ward



● Supporters of Judith Ward, victim of another notorious British miscarriage of justice, picketed the British embassy in Dublin on Thursday, February 13th. The picket marked the revitalisation of the campaign for her release which is set to escalate as the date of her appeal on April 27th approaches.

Fight for justice

ANNE BRADLEY, widow of John McNeill killed by a unit of undercover British soldiers at Sean Graham's bookies at the bottom of the Whiterock Rd. in January 1990 is to continue her fight to have the British soldiers involved in the shoot to-kill operation prosecuted regardless of the refusal by the director of public prosecutions (DPP) to pursue the matter further.

The BBC's current affairs programme *Panorama* uncovered new eye-witness evidence to the shooting of John McNeill who was killed along with two other men. This caused the DPP to reopen the case. John McNeill was shot at point-blank range in the head as he sat unmasked and unarmed in a car.

Criticising the DPP's decision, the Committee on the Administration of Justice said that because at least one of these witnesses had not been contacted by the RUC, they have "serious concerns about the adequacy of this second investigation which took seven months to complete".

Expressing her resolve not to let the matter rest, Anne Bradley said "I intend to bring this matter to the attention of groups in Ireland, Britain and around the world."

Catholics targeted by loyalists

TWO CATHOLIC men were shot in separate sectarian attacks in Coleraine and Belfast on the mornings of Friday 14th and Wednesday 19th February.

In Coleraine a 31-year-old man was shot and seriously wounded as he made his way to work. The UFF carried out this latest assassination attempt on the Catholic who was described as "ill but stable" after coming through emergency surgery.

The second attack occurred in a predominantly nationalist area of Bawnmore against a Catholic worker as he waited for his usual morning lift on a bus which he takes each morning to a hospital for treatment for schizophrenia.

Commenting on the shootings, Sinn Féin's Martin McGuinness voiced republicans' concern about loyalist death squad activity in the wake of the Brian Nelson affair and the relationship between them and British military intelligence.

"I am convinced that the purpose of these attacks is to draw republicans into a campaign of 'tit for tat' killings. Republicans are vehemently opposed to such a scenario which would provide British government propagandists with an opportunity to portray themselves as 'keeping the warring sides apart'."

Belfast unionists' junkets

It has again been disclosed that unionist councillors on Belfast City Council are to spend huge sums of ratepayers money on an exotic trip to Hong Kong.

North Belfast Sinn Féin Councillor, Gerard McGuigan, in airing the concerns of ratepayers, revealed that the Chairperson of the Parks Committee, Margaret Crooks, is to embark upon this trip on the pretext of observing how the parks are organised in Hong Kong.

Describing the trip as blatantly unnecessary, McGuigan said "the rate-paying parents throughout the city will be delighted to know that while their kids are deprived of even the most basic playground facilities this unionist-dominated committee sees this Hong Kong trip as being a priority".

US concern over human rights violations

FOLLOWING the recent fatal mass shootings by a combination of loyalist and crown forces personnel, people representing a wide range of political opinion across the United States have issued strong statements on the lack of human rights in the Six Counties. Along with others are, Democratic Presidential candidate Tom Harkin and Governor Jim Florio of New Jersey, who raised their concern about what they see as the sharing of intelligence in such attacks on the nationalist community, between members of the British crown forces and armed loyalist groups, such as the UFF/UDA.

Tom Harkin, in a letter to President Bush, which was also signed by eleven members of the US Senate, has requested his personal intervention with the British government to "address the continuing human rights violations in Northern Ireland".

The letter, which included the signatures of Democrat Senators Edward Kennedy, Daniel P Moynihan, and a close political friend of Bush, Republican Senator Alfonse D'Amato, stated that they believed the hour had come for the US to end its long silence on this important issue. It also highlighted the 'shoot to kill' policy, ill treatment of suspects, and the public links

between loyalist death squads and British crown forces.

Governor Jim Florio was quoted as saying that he was "distressed over the implication associated with the attack on the Sinn Féin party office in Belfast", while Councilman Patrick J O'Malley of Cleveland City Council remarked that "this attack was carried out within plain view of two sophisticated British army observation posts".

He further noted that the attack "clearly indicates collusion, if not planning, on the part of British officials, and that the British government has forfeited any claim of fostering democracy or of being an honest bro-



ker when it implements a campaign of assassinations against the largest nationalist party in Belfast.

He said that with the backdrop of censorship, and a series of assassinations and attempted assassinations, the lie of British democracy in Ireland was exposed. He concluded that "Britain cannot govern justly in any part of Ireland, and must be urged to withdraw".

Letters

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

A prisoner's thanks

A Chairde,

I would like, through your paper, to thank the republican and nationalist people of Tyrone, and indeed further afield, for all the Christmas cards and solidarity greetings they sent to me. As it is impossible to acknowledge everyone individually I hope all concerned will accept these few short lines as a token of my deep appreciation. To all those who helped the republican prisoners in whatever way through 1991, thank you.

The fact remains that there would be no republican prisoners if it were not for the British presence in our country. Let's hope 1992 brings in new thinking on their part and that we all, both inside and outside, have our freedom with peace and justice.

Brendan Donaghy,
H-3, Long Kesh.

Answer this

A Chairde,

In connection with the distant preparation of two rather special books, can any ancient reader assist:-

(a) the approximate date and authorship of *Merry Ploughboy* (PS said to be English!)

(b) *McCluskey, the devil may care*. (A Robert Service type poem popular once and recited by the late Paddy Kenna)

(c) Hardwicke Hall shared in the '30s and '40s between Evelyn Gleeson and Dun Emer and Cumann na mBan and Fianna. How come? Has anyone any memories?

If you have an answer to any, write to me now — yes, I mean now (and by the way no Lotto prizes) at Argenta Publications, 19 Mountjoy Square, Dublin.
Michael Quinn.

FF and FG — any difference?

A Chairde,

A *Guardian* reader (February 1st) in trying to analyse the Irish political scene in the wake of Haughey's departure, concluded that the differences between Fianna Fáil and Fine Gael were difficult to find. Unlike the parties on the "mainland" they did not offer alternative views of society.

Even their origins had more to do with Civil War allegiances than "philosophical cleavages".

This kind of ignorance about Irish politics is typical of the British media. It also applies to their own politics. Who can pretend that the main British parties offer alternative views of society?

Their failure to analyse Irish politics in any meaningful way stems from their inability, or refusal, to see the part played by partition in the shaping of political parties on both sides of the border.

My understanding of the origins of Fianna Fáil and Fine Gael is that they represented deep "philosophical cleavages" in their attitudes to partition. Did not Fianna Fáil attract the anti-Treaty forces which must have included republicans committed to Connolly's vision of a socialist republic enshrined in the Proclamation? Did not Fine Gael represent the interests of big business who supported the connection with Britain? Fianna Fáil lost some republican support when de Valera took the Oath of Allegiance but they continued to appeal to a wider social base as the party which stood for a united Ireland.

This commitment to a 32-County Ireland, addressing the needs of ordinary people, has long since been abandoned by Fianna Fáil and explains the difficulty of separating the parties today.

However, the commitment and that tradition has not been abandoned by the people because it is kept alive by the forceful occupation of the Six Counties.

It explains the existence of the IRA and the presence of eleven and a half battalions of British infantry on Irish soil.

It also explains why there can be no meaningful talks on the peaceful resolution of the situation in Ireland without taking the commitment to a united Ireland into account.

The so-called "quality" newspapers on both sides of the Irish Sea cannot, or will not, understand this.

Padraig O'Bradaigh,
London.

Leave Rita alone!

A Chairde,

Referring to your article in *Republican News* headed "Red Rita Russia-bound"? I think you rather detracted from this lady's appearance and ability, by your remarks.

I know her well. She is a dedicated republican. Her hair is described as "Titian" and from childhood she has been a concerned, caring person for all.

It was presumptuous of you to denigrate her with the name of "harridan" adding fuel to the flames by your brazen familiarity to which I strongly object.

Maire Jones,
Belfast.

Celtic controversy

A Chairde,

Re Kevin O'Toole's letter (*AP/RN* January 30th) where he accuses Celtic football club sponsors 'Peoples' with the Ford Motor Company.

Ford Motor Company may practice religious discrimination against the Catholic community in the occupied Six Counties, however, 'Peoples' merely sell Ford cars — not Ford's abhorrent policy!

Commercialism means that Celtic FC have to compete at the highest level, hence their right to seek the best financial sponsorship deal possible. They do not operate and are totally opposed to sectarianism from whatever corner.

Your other correspondent Mr Donald Anderson, is quite correct to castigate the cowardice of the Labour Party administrators in Glasgow who have for decades turned a blind eye to the blatant religious apartheid practised by Rangers FC.

The signing of Mo Johnston has enabled those in Ibrox to dismiss the charge of sectarianism but Johnston has now moved on to Everton FC and Rangers are rid of their 'taken player'.

James Burns,
Cheshire,
England.

New Consensus hypocrites

A Chairde,

I would like to comment on the press statement put out by the New Consensus group in the wake of the killings in the Sinn Féin office in Belfast (*Irish Times*, February 5th). New Consensus condemned this "mass murder in the offices of a legally registered political party. Sinn Féin members and supporters must be allowed pursue their political aims democratically without being murdered". What humbug!

This group should feel shame. It should be issuing apologies to the bereaved, not firing off another useless denunciation of violence. New Consensus, alongside its Workers' Party backers, has helped to generate an atmosphere which demonises Sinn Féin. The policy of censorship promoted by the British and Irish governments has been augmented by anti-republican New Consensus ideologues who have no problem generating publicity for their anti-Sinn Féin views.

This atmosphere of official and unofficial intimidation promotes an atmosphere of harassment and vilification, generated against a party which is prevented from articulating its policies on radio and TV. This climate is conducive to the current campaign of assassinations directed against elected Sinn Féin representatives, Sinn Féin members and Sinn Féin supporters. It is clear from the Brian Nelson case and other events such as the Stevens investigation of British/RUC collusion with loyalists that these attacks are not simply the efforts of deranged gunmen.

It is true that loyalist assassination evidence, from the gruesome Shankill Butchers case to the grenade attack on funeral mourners by loyalist Michael Stone, indicates a degree of psycho-pathology not found within nationalist or republican politics. The direct-

ing of this violence away from random attacks on Catholics towards more specific targets has been carried out with the aid and direction of state forces. The RUC assassin, who gave private expression to what is effectively a public policy, allowed us to glimpse again the underlying hatred which lies at the core of a sectarian state.

New Consensus, whether they accept the criticism or not, are effectively the political apologists for this campaign of assassination. Their policy which attempts to deny Sinn Féin the right to exist is a corollary to the policy which denies Sinn Féin members the right to exist.

Fergus McCann,
Dublin 15.

No money in country?

A Chairde,

In the current climate of renegeing on, or "rescheduling," public sector pay agreements and dire predictions of yet more cuts in health, education and local services, one very interesting statistic caught my eye. I refer to the fact that on one day (January 17th) the Irish Stock Exchange gained 23 points, or £133 million. In the previous week it had made a cool £366 million. Who says there are no funds to honour agreed pay deals, to implement the 1985 Commission on Social Welfare recommendations, or to provide proper health and education services for our people?

If there was a real willingness to harness the substantial wealth that exists in Ireland, then Mr. Ahern could begin to, at least partially, implement some of the following options to raise revenue and generate jobs (the jobs estimates are based on the IDA's average cost per job of £15,500):

1) Rescheduling of Foreign Debt: There is still £8.5b owing to foreign financiers. Between 1987-90 nearly £4b in interest was paid abroad. This amount of money invested at home could have generated 256,000 jobs in Ireland.

2) Public control of Banks: The bulk (£17.5b) is owed to Irish banks, building societies and insurance companies. The top ten financial institutions have a massive £55b in combined assets. Last year alone these companies made a massive £567m in profits. Reinvested in industry these profits could have translated into 37,000 Irish jobs.

3) Exchange Controls to limit the Export of Capital: Between 1987-90 native big business exported £2.2b abroad. Retained in Ireland this could have financed another 36,000 jobs per annum over that period.

4) An increase in Corporation Tax: Taxation of big business profits last year accounted for only 5% of total tax compared with 7.5% for the EC as a whole. By simply bringing Ireland into line with the EC

would yield another £263m or 17,000 jobs. In addition, according to the Comptroller and Auditor General, there was £563m in corporation and other capital and property taxes outstanding last year. Collection of these taxes would make a further 36,000 jobs possible.

5) Taxation of profits repatriated by Multinationals: Between 1987-90 foreign multinationals sent £7.7b out of the country to their parent companies. Taxed at 30% (the lowest marginal rate in the PAYE code) would ensure another 37,000 jobs per annum.

6) Disinvestment in Partition: Relative to its economic size, the Dublin government expends much more than Britain on preserving the border and upholding the British occupation of the Six Counties. It has been estimated that up to £350m a year is spent on measures (such as assisting British soldiers to destroy border roads, build watch-towers and keep watch on Bloody Sunday victims' relatives, to give three recent examples) specifically related to maintaining partition. Alternatively invested, this expenditure could create 24,000 productive jobs in industry.

Jim Heffernan,
Blanchardstown
Sinn Féin.

The injunction and the constitution

A Chairde,

The granting of an injunction to the 26-County Attorney-General by Dublin's High Court preventing a 14-year-old rape victim from having her pregnancy terminated in Britain and the accompanying cloak of secrecy preventing information coming out about even the issues in the case by references to the sub judice rule, highlights again the confusion and distress caused by this article of the Irish Constitution.

We have heard a lot recently from British and unionist politicians, with sympathetic noises coming from Irish politicians and church leaders, about Articles Two and Three of the Irish Constitution, which embody the claim of majority-rule in the island of Ireland, but we have heard nothing from them about the Republic's constitutional ban on the right to choose, the removal of which would surely be an even greater source of reassurance to the wider Protestant community in the North.

It is difficult to see why an injunction granted over such a matter in a 26-County court should be allowed to have a gagging effect in what is nominally regards as the "United Kingdom". If these issues are not discussed one is de facto colluding with the Republic's ban. If an issue in the present case is the question of evidence for a criminal prosecution, then

surely there were ways to secure this that were more sensitive and humane. As it is the approach of the Irish authorities smacks of the prejudice and ham-fistedness so appallingly revealed in the "Kerry Babies" case.

Joe Murphy,
Birmingham.

A Ray of Sunshine

A Chairde,

Of all the plastic sackings from the cabinet perhaps the most poignant is that of Raphael Burke. The former Minister for Justice unjustly acquired the sobriquet of The Man who Never Smiled in Public during his term of office. While it is true that his stern features were normally fixed in a hard and aullen look, nevertheless it is equally true that they did occasionally soften into a smile, even if the occasions were of a particular and infrequent kind. I refer of course to his being greeted on the lawn of Stormont Castle as he emerged from his whirling chopper by his British overlords and to his reciprocal greeting of same on the steps of Iveagh House. Then, His Sullenness could be always depended upon to change from being The Man who Never Smiled in Public to being a veritable Ray of Sunshine. Truly, there were Eight Hundred Years of Servility in those Eighty Second Smiles.

Frank Purcell,
Lindsay Road,
Dublin 9.

Head to Lisdoon

A Chairde,

We wish to draw your attention to Sunday, March 1st, 1992. On that day in Lisdoonvarna, County Clare, the Burren Action Group are holding a rally of protest against the proposed interpretive centre at Mullaghmore.

The start up time is 2pm, with music, street theatre, speakers, information and dancing. There will be creche facilities, food, drink and craic available. Prominent speakers will include MEPs, actors, TDs and environmentalists.

It will be seen at this rally that there is strong opposition to the proposed siting of the centre in a highly sensitive and endangered environment. President Robinson questions the advisability of locating "Interpretive Centers" in the middle of important heritage landscapes. The Burren Action Group are determined to challenge and persuade the Office of Public Works to re-locate the centre.

We hope you can make it to Lisdoonvarna on the day. If you need any further information, please contact us.

Burren Action Group,
Carron,
County Clare.

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

PLEASE KEEP LETTERS SHORT

Notices

REMEMBERING THE PAST



● Loyalist mobs attacking nationalists during the pogroms of 1922

1922 POGROMS

■ BY PETER O'ROURKE

WITHIN WEEKS of the ratification of the Treaty of surrender and the split in the Republican Movement, the unionist regime, in an attempt to consolidate their artificially created state, began a systematic policy of extermination against the nationalist population in the Six Counties.

There was consternation among northern nationalist at the acceptance of the treaty in January 1922 and the agreement between Michael Collins, head of the Free State's 'Provisional Government' and James Craig, the 'Northern Ireland' prime minister which called-off the Belfast Boycott (a boycott of Belfast goods imposed by Dail Eireann in response to the Belfast pogroms of the summer of 1920). Fear

also followed the break-down of the talks of the Boundary Commission which it was believed would allocate large areas of the Six-County state to the southern state. The nationalist population in the North felt betrayed, abandoned and very much at the mercy of the orange bigots in the new sectarian state. Their fears were fully justified.

Rioting on a serious scale broke out

in the North in early February 1922. Backed up by the newly formed A and B Specials, loyalist mobs began systematic attacks against the nationalist population, burning their homes and driving them from their jobs.

On February 12th, the loyalists launched a violent onslaught in the Catholic ghettos of Belfast which continued for four days. They then resumed again on February 23rd. During these three weeks 138 casualties were reported in Belfast of which 98 were nationalists. The death toll in the North for February was 44, 30 of whom were killed in Belfast on a single night.

One of the worst atrocities during these pogroms occurred on February 14th. A bomb was thrown into a group of Catholic children as they were playing in Weaver Street, off the Shore Road in Belfast, killing six of them.

Despite the intervention of the IRA in defence of the beleaguered nationalist population, there were burnings, shootings and looting on a massive scale throughout February. As the pogroms intensified, thousands of refugees streamed south to Dublin while over 1,000 crossed to Glasgow.

At the end of February, in an act which made the nationalist population feel more isolated, Craig ordered the blocking of all minor roads across the border while the main roads were patrolled by the A and B Specials. Craig appointed the bigot, Sir Henry Wilson, a fierce enemy of Irish nationalism, as adviser to the new northern regime.

Throughout the spring and early summer of 1922 the pogroms continued with 60 people being killed in Belfast alone during March. The pogroms reached their climax in May and June with constant heavy firing into nationalist ghettos. Nationalists were killed at random by Specials and loyalist murder gangs who were intent on terrorising the nationalist community into a state of abject submission.

When the pogroms of the early summer finally subsided it was established that another 9,000 nationalists had been driven from their work and the number rendered homeless had increased to 23,000. By the middle of June 1922, 264 people had been killed in the Six Counties since the signing of the Treaty — 171 nationalists and 93 loyalists.

A terrific intensification of the pogrom against the nationalist population in Belfast began on February 17th 1922, 70 years ago this week.

In Dál Chuimhne

BELL, Gerard (BEST, Paul; BRESLIN, Charles; BURNS, James; DEVINE, David; DEVINE, Michael; DORRIAN, Robert; HOGAN, Henry; McAULEY, David; MAGEE, Joseph; MARTIN, Declan; STEELE, Gerard. In proud and loving memory of Volunteers Gerard Bell, Charles Breslin, James Burns, David Devine, Michael Devine, Robert Dorrian, Henry Hogan, Joseph Magee, Declan Martin, Gerard Steele, Fian David McAuley and Sinn Féin member Paul Best who died in Ireland's freedom struggle. "The Republic stands for truth and honour. For all that is noblest in our race. By truth and honour, principle and sacrifice alone will Ireland be free." — Liam Mellows. Always remembered by their friends and comrades in the Republican Movement.

BEST, Paul (16th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Paul Best, Sinn Féin, who died on February 18th 1976 from gunshot wounds inflicted by Workers' Party gunmen. Always remembered by Vol, Patricia Wilson and family, mass offered.

BURNS, James (11th Ann). In proud and loving memory of my dearest son Vol James (Skipper) Burns murdered on February 23rd 1981. RIP. Mary, Queen of the Gael, pray for him. Dearly loved and remembered by his mother Bridget Burns.

"Always loved and sadly missed by his daughters Maria, Kathleen and Paula. From his brother Joe, Betty and family. From his sister Veronica, Paddy and family. From his brother Paul, Jerri and family. From his sister Louise and family. From his brother Kevin, Evelyn and family. From his brother Pat, Sandra and family. From his brother Harry, Deirdre and family. From his sister Clara, Joe and family. From his sister Brigid, Harry and family.

From his sister Maura, John and family. From his sister Bernadette, Joe and family. From his aunt Teresa, Micky and family. From his aunt Lily, Joe and family. From his aunts Kate and Bernadette Red, USA.

From Larry Quilty, Sara, Clara and James Burns Quilty. **DORRIAN, Robert** (20th Ann) In proud and loving memory of my loving husband Robert who died while on active service along with his three comrades, Gerard, Joe and Gerard. Padre Pio, pray for them. I love my god o'er all he said then I love my land. Mother I was true to you, to God and to Ireland. Always remembered by his wife Betty, sons Robert, Philip, Jim and family circle. **DORRIAN/STEELE/MAGEE/BELL** The Republican Movement Short Strand and Markets remember with pride Vols Rab Dorrian, Gerard Steele, Joe Magee and Gerard (Dinger) Bell. To die for one's country is a noble thing and to make one's country's enemy die is a useful thing. If you can't be noble at least be useful.

HATTICAN, Paddy. Always remembered by your very good friend Tony Maguire, Belfast. **HOGAN, Henry** (8th Ann). In proud and loving memory of our dear son and brother Vol Henry Hogan killed in action February 21st 1922. "Too good in life to be forgotten in death." Always remembered by his mum and dad. From his sister Bernie, Shorty and Sean. From his sister Mag, Paddy and family. From Patrick, Catherine and family. From Micky, Carmel and family. **HOGAN/MARTIN** (8th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Vols Henry Hogan and Declan Martin killed in action by the SAS. Always remembered by Sean, Brigid and family. From Dumley Republican Youth.

From Henry Hogan/Declan Martin Memorial Committee N Antrim. From the Hogan/Martin/Casey Sinn Féin Cumann, Dumley/Rasharkin. From the James McGinn Cumann. From Colm and Cynthia.

MARTIN, Declan (8th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Vol Declan Martin killed in action February 21st 1922. Always remembered by Maureen and Paddy Hogan. From Sean and Bernie Gibben. From Mag, Paddy and family. **DAVEY, John** (3rd Ann). In proud and loving memory of our dear brother John Davey who was murdered on February 14th. Always remembered by your sister Mary, brothers James, Robert and Hugh, Sister Annie and brother-in-law Tommy.

Sadly missed by nieces and nephews Roisin, Angela, Anthony, Sean, Rosie, Bernie, Martin, Siobhan, Colm, TA, Ann and all their families. **MAGEE, Joseph** (20th Ann). In proud and loving memory of our dear father Joseph who was killed in action on February 21st 1922. "We had no time to know you, we had no time to share, we had no time to show you how much we really cared." Sadly missed and always remembered by his son Joseph, daughter Margaret and her husband Anthony, daughter Sharon and her husband Raymond and granddaughter Gemma and friend Margaret Fitzsimons. From his loving sister Chris, brother-in-law Desi and family. From his sister Esther, brother-in-law Patsy and family. From his loving brother and sisters Betty and Jim, Emmanuel and Carol, Australia and Michael, Canada. From his sister Sarah, brother-in-law Conn and family. From his loving brother Patsy, sister-in-law Maureen and family. From his loving sister Peggy, brother-in-law Eddie and family.

STEELE, Gerard (20th Ann) In proud and loving memory of my brother Gerard who died while on active service along with his comrades Joe Magee, Rab Dorrian and Gerard Bell. Sacred heart of Jesus, pray for them. "Gerard I often sit and talk with friends the way you used to do, the jokes you played, the laughs we had, the things you used to do, what beautiful memories we have of you." Always remembered with pride by your brother Phil, sister-in-law Susan and large family circle. From his uncle Thomas.

Comhbhrón

CLANCY/O'DONNELL/O'FARRELL/VINCENT. Deepest sympathy to the families of Peter Clancy, Kevin Barry O'Donnell, Sean O'Farrell and Patrick Vincent who were murdered by the SAS. From the James McGinn Sinn Féin Cumann. From Colm and Cynthia.

From the Patrick MacCloghan Sinn Féin Cumann, Cladai. From the Republican Movement, Wexford.

From the Dungannon Martyrs Sinn Féin Cumann. From the Coalisland Martyrs Sinn Féin Cumann. From the Clonoe Martyrs Sinn Féin Cumann.

From the Jim Lynagh Cumann, Clogher. From the South Tyrone Comhairle Ceantair Sinn Féin.

LILLIS. Deepest sympathy is extended to Brendan and all the Lillis family on the death of their mother Mary Catherine. Go ndéana Dia trocaire ar a hanus phada. O a chomradh i hH Ceis Phada. **LOUGHRAN**. Deepest sympathy to

the family of Paddy Loughran murdered by the RUC on February 4th 1992. Always remembered by his friends in the Lower Falls Commemoration Committee.

McALLISTER. Deepest condolences to our friend and comrade Jim on the death of his loving partner Margaret. From all the staff of AP/RN Belfast.

From the Republican Movement in Newry and South Armagh. From the Barney Morris Sinn Féin Cumann, Crossmaglen.

From Catherine. From the Patrick MacCloghan Sinn Féin Cumann, Cladai.

McBRIDE. Deepest sympathy to the family of Pat McBride murdered by the RUC on February 4th 1992. Always remembered by his friend C. Cheesy.

From his friends Seán and Mary. From Dominic.

From his friends and comrades in Sinn Féin Bun na Bhfal. From his friends in the Lower Falls Commemoration Committee.

McBRIDE/LOUGHRAN. We are devastated by the murder of our dear friends Pat and Paddy. They will be sorely missed and never forgotten by their friends Eileen, Joe Byrne and family. From Ann Marie and Goose. From Danny. From Dominic. From Rab. From Gerard and Anna. From Francie. From Fra and Jeanette. From Kate. From Downey. From the McKay and Carson families.

McBRIDE/LOUGHRAN/O'DWYER. Deepest sympathy is extended to the families of Pat McBride, Paddy Loughran and Michael O'Dwyer. From the Sinn Féin Women's Department.

Remembered always by the St James area republican POWs, Crumlin Road Jail.

MacMANUS. Deepest sympathy is extended to the McManus family on the death of Joe. From Joe Reilly. From the Sinn Féin Women's Department.

O'DONNELL. Deepest sympathy is extended to the family of Kevin Barry O'Donnell and the families of his comrades. Your sorrow and loss is felt by all Irish republicans. From Ramsey, London.

Beannachtai

KENNA, Brian (Portlaoise). Happy birthday Brian, with love and best wishes. From Veronica and Seán. XXX

Best wishes from the Smith family. Finglas.

LYNCH, Peter (Crumlin Road). Happy 21st birthday greetings son, all the best. From mum and dad and family. XXX.

Best wishes from Mary and Kevin. Happy birthday from Peter and Deirdre.

Birthday wishes from Pat and crazy Dino Dee. Birthday wishes from Geraldine, Brian and family.

Birthday greetings from Skin and Michelle. All the best from all your friends in the madhouse. Best wishes from Ann and Julie Ann.

Happy birthday from Brucie, Roisin, Brenda and Sean. Birthday wishes from Dona, Nuala, Brenda, Catriona, Michelle, Sinead, Julie Ann.

Happy birthday from Eamon, Kevin, Brian, Terry, Sean. Birthday greetings from Dona and Kevin.

Imeachtaí

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

PICKET ON US EMBASSY: Opposing US policy in Central America, 11.30am-1pm, every Saturday, Ballsbridge, DUBLIN

CIORCIALL COMHRA: Chuile Luan 9-10.30pm, Club Chonradh na Gaeilge 6 Sraid Fhearcair, BAILE ATHA CLIATH, Cleachtaigh do Ghaeilinn

VIDEO SHOWING: Shoot-to-kill Video, 6pm Friday 21st February, Upstairs Ha'penny Bridge Inn, Wellington Quay, DUBLIN. Taitle E2. Organised by The Dublin Anti-Extradition Committee

VIDEO SHOWING: Showing of 10th Anniversary Concert Video, Friday 21st February, Emerald Bar, DUNDALK. Taitle: E1

BENEFIT: Danny McNamee. Featuring the Plunkett Club and traditional Irish musicians, special guest Billy Power. 8pm till late Saturday 22nd February, Camden Irish Centre, (Kennedy Road) Murray St LONDON NW1

CONFERENCE: Where in the World is Ireland? 9.30am Saturday 22nd February, Connolly Hall, Lapps Quay, CORK

COUNTRYWIDE CONFERENCE: Irish Welfare in Britain. 9.30am-6pm Saturday 22nd February, Lambeth Town Hall, Brixton, LONDON. Admission: £3 individuals; £1 concessions; £10 statutory organisations

IRISH COMMUNITY ELECTION FORUM: Quiz your next MP, before you vote for him or her. 7.30pm Thursday 27th February, Islington Central Library, Fieldway Crescent (Holloway Road) LONDON N7

WORKING FOR EQUALITY: Conference on jobs and Discrimination in Northern Ireland. Saturday 29th February, Birmingham Trade Union Studies Centre, DIG-BETH, Birmingham

PUBLIC MEETING: "Making Ireland an election issue." 7.30pm Monday 2nd March, Red Rose Club, Seven Sisters Rd, LONDON N7

NEWS



● Pictured at the launch of *Towards a Lasting Peace in Ireland* (Left to right) Martin McGuinness, Gerry Adams, Bairbre De Brún and Pauline Davey

Sinn Féin maps road to peace

THE PRESS CONFERENCE called for the specific purpose of launching Sinn Féin's discussion document *Towards a Lasting Peace in Ireland* was preceded by a press conference dealing with the facts surrounding the executions of four IRA Volunteers by undercover British soldiers in Tyrone on Sunday night.

Speaking at the end of this conference, Sinn Féin President and West Belfast MP Gerry Adams said that the previous night's events "make it clear

that we all need to be involved in a peace process".

The conference dealing with the peace document was opened by Sinn

Féin's Bairbre de Brún. Her introductory remarks pointed to both the failure of partition and of the two sovereign governments to get a meaningful peace process going. She also emphasised that Sinn Féin was, in fact, the only party to produce a document of this kind. Gerry Adams reiterated the comments which dealt with the Dublin and British governments' failure to produce a democratic solution and said: "by any objective international standards the conflict in the North represents a failure of the normal political process".

Dealing with the inability of the two governments to resolve the stalemate which flows from this failure, Adams pointed out the sections of the document delineating Sinn Féin's attitude to the possible involvement of the

United Nations and European Community in finding a way out of the impasse:

"A peaceful resolution may entail international co-operation through the agencies of the UN and the EEC....The Irish people have the same right to sovereignty and nationhood exercised throughout history and recognised in international law as any other nation."

Sinn Féin Ard Chomhairle member Martin McGuinness, who sat on the panel along with Adams, de Brún and Pauline Davey, spoke of the thrust of the document being "aimed at bringing about three key requirements for creating conditions in which peace can be established".

McGuinness then went on to elaborate on what these conditions would entail. The first is that the British government should institute a policy of ending partition and hand over sovereignty to an all-Ireland government the selection of which would be a democratic matter for the Irish nation; the second that a Dublin government should have the same policy goal; and the third that there should be co-operation between these Dublin and British governments to bring about their joint purpose in the "shortest possible time consistent with obtaining maximum consent for the process".

This last point is consistent with Sinn Féin's acknowledgement that peace in Ireland requires a settlement of the long-standing conflict between Irish nationalism and Irish unionism. The document asserts the need for nationalists to address unionists' fears regarding a united Ireland.

In response to a question put to him, Adams asserted that the unionist veto is unreasonable as it allows a minority of the nation to hold everyone to ransom, and continuing he said: "Withdrawal of the unionist veto will open the possibility of constructive dialogue with the rest of the Irish people."



The Sinn Féin members were at pains to point out that it is dialogue which they seek and it was with this in mind that Adams said that immediately after Sinn Féin's Ard Fheis it is intended to distribute the peace document to the Irish and British governments, as well as to all the political parties in Ireland and Britain. The panel also announced there would be a widespread international launch of the document. It was made clear that international intervention "can give impetus to a process of de-colonisation" and that it is important for all sections of Irish society that this process begins and the British recognise the failure of partition.

In summing up, Gerry Adams said that the document *Towards a Lasting Peace in Ireland* suggests that the UN has the authority and mandate to monitor a de-colonisation process in Ireland and that Sinn Féin would propose that the UN's Secretary General request annual reports from the British government on its role in Ireland and conducts a yearly review of the consequences of the continued partition of Ireland.

Community resists threats over Ard Fheis

AN INTENSIVE and orchestrated campaign of threats against the lives and property of the executive committee of the Ballyfermot Community Association started within hours of Sinn Féin announcing that the Ballyfermot Community Centre would be the venue for the party's 86th Ard Fheis.

John Montgomery, chairperson of the community association, called a press conference on Wednesday to condemn the campaign of vilification which had targeted not only him but the families of the executive committee of the Ballyfermot Community Association.

"Austin Currie and Jim Mitchell do not know the feelings of the people of Ballyfermot", said Montgomery and blamed the comments on Tuesday by Currie and Mitchell for "setting the ball rolling" in the campaign of threats which followed the announcement of the ard fheis venue. Montgomery said that neither Mitchell and Currie have made any personal contact with him except through a radio interview on Wednesday's *Morning Ireland* programme on RTE.

Montgomery said that "Jim Mitchell never attacked or threatened the City Fathers for allowing Sinn Féin the use of the Mansion House. Are we easier to bully? If they don't want Sinn Féin to have an ard fheis and operate as a political party why doesn't Jim Mitchell initiate legislation to proscribe Sinn Féin?"

The comments made by Jim Mitchell and Austin Currie also contained threats. Deputy Mitchell warned that the ard fheis decision could call into question the £6,000 that

the community centre receives every year from Dublin Corporation. The community association pays a part-time caretaker and an administrative secretary. It seems that Deputy Mitchell is prepared to sacrifice the services available to his constituents in order to continue his witch-hunt against Sinn Féin.

Failed SDLP politician Austin Currie, now a Fine Gael TD, spared no effort in whipping up antipathy towards Sinn Féin, whom he described as "a bunch of murdering thugs masquerading as a political party". In response to Austin Currie's statement

John Montgomery said that Currie's comments bordered on incitement. He called on Currie and Mitchell to apologise for the damage and trauma their "inflammatory campaign" had generated.

Montgomery told the press conference that the executive committee of Ballyfermot's community association took a unanimous decision to allow Sinn Féin use of the hall, though no one on the executive is in favour of the IRA's military campaign. However an "orchestrated campaign" of violent threats began, "a load of gurrriers, some in Mohair suits decided to get involved".

John Montgomery who has spent 30 years working in community associations defended the decision to allow Sinn Féin's use of the community hall. He said the "reaction I have got so far

has been good.

"It is in all our interests to assist the development of political awareness. Sinn Féin are a registered political party and had a right as much as any other party to use the hall." He said the ard fheis would be an occasion of internal debate and Sinn Féin should be allowed to debate: "If there was no debate no alternative could be developed to the current status quo, and people would go on dying."

He said that by allowing the ard fheis to be held it was good to see that "the local community has some form of control, some form of impact on political life".



● Montgomery—Standing up for Sinn Féin's right to exist

The Ballyfermot Community Centre is on the Ballyfermot Road and can be reached by 78 and 79 Dublin Bus routes. Buses from central Dublin have been organised by Sinn Féin to bring out those registered to attend the ard fheis. The departure times are as follows:

SATURDAY,
February 22nd:
9am Parnell Square
10.30 am Connolly Station
1.15pm Parnell Square
3pm Parnell Square

SUNDAY
February 23rd
9.45am Parnell Square