



An Phoblacht

REPUBLICAN NEWS

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Tories cheer for bombs in Dublin

TORY MPs CHEERED loudly in the House of Commons when British Prime Minister John Major rose on Tuesday to defend his former Cabinet colleague, Lord Norman Tebbit, who said on Sky television the previous night: "I suspect the only thing that will take Articles Two and Three out of the Irish Constitution is when the bombs begin to blow in Dublin in the way that they have been in Belfast and in London."

John Major not only refused to condemn these remarks by Tebbit but praised him in the Commons on Tuesday when he said: "All his political life he has been an opponent of terrorism. I may not share every view he has, but I believe passionately that he is one of the strongest opponents of terrorism that this house has seen either now or at any stage in the past."

Tebbit's comments can only be seen as an incitement to loyalist terror gangs who have already been armed by British intelligence and who act in collusion with British forces in the Six Counties. They came after British intelligence involvement in the Dublin and Monaghan bombings of May 1974 in which 33 people were killed was again highlighted. Tebbit's comments were effectively calling for more of the same.

It would be a big mistake to see Tebbit's statement as merely the outburst of an embittered former Cabinet minister who was injured in the IRA's bombing of the Grand Hotel in Brighton. Tebbit is a leading Tory party figure. The position the former Tory party chairperson still holds was clear from John Major's defence of him after he had been questioned by an angry John Hume. Hume said that Tebbit had "advised loyalist paramilitaries" to bomb Dublin.

In fact, Tebbit says in public what most Tories believe in private. His racist

and viciously anti-worker and anti-trade union views have been well known and were put into operation during his time as a cabinet minister under Thatcher. He is anti-Irish but pro-loyalist, and he goes to the heart of what the Conservative and Unionist Party is all about.

That party and successive British governments, Tory and Labour, have had no qualms about using terror in Ireland, or anywhere else, in pursuit of their aims. But then in the language of Westminster the violent actions of heavily equipped, highly trained, mercenary armies is not terrorism.

British violence, whether carried out directly by the crown forces or through the loyalist gangs they sponsor, is designed to deny national self-determination to the Irish people. The British government/unionist demand for the ditching of Articles Two and Three is the latest form this takes. Loyalist gangs are using that demand as the pretext for their current campaign of both random and selective assassinations. Tebbit is very aware of that.

Commenting on Tebbit's statement Sinn Féin Councillor Caoimhghín Ó Caoláin said that "the mask has slipped on real British policy in relation to Ireland".



● Norman Tebbit — Only echoing the feelings of successive British governments

News

British soldier shot dead in Crossmaglen

A LANCE CORPORAL in the First Battalion of the Duke of Edinburgh's Royal Regiment was shot dead in Crossmaglen on Saturday afternoon, 17 July. Lance Corporal Pullen was the second member of that regiment to die within three weeks in the same area. Three weeks ago Private Paul Turner died after an IRA sniper hit him with one shot near Newtownhamilton. Last Saturday's sniper attack was claimed in a supplied statement by the IRA's South Armagh Brigade. The statement described how one of the brigade's snipers selected a position overlooking Carran Road near the square in Crossmaglen and settled in to wait for a British army footpatrol to arrive from their heavily-fortified base in the town.

At 1.15pm as one of a number of footpatrols came into view, the sniper sighted the weapon and fired one round from a distance of half-a-mile. The shot hit the lance corporal in the chest, penetrating both the British soldier's armoured jacket and an additional inserted plate. He died shortly after the shooting, despite being airlifted to Newry's Daisy Hill Hospital.

MOBILE PATROL BLASTED

Maintaining the pressure on the occupying crown forces' garrison in the city, the IRA's Belfast Brigade launched a number of attacks within the city and beyond.

In the first attack on Thursday, 15 July, an IRA active ser-

issued a number of warnings about its location.

Despite the crown forces throwing up dozens of road checkpoints between Belfast and Banbridge, the Volunteers successfully evaded them.

HOAX ALERTS

Belfast's city centre traffic was again thrown into chaos on Monday, 19 July, when rush-hour traffic was brought to a standstill with hoax bombs left in commandeered vehicles across the city. Hundreds of British and RUC mobile patrols were tied up for hours dealing with the suspect devices.

CHECKPOINT UNDER FIRE

As the British forces maintained their 'ring of steel' around the city, using their newly arrived Saxon armoured personnel carriers for cover, IRA Volunteers attacked one of their main checkpoints on Tuesday evening.

The target for the attack was the permanent checkpoint on the Albert bridge Lagan bank Roads. This is one of three main arteries crossing the river Lagan, linking East Belfast to other parts of the city and is always heavily patrolled.

Shortly after 11pm several Volunteers opened fire with automatic fire at RIR and RUC personnel at the checkpoint. Hitting one Saxon with a number of shots the vehicles crew hastily closed the

hatches. No return fire was reported.

STRABANE BOMBED

The town of Strabane in County Tyrone was rocked again in an explosion last Friday evening, 16 July, following an earlier bomb attack on the courthouse less than two weeks ago.

Claiming responsibility for the bomb attack on commercial premises, including the Northern Bank on Main Street, West Tyrone Brigade, Oglagh na hEireann, said that several of their Volunteers placed the bomb outside the front door of the bank, set the device's timer and withdrew.

A number of warnings were issued and the entire town centre was cleared. The force of the explosion caused structural damage to a number of adjacent buildings.

NEW BLOWS TO CITY

Claims that the lucrative £38 billion European Central Bank (ECB) will be sited in Frankfurt (ECB) will be sited in Frankfurt rather than London were hotly denied by London City chiefs last week. The *Financial Times* claim on 16 July was denied by British financial authorities anxious to play down any new threats to London's long term future.

The ECB news came as City firms attempted to set up collective emergency back-up offices. Groups of City financiers are renting dockland office space. They

claim that these locations could be functional within hours of a bomb going off.

This means that the secondary offices must be furnished, complete with expensive computer equipment and telecommunications facilities. Dealing rooms in the City require a range of computer and communications equipment not found in other offices. The square mile is relatively cheap but when added to the costs of refurbishing new offices are added, the costs become substantial.

Last November the *Financial Times* estimated the costs of moving offices and setting up new systems for an average London HQ to be £500,000 each. Doubling up office furniture would cost an additional £1,000 per employee.

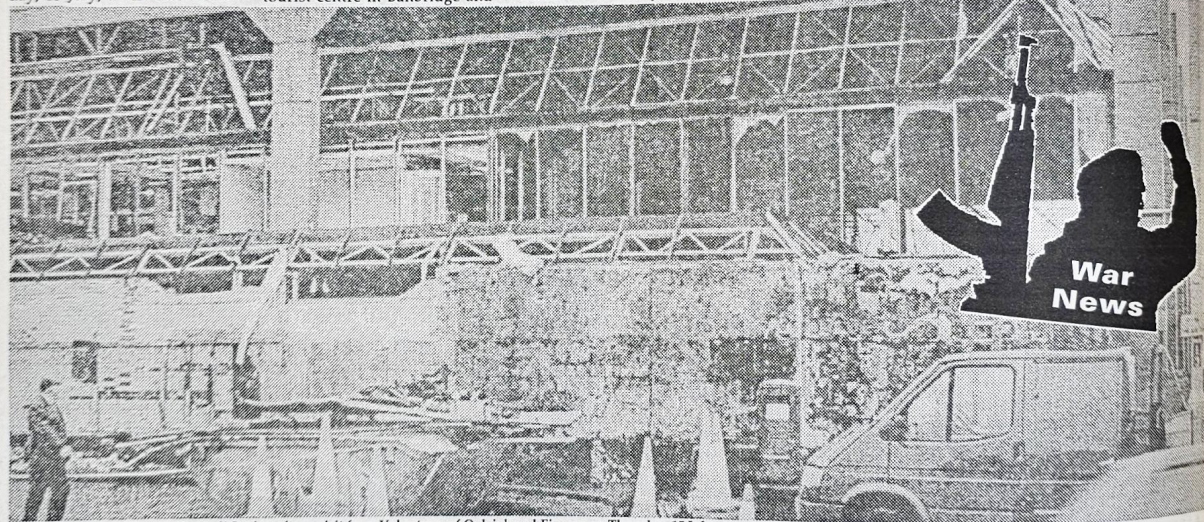
TWELFTH

IRA ON STAND-BY

Referring to the recent 'Twelfth' period the Belfast Brigade said:

"Over the loyalist marching period covering the 11-13 July our Volunteers throughout the city were on general stand-by ready to defend nationalist areas from attack by loyalist mobs. In the early hours of Tuesday morning the 13th a crowd of around a dozen loyalists came across from Areema Drive, Dummurry, to attack homes in the Tuinbrook area."

"Our Volunteers were armed and ready and fired a number of shots thus scaring the mob off."



• The remains of Belfast's 'Central' Station after a visit from Volunteers of Oglagh na hEireann on Thursday, 15 July

FF/FG hypocrisy in Monaghan

The relatives of the victims of the 1974 bombings in Monaghan were dealt a cruel blow last week by Monaghan County Council, courtesy of Fianna Fáil and Fine Gael.

At a meeting of the County Council on Thursday, 15 July, Sinn Féin Councillors Caoimhghín O Caoilín and Brian McKenna were successful in having standing orders lifted to discuss a Sinn Féin motion on the bombings. The motion, calling on Albert Reynolds to call a full public inquiry into the loyalist/British bombings of Monaghan and Dublin, was supported by just one other councillor, independent

member Peter Murphy. The Fianna Fáil and Fine Gael councillors, under their respective party whips, combined to vote down the motion. They even refused to allow Councillor O Caoilín the right to reply to his motion after everybody else had spoken.

O Caoilín expressed his disappointment at the councillors' refusal to take on the issue and called for a roll-call vote. Murphy and the two Sinn Féin members

voted in favour, there was one abstention and 13 voted against.

O Caoilín and McKenna had originally wanted a special meeting to discuss the bombings revelations but they failed to get the support of the five members necessary to call such a meeting. Although they had received favourable responses to their approaches in person, the pledges of support disappeared when party whips Hugh McElvaney (FG) and Jimmy Leonard (FF) directed their councillors to oppose the motion.

O Caoilín believes that the only

reason the motion met such strong opposition is because it was proposed by Sinn Féin. He said that the Fine Gael/Fianna Fáil alliance on the council has blinded the two parties' members to the issues.

"This bitter opposition to Sinn Féin, because of our electoral strength in North Monaghan in particular, will do nothing to ease the continuing agony of the relatives of those killed and injured in that horrific bombing, carried out by loyalists and planned by British forces," said his fellow councillor, Brian McKenna.

At the following Monday's

meeting of Monaghan UDC, the local authority supported the public inquiry call. Fianna Fáil Councillor Patsy Treanor voted in favour of the motion. He is also a member of the county council and had voted against the motion on the previous Thursday evening.

Monaghan UDC, on which Sinn Féin is represented by Owen Smyth and Pádraigín Ní Mhurchú, voted unanimously in favour of the motion. Speaking at the meeting, Owen Smyth said that he had been in touch with the Joe Tiernan, one of the Tuesday researchers for the *First Tuesday* programme on the bombings, who had told him that there was further evidence available to prove British involvement.

BY LIAM O COILEAIN

News

Loyalists target SDLP

IN THE LATEST in a series of loyalist attacks on the homes of members of the SDLP, the UDA said they were responsible for three pipe bomb attacks in Belfast in the early hours of Tuesday, 20 July.

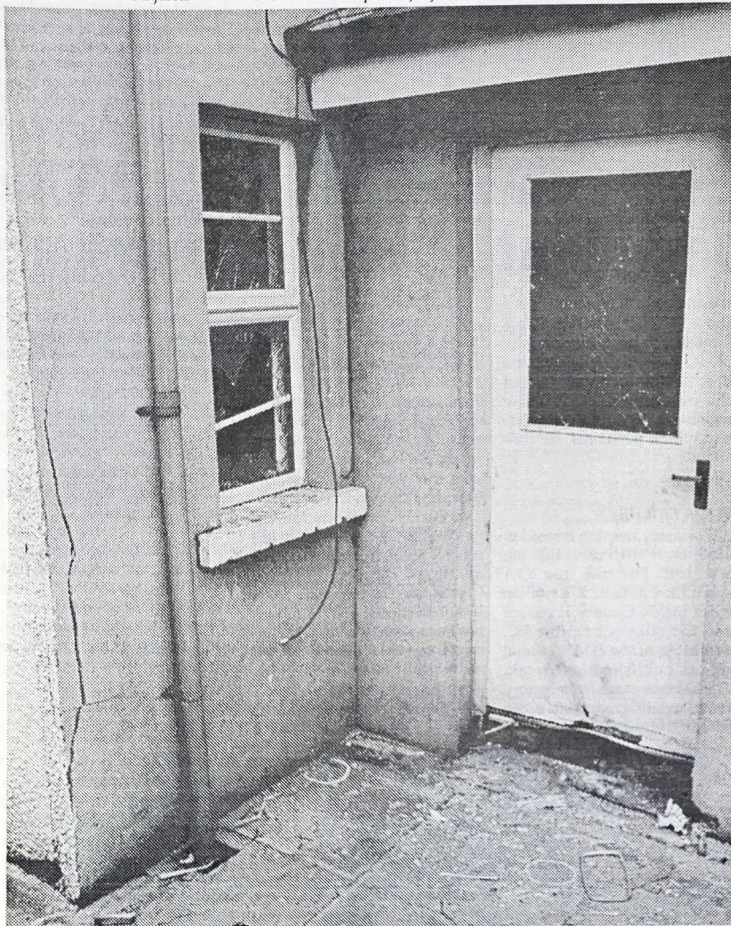
Two of the devices were placed under vehicles parked outside the homes of SDLP MP Joe Hendron and former Belfast City Councillor Brian Feeney. A third device was discovered close to the home of SDLP Councillor Mary Muldoon. One of the devices exploded shortly after 1am at the Hendron home. The other devices were discovered and defused. No one was injured.

In a statement which detailed the names and addresses of SDLP members, the UFF said they were responsible for the three attacks on "pan-nationalist targets".

There have been nine recent loyalist attacks on the homes of SDLP members. Earlier in the year the families of SDLP Belfast City Councillors Dorita Field and Alistair McDonald escaped injury when

their homes were attacked with incendiary devices. Shortly afterwards two members of the SDLP in Banbridge were targeted for attack.

In the same period the families of Sinn Féin Councillors Gerard McGuigan and Joe Austin escaped injury in loyalist gun and grenade attacks on their homes. Sinn Féin member Alan Lundy, who was working at the house of his friend Alex Maskey, was killed in a loyalist attack. The family of Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams escaped injury in another loyalist grenade attack.



● The UFF's attempted attack on the home of SDLP Councillor Mary Muldoon failed when they attacked her neighbour's home, four doors away, by mistake



● MARY MULDOON

Murder bid on taxi driver

A 26-YEAR-OLD nationalist taxi driver ran for his life after three loyalist assassins attempted to kill him last Thursday night, 15 July.

The young man, who works for a West Belfast taxi firm, arrived to pick up a regular fare in the Upper Springfield area, when two men got into his cab beside Dunboyne Park. This street has been frequently used by loyalist death squads operating in the Upper Springfield Road area.

Significantly, this heavily British patrolled road, on which sits a large crown forces' base, had no mobile or foot patrols in the area during the attack.

While one of the assailants grabbed the taxi driver, the other pulled a gun from his pocket and tried to open fire. It is believed that when the weapon jammed, a third loyalist, armed with a baseball bat, joined in the attack. Dodging blows, the young man ran off with at least

one of his attackers in pursuit.

The young man described running along the road waiting for a shot to hit him in the back, as the loyalists shouted, "hurry up, shoot him, shoot him quick". As he continued running for his life the taxi driver managed to reach relative safety at a nearby timber yard.

His ordeal exposes again the totally random nature of the loyalist death squads' murder campaign against every nationalist. From taxi drivers to GAA members, from young mothers serving in shops to grandfathers sitting watching television, all have come under murderous attack by both the UDA and UVF. These attacks are designed to instil terror among the total nationalist population.

RIR death threat for Gortin woman

■ BY LAURA FRIEL

RIR SOLDIERS targeted a young nationalist woman in a terrifying ordeal on a remote country road in County Tyrone last week. The young woman was driving alone on Monday, 12 July, when she was stopped by an RIR [UDR] patrol shortly after 11 pm. Ordered out of the car at gunpoint, the woman was repeatedly threatened, verbally abused and spat upon by the patrol.

The young woman, who does not wish to be named, describes her ordeal:

"I was alone in the car. It was dark and the road deserted. There was only one house some distance away. From the very beginning it was clear that I had only been stopped to be harassed. I was told to pull the car over to the side. As soon as I did I was told to move the car again which I

did, only to be told to move the vehicle once again. I was ordered to get out of the car at gunpoint." Outside the car, the young woman was subjected to a tirade of abuse. This abuse included sexual harassment and death threats against herself, her boyfriend and her child. She continues:

"The soldiers spat on me and insulted me. They were very aggressive and abusive. They tried

to humiliate me by calling me names. The soldiers said I was a 'tramp' and an unfit mother.

"They asked where my baby was and said that it didn't matter because the baby seat would be empty soon because none of us deserved to live.

"The soldiers said they were going to shoot me, my boyfriend and my 14-month-old child. They said that I wouldn't know how to rear a child anyway and they couldn't allow a child of mine to grow up."

When the young woman was eventually allowed to return to her vehicle, the patrol inferred that

they would open fire on the car when it pulled away. The young woman was told that she'd be "lucky to get as far as the corner". She continues:

"I asked several times if I was free to go. One of the soldiers said 'I don't know why the fuck you're hanging about here' but they wouldn't give me proper permission to leave. While I was inside the car, some of the soldiers were banging their fists on the vehicle and they were still threatening to fire on the car when I moved off.

"They kept saying you'll not make it to the corner. I did not know what to do. In the end I

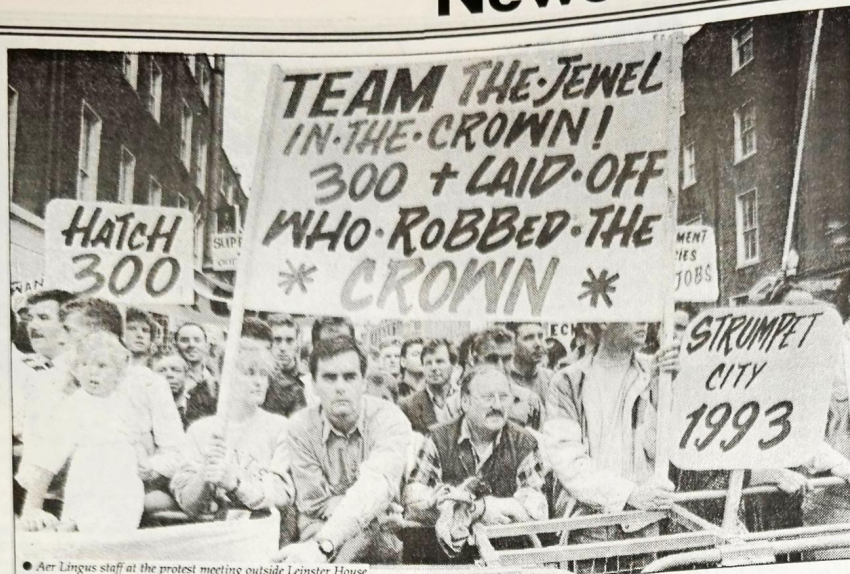
had no choice but to risk driving away."

The young woman told AP/RN that following the incident she has been too afraid to drive alone.

Commenting on the incident, local Sinn Féin Councillor Seán Clarke said that changing the UDR's name to the RIR had not changed the regiment's criminal behaviour towards members of the nationalist community. He continued:

"In this latest incident the RIR took delight in terrifying a young nationalist mother, revelling in their ability to humiliate and intimidate a woman travelling alone at night. Nothing has changed with this sectarian regiment. The only change that will bring justice is when they are disbanded."

News



• Aer Lingus staff at the protest meeting outside Leinster House

TEAM workers step up fight

■ BY ART Mac EOIN

HUNDREDS of craftworkers from TEAM Aer Lingus held protest marches on Monday, 19 July, as unions prepared to ballot on industrial action which would include 24-hour work stoppages.

Workers at TEAM have rejected management's proposed lay-offs and said they would take industrial action to demand the reinstatement of 300 fellow-workers recently laid off. Those laid off protested at the airport and at Leinster House on Wednesday, 21 July. Following the intervention of the Labour Relations Commission a conciliation conference is to be held on Thursday, 22 July.

TEAM Aer Lingus recorded a profit of £3 million in the financial year 1991/92 and a further profit of £2.5 million in the financial year 1992/93.

concern at the government's backsliding on the Aer Lingus issue. He said the union is calling for clarification of the government's commitment on a number of issues, including compulsory redundancies.

Baggage handlers and other so-called "non-core service" employees will bear the brunt of Aer Lingus' £34 million pay reduction plan. Such workers face wage cuts of up to 40%.

Aer Lingus cabin crew members met on Tuesday, 19 July, to draw up their own response to the pay and job losses demanded by management.

A further meeting for those cabin crew unavailable for the first meeting will take place in Liberty Hall on Thursday, 22 July. A clarification of the position of cabin crew members will not be formulated until all personnel are consulted.

■ IDA FAILURES

For every new job created in 1992, more than one other job was lost. For this, the IDA spent £154 million, £74 million from the 26-County taxpayer and £59 million from the EC, according to the IDA's annual report published last week. The balance came from factory rents, repaid grants and some share dividends.

New IDA-backed jobs created in 1992 came to 12,056. Overall employment in IDA-backed industry fell by 300 to 193,800 jobs. The IDA announced that they were lowering their 1993 jobs target to its lowest level for five years, aiming for 11,500 new jobs this year. This was followed by the news a day later that the level of redundancies in the 26 Counties had hit record levels for the first six months of 1993.

It is now 24 years since the IDA was started and £3 billion has been spent. Faced with the monumental failure of its industrial policy, the Dublin government has restructured its industrial development agencies into new corporate

structures.

The IDA becomes IDA Ireland which will deal with attracting foreign investment while a new agency, Foras, will deal with indigenous industry. A third 'super agency' Foras is also to be established — its job is to act as an "umbrella organisation" for the now split IDA and Coras Trachtála.

New agencies do not mean new policies. Kieran McGowan, IDA managing director and the new Foras chief executive, said last week that "It must be decided what the state could or should be doing to preserve jobs". However outgoing IDA chairperson Mick Raftery did actually admit that, "We have made mistakes in the IDA".

These agencies are still run by central government. There will be no democratisation of the new structures, no local or community input, no trade union representation. In fact the IDA still grant aid to many corporations that will not allow union representation on their sites.

Few admissions of mistakes were made in the IDA report. However, it did say that foreign owned companies paid £250 million in corporation tax last year. This tax, at the lowest rate in the EC, shows how much money was being stolen from the economy over the 22 years it was not being paid.

Style not substance is still the order of the day at the lavish IDA headquarters dubbed the "Fitzwilliam Hilton" as the coalition government renames and relaunches the same job creation policies that have effectively failed to solve the highest unemployment total in Europe.

■ BUS TALKS

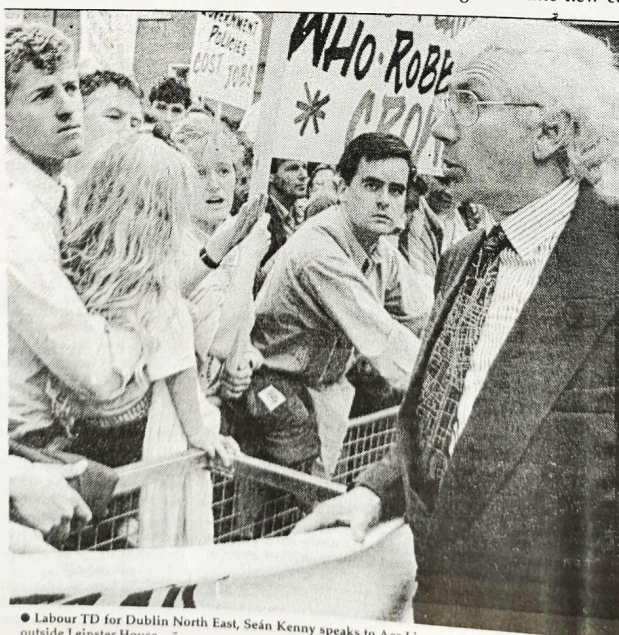
Dublin Bus has written to unions representing bus drivers seeking another meeting this week. Unions and the company failed to reach agreement on the plan to introduce minibuses on a new 120 route from Cabra, while the original 22 would continue to serve the Navan Road and Drimnagh.

SIPTU and NBRU workers have voted for strike action on all routes from 1 August if changes are introduced without agreement. Workers fear the development of a two-tier pay system and the introduction of more minibuses.

■ 300 WORKERS LAID OFF AT GALLAHERS

Gallahers tobacco factory in Ballymena, County Antrim, is to lay off 300 workers.

The British government recently refused export credit guarantees to Gallahers after it faced difficulties in sales. An expansion at Gallahers Ballymena plant was forecast only last month.



• Labour TD for Dublin North East, Seán Kenny speaks to Aer Lingus workers as they protested outside Leinster House

■ TENSION HIGH AT DUBLIN AIRPORT

Meanwhile tension is high among Aer Lingus staff at Dublin airport, where 1,000 workers walked out on Saturday to attend a mass meeting.

Following a meeting of SIPTU shop stewards on Monday it was decided to take a ballot on full-scale industrial action. This would occur if any part of the Aer Lingus strategy is implemented by management without consultation or agreement, or if moves are made to introduce compulsory redundancies.

Under the management plan all staff are to be asked to take basic pay freezes for two years. There will also be a drastic reduction in overtime as well as the ending of bonus and allowance schemes.

SIPTU Branch Secretary Paul O'Sullivan has said the overtime rates proposed were the most draconian in Irish industry. The last time such rates existed was 1936.

O'Sullivan also expressed

News

'Bik' McFarlane refused parole

FOR THE FIFTH consecutive time the British government has refused to grant parole to republican POW, Brendan 'Bik' McFarlane. Initiated in 1989 the parole scheme was, according to the Northern Ireland Office (NIO), to help prisoners who had served over 13-years imprisonment to readjust to family life and prepare them for eventual release.

The 13-year tariff was subsequently reduced to eleven. However the blanket refusal to grant McFarlane parole has remained.

When McFarlane was extradited from the Netherlands in 1986 a condition of the extradition was that he would not be treated differently from other prisoners, nor would he be punished.

The British government reneged on this agreement. As soon as McFarlane arrived in Long Kesh he was given a top risk security rating and put on a 'Red

Book'. This security categorisation is what is now used to justify the constant refusal to allow McFarlane parole.

Since the parole scheme was introduced none of the large number of prisoners released has absconded. The prisoners do not abuse the scheme and the NIO is well aware of this.

Writing to APARN McFarlane explained the background to his case and how the 'Red Book' system is used to punish and isolate him from his comrades: "It has been six



● 'BIK' MCFARLANE

and a half years of continuous harassment with administration

refusing point blank to permit me a more settled environment.

"It is extremely difficult under current conditions to build or maintain any meaningful relationships with comrades."

Continuing to detail the psychological effect of such isolation McFarlane said that medical evidence existed that supported the claim that the 'Red Book' system is detrimental to prisoners health. This evidence was presented to the NIO who dismissed it, saying that the 'Red Book' was "solely a security matter."

Speaking about his family and how their feelings are abused by the constant refusal of parole McFarlane said:

"The denial of this parole has taken on a doubly vindictive charac-

ter because it has a very direct and telling effect on my family who would dearly love to experience the joy of family reunions during the summer and especially at Christmas which hundreds of other families throughout the Six Counties experience and cherish."

"It is not a security decision which prevents me from being treated equally and fairly with all other prisoners. It is unashamedly a political consideration by the NIO. In short, I am being made to pay the penalty for my role throughout the history of this camp — from attempted escapes in the cages, the blanket protest and my role during the hunger strikes, through to the major escape in 1983 and possibly our political victory during our extradition battle in the Netherlands."

"A consequence of this is that my family are being made to suffer equally."

Amnesty demands inquiry in Casement trials

AN INDEPENDENT INQUIRY into the trials of the Casement Accused has been demanded by the worldwide human rights organisation Amnesty International. In a special nine-page report, Amnesty also urged the British government to immediately refer the case of Patrick Kane, Seán Kelly and Michael Timmons for judicial review.

Published last week *Fair Trial Concerns in the Casement Park Trials* concludes that many of the 41 prosecutions failed to satisfy international trial standards. Outlining general concerns about the operation of the justice system in the Six Counties, the report says:

"Amnesty International believes that the prosecution and convictions arising out of this incident warrant a

wide-ranging review to examine the events leading up to and culminating in the murders and the eight group trials stemming from the prosecutions."

The document details the background to the deaths of two armed undercover British soldiers who drove at high speed into the funeral cortege of IRA Volunteer Caoimhin Mac Brádaigh, one of

three people killed during a loyalist gun and grenade attack on a crowd of mourners in West Belfast, in March 1988.

In the wake of the incident, several hundred nationalists, mostly from West Belfast, were arrested and interrogated by the RUC. To date over 40 people have been charged with a range of offences, including murder. In a series of non-jury Diplock trials, 21 people have been convicted. Five are currently serving life sentences for murder.

It has never been alleged that any of those convicted of murder, actually shot the soldiers or that they were members of the IRA. The convictions were secured by the unprecedented use of video and film material, the controversial extension

of the law of common purpose and adverse inferences drawn against defendants who exercised the right to silence.

Criticising pretrial procedures, Amnesty said defendants were not brought promptly before a court after arrest, were not given access to lawyers soon enough and many were denied access to legal advice during interrogation. The report also points out that the defence were not granted equal access to evidence and experts provided for the prosecution.

During the trials it was not shown in any case that the soldiers' deaths were the result of a preformulated plan, yet as the Amnesty report points out, murder convictions rested solely on the application of the law of common purpose.

Focusing on the cases of Patrick Kane, Seán Kelly and Michael Timmons, the report points out that

Kane's statement to the RUC, which was contested was also inconsistent with videotape evidence. In Kelly's case, Amnesty highlighted its concern at the adverse inference drawn against the defendant's exercise of the right to silence. According to Amnesty the court had improperly concluded that Kane, Kelly and Timmons knew what the consequences of their actions would be.

"It is striking that none of the accused were claimed or proven to be members of the IRA, nor was it established beyond reasonable doubt that they knew or could reasonably have foreseen that the soldiers would be shot."

The Amnesty report is consistent with criticisms raised by a number of legal and human rights groups concerned with the Casement trials. These include the Six-County-based Committee for the Administration of Justice, Helsinki Watch and the British Haldane Society.

SMYTH FREE ON BAIL

■ BY LIAM O COILEAIN

"I'VE NEVER forgotten the people of Ireland and I want to keep fighting," said Long Kesh escaper Jimmy Smyth outside the Federal Building in San Francisco, following his release last week on bail. "I'm going to prove to this court and this country that we're the oppressed people, not the terrorists."

Smyth, who is fighting against his extradition back to the Six Counties, was freed on Thursday, 15 July, by order of District Judge Barbara Caulfield on bail of \$1.5 million, to receive treatment for a medical problem that his doctors have so far failed to explain. Caulfield said that doctors had been "unable to diagnose what the problem is within the confines of the prison system". The decision was greeted

with cheers and applause in the courtroom, which was packed with Smyth's supporters. He will have to wear an electronic tag as a condition of his bail.

Since February he has been passing blood in his urine, the cause of which has baffled doctors. Last year the same judge released him on bail to prepare his defence but he was forced back to prison after just a month when the prosecution persuaded

the US Court of Appeals in San Francisco to overturn her order.

His extradition hearing proper, is scheduled to take place in September, when his defence team will give evidence from Six-County residents whose family members have been the victims of loyalist death squads, acting on information supplied by the British forces.

In a preliminary ruling on the case in June, after the British refused to hand over reports on collusion and Britain's shoot-to-kill policy, Caulfield declared that Irish nationalists convicted of offences against soldiers and police in the Six Counties face harassment, retaliation and even death. This decision, and the outcome of the case, should also decide the outcome of the extradition proceedings against fellow 1983 escapers, Paul Brennan and Kevin Barry Artt.



● JIM SMYTH

POW events at West Belfast festival

REPUBLICAN PRISONERS HOLD a special significance in the minds of Irish people and the sacrifices they have made over the years of struggle hold a special place in our history. The pantheon of republican martyrs is full of names of men and women imprisoned by the British who refused to bow to cruelty and torture.

From Anne Devlin through to O'Donovan Rossa and then Tomas Ashe and Traolach Mac Suibhne until we come to Bobby Sands and Máiréad Farrell, these

are people who turned Britain's prison policies on their head. The organisers of the West Belfast Festival recognise the place the prisoners hold in the

minds of people and their contribution to the struggle.

The organisers, therefore, have invited the Republican Prisoners of War Department and The Bobby Sands Discussion Group to hold events at the festival. One such event will be a discussion held in the Sean Mac Dermott GAC on the Falls Road on Wednesday, 4 August.

The theme being the "The

Victories and Lessons of the 1981 Hunger Strike".

Chaired by Tom Hartley, there will be three speakers including Laurence McKeown who spent 74 days on hunger strike. The other speakers are Jim Gibney and Cathy Nelis from Derry who will talk about their work during the blanket and hunger-strike period.

Also on the theme of prisoners, the annual prisoner's day will be

held in the Irish Republican Felons Club on Friday, 6 August. On display will be harps, crosses and other crafts that republican POWs have made in various gaols since the '40s. There will also be a photographic exhibition portraying 20 years of prison struggle.

As this September marks the 10th Anniversary of the mass escape from the H-Blocks of Long Kesh, the POW Department is organising a discussion to outline the untold story of the escape.

This event will also be held on 6 August in the Felon's Club.



An Phoblacht

REPUBLICAN NEWS

22 JULY 1993

■ MI5 — a sinister agency

THE NEW SHOW of what British politicians and the media saw fit to call "openness" and "glasnost" on the part of Britain's secret service agency MI5, is nothing of the sort.

This sinister, clandestine agency will continue to operate beyond the control of the British public and be unanswerable to the British parliament, with the inevitable deadly consequences, particularly for Irish nationalists.

Similar "openness" on the part of the CIA has operated for many years and has not made that notorious spy ring any more amenable to public scrutiny.

The CIA has managed to combine "openness" with engagement in a range of activities, including the toppling of democratically elected governments, illegal arms transactions and the diversion of US government funds.

The new MI5 policy will certainly not witness the British secret service opening up its files on past activities such as involvement in the Dublin and Monaghan bomb massacres of 1974.

Following last Wednesday's arrest of a middle-aged Irish citizen in London it was suggested that the arrest operation included the 'special expertise of MI5's teams of watchers'. In the past such 'expert teams of watchers' have used backup from the SAS as in Gibraltar on 6 March 1988 when three unarmed Irish republicans were shot to death without any attempt at arrest.

MI5 emerged following operations against German naval units prior to 1916, coincidentally the same year as the Easter Rising in Dublin. Its role was widened to encompass activities throughout the British Empire. By 1931 it was responsible for assessing potential 'threats to national security' apart from those posed by Irish revolutionaries.

Today MI5 works with various police forces in Britain and also with the RUC in the Six Counties. In the first official booklet of its kind published last week, MI5 Director General Stella Rimington revealed that 70% of her 2,000 strong force is now dealing with what it terms 'Irish terrorism', that is to say enforcing the partition of Ireland by clandestine tactics.

The alleged 'threat' to Britain from the former Soviet Union and Warsaw Pact states has vanished, the population of these states numbered around 700 million people. Are the half-million nationalists in the Six Counties, now identified by the RUC's Special Branch among other intelligence assessors as 'the major threat to Britain's national security', now going to be observed and followed by an undercover force previously doing this to over 700 million people?

This hidden agency, with no public accountability to the vast majority of the British people, ensures the job survival of around two thirds of Britain's national security service, as does the continued 'necessary deployment' of over 20,000 military personnel in the Six Counties.

MI5 has always operated beyond the control of the British parliament and sometimes even the government. It is imbued with the outlook of the right wing of the British establishment and it is from here that it has always taken its cue. Bearing this fact in mind makes Norman Tebitt's remarks about bombs in Dublin all the more chilling.

News

Section 31 under UN spotlight

BY LIAM O'COLEAIN

RIGHTS ABUSES by the Dublin government, including Section 31 of the Broadcasting Act, came under international scrutiny when the Irish Council for Civil Liberties (ICCL) made submissions to the United Nations Committee on Human Rights which met for three days in Geneva earlier this month to examine civil and political rights in the state.

This international inspection of Irish laws and practices is the first of its kind and is a result of Dublin's ratification of the United Nations Covenant on Civil and Political Rights in 1989, to which Dublin has made its first report.

The Irish Council for Civil Liberties' submission was designed to provide material to the members of the UN human rights' committee when they examined Dublin's report and put questions to the government representatives. It was particularly wide ranging in its brief. It expressed its disappointment that Dublin had entered a number of derogations to the covenant and highlighted the "many aspects of Irish laws and practice which are either in breach of the covenant or fail to uphold the rights it seeks to protect".

It said that those laws and practices in breach of the covenant "largely derive from the political history of the state and the conflict in Northern Ireland, or arise in the area of personal morality".

The ICCL was extremely critical of the measures adopted since the formation of the state and more recently in response to the conflict in the Six Counties, which have meant "that the Irish state has rarely in its history been without some level of

emergency measures in force. We feel that this has led to a weakened public consciousness in the area of civil and political rights which has allowed what were originally emergency measures to become part of the permanent legislation of the state."

There has, in fact, been a state of 'national emergency' in existence continuously in the 26 Counties since 1939, updated in 1976. Jury trials for politically motivated offences have been suspended under it since 1972 and the Offences Against the State Act allows for what the ICCL calls "stringent powers of arrest and interrogation" which are widely used. The ICCL told the UN committee that none of these measures are necessary.

Dublin's attorney general, Harry Whelehan, attended the committee's meeting to defend his government's position. He claimed in justification of the state of emergency still in force, that: "It would be foolish to suggest that the violence of the Provisional IRA is directed solely at Northern Ireland and Britain and that Ireland does not feature on the Provisionals' agenda."

The ICCL also criticised the fact that no formal mechanism exists for reopening cases where

there is evidence of miscarriages of justice.

The group slammed the Section 31 ban on "representatives of certain groups" associated with the conflict in Northern Ireland, even though some of these groups are legal political parties. It is opposed to the constitutional bans on divorce and abortion as well as prison conditions, describing them as "overcrowded and unhygienic with totally inadequate provision for young offenders and those who are HIV positive".

The ICCL also says that there are totally inadequate safeguards against the wrongful imprisonment of the mentally ill and that there is widespread discrimination against Travellers, both by the settled community and public officials.

They also pointed out to the human rights committee that asylum seekers have very few rights under Irish law, that most are refused permission to stay and many have been held in prison for long periods pending deportation. It also reiterated that women remain "significantly disadvantaged" in Irish society.

Submissions against Dublin's human and civil rights record were also made by Amnesty International, the Salinas Inquiry Campaign, the Let In The Light anti-censorship group and the Irish Commission for Justice and Peace.

A number of the UN Committee members commented on the "grey areas" which had to be gone into, areas which they had been alerted to by these non-governmental organisations.



● Permanent state of emergency?

An Cumann Cabhrach

Function to welcome

Irish Northern Aid visitors to Dublin

WEXFORD INN

8pm JULY 31st



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News



● British Defence Secretary Malcolm Rifkind's gaffs have drawn unionist fire at a tense time for the Tories

TORIES PLAY ORANGE CARD

■ BY NEIL FORDE

A WESTMINSTER SELECT COMMITTEE with a brief including 'security' and a right to amend legislation emerged this week as the most likely price for Ulster Unionist (OUP) support for John Major in this week's crucial vote on the Social Chapter of the Maastricht Treaty.

The vote which could decide the future of the Tory government takes place today, Thursday, 22 July.

Two years of Peter Brooke's gentle coaxing could bring no deals from the OUP. However, the opportunity presented by a Tory rebellion seems to bring out the negotiators in the OUP. Whether or not Downing Street actually capitulates to the

unionists is not the only issue.

What is more significant is the unionist attitude, the desire to return to yet another anti-nationalist, imposed solution. No dissolution of the Hillsborough Agreement is being asked by Molyneux and company. They have not come out lobbying for control of the local economy or more power for local councils.

No, what they have demanded is the right to have an input into control of the crown forces.

The OUP's nine seats of 17 in the Six Counties would naturally make them the dominant players in any select committee. They would outflank the DUP, who have already said that they are to vote against Major. There would be no power sharing, another unionist success and Molyneux would be the likely chair of the committee, thus forming a unionist cabinet in exile.

Whether the OUP actually come away with anything substantial depends on the voting intentions of the Tory rebels, the liberals and other small factions.

However, the fact that intense negotiations have gone on behind the scenes all week between the Tories and the unionists, discussions which seem to entertain the possibility of some deal, shows both how desperate and how flawed Major's policy on Ireland is.

This was highlighted by the PR visit of Defence Secretary, Malcolm Rifkind to Lisburn. Rifkind was briefed by the British GOC,

Roger Wheeler and then emerged to say that "it might be a long time before the battle against terrorism was concluded".

Rifkind tried to cover his tracks by saying that the IRA were "no closer to their objectives". However, considering that Rifkind presides over a £3 billion yearly military budget to fund the British army of occupation, his comments seemed even more pathetic.

As he inspected British troops about to go on patrol, Rifkind also told reporters that "there would never be a purely military solution". He also claimed that he was not aware if the British government had been involved in secret contacts with the IRA. He then compounded this by stating that he couldn't comment on "political matters".

Rifkind's final gaff was to tell the invited reporters that "99% of the people in Northern Ireland go about their business in a normal way". John Taylor, OUP MP responded by describing Rifkind as being "unsuitable for office". Taylor said that "almost every town in Northern Ireland has to tolerate a ring of steel within which life is not normal. Most towns are now deserted in the evening after 5pm. That is not normal."

Even though Malcolm Rifkind felt that he, as a government minister and an elected MP, could not comment on political matters, it did not stop former British prime minister and Father of the Commons Edward Heath last Sunday from making political comment.

Heath said that he had no objection to the British government talking to Sinn Féin. "I do not object to people having talks with other political people". He highlighted the fact that his government had direct talks with the IRA in 1972.

Heath also said on the radio programme that "it is really most important that we should put our own house in order before we start telling the rest of the world what they ought to do".

Judging by the attitude of Malcolm Rifkind and the secret negotiations between the Tories and the unionists it seems that Major does not want a political solution to the conflict in Ireland. He like Thatcher and for that matter Callaghan, Wilson and Heath only do deals when they are desperate. Politics only begins for the Tories when the military programme fails.

Spring strikes a pose on the border

■ BY ART MAC EON

THE Dublin government's deputy premier, Dick Spring, visited the border region on Thursday, 15 July, and was met by local people who conveyed their grievances in regard to the closure of their roads by the British army.

At Lackey Bridge, outside Clones, Spring was met by Michael McPhillips of the Tyrone/Monaghan Community Association who presented him with a letter explaining the problems caused by the closure of cross-border roads. McPhillips asked Spring to use his influence with the British to have the Lackey Bridge crossing left open. It had been reopened some time earlier by the voluntary effort of local people.

In the same week the GAA also appealed to the Northern Ireland Office to leave Lackey Bridge open for the Ulster Football Final

between Derry and Donegal which was held as usual in Clones, as many football supporters would use this road to get to and from the match. The crossing was left open until Monday when the British army returned and destroyed it.

While visiting the Tyrone/Monaghan border Dick Spring met Marcus McCabe, a farmer living on the southern side of the border but with farmland on the northern side. He explained to the deputy premier the personal hardship which the closure of border roads caused him and outlined the

difficulties which it presented for the carrying out of his daily work.

Despite reports to the contrary, Spring was joined on his visit to the Monaghan/Tyrone border by representatives of all the political parties on Clones Urban District Council (UDC). Local Fine Gael councillors rejected reports in the media that they were going to boycott the visit to the border. Councillors Peter McAleer and Fintan McPhillips represented Sinn Féin on the Monaghan/Tyrone section of the border tour and on the Leitrim/Fermanagh border Spring was joined by Sinn Féin County Councillor Liam McGill.

It is over a year since former foreign affairs minister David Andrews visited the border and

lamented its existence. His comments at the time typified the self-imposed helplessness of the Dublin government in relation to the border roads issue.

"The reality is that this has been an issue on the Anglo-Irish conference agenda well before my time and it still hasn't been solved. I don't see immediate results. I didn't come up here to make silly promises or wave magical political wands", Andrews said at the time.

A year later and with the visit of another foreign affairs minister, hope that the Dublin government will do anything for local people remains remote.

Sinn Féin Monaghan County Councillors Caoimhghín Ó

Caoláin and Brian McKenna have called for positive action rather than words and empty gestures from Dublin government ministers on the border roads issue.

"The local people of the border region have put to shame successive Dublin government foreign affairs ministers who claim to regret the closure of our roads. With machinery and bare hands they have opened their roads again and again, only to have them destroyed by the British.

"When will the government take firm action on this issue? It is a problem which is causing massive social and economic disruption for the community. Flying visits to the area every now and then by government ministers are not enough. The people of this area require more concrete action."

IT ONLY cost between ten and 20 US dollars to buy an AK47 last winter in Mogadishu, Somalia. Food came a lot dearer and was more difficult to find. Weapons were sold on street stalls by people who once sold fruit, water or vegetables. Buyers from surrounding states had begun to drift in. International concern at the situation in Somalia brought 30,000 US troops, food aid and the dismantling of the local weapons markets, sending the price of such arms back to more profitable levels.

Semi-automatic rifles are just the low-technology end of one of the world's biggest and growing industries — the manufacture and sale of armaments. In the industrialised West it is called the 'defence industry'. However, the truth is that a significant proportion of this 'defence' industry output of the United States, Britain, Russia, China, Italy and France is exported around the world, often illegally and often to prolong wars in order to maximise the potential sales available.

This industry has producers who are subsidised and in some cases owned by state governments. These are often complemented by unaligned arms dealers who make the link between buyer and vendor. It has a growing market, continually refueled by the demand for new technology, spare parts and replacement equipment.

Added to this, the end of the Cold War has heralded a range of armed conflicts in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Twelve new wars started in 1992, bringing the worldwide total close to 50.

Nearly all of these conflicts are fought with conventional weapons, where equipment is continually being destroyed and where guns, mortars, rockets and artillery all need continuous refills. Many of the leading producers are nuclear powers whose own domestic 'defence' spending runs into hundreds of billions of pounds. Here is the basis for the development of a long-term industry.

The arms industry has a lot in common with other markets. They market their products not through the media but through direct marketing at airshows, at trade fairs and often at the 'workplace' — on the battlefield. The market has dominant players — the US and the former Soviet Union. The collapse of the latter has brought a rush from the next level of producers — Britain, Germany, France, Italy and China — to gain a market share.

The actual industry itself is a range of competing segments. It ranges from the short arms manufacturers Kalashnikov and Colt, to the ammunition makers, to the heavy equipment such as tanks, armoured cars, jeeps, etc. There are the companies like Lockheed, British Aerospace, Boeing, Rolls Royce, Bell who make the helicopters, fighters and bombers used in wars around the world.

In the high technology end of the industry are the missile makers, and the electronic radar and missile launch system manufacturers. Here are a range of companies across Europe and the United States who compete for market share and vast profits. Competition between manufacturers is cutthroat. Companies lobby continually to sell their products.

An example is the Gulf War. Once it was clear that the US had assembled significant Arab

support for their stance on Iraq, there was a veritable stampede from the US, Britain and France to get their equipment on to the battlefield. The US wanted to showcase their 'smart bombs' and Patriot defence missile systems. The British wanted to market their Tornado bomber.

Though many of the coalition forces had Soviet equipment in their armies, none of it was to be seen on the battlefield. Only NATO technology would be on the winning side. Post-war arms sales were as important as a quick Iraqi defeat.

Superpower response to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait gave a clear insight into the workings of the international arms trade. Iraq had been a frequent customer of the international arms industry but it had broken a cardinal customer rule. It was attempting to go into production of surface-to-surface intercontinental ballistic missiles.

This shows the umbilical link between the arms producers and their domestic governments. This is a market run not only for profit but also for the political agendas of the producer states.

Now in the aftermath of the Iraqi retreat from Kuwait, UN policies have concentrated on the destruction of any Iraqi missile capability. UN resolutions on the Kurds or the Marsh Arabs remain unenforced as the UN inspectors dismantle the Iraqi missile capability. However, neighbouring states are allowed to retain their missiles under the now obvious conditions that you don't try and make your own.

The key issue is technology. Most states around the world can make their own ammunition casings for all the world's pistols, guns and rifles. Iran under the Shah developed a range of small weapons manufacturers. Israeli machine guns are used by forces around the world.

However, in the more deadly world of missiles, artillery and aircraft you find the weapons loaded with technology which buyer armies cannot replace. This means that the arms seller will always have repeat business.

A good example of this is the Chieftain tank used by both Britain and Iraq in the Gulf War. The shells are only made by Royal Ordnance factories in Britain so the Iraqis were forced to continually import the shells. The only thing armaments producers favour more than repeat business is the ability to sell to both sides. This happened in the Iran-Iraq conflict in the 1980s.

The Iran/Iraq war lasted less than a decade and cost hundreds of thousands of lives. Who the victor was is impossible to determine. What we can determine is the role the international arms industry and their governments played in prolonging the war.

The methods and the avenues used to transport the equipment, the movement of money through the world banks and the shifting, often conflicting, political agendas have been revealed. The Matrix-Churchill trial last year, the Banco Nazionale del Lavoro (BNL) trial in Atlanta, Georgia and the ongoing Scott Inquiry in Britain have brought the international arms trade into the public domain.

When the Iraqis lined up against the US-led 'coalition forces' in 1991 they had an interesting array of international weaponry in their army. The saturation television coverage which dominated the war showed us the Scuds landing in Riyadh and Jerusalem. However, what they did not show is much more relevant to the actual war than the adapted Scud missile.

We did not see Iraq's Mirage Jet fighters or Gazelle helicopters bought from France. Also not mentioned were the French R.530 and R.550 air-to-air missiles. The Iraqis also had Exocet and Laser air-to-surface missiles from France and AA-2 Atoll US missiles.

The Roland missile, produced jointly by Germany, France and the US, was absent from our TV screens as was the European made HOT and MILAN antitank missiles. Instead we were shown the range of Chinese and Soviet weaponry amassed by the 'super villain' Saddam.

The Iraqis had British, French, Chinese, US, Soviet and South African tanks and artillery in their army. But viewers in TV land were given in-depth analysis on how the Soviet tanks would stand up to American and British competition. (The US and Britain won of course).

Missing from the equation was the admission that the US and Europe had been arming Saddam throughout the 1980s. This happened in most cases in direct contravention of domestic law in the arms-exporting states.

In 1983, Douglas Hurd told the British public that "we are neutral between Iran and Iraq and have not supplied lethal equipment to either side".

By 1985, Geoffrey Howe now British Foreign Secretary produced new British government guidelines on arms exports. The guidelines showed a significant shift in attitude when they only outlawed arms sales which "would significantly enhance the capability of either side to prolong or exacerbate the conflict".

However, last year in the Matrix-Churchill trial Alan Clark, a former Tory Minister for Trade and Defence Procurement told the court: "It was in Britain's best interests for the war to go on for as long as possible."

Clark confirmed to the court that the government had been breaking its own embargoes for both political and financial reasons.

Since 1967, the British government has had its own export agency for arms called the Defence Export Services Organisation. It was formed as part of the Ministry of Defence to promote British arms sales

HOW THE WEST FEEDS ARMAGY goes on

abroad. In 1987, the Iraqi government was allowed to buy the Matrix wing of the Coventry-based Matrix-Churchill machine tool makers. It was alleged by Matrix's managing director that M16 had consented to the sale and that that British government knew the exports were for use in the war.

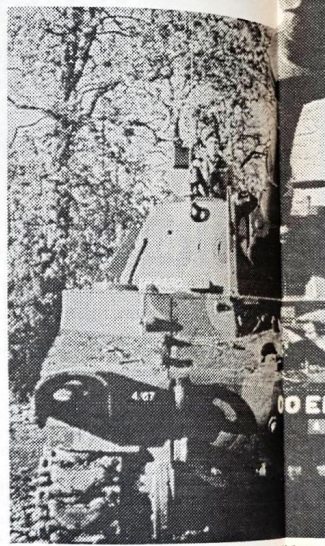
Six hundred Chieftain tanks were sold to the Iraqis. It was easier to supply Iran because under the US-backed Shah (overthrown in the Islamic revolution) the Iranian army had built up a huge array of Western equipment. What they needed most were shells and spares.

Last November in Venice, 40 people went on trial for arms trafficking to Iran. They had allegedly been involved with companies from around Europe who had set up an illegal supply network to bring millions of artillery shells to Iran. A British firm, Allivane, was at the core of the network. The Italian prosecutor Felice Cassan has claimed that the British authorities have refused to cooperate in the trial.

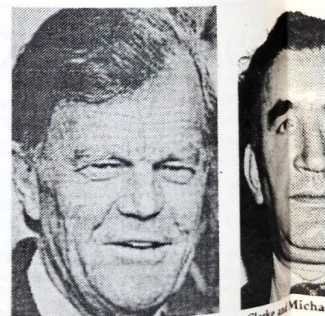
In the US, deals were also done with both Iran and Iraq. US hatred of the Iraqis, stemming from Carter's downfall and the kidnapping of US embassy officials, made them more sympathetic towards Iraq when Saddam attempted to invade Iran in 1980.

However, Ari Ben-Menasche, an Israeli arms dealer has claimed in a recent book that even though the US had an embargo on selling arms to Iran they became involved in arms sales. Ben-Menasche claimed the Iraqis bought hi-tech missile systems through him with both the knowledge of the Israeli government and the CIA.

Ben-Menasche also claims that the Allied Irish Bank in Ireland was used to route hundreds of millions of dollars from the Iraqis to the arms producers. It is already widely known that the US, with the full



● "If governments obeyed their own laws we could be much better off"



● British government ministers Alan Clark and Michael Heseltine knew about the illegal arms sales to Iraq

knowledge and approval of the Reagan administration, gave the Iraqis missile technology in return for the release of hostages in the Lebanon — the so-called 'Irangate' affair.

However, it is US secret service involvement in arms

exports to Iraq that is being publicly investigated in the States right now. In Atlanta, Georgia, the Postage Intelligence Agency considered \$5 billion sanctioned for Iraq

Feature FUELS WARS FOR PROFIT ageddon on

British government condemnations of 'terrorism' are put in perspective when seen in the context of its role in the international arms trade. With other western powers it produces huge amounts of weapons, mixing profit with strategic interest to fuel wars in the Third World. This week AP/RN's NEIL FORDE looks at one of the world's biggest industries.



... laws we could be much nearer to world peace, but they never have and



... an Clarke and Michael Mates, who
raq
exports to Iraq that is generat-
ing publicity in the United
States right now. The BNL trial
in Atlanta, Georgia has revealed
that the Pentagon's Defence
Intelligence Agency (DIA) con-
sidered £5 billion of BNL loans
sanctioned for Iraq as being

"part of a larger NATO strategy" to "ensure an Iraqi victory with Iran". The loans began in 1986 when the Iraqis had suffered a series of setbacks in the war against Iran.

Even after the Iran/Iraq war ended the US continued to help Saddam. A further \$1 billion loan in 1989, allegedly for agricultural development, was sanctioned by George Bush. The money would be run through BNL. It has now transpired that the money was being used to fund the Iraqis' attempts to develop an intercontinental ballistic missile with nuclear capability, codenamed Condor 2.

The mix of superpower political agendas with the need for lucrative arms sales to keep the capitalist arms industries in perpetual growth is the key element in the international arms industries. Superpowers will perpetuate wars to make money. They will perpetuate war to

make sure neither side threatens their strategic interests.

Wars can create an economic boom not just in arms sales. The West German construction industry went into overdrive building in Iraq during the Iran/Iraq war. The Egyptian government munitions factories were at full tilt for the duration of the war.

The Turkish government used the war to further develop the military port of Famagusta, strengthening its illegal occupation of northern Cyprus. Arms were shipped through both parts of Cyprus into Turkey, while the Turkish government also got Thorn EMI and other manufacturers to locate factories in Turkey.

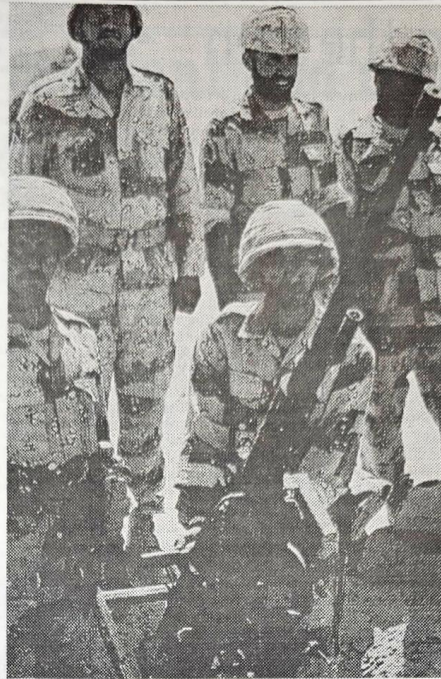
The recent scandal over Asil Nadir's connection with Michael Mates, which led to the latter's resignation as British 'security' minister in the Six Counties, exposed the use of Nadir's companies in Famagusta as a front for arms exports from Britain and other European countries.

However, a more lasting legacy of the war is the 40 million mines in Kurdistan. The mines planted during the war with Iran were to contain the Kurds from revolt and were produced by the British, US, French, German and Italian 'defence' industries. No UN inspectors are at work dismantling these weapons of war.

The arms industry is far from being a perfect superpower cartel. It is in fact in turmoil; The breakup of the Soviet Union has brought intensive competition into the arms market. What this means is more war, death and misery. But for those not involved as combatants, it means an even larger, more lucrative market.

The breakup of the Soviet Union has had four separate effects on the international arms industries.

First, it has led to massive political destabilisation around



● A US M109 self-propelled 155mm gun — used by both the US and Iraq in the Gulf War

the world, most visibly in the Soviet Union itself and in Eastern Europe, where armed conflicts over political power, economic resources and geographical territory have proliferated.

Some legitimate struggles for autonomy and independence are being exploited ruthlessly by the arms dealers. These small wars mean potentially big profits for the arms industry if they can supply just the right mix of conventional weapons to keep them going.

Second, it has meant that the Russian arms manufacturers have slashed prices in a bid to capture market share and much needed foreign currency. It costs \$40,000 to buy a MiG-29, the equivalent US F-18 Hornet costs \$45 million.

This has spurred the West to respond. Many of the new war zones have Soviet weapons, so they are looking for Soviet spares and replacements. The West has responded by using its UN Security Council dominance to impose telling sanctions.

The third effect of the Soviet breakup is the possible proliferation of nuclear weapons technology. This would wreck the European and US arms industry dominance. The US and NATO have left smaller nations under no illusions as to what course of action they would take if any new state completes a nuclear weapons programme.

This links up with the fourth effect, that of a halt to Russian research and development in the arms industry. The US National Aerospace Agency has already bought much of the Soviet's space technology.

There may be a demand now for former Soviet equipment, but if the missile manufacturers can push sellable technology further they can make the current Russian price advantage redundant.

Back in the EC and the United States this has led to intensive rationalisation of the arms industries, mass layoffs followed by demands for more government investment. In effect it has meant that there has been no 'peace dividend' from the end of the Cold War.

In the missiles business, former competitors have linked together to develop new products. In 1992 GM-Hughes bought the General Dynamics missile business. In the US Loral bought a rival's guided weapons' technology. In Europe Aero Spatiele, and SNPE of France, Bayern Chemie and Deutsche Aerospace merged their rocket motors and rocket fuel business. 1993 has seen Shorts Brothers in Belfast form a joint venture with Thomsom-CSF in short-range surface-to-air missiles.

Meanwhile, a variety of states prepare for their 'permissible regional conflicts' as the arms industry sales register clocks up. Tornados to Saudi Arabia, £500 million worth of Hawker Harriers, five Russian combat-ready ships and two submarines to Indonesia, helicopter gunships to Colombia, French fighter jets to Brazil and Argentina.

As one international arms dealer told an English Sunday paper: "If governments obeyed their own laws, we could be much nearer to world peace, but they never have and I don't suppose they ever will."

In effect this means that a select group of states will be allowed to compete in the 1990s arms trade. It means there will be more wars, longer wars, where surrounding states become economically dependent on supply resources to the conflict. Meanwhile the perpetual problems of poverty, hunger, environmental destruction and human rights go unanswered.

FOR SALE



HAWK

FOR SALE



TORNADO

FOR SALE



MIRAGE

FOR SALE



HOT,
anti-tank missile

FOR SALE



MILAN,
anti-tank missile

FOR SALE



EXOCET

NOT FOR SALE



TOMAHAWK
(US policy weapon)

News/Reviews

Singing in the rain

■ BY RORY DUNNE

DONEGAL IN FOOTBALL and Kilkenny in hurling put their All-Ireland titles on the line last weekend and while Donegal looked determined to hang on to theirs, Donegal relinquished their title to old rivals Derry.

St Tiarnach's Park, Clones, looked more like a water polo pitch than one for football, as Derry made up for last year's Ulster Final defeat by Donegal, with a purposeful performance which saw them win by two points 0-8 to 0-6, in one of the lowest scoring finals in recent times. Swatragh's Anthony Tohill was Derry's hero as he took command in the second half to inspire his side to victory. He kicked a point just after the break to level the match at 0-5 apiece, and when Damien Barton, Enda Gormley and Damien Cassidy added

three more points, Derry took a lead which they never lost. Although Derry didn't score for the last 30 minutes, all Donegal could issue in reply was a John Duffy free in the 47th minute. Manus Boyle's sending off in the last minute just about summed up Donegal's day.

Both sides did themselves credit in the atrocious conditions and Derry looked like potential All-Ireland champions. Their defence and midfield excelled but the forward line wasn't so great. A lot of good opportunities ended

up in the hands of the Donegal goalkeeper and some of the left-footed players are too predictable. These problems will probably be ironed out by the time they play Dublin or Kildare in the All-Ireland semifinal on 22 August. Having knocked out the reigning All-Ireland champions for the second year in a row, Derry can now harbour realistic hopes of making it three in a row for Ulster for the first time.

No problems for the hurlers of Kilkenny as they ran out easy winners by 2-12 to 0-11 in the Leinster Hurling Final replay against Wexford. When P J Delaney scored his side's first goal in the eighth minute, the writing was on the wall for Wexford. Croke Park also had a wet and slippery surface and the

losers didn't adapt to the conditions very well. D J Carey, who had a better game for Kilkenny than last week, emphasised his side's superiority with a splendidly taken goal in the 22nd minute. After this performance the Cats will now be favourites to retain the McCarthy Cup.

Wexford missed their opportunity last weekend and they know better than anyone that Kilkenny shouldn't be given second chances. Wexford started with switches all over their forward line at the start and initially they seemed to work, but when Eamonn Scallan missed a great chance of a goal at the start of the match, their forward line problems came back to haunt them. Kilkenny only hit one wide to Wexford's nine in the first half and that was the difference between the sides. Centre-half forward

John Power was outstanding for the Cats and with all Kilkenny's forwards getting on the scoresheet the result was never in doubt.

There was no surprise at Thurles as the footballers of Cork beat Tipperary by 1-16 to 1-8 to win the Munster Football Final for the first time since 1990. Cork led by 0-8 to 0-0 after 18 minutes and that paved the way for victory. Mark Sheahan got Tipperary's first point after 19 minutes but the only thing the home support had anything to cheer about was Davy Hogan's goal in the 57th minute after a fine solo run. Anthony Crosbie, who recently won a Munster hurling medal with Tipperary, moved to midfield from full forward and did so well there that Cork's Teddy McCarthy was replaced, but with nobody up front it made no difference on

the scoreboard.

Cork's full forward line in comparison, played splendidly. John O'Driscoll showed what a clever and intelligent footballer he is throughout the game both at full forward and centre forward, and he also helped himself to three points. Colin Corkery helped his side to victory with nine points (six from frees) while captain Mick McCarthy scored Cork's goal when Tipperary threatened to come back. Cork didn't play particularly well but they still won, but if they go eight points up against Mayo or Roscommon in the All-Ireland semifinal on 15 August and relax like they did last Sunday, they won't get away with it. We'll see.

Anyway, I'm off to get my Cusack Stand ticket for this Sunday's Leinster Final. No Hill 16 this time after my recent dance floor injury!



● Derry fans and team celebrate their victory over Donegal who lost their All-Ireland crown in the Ulster Football Final

Assault on MacBride planned

IT HAS EMERGED that senior Catholic and Presbyterian church leaders are colluding with British Embassy officials in Washington to hold a high profile conference in autumn aimed at targeting the MacBride Principles. They will concentrate especially on those sections which have spotlighted US firms with plants and investments in the Six Counties.

The principles, adopted by many city councils, have encouraged US American state legislatures and firms to re-examine their recruit-

ment and internal promotion activities. They also focus badly needed attention on US investments, especially those held by state or city bodies. They are widely recognised as being the strongest campaign against unfair employment practices in the Six Counties.

Support for action in exposing the church leader's and British Embassy's possibly damaging effects to the highly successful MacBride campaign has been pledged by a large number of Irish American groups. These include Irish Northern Aid, the Irish American Unity Conference, the Ancient Order of Hibernians and the Irish National Caucus. Also backing them are Congress members and senators from both the Democratic

and Republican parties.

It was this cross-party support which saw the successful culmination of the MacBride Principles in states and cities as far apart as Texas and New York. Undoubtedly, as the conference date approaches, the many veteran MacBride campaigners will be once again refining their approach to the continuing interference and hindrance by the British government in this successful campaign.

Death of Minnie O'Hagan

THE DEATH of Minnie O'Hagan aged 87 was received with great sadness by republicans in Derry city and throughout the northwest of Ireland. Wee Minnie was a life-long republican and when she died, was one of the best known and respected republican women in Derry.

Minnie O'Hagan was 65-years-old when I first met her 22 years ago in her home in Rinnmore Drive in the heart of the Creggan Estate. The British had introduced internment, Free Derry was established and I, along with many others, was on the run from the British crown forces. Unable to stay at home, we were given food and shelter by many courageous sympathisers who opened their homes and hearts to those prepared to fight the injustice of British rule.

Minnie O'Hagan was one of those heroic people.

I vividly recall being told that she was anxious to assist us. I can well remember the first time I saw her in the kitchen of her home in the Creggan. She was the tiniest person I had ever seen. From the beginning, our friendship was forged in gold. She had the biggest heart imaginable and though approaching her 70s, was vibrant, alert, active, knowledgeable, humorous, kindly and above all deter-

mined to play her part in the struggle. She made it quite clear that her home would be open to us at any time and in any emergency. Night after night she expected us, with enough homemade soup and sandwiches to feed the army. Each night up to 20 of us were fed and rested in Minnie's, the craic and banter was brilliant and our "little mother" enjoyed every minute of it.

It was here we met "Pudger" otherwise known as Patrick O'Hagan, Minnie's much loved adopted son. He became our friend and comrade and soon he too would soldier with us.

Inevitably many of us would be arrested and imprisoned, several would be killed in action and Min-

nie would shed many tears for her Volunteers. Pudger too was arrested and imprisoned and to Minnie's great joy, was involved in a magnificent, successful escape from Magilligan Prison.

Throughout this campaign Minnie wrote to us incessantly, maintained contact with our families and continued to make her home available to the freedom fighters. She continued to do all sorts of kindnesses. Our children would receive Easter eggs, a toy at Christmas and prayers in abundance were said for all of us.

Sadly some years ago tragedy directly affected Minnie's immediate family. Pudger her son was to die from illness, still on the run in Donegal, years after his escape from a British prison. This deeply affected Minnie. She was heartbroken but remained a strong and committed republican.

Throughout the darkest days in Derry she was a shining light, a patriot, a liberator, a freedom fighter, and yes, a Volunteer.

Minnie O'Hagan lived for 87 years but she was never old. Her mind was as sharp as a razor and young republican women who relied in her company, would continue to meet for conversation in her house in Rinnmore Drive. She never asked or sought anything for herself.

When we buried her we were proud to provide the only reward she would have wished for. The flag of the Irish Republic she fought for until her 87th year covered her coffin.

We extend our deepest sympathy and condolences to her sons and daughters and the entire family circle on the death of a great Irishwoman.

— A grateful Volunteer.

Republican struggle 'resilient and resurgent'

A LARGE CROWD participated in a range of activities which marked the 12th anniversary of the death of Tyrone hunger striker Martin Hurson in Galbally last Tuesday, 13 July.

The day's high point was a march and rally which assembled at Martin Hurson's grave and which commemorated the sacrifice of all those from County Tyrone who have died for Irish freedom.

The July drizzle, which had persisted throughout the afternoon finals of the Martin Hurson Cup in which both the men's and women's finals were won by Carrickmore, temporarily cleared for the evening proceedings.

Shortly after 7pm, led by a colour party of seven former POWs and flanked by a uniformed escort the parade made its way from the local GAA pitches to the grave of Martin Hurson. The march was accompanied by the Martin Hurson Memorial Band and a variety of banners from throughout the county.

At the graveside, the proceedings were chaired by Sinn Féin Councillor Francie Molloy. On the platform a mural, which included the Tyrone Roll of Honour, provided the backdrop alongside the national flag. Wreaths were laid on behalf of Ogligh na hÉireann,

Sinn Féin, the Tyrone National Graves Association, Martin Hurson Memorial Band and the Hurson family.

The reading of Tyrone's Roll of Honour by local Sinn Féin Councillor Denise Sutton was followed by the recitation of a poem by Colette Donnelly, the sister of Volunteer Seamus Donnelly, to the musical accompaniment of Sharon Hurson, niece of Volunteer Martin Hurson, on the tin whistle.

The oration was delivered by Derry Sinn Féin Councillor Mitchel McLaughlin. Comparing the ups and downs of the Hunger Strike period to the 'ebbs and flows' of today's struggle, McLaughlin compared the media reaction to the tragic deaths of two children in Warrington to the deaths of five Catholic workmen in Castlerock and teenager Damien Walsh in Belfast five days later. He continued:

"As nationalists in the Six Counties were preparing to bury their dead, a huge media-orchestrated backlash against republicanism was building up in the

South. Thousands queued up to sign books of condolences for Warrington. Personality after personality went in front of the cameras to denounce the IRA and to tell the world that they were ashamed to be Irish.

"At the so-called 'Peace Rally' in Dublin's O'Connell Street, a dozen ordinary people went into that crowd and held up placards, saying our relatives, fathers, mothers, sons, daughters, husbands and wives were killed by the British army, RUC and loyalist death squads. They were insulted, assaulted, spat upon and generally abused. But what happened as a result of their incredible bravery and political awareness? The so-called 'Peace Movement' collapsed like a cheap balloon."

Commenting on the IRA's campaign since the Warrington tragedy, and the acute cost to the British of the Bishopsgate bomb which devastated the City of London, McLaughlin continued:

"The British admitted that £3 billion damage was done but it's the unseen damage that hurts even more. The British had extracted a promise that in support for Maastricht, the European Bank would be located in London.



● VOLUNTEER MARTIN HURSON

Every week the British lose millions in lost revenue because of the failure to locate the bank in London. Imagine that,—the equivalent of a car bomb in the morning and another in the evening, every day of every week of every month.

"No wonder the British are confused and panic-stricken. No wonder they are building walls around themselves. No wonder

Trimble and Taylor are claiming that the IRA are winning.

"On 19 May the Sinn Féin voters rubbed their noses in the reality of a resilient and resurgent struggle when the result of the local government elections were announced."

The proceedings were concluded with the Martin Hurson Memorial Band playing Amhrán na bhFiann.

British agenda 'washed up'

THE CONCESSION to unionists of more repression in the Six Counties by the British government would be a recipe for further conflict and with John Major playing the Orange card in the Maastricht vote it was time for all nationalists to be vigilant. This was the message from Belfast Sinn Féin Councillor Alex Maskey at the commemoration in Dublin of Volunteer Patrick Cannon on the 17th anniversary of his death.

In spite of a torrential downpour last Sunday, Dublin republicans turned out to honour the memory of Volunteer Patrick Cannon of Edenmore. The Volunteer Tom Smith/Christy Harford Band led the

parade up the Malahide Road to Balgriffin Cemetery where Pat Cannon is buried. He was killed with his comrade Peter McElcar of Donegal in a premature explosion at Castledearg, County Tyrone on 17 July 1976.

After the laying of a wreath and a minute's silence the chairperson, Andrée Murphy of Dublin Sinn Féin introduced Bernadette Quinn who read a message from local republican POW Pamela Kane in Limerick Prison. She said that, "throughout the 32 Counties republicans are working to bring about the new Ireland, the democratic, socialist republic our comrades died to achieve".

"On the streets and in the prisons we draw inspiration

from their example and we renew our will to succeed," she concluded.

The main speaker, Alex Maskey, said that Pat Cannon had been inspired to act when as a teenager he had "identified with both the suffering and the resistance of the nationalist people and realised that the struggle was not confined to the Six Counties. He had a part to play." He said censorship and political exclusion of republicans still left many people with no alternative but to take the course that Pat Cannon so bravely took.

"With the British agenda washed up the onus is on all of us

to steer a course for freedom.

"The recent election results in the Six Counties have given us a tremendous boost and reinforced our right to be heard and included in any talks process designed to end this conflict. But we cannot be complacent. We have to continually confront Britain's involvement in our affairs and challenge Dublin's compliance. Wherever we can we must take up the issues which affect our people — jobs, discrimination, emigration and oppression and marry them in the minds of our people to the denial of our national right to self-determination."



● Alex Maskey delivering the oration at Sunday's 17th Volunteer Patrick Cannon commemoration in Dublin

Nuacht

Theacht le chéile cimi na gCásanna

Ta pleananna do theacht le chéile cimi a chaith am i gcásanna na Ceise Fada go mór chun tosaigh. Tá an teacht le chéile socraithe do Sheannhuileann Mhic Con Midhe in Iarthar Bhéal Feirste ar an 8 Lúnasa agus beidh sé ina pháirt d'Théile Pobail, Iarthar Bhéal Feirste.

Oscálofodh Cásanna na Ceise Fada i ngeimhreadh 1971 don chéadúair chun cimi a choinneáil a tógadh sna ruaigeanna imthreoranú de mhí Lúnasa na bliana sin. Fiche

bliana ó shin chuaigh na chéad cimi daortha poblachtacha chuig na Cásanna ó phríosún Bhéal Feirste mar bhí líon na gcmi ag dul i méad de réir mar a bhí cur in

agaidh Éireannach sna Sé Chontae ag fás.

D'aithin rialtas na Breataine cimi na gCásanna mar "chimi aicme ar leith" sofhriotal do stadais polaitiúil. Bhí smacht ag na cimi polaitiúla ar chóir a bheith gach gné dá saoil féin laistigh den chás.

San am bhí cimi ann ó gach cearn den tír agus bunaíodh cairdeas agus comrádaíocht sna cásanna a mhair ó shin.

Anois tá grúpa iarchimí ó na Cásanna ag beartú sraith imeachtaí don teacht le chéile.

Beidh taispeántais de ghrianghraif agus obair láimheheardaíochta sa halla sna laethanta roimh an teacht le chéile.

Ar an oíche na himeachta léireofar an dráma "Déan do Thoil", a scríobh iarchime na gCásanna, Tobaf Mac Mathúna, agus tá ceolchoirm beartaithe fosta. Tá súil ag na heagraithe go mbeidh roinnt iarchimí ag glacadh páirte sa ceolchoirm. Má tá sé cosúil ar bhealach ar bith leis na ceolchoirmeacha sna cásanna mairfidh a chuimhne go ceann i bhfad.

Foilseofar leabhrán comórtha den ócáid amach anseo agus beidh imeachtaí na hoíche á scannánu.

Deir na heagraithe go mbeidh fáilte roimh chách chuig an ócáid agus má tá lóistín de dhíth ar dhuine ar bith atá ag taisteal chuig an teacht le chéile ba chóir dóibh teagmháil a dhéanamh le Terry Clarke ag Béal Feirste 230261.



● Beidh iar-chimí ó Cháiscanna na Ceise Fada ag teacht le chéile i mBéal Feirste ar an 8 Lúnasa

Ceiliúradh an Chéid i Ros Comáin

THAINIG Comhdháil an Chraoibhín le chéile i mBealach an Doirín, Contae Ros Comáin mar chuid de cheiliúradh céad bliain Chonradh na Gaeilge ag an deireadh seachtaine seo thart.

Comhairle Chontae Ros Comáin agus Coiste Cuimhneachán de

hÍde a d'eagraigh an deireadh seachtaine on 16ú go dtí an 18ú

Iúil ina raibh léachtaí ar téama an Chéid. Rinne an tUachtarán Máire Mhic Róibín an oscailt oifigiúil. An Seanadóir Joe Lee a thug an chéad léacht ar "Douglas Hyde and the Making of Myths". Ar an Satharn chuala an lucht éisteachta caint ar "Na Mná i gConradh na Gaeilge" le Máiréad Ní Chinnéide. Bhí Íte Ní Chionnaith mar cathaoirleach ar an seisiún seo.

Pearsana Chonradh na Gaeilge a bhí mar ábhar ag Diarmuid Brathnach agus Máire Ní

Mhurchú. San iar-nóin ar an Satharn d'aistrigh na himeachtaí go Clonalis House, teach mhuin-tir Uí Chonchubhair, an 'O'Connor Don'. Thug Proinsias MacAonghusa, uachtarán an Chonartha, óráid ar chéad bliain an eagrais. Rinne Gearóid Den-vir cur síos ar an Ghaeilge sa nua-aois.

Ar an Domhnach bhí seirbhís eaglasta ceiliúrtha ag an t-Ard Easpag Donall Caird ag Portach Ard, sean eaglas de chuid Eaglais na hÉireann. Bhí athair Dubhgh-

lás de hÍde ina mhinistir in Eaglais na hÉireann. Thug Risteard Giltrap caint an shuimiúil ar Phrotastúnaigh i gConradh na Gaeilge.

Bhí ceathrar comhairleoir de chuid Sinn Féin i láthair ag an deireadh seachtaine — Padraigín Uí Mhurchadha (Baile Muineachán), Caoimhín O Caoláin (Comhairle Chontae Mhuineachán) John Carroll (Biorra, Contae Uíbh Fáil) agus Jimmy Nolan (An tAonach, Contae Thiobrad Arainn).

Cothromaíocht le picéad a chur ar chomhdháil chonspóideach

■ Le HOISIN O MURCHU

DUIRT an brúgrúpa frith-idirdhealú san fhostaíocht, Cothromaíocht, go gcuirfidh siad picéad ar chomhdháil de chlér Mheiriceánach má leanann siad ar aghaidh lena bpleanana comhdháil a shuíomh in Ollscoil na Ríona, i mBéal Feirste san Fhómhar.

Tá an chomhdháil le hamharc ar ghnéithe éagsúla den chogadh sna Sé Chontae agus beidh sé sa tsúil 23 Lúnasa agus 5 Meán Fómhair. Beidh sé suite ag an Scoil Éireannach de Éacúimeineachas i mBaile Atha Cliath don chéad seachtain ach tá sraith léachtaí agus díospóireachtaí beartaithe d'Ollscoil na Ríona don dara seachtain.

Is é plean chun an dara cuid den chomhdháil a shuíomh in Ollscoil na Ríona atá ag cur feirge ar Chothromaíocht. Chaill Ollscoil na Ríona sraith cásanna a thóg Caitlicigh mar gheall ar chlipéadh ag binse breithigh an Choimisiún do Chothromaíocht san Fhostaíocht.

I dtuairisc rialtas na Breataine ar an ollscoil a foilsíodh an bhliain seo bhí 93 moltaí faoi choinne athruithe i gcleachtaithe fostaíochta na hollscoile.

Dá thoradh na droch staire seo a bhaineann le hOllscoil na Ríona scríobh rúnaí cothromaíochta, Oilibhéar O Cearnaigh, chuig an Ollscoil Chaitliceach de Mheiriceá ag iarraidh orthu gan an chomhdháil a urrú. Dúirt O Cearnaigh go raibh Ollscoil na Ríona i mBéal Feirste ina fócas de ghníomhaíocht fhrith-idirdhealú le cúpla bliain anuas mar gheall ar a polasaithe leanúnacha d'idirdhealú san fhostaíocht. Arsa O Cearnaigh: "Tá níos mó gearán aonaí-

d'idirdhealú frith-Chaitliceach curtha i leith ollscoil na Ríona na tionscnamh fostaíochta eile sna Sé Chontae. Bheadh sé leatromach ar fad do bhall ó ollscoil Chaitliceach bheith páirteach i gcomhdháil san áit seo."

Tá an réiteach leis an chomhdháil a lonnú in ollscoil na Ríona cáinte fosta ag an ghníomhaí frith-idirdhealú sna SAM an tAthair Seán Mac Mána. Dúirt sé gur ionann an réiteach leis an chomhdháil a shuíomh ann "le seimeanáir ar chearta sibhialta sna '50í a thionól in ollscoil a raibh sé de chúl air go ndearna sé idirdhealú in aghaidh Afraic-Mheiriceánaigh"

BALLRAIOCHT SHINN FÉIN

Is é bunaidhm Shinn Féin aistharraingt na Breataine ó na Sé Chontae, athaontú ár dtíre agus bunadh phoblacht shóisialach dhaonlathach.

Más mian leat bheith i do bhall de Shinn Féin, nó tuilleadh eolas a fháil faoi Shinn Féin nó ár ngníomhartha agus ár bpolasaithe, lion an fhoirm thíos agus seol é chuig Shinn Féin, 44 Cearnóg Pharnell, Baile Atha Cliath 1.

Ainm.....

Seoladh.....

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Letters

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



VOICE OF THE INNOCENT STOP RUC TORTURE

Don't isolate us!

A Chairde,
On 2 August 1991, a coffee jar bomb attack was launched against members of the RUC and the British army in the Ballymurphy area of West Belfast. In the days and months following this attack the RUC intensified their campaign of harassment and intimidation against the youth of the community which had been ongoing since the arrest of James Morgan (19) in May 1991. This campaign resulted in the arrest of six more innocent youths — Tony Garland, Michael Beck, Hugh McLaughlin, Stephen McMullan, Danny Pettigrew and Ciaran McCallister. None of us were members of any paramilitary organisation, nor did we have any part in the attack for which we were unjustly arrested.

We were all taken to Castlereagh Interrogation Centre after our arrest. Our young age was part of the reason we were targeted — we were vulnerable. Danny and Ciaran in particular were arrested shortly after their 17th birthdays (in the Six Counties, a person has to have reached this age before he/she can be arrested). Both Danny and Ciaran were repeatedly told by crown prosecutors that once they reached 17 they would be arrested. True to their word, two days after Ciaran's 17th birthday the RUC arrested him as well as Danny who has just recently turned 17.

In Castlereagh we were subjected to the brutality of the RUC who interviewed us for periods of four hours three times a day. In these "interviews" we were beaten and slapped on the head and face and punched continuously. We were also constantly verbally abused and intimidated. Death threats were lodged against our families unless we signed prepared statements of confession. We signed the statements against our will just to stop the abuse. We were all charged with attempted murder and were remanded to Crumlin Road Gaol where we have been for the past 22 months without any sign of a trial.

In gaol, we have been forced to spend lengthy periods of time alone in 23 hour lock-up with no washing or toilet facilities. We are under constant threat from loyalist paramilitaries also housed in the gaol and on several occa-

sions have been assaulted by them. Now, with the prospect of a trial in a non-jury Diplock court, we are facing another "miscarriage of justice" like the Birmingham Six or the Guildford Four, or indeed like our friend Jamesy Morgan who has already been wrongfully convicted to 14 years.

All we are asking is for our freedom. After all, we deserve it. If this kind of "justice" is allowed to continue unchallenged, it will happen again and again and that is why we ask you to support our campaign for release. We ask that you make yourselves aware of what is happening to Irish Catholic youth in the Six Counties.

**Hugh McLaughlin,
Ciaran McCallister,
Danny Pettigrew,
Michael Beck,
Tony Garland,
Stephen McMullan,
Jamesy Morgan,
(convicted March '93 to 14 years),
Voice of the Innocent
(Ballymurphy Seven)**

Brandon judgement

A Chairde,

Justice Carney's finding in the High Court that it is within RTE's discretion to prevent Gerry Adams from advertising his collection of short stories has two important consequences.

The first is that of the four broadcasting organisations on this island (BBC, IBA, RTE, IRTC), RTE is the only one to fail to distinguish the separation of Mr Adams' representative party political function on behalf of Sinn Féin and activities which have nothing to do with Sinn Féin. BBC, IBA and IRTC interviews have been conducted with Gerry Adams on many occasions without breaching the northern or southern censorship laws. RTE, of its own volition, has opted to apply Section 31 censorship to a degree far beyond the letter of the Ministerial Censorship Order.

Mention of the minister brings us on to the second consequence of the High Court decision. Michael D Higgins, Minister for the Arts, is now also minister for artistic censorship! This is a uniquely ironic position for someone who has opposed Section 31 in the past; b) is himself a poet; and c) is having his latest collection of poems published by

the same publishing company, Brandon Books, which has just failed to have RTE's ban on the advertising of the Adams' collection overturned in the High Court.

The only way to end this long-running political farce and the endless self-flagellation of our national broadcasting service is to abandon censorship forthwith. The ball is in the minister's court.

**Niall Meehan,
72 Offaly Road,
Cabra,
Baile Átha Cliath 7.
Tel: 8680580
Int: 1531.**

PS: I would like to thank AP/RN readers for the donations they have sent to the campaign. Please keep them coming. Funds are urgently needed. Send to the above address or to A/C No: 21366730, TSB, Abbey Street, Dublin 1.

"Czarist" banishment

A Chairde,

The exclusion order on John Matthews should be condemned by all who value human rights. It violates the fundamental principle that you are innocent until proven guilty. It makes a joke of the British claim to the Six Counties if a person it claims is one of its citizens cannot travel freely throughout the UK. Such a banishment is reminiscent of Czarist Russia.

It is yet another example of how the violent occupation of one country by another corrupts all those involved in the enforcement of that occupation.

The British involvement in Ireland has exposed not only the system of justice, but the entire social and political system based on capitalist production.

Until the British and Irish labour and trade union movements take up the subject of the enforced partition of Ireland there will be no real freedom and justice for any of us.

I urge all trade union branches to send resolutions to the TUC and the ITUC, the Home Office and letters of support to John Matthews. **Pádraig O Brádaigh.**

Sunday Indo challenged

A Chairde,

The following letter was faxed to the editor, *Sunday*

Independent, on 26 May, by Clonmel man, Enda O'Riordan, in response to the revisionist views of Professor John A Murphy, which were carried on the front page of that newspaper on Sunday, 23 May. The *Sunday Independent* failed to publish the letter which is in line with its policy of not giving space to the republican viewpoint.

A Chara,

In view of the fact that you have allotted your front page (23 May) to Professor John A Murphy to espouse his revisionist views I am asking for the facility of a reply. I am writing as an ordinary individual who holds the belief that England's continued interference in our affairs is the basis of the ongoing conflict in our country.

Professor Murphy is well known as an apologist for British rule in the Six Counties and there is nothing more pitiful or pathetic than the image of an Irishman on his knees trying to justify the presence of foreign troops on our soil.

What he is now saying is that the meeting between President Mary Robinson and the British sovereign will have an impact on the relations between this country and England, while ignoring the fact that it is this same queen's army which is responsible for violence, torture, brutality and repression in part of this historic nation.

Four years ago Bishop Michael Murphy of Cork and Ross made a call for withdrawal of British troops and Professor Murphy immediately reacted by defending the sectarian state which was established by force in 1921 when the then delegates to London were forced to sign the Treaty which, in effect, established two partition states. It suits him at this time to eulogise Mary Robinson who, he states, "popularly personifies the Irish nation".

In the interests of accuracy it has to be pointed out that the Irish nation does not stop at the border and not alone does the good lady in the Phoenix Park not represent the nationalists in the Six Counties, she has never uttered a word of condemnation of the treatment they have received, or shown the slightest sympathy for what they have suffered. On the contrary

President Robinson is well known for her pronounist views — didn't she resign from the Labour Party in sympathy with the planter class because she thought they were unfairly treated at the time of the Anglo-Irish Agreement. She refused to meet the relatives of those who were shot down in cold blood in the city of Derry while she was on a recent visit to that city. And it would be well to remind ourselves that she did not receive a majority of the first preferential election, coming far behind her principal opponent, Brian

Lenihan. So much for representing the Irish nation.

There is a national problem on her doorstep but she prefers to make highly publicised trips abroad, send a few tears, as the political fall-out will be of immense benefit when the next election comes round. There is real, enduring poverty on her doorstep too and she does not have to board a plane or be accompanied by a large press corps to find it. Professor Murphy uses the term "friendly neighbourly state" ignoring the fact that it is this very state which bears the responsibility for conflict in this land. He airily dismisses the long struggle of resistance to British rule with the term "burden of history and nationalist mythology". How he would like to convince us that there was no 1916-1922 and that those brave men and women who took part in the struggle against British imperialism were at best misled idealists. In his anxiety to fly the union jack he makes the extraordinary claim that large numbers of Irish people have an avid interest in the doings of the British royals. In my opinion the latter are noted on two fronts — stolen wealth and adultery. It is a sad indication of the professor's object mentality that he should seek to put a cloak of respectability around the behaviour of the inhabitants of that zoological institute known as Buckingham Palace.

I would suggest that John A Murphy stop bleating and get up off his knees. I would further suggest that he engage in a scholarly analysis which would examine the central problem of the occupation of a portion of our country and all the problems that flow from that. The unionists are 20 per cent of the total population of this island and before partition was legalised the late Eamon de Valera referred to the problem in a speech to a secret closed session of the Sinn Féin Ard Fheis in October, 1921, which was published in the newspaper of Sinn Féin on 31 May, 1924. I hold a copy of that paper and the following is an extract from de Valera's statement:

"... neither can we allow this ancient undivided state to be cut up into two separate states. We are a natural unit historically and geographically and we will never give our consent to an artificial and arbitrary division which would only intensify the difficulties. This island must be one sovereign state governed by one central parliament and in that parliament we are against any section getting privilege."

I would like to conclude by quoting an extract from the Declaration of Independence which was adopted by Dáil Éireann in 1919: "We solemnly declare foreign government in Ireland to be an invasion of our national right which we will never tolerate and we demand the

evacuation of our country by the English garrison."

I presume that this is the burden of history to which the professor refers. **Enda O'Riordan,
Clonmel,
County Tipperary.**

United front

A Chairde,

The SDLP are beginning to realise that their appeasement strategy towards the unionists does not work. It was repugnant to hear some members of the nationalist community describe the unionist tradition as sterling and worthwhile.

Any tradition which deliberately infringes on the rights of others has no place in a divided community. Furthermore, when members of a so-called noble tradition arm themselves with grenades and automatic weapons, before descending on Catholic areas, then it is time for the government to act.

Outlawing the Orange Order would be nothing new. The British government was forced to proscribe them back in the 1860s. Even in those days Catholics were murdered and forced to flee their homes when the Orange madness took over. (I make a clear distinction between the Orange Order and the Protestant faith).

John Hume's broad-based discussions with Gerry Adams are welcomed by all right-thinking people. Republicans have long argued that nationalists of all shades need a united and coherent policy. Unionists are incensed by the Adams/Hume talks, consequently they are trying to tarnish Mr Hume's credentials. **Tim Jones,
London.**

Sponsored fun run

A Chairde,

The annual sponsored fun run by republican prisoners in aid of Irish medium education in the Six Counties will this year take place on 8 August.

The run has in the past been of great assistance to the schools, allowing them to gather together some small resources that they would have otherwise been denied. In order to ensure that the money is used to the maximum benefit of the schools the Cultural Department of Sinn Féin will this year establish a trust fund to oversee the allocation of all proceeds.

Any friends or relatives of prisoners wishing to assist in the collection of sponsors should contact:

**Bairbre de Brún,
Connolly House,
147 Andersonstown
Road,
Béal Feirste BT11.
or
Marcas Mac Ruairi,
64B Racecourse Road,
Shantallow,
Derry BT48 SDS.**

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

PLEASE KEEP LETTERS SHORT

Notices

REMEMBERING THE PAST

Escape from Tasmania

■ BY PETER O'ROURKE

ONE OF THE FEW SUCCESSFUL ESCAPES by Young Ireland political prisoners took place in 1853 when John Mitchel was rescued from Tasmania.

Mitchel, a prominent leader of the Young Irelanders, was arrested in March 1848, several months before the planned rising. Tried the following May at Green Street Court-house for Treason Felony (the first person to be tried under the new act) he was convicted by a packed jury and sentenced to 14-years transportation.

Sent to Bermuda, where he was to spend a year in close confinement, he was later transferred to Van Diemen's Land (now Tasmania), a penal colony in Australia. Here, following the collapse of the rising in July 1848, he was later joined by six other Young Ireland leaders, William Smith O'Brien, Thomas Francis Meagher, Terence Bellew MacManus, John Martin, Pat O'Donoghue and Kevin Izod O'Doherty.

During the early 1850s a group of Irishmen in New York planned

to organise the escape of one or more of the Young Ireland prisoners in Tasmania. Patrick James Smyth, who had fought in the 1848 Rising and escaped to America after its collapse, was appointed to travel to Australia to plan and supervise the rescue.

In mid-January 1853, Smyth arrived at a hotel some miles from Hobart in Tasmania to meet Mitchel who was on parole, on condition that he would not escape. On entering the hotel, Smyth and Mitchel, who had not met for four years, looked each other full in the face without recognising one another.

Realising that the man must be Smyth, Mitchel followed him outside and in the dark he asked "Is your name Smyth?"

Mitchel described in his *Gaol Journal* Smyth's reaction. "He turned upon me suddenly; clearly

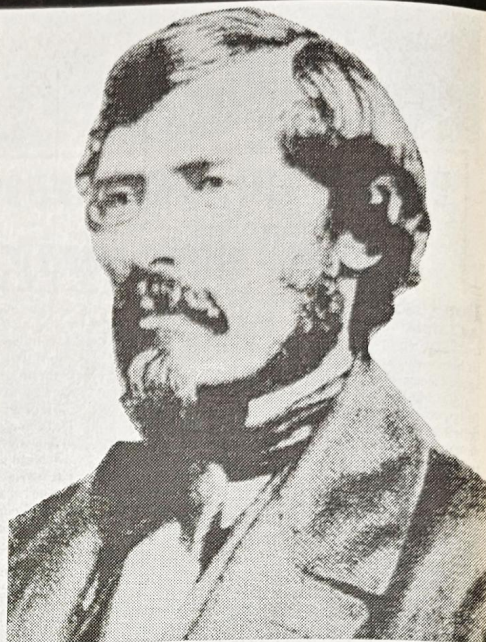
he thought it was a detective — thought that he had been traced all the way to the very spot where he was to meet us — that he was a prisoner and all was over. I hastened to undeceive him, for he looked strongly tempted to shoot me and bolt."

Smyth, however, was not one to panic and bolt and immediately set about organising the escape of Mitchel. During the following months he arranged through contacts and republican sympathisers in Australia, the escape of Mitchel concealed on a ship bound for America.

After withdrawing his parole on 8 June 1853, Mitchel escaped in mid-July on a ship bound for America. Smyth had done his work well in organising the rescue and on 29 November Mitchel, the man who had been sentenced to 14 years transportation, arrived a free man in New York.

Mitchel wrote a diary of his daily experiences between 1848 and 1853 which was published in 1854 under the title *Gaol Journal*, which is reckoned to be one of the finest books ever about prison life.

Patrick James Smyth organised the rescue of John Mitchel from Tasmania on 19 July 1853, 140 years ago this week.



● JOHN MITCHEL

Join Sinn Féin

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

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

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

SINN FEIN'S DEMANDS

Sinn Féin's ultimate objective is to create the political conditions necessary to secure a true and lasting peace in Ireland. This can only be achieved by:

- The ending of partition arising from British rule in Six of Ireland's 32 counties;
- British disengagement from Ireland and the restoration to the Irish people of the right to exercise self-sovereignty, independence and national self-determination;
- The setting of a definite date within the lifetime of a British government for the completion of this withdrawal;
- The disarming and disbandment of the Royal Ulster Constabulary and the Royal Irish Regiment (formerly UDR) as part of the military withdrawal;
- The calling of a Constitutional Conference to which all political parties would be invited. This conference is to be responsible for determining the nature and composition of an emergent national police service and the judiciary. It Britain was sincere about disengaging and was committed to an orderly transference of power, this could be achieved with a minimum of disorder.
- The unconditional release of all political prisoners.

Imeachtaí

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

ANTI-EXTRADITION PICKET: Picket and leafletting. 2-3pm, every Saturday, GPO, O'Connell Street, DUBLIN

ARTICLES TWO AND THREE INFORMATION STALL: 12pm-2.30pm, every Saturday. GPO, DUBLIN

CHALLENGE FOOTBALL MATCH: Balgriffin Gaels vs Sinn Féin Atha Cliath. Throw-in 7pm, Friday, 23 July. Inis Fáil GAA Club, Malahide Road, Balgriffin, DUBLIN

BALLAD SESSION: Featuring Ragamuffin. 8pm, Friday, 23 July. Inis Fáil GAA Club, DUBLIN. Organised by Coolock Sinn Féin

IRISH NIGHT: Music by Mason's Apron. Friday, 23 July. Ranger's hall, CROSSMAGLEN. Táille: £2.50

BOOK LAUNCH: "Roots and Realities: A profile of Irish Women in London 1993". 6.30-8.30pm, Friday, 23 July. The London Irish Centre, Murray St, Camden, LONDON. Speakers: Mary Lennon, Bronwen Walter, Jean Cross and Brid Boland. Creche, refreshments, bar. All welcome. Organised by the London Irish Women's Centre

COMMEMORATION: Volunteer Kevin Lynch Commemoration. March and wreath-laying ceremony. 2.30pm, Sunday, 1 August. Assemble at Bus Depot, Station

Road, DUNGIVEN. Prominent speakers

U-12 FIVE-A-SIDE SOCCER: Knockout competition for Bobby Sands Perpetual Cup. 2 August. Ballymun, DUBLIN. Contact Paddy O'Reilly or Tony O'Brien, telephone 8424360. Fee £3 per team. Organised by Quigley/McCabe Sinn Féin Cumann

DRAW RESULTS
Cumann McCurtain/McElwee
Private Members Draw Results
1st Prize Framed 1916 Mirror; Moth Murphy, ticket no 634, c/o Brocky;

2nd Prize £50: Jim Lee, ticket no 43, c/o Noel; 3rd Billfold and £10: Brian Anderson, ticket no 827, 18 East View Tce, 4th Prize Brandy: Grace Corcoran, ticket no 58, 41 Ballinure Ave, Mahon; 5th Prize Leather Belt: Colm O'Leary, ticket no 407, Kilumney, Owens; 6th Prize Whiskey: Lynda Dunne, 14 Dan Desmond, Glenbrook; 7th Bag of Coal: Marion Hickey, ticket no 140, c/o Red Cove Inn, Mahon; 8th £10: Jacqueline Murphy, ticket no 471, Maryborough Hill; 9th Prize Whiskey: Willie, Ber & family, ticket no 222, Inniscarra; 10th Prize £10: D O'Brien, ticket no 499, c/o Jim Higgins.

InDíl Chuimhne

CUNNINGHAM, Alphonsus; DAVISON, Brendan; DOWNEY, Joseph; KANE, Pauline. In proud and loving memory of Volunteers Alphonsus Cunningham (died 21 July 1973), Brendan Davison (died 25 July 1988), Joseph Downey (died 21 July 1972) and Pauline Kane

(died 21 July 1973). "As long as Ireland is unfree, the only honourable attitude for Irish men and Irish women is an attitude of revolt." — Pádraig Mac Piarais. Always remembered by their friends and comrades in the Republican Movement. DOWNEY, Joseph (21st Ann). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Joe Downey, killed

on active service 21 July 1972. Always remembered by the Republican Movement in the Markets.

Comhbhrón

HARTLEY. The Republican Movement extends deepest sympathy to Tom, cathaoirleach of Sinn Féin and to the entire

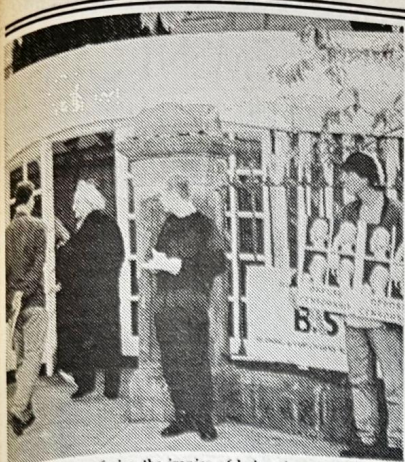
Hartley family on the death of their mother Hilda who died on Saturday 17 July.

Beannachtaí

McTAGUE. Best wishes to Joe McTague, Ballinamore, in St Lukes hospital. From his wife Nora; From the McGovern family, Aughawillin.

KANE. Happy birthday to Pamela (Limerick) on 22 July. From Ann; From Mick; From John in the Big Apple; From John, Drumcondra; From Eilish, Danny McGettigan and family, Shannon; From Mike McKee and family; Hannah and Seamus, Shannon, County Clare; From Pádraig Malone and Mike Edwards; From the Terence

McSweeney Sinn Féin Cumann. KANE. Congratulations to Pamela, (Limerick) and Marty, (Long Kesh) on their engagement. From Ann; From Eilish, Danny McGettigan and family, Shannon; From Mike McKee and family; Hannah and Seamus, Shannon, County Clare; From the Terence McSweeney Sinn Féin Cumann.



● Michael D — facing the ironies of being the minister for censorship

JUST ONE IRONY of the ludicrous ban on free speech was demonstrated at the Galway Arts Festival on Monday, 19 July, when Steve McDonagh of Brandon Books, fresh from losing a court challenge against RTE's refusal to carry an advertisement for Gerry Adams' latest book under Section 31, introduced the minister responsible for the ban, Michael D Higgins. He was reading from his latest book of poetry, published by... Brandon Press. Whew!

THE SNIPER(S) who has/have now claimed six members of the crown forces in single-shot attacks, is/are rapidly becoming famous and a source of good copy for the British media.

The media prefer the single expert theory and opinions as to the nationality and sex of this expert shot have varied.

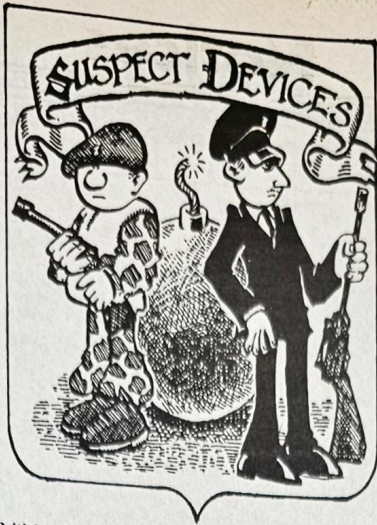
One term already in use

is "one shot Paddy". There has also been speculation that the sniper who has brought fear to every member of the crown forces on the ground along the border is a highly-paid, former US Green Beret, mercenary.

Another theory is that the Volunteer in question is a woman (along 'deadlier than the male' lines) who is known as "the black widow".

POLITICAL DINOSAUR Seán Garland played a part in forcing cinema blockbuster *Jurassic Park*'s leading actor, Sam Neill, from the Six Counties, nearly 30 years ago.

In 1954, when Garland was preparing for his future acting career as chief-of-staff of the entirely nonexistent 'Official' IRA, Neill's father was commanding officer of the Royal Fusiliers, stationed at Gough barracks in Armagh. As an IRA Volunteer, Garland had infiltrated the



British army and was stationed at the barracks. It was his intelligence work which helped the IRA raid the barracks in 1954, just before the start of the border campaign, and carry off more than 700 weapons.

Neill's father, Dermot, was away with his family on a day trip to Bray in County Wicklow when the raid occurred. His example of incompetence and negligence led to his speedy departure, complete with Sam junior and the rest of the family, to New Zealand.

ONCE KNOWN as the most bombed hotel in Europe, Belfast's Europa Hotel looks set to finally give up the ghost, after over 20 years of target practice.

The recession, combined with two IRA bombs in the space of 18 months, look to have combined to do what 29 bombs couldn't do in the '70s. The hotel, base for countless numbers of journalists and establishment figures since 1969, has been in receivership for more

than two years with much talk of rescue packages.

But potential buyers have also run for cover and it looks like this monument to the stiff-upper-lip is set to finally call last orders.

Architectural environmentalists certainly won't miss the monstrosity, made uglier by the boarded up windows which haven't been replaced since the last IRA bombing in May, which caused in excess of £2 million of damage.

THE GARDAI are looking for a number of missing desks, but they are not asking the public to help them with their inquiries.

The investigation is centred on staff at garda headquarters in the Phoenix Park, from where the desks have disappeared. A notice spotted by journalists who were being proudly shown the massive drugs haul at the park announced that if the desks were promptly returned no questions would be asked.

We would advise nonuniformed thieves not to depend on such generous amnesties.

BRITISH publishers Macmillan have been well and truly suckered by a student prank.

A practical joker at the University of Ulster in Coleraine told the compilers of *Student Book 1993*, a guide to colleges in Britain and the (Six Counties), that "tiocfaidh ár lá" is a friendly and common greeting at the college, meaning "hello, pleased to

meet you". The definition, helpfully spelled out phonetically as "chucky arr laa", has now found its way into print.

The Official Unionist mayor of Coleraine, David McLarty, has warned unsuspecting students that if they used the greeting among certain loyalist company "their wish would probably come true — their day would have come".

THE ANNUAL Orange 'walk' in Glasgow again brought drunken violence onto the city's streets when young thugs went on the rampage. They stormed one office and stole drink while police had to clear a pub nearby after drunken clashes.

Police made arrests as two people were stabbed and several others hospitalised.

APARA who smashed a beer glass over a man's head in an unprovoked attack while on leave from a tour of occupation of the Six Counties, has been given a jolly good tongue-lashing by a Leicester judge, who called him "a silly young man".

Mark Chadwick, home on leave from the paras, attacked a man who accidentally bumped into him in a pub, warning his victim, Darren Benson: "Knock me again and I will kill you", before gashing his head with a glass, which left Benson requiring six stitches.

Judge Brian Appleby,

ticking off Chadwick at Leicester Crown Court, warned that he would normally have had to send him to gaol immediately. "But this is so out of character for you. What a silly young man you are, nearly throwing away a good career in the army," the judge chided, before fining Chadwick £500 with £150 costs and a 12-month conditional discharge.

Chadwick's defence counsel had claimed that his client had punched the victim on the head in the heat of the moment, but did not appreciate he had a glass in his hand at the time.

Dúirt Siad

The only thing that will take Articles Two and Three out of the Irish Constitution is when the bombs will start to blow in Dublin as they have in Belfast. — Former Tory minister and now Lord Norman Tebbit, *Sky News*, Monday, 19 July.

It wouldn't be the first time in [British] Commonwealth history that Whitehall held such talks. — Former British Prime Minister Edward Heath advocating talks with Sinn Féin, speaking on BBC Radio 4.

The boys can't go out of the house without being stopped and searched on the road. They are onto the girls as well. They can't go into town to do a bit of shopping without being followed from shop to shop and then driving home behind the car. But what can you do? Only keep quiet? The last person here who spoke out was found dead. No one was ever got for it. But they knew who did it. — Elderly rural border nationalist on the threat posed by the crown forces, the *London Independent* magazine, Saturday, 17 July.

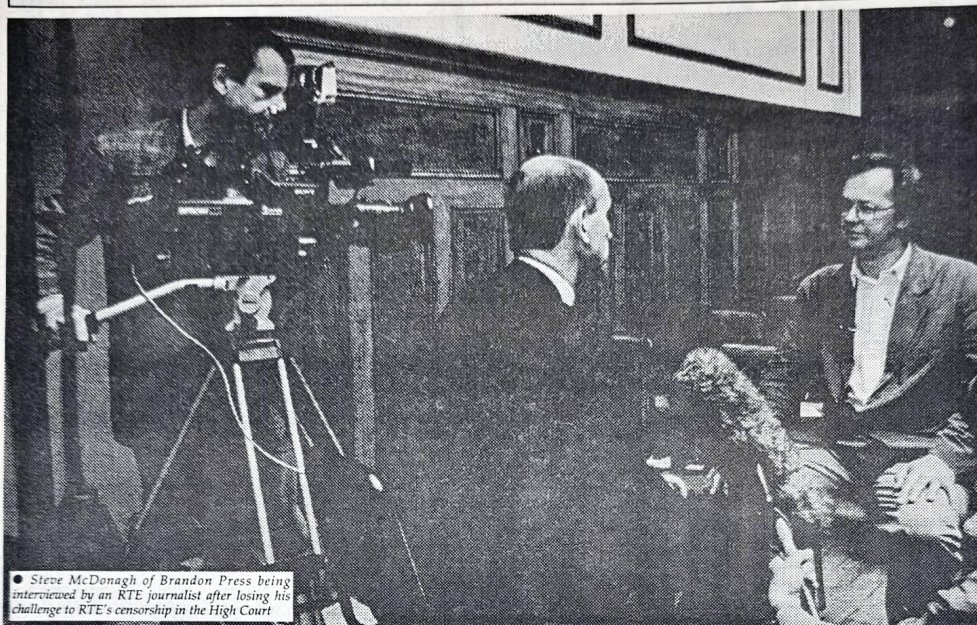
The last time in Castlereagh a boy came in and stood over me, I can name him. He said to me, "The next time anything happens to a Pro, you'll be blown off the face of the earth". Exactly the words he used. I lie in bed at night praying to God nothing happens to a policeman or a UDR or a Protestant. When I was leaving the same boy came over to me and said, "Don't put your ass in a taxi again". They intimidate you out of work. I haven't worked since 19 May last year. — Former Tyrone taxi driver John Corry, the *London Independent* magazine, Saturday, 17 July.

In sport I had no real power. The main sports all have their own administrative bodies, but here I have serious powers. — Former British Minister for Sport now Six-County minister Robert Atkins in the *Lancashire Evening Post*, 7 July.



News

HIGH COURT RULES ON ADAMS' BOOK ADVERTISEMENT CASE



• Steve McDonagh of Brandon Press being interviewed by an RTE journalist after losing his challenge to RTE's censorship in the High Court

Is the next step burning books?

THE Minister for Arts, Culture and the Gaeltacht Michael D Higgins has come under renewed pressure to repeal Section 31 of the Broadcasting Act after the High Court rejected the appeal of Brandon Books against the decision of RTE not to carry an advertisement for the book by Gerry Adams, which they published. An ironic twist occurred on Monday when Higgins appeared at a poetry reading in Galway with Brandon's Steve McDonagh who published the Minister's latest collection of poems.

The High Court decision came on Friday, 16 July, when Judge Carney declined to rule on whether RTE was wrong to refuse to accept the advertisement for Gerry Adams' book *The Street and Other Stories*. Brandon took the case after RTE refused to carry an advertisement for the book of short stories using Adams' voice. RTE at first said that the ad could be carried if an actor's voice was used, but later withdrew this offer and said they would not carry any advertisement for the book.

When the case was heard in the High Court in May, Conor Cruise O'Brien, the architect of Section 31 in its present form, testified in defence of banning the advertisement. He alleged that the short stories were "thinly disguised propaganda" for the IRA. This was contradicted by a large number of book reviews in Irish and English newspapers and periodicals which specifically made the point that the book was not propagandistic.

Brandon argued that it was their right to advertise on the state broadcasting service. In refusing to allow them to do so RTE was breaching their rights and penalising them financially as advertising was necessary for the promotion and sales of the book.

Giving judgment on 16 July, Judge Carney said that in the wake of the High Court and Supreme Court judgements in the Larry O'Toole case, RTE now accepted that an ordinary member of Sinn Féin might broadcast on a range of subjects. So far as Gerry Adams was concerned, however, his "public persona" was such that he could not be divorced in the public mind from advancing the cause of Sinn Féin. The judge quoted RTE's Colm Molloy who had stated that "you cannot separate Mr Adams from the position he holds".

It was a matter of judgement whether this was true said Carney but it was not a matter of judgement for the courts. It was for RTE to decide what the likely effect of such a broadcast would be. He refused Brandon's application and said he did not see that it was proper for the courts to interfere.

Whatever the future implications of the judgement the fact remains that RTE did decide to censor the advertisement. This self-censorship shows the continuing grip of Section 31 on the minds of management at the station. This was reflected in the angry reaction to the judgement.

Speaking at a press conference after Carney's ruling Steve McDonagh of Brandon Books said that it was "very disappointing" and that Carney had not really come to a decision on the issues raised in the case. RTE were extending the provisions of Section 31 and McDonagh hoped that Section 31 could be done away with as this was the effect it was having. "We remain adamantly opposed to RTE's position. The public should be free to know about the book."

On the possible implications of the ruling McDonagh said:

"It seems to me that the judgement today hands back to RTE the decision as to what should and should not be broadcast." He said that given Michael D Higgins' stated opposition to censorship he should repeal Section 31.

Asked if the ad ban had effected sales McDonagh said that he thought it had as sales for *The Street* were less than for Adams' other books published by Brandon. On

whether Brandon would appeal the decision the publisher said that they had not decided but that the huge costs involved might prevent them from doing so.

Paddy Smyth of the Let in the Light anti-censorship organisation said that the case "highlighted the absurdity of Section 31". The minister must make clear that he intends to do away with it. He pledged his group's support for any fundraising efforts to facilitate an appeal.

Kevin Moore, leas-chathaoirleach of the National Union of Journalists' Irish Council reiterated his union's opposition to Section 31. They were seeking a meeting with Minister Higgins on the issue.

"Will the next step be burning books?" was the question Gerry Adams posed in his reaction to the ruling. He commended the publishers for taking the case which showed how pervasive Section 31 has become, that an ad for a book of short stories can be banned and this

can be upheld in court. "Michael D. Higgins should move quickly to end censorship by repealing Section 31. It is only this step that can rid RTE of the damaging self-censorship engendered by that invidious law."

Robert Ballagh, chairperson of the Irish National Congress said that the judgement "means RTE can make up its own rules, it is an amazing and quite frightening prospect". He linked it to the proposed new Public Order Bill which "hold out a grim prospect for freedom of expression and protest".

The Repeal Section 31 Campaign said that the ban would "echo around the world as a ludicrous obscenity".

"As in the Larry O'Toole case RTE have publicly pleaded for censorship. This second humiliation of Irish broadcasting is an inevitable consequence of the effects of political censorship."

Only after the ending of Section 31 would RTE "begin to be in a position to shake off the political servility which grips the station in relation to reporting the Six Counties".

Michael D Higgins and Steve McDonagh met on 19 July, at the Galway Arts Festival where Higgins was reading poetry from his latest collection which is published by Brandon.

Members of the Galway Repeal Section 31 Campaign leafleted the venue at Nun's Island where the reading, introduced by Steve McDonagh himself, was held. The campaign said that in the light of the judgement the minister for the arts was now minister for artistic Censorship.

"Here we have a publisher who is facing huge High Court costs because of his integrity in publishing the artistic statement on life in the Six Counties and who published the work of a cabinet minister in the South. In one publishing house we have the censorer and the censored."

The minister spoke to the leafleters and said that he was still carrying out his review of Section 31.

Everyone opposed to censorship should write to Michael D Higgins, Leinster House, Dublin 2 and call for the repeal of Section 31.



An Phoblacht

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