



# An Phoblacht

REPUBLICAN NEWS

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# Major says

THE British premier John Major has rejected the opportunity offered by the Irish peace initiative, advanced by Gerry Adams and John Hume, to begin a real peace process. In a week of appalling tragedy in the Six Counties, which saw nine people killed in sectarian attacks by loyalists, there was anger all over Ireland and among friends of Ireland all over the world at the dismissal of the initiative by Major.

Seven people died in the massacre at Greysteel, County Derry on Saturday night, 30 October. The indiscriminate loyalist machine-gun attack was designed to kill as many people as possible in the Rising Sun Bar. A few days earlier, two young Catholic brothers were shot dead in their home in County Armagh.

The response of the British government to these deaths and to attempts at achieving real peace were summed up in Major's abrupt dismissal of the Irish peace initiative put forward by Adams and Hume. This led to a clash between Major and Hume in the British House of Commons on Monday. "Why have you rejected my proposals before you have talked to me about them?" asked Hume.

Replying, Major said that the initiative was "not the way to proceed" and he had reached this conclusion after meeting Albert Reynolds in Brussels on Friday, 29 October. Major kept up the pretence that he and his government only knew of the proposals from their briefing by Reynolds. This was taken to even more unbelievable lengths by Patrick Mayhew later in the week, when he claimed that Major had not told him what Reynolds had said.

After the Brussels meeting, Reynolds and Major issued a joint communique which clearly rejected the process outlined by Adams and Hume, but offered no alternative.

A further indication of British government intentions was given in Major's reply to a commons question about the broadcasting ban against Sinn Féin. He said that the ban was being reviewed and would be further tightened.

On Wednesday, at the intergovernmental meeting in Belfast, Spring and Mayhew endorsed the Brussels communique and signalled moves to start yet again the twice-failed Stormont inter-party talks.

With the British government acting solely with a view to holding onto power, supported by its deal with the Official Unionists at Westminster, nationalists are incensed at London's callousness. Both Adams and Hume have this week reiterated their commitment to the process they advanced. They have wide public support at home and abroad and that support and anger, and nationalist unity behind their efforts, especially in the Six Counties, will prove more durable than yet another futile British-sponsored sham solution.

# NO

## REPUBLICAN WOMEN'S CONFERENCE

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## DUBLIN

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# News



• Eleven-year-old Roisin Cairns is comforted by her aunt after witnessing the slaughter of her brothers at the hands of loyalists



• The bodies of UVF victims Gerard and Rory Cairns are carried side by side at their funeral Saturday



• Locals at the scene of the murder of brothers Gerard and Rory Cairns, victims of the escalating sectarian campaign of the pro-British killer gangs

## Brothers gunned down in County Armagh

THE Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) gunned down two nationalist brothers at the Slopes, Blearie, near Lurgan in County Armagh. On Thursday night, 28 October, at 8pm, the brothers' young sister watched in horror as the UVF death squad entered her home through an open back door and opened fire, killing Gerard and Rory Cairns, aged 18 and 22 respectively.

Another 15-year-old brother escaped death as he was in a neighbour's house playing a computer game. Their parents also escaped death as they were attending Mass.

Two UVF killers wearing balaclavas came through the back door of the Cairns family home running past young Roisin who was celebrating her eleventh birthday. Both

believed to consist of a number of loyalists from the Portadown and Lurgan areas.

A neighbour of the Cairns family told of how young Roisin ran to his house to raise the alarm after the shooting.

"She was hysterical and screamed 'they have shot the two boys'. I phoned the ambulance and then raced up to the house. In the living room I saw one of the boys slumped in a chair. The other lad was lying on the floor. He must have tried to get up, but his whole side was blown away. It was quite obvious that they were both dead."

Local Sinn Féin Councillor Brendan Curran who survived a loyalist gun and grenade attack several years ago not far from the scene of Thursday's murders, said that the loyalist killer gang had been intent on wiping out the entire family:

"This was not a 'revenge' attack or part of some non-existent 'tit-for-tat' campaign but rather part of a coordinated attempt to promote loyalist political objectives by terrorising all nationalists."

Echoing the Sinn Féin councillor's remarks Cardinal Cahal Daly described loyalist death

squad killings as being a continuation of a long series of attacks on Catholics going back many years in the history of the Six-County statelet. "These attacks historically predated IRA activity."

The small Slopes area has witnessed over ten loyalist killings of nationalists over the past 20 years. In one of those less than 300 yards from Thursday's killings the O'Dowd family was almost entirely wiped out during a loyalist gun attack in January 1976. On that occasion loyalists shot dead brothers Declan and Barry and their uncle Joe.

Barrack Street itself lies between two RUC barracks at Grosvenor Road and an almost permanent British military check-point in Divis Street. Despite this the loyalist gang moved with relative ease, driving slowly around the area before launching their attack.

Seeing the assassin approaching him the young nationalist turned on his heels and bolted up the street. Fortunately for him the loyalist's weapon jammed after firing two shots.

In a statement to the BBC the UDA later claimed they had just killed a named individual at Barrack Street.

## Tension high as shootings continue

ANOTHER NATIONALIST is fighting for his life after being gunned down in front of his three-year-old son in East Belfast on Wednesday night, 27 October.

Samuel Agnew, a 25-year-old plasterer, was shot several times in the chest, back and stomach by at least one loyalist killer at 9pm.

He had been leaving a relative's house in the Upper Braniel Road area when the loyalist fired at him from point blank range.

After being rushed to hospital a surgeon described his condition as being 'very serious'.

in the boot of his car in Dundonald in November 1982.

A brother of the wounded man told how it would not have mattered who came out of the house on Wednesday.

"It didn't matter who came out that door last night. Ours is a mixed house and always was. It could just as easily have been someone else they shot."

With tension running high in most nationalist areas of

Belfast it was only due to a nationalist man's vigilance that he is not another victim of the loyalist death squads.

As the young man walked along Barrack Street off Divis Street near Belfast's city centre, an armed and masked assassin approached him from a white Peugeot car (registration number CDZ 5275) which was stolen from the Blackmountain area and later found in the Lower Shankill.

# News

## MASSACRE AT GREYSTEEL

BETWEEN THEM the Ulster Defence Association and the Ulster Volunteer Force killed nine people and wounded seven, some critically, in a three-day period between 27 October and 31 October. In the worst attack, seven people were shot dead, and six seriously wounded when a UDA death squad sprayed bullets in a packed lounge bar in the small County Derry village of Greysteel, midway between Limavady and Derry city.

Previous loyalist gun and bomb attacks in the area included the bombing of the village's Catholic church by the UVF in 1967 (three years before the present IRA campaign began) and the sectarian killing of local man Jim Loughrey in 1976.

The attack took place at 10pm on Saturday night, 30 October, when the loyalist gang entered the Rising Sun Bar and opened fire, cutting down men and women sitting and enjoying a Saturday evening drink. There were around 200 people in the lounge bar when the shooting started.

There is speculation among some of the survivors, that a woman member of the loyalist death squad had earlier 'scouted' another bar beside the Rising Sun. It appears that a woman had gone in and back out again from the Foyle View Bar next door, signalling to two men in a brown Opel Kadett car. She then walked into the lounge bar of the Rising Sun and glanced around and ran out.

There is no doubt though that the UDA death squad knew that

the bar's clientele was of mixed religions. This fact did not deter them acting under orders to kill as many people as possible.

In a statement following the seven murders, the UDA, who have carried out similar attacks over their 21-year history, said that the attack was "a continuation of our blitz against the nationalist electorate".

It was further stated that the death squads wanted to derail attempts by the "Eire government" "to meddle in the internal affairs of 'Northern Ireland'".

Two armed and masked death squad members, wearing blue overalls, walked into the bar and shouted "trick or treat". Their first victim, 19-year-old Karen Thompson, was sitting near the door and died after saying to the killers: "Do you think that's funny?"

They opened fire with an assault rifle and a machine gun.

Karen Thompson was shot in the face at point-blank range and was killed instantly. The killer with the assault rifle then sprayed the entire lounge bar area while

the other killer directed short bursts from his machine gun towards tables and booths hitting old and young alike. Some died after the killers shot them as they lay wounded on the ground.

As the killer with the machine gun covered the bar during a quick lull in the shooting, the other killer reloaded the assault rifle and began firing again. Over 90 bullets were fired in a two-minute period. As the two loyalists ran off they also fired at a man from the public bar who slammed the door and dived for cover. An alcove on the lounge bar took the main force of the gunfire and it was here that four of the seven died.

Survivors later described the two minutes as seeming to "last forever".

The dead were 81-year-old Greysteel pensioner, James Moore, the father of the owner of the bar; Karen Thompson (19) from Limavady; Karen's childhood sweetheart, Steven Mullan (20) of Greysteel (they were due to be married at Christmas); Joseph McDermott (60) from Eglinton, who had earlier walked ten miles from his home to have a drink in his nearest pub; Moira Duddy (59) from Greysteel; John Moyne (50) from Greysteel; and former British soldier John Burns, from Eglinton.

Burns' wife Nellie is fighting for her life in the intensive care unit at Altnagelvin Hospital in Derry city. Five other people are still in hospital, two of whom were described as being "very seriously ill but stable".

In all, eleven others were injured by bullet fragments.



Locals lay flowers at the scene of the massacre of seven people in Greysteel, County Derry

Appealing for calm and restraint in the wake of the Greysteel massacre, Sinn Féin Ard Chomhairle member Martin McGuinness said "everyone directly effected by this blatantly sectarian attack has my deepest sympathy". He continued: "Emotions are running very high in the present climate and the Protestant community may now fear a possible retaliatory attack. I readily understand these feelings and I am stating with all the authority of my position within Sinn Féin that such actions are totally contrary to republican philosophy.

"Sectarian warfare is against the interests of all our people. Sectarian warfare serves only the interests of those who wish to distract attention away from the persistent reluctance of the British government to become involved in a genuine peace process which would remove the causes of conflict in our society.

"Finally, this is a time for clear thinking, calm and vigilance. It is time to abandon the rhetoric and the posturing. Recent events prove that there is a need for everyone to focus attention on the objective of achieving a comprehensive settlement of the conflict."



In an attempt to murder as many people as possible, the UDA killers sprayed the Rising Sun Bar with automatic gunfire over a two-minute period



Between the period 1971 and 1993 there have been around 80 attacks on clubs and bars by loyalist death squads

## Over 150 dead in loyalist attacks on bars

THE SECTARIAN NATURE of the campaigns of loyalist death squads has meant that any venue where people gather in numbers has been targeted for the killing of Catholics. Many of the multiple killings carried out by loyalists since the early 1970s have been in bars and clubs which have been bombed and raked with indiscriminate gunfire.

Between 1971 and 1993 there have been around 80 attacks on bars and clubs by loyalist death squads. Over 150 people were killed in these attacks, the vast majority

when four men were shot dead in a pub by the UVF in March 1991.

Twenty years earlier the biggest death toll from an attack on a pub, and the biggest death toll of civilians in a single incident in the Six Counties, was in 1971 when 15 people died in McGurk's Bar, Belfast. Another victim died later.

The McGurk's Bar bombing was claimed by the previously

unheard of 'Empire Loyalists'. The British army fed journalists the false claim that the bombing was carried out by the IRA, a claim carried on the front page of the *Times*.

In fact, British intelligence involvement in the bombing was suspected.

In 1972 five were killed in the Top of the Hill Bar in Derry.

In April 1975 in Ballymena, County Antrim, where two Catholic

brothers were shot dead this week, three people were killed in a loyalist attack on a darts club.

Six people were killed in the Ramble Inn near Antrim town in June 1976, five in the Chlorane Bar in Belfast in July of the same year.

In the Avenue Bar in Belfast in May 1988, three people were killed when they were machine-gunned to death by the UVF.

## News



## Sniper executes RUC officer in Newry

IRA SNIPERS over the past number of months have inflicted a growing number of casualties upon British military personnel, the most recent being a member of the RUC shot dead in Newry on Sunday.

In a supplied statement, South Down Brigade, Oglaih na hÉireann, said that Volunteers carried out a rifle attack on Sunday, 31 October. The IRA statement said that one of their Volunteers shot and fatally wounded the RUC offi-

cer at a checkpoint in Upper Edward Street at 4.30pm.

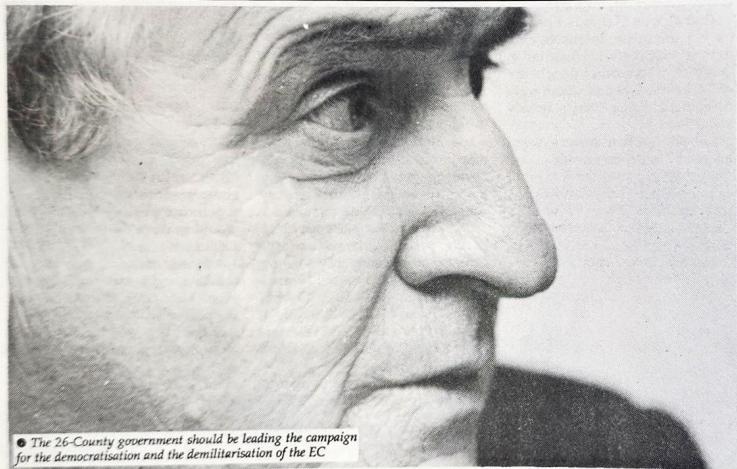
Checkpoints are operated by a combined force of RUC and British army personnel on all four streets leading to the RUC barracks since nine RUC members

were killed in an IRA mortar attack on 28 February 1985.

The RUC officer was one of over a dozen RUC members providing cover for a vehicle checkpoint around one of two RUC barracks in Newry, County Down, when the IRA launched their attack.

With other armed Volunteers providing support, the sniper took position on high ground near Nuns Walk overlooking the RUC barracks. One RUC member was hit and died three days later in hospital.

WAR NEWS



• The 26-County government should be leading the campaign for the democratisation and the demilitarisation of the EC

## Euro union takes over

■ BY NEIL FORDE

LAST MONDAY, 1 November, our lives and that of all EC citizens changed fundamentally and for the worse, but few people took much notice. All of Ireland and the other eleven EC states became part of the European Union. We are now all citizens of this new military superstate. We are completely subject to its laws, its institutions, its collective economic power and its armies.

It was hard among the vast tide of news items last week to focus on the final ratification of the Maastricht Treaty at the EC heads of state summit in Brussels. The Irish focus was naturally on Major's meeting with Reynolds.

However, the summit did happen and a range of crucial policy decisions were taken on monetary union, EC foreign policy, the share out of EC institutions and enlargement of the EC.

At the same time, the heads of state fudged on a whole range of crucial issues. It has been obvious for over a year that the plans for EC monetary union, including the creation of a single EC currency, were in tatters. The EC summit basically hedged on this issue.

Unemployment in the EC was

also discussed, but no action will be taken. The last EC summit also discussed employment and unemployment in the community and again almost no action was taken. This time, the heads of state decided to wait until the EC Commission publishes its study on Competitiveness, Employment and Growth. A loose translation of this Eurospeak says "don't hold your breath".

Also not mentioned were the divisions between EC members on agriculture and the GATT negotiations. This would cause too much public strife. So instead, the 12 delegations sat down to a lunch which included caviar, lobster, venison, ice soufflé in almond milk, a choice of the finest Belgian wines, coffee and pastries.

Meanwhile outside, 20,000 Belgians protested at their government's austerity measures. These cutbacks were forced on it in an attempt to stay within the Maastricht guidelines for monetary union. The strikers marched to the city centre where they held a mass meeting which ended with the singing of the *Internationale*.

So what were the Dublin government doing while all this was going on? Yes Reynolds met Major, but this was when the summit was effectively over.

Did they raise the missing £1 billion in EC funds? Did they object or threaten to veto the plans for a common EC defence and foreign policy? Did they object to any of the plans for monetary union of the 26-County economy?

They did none of these things. The debacle of the so-called National Plan in the last two weeks showed the true nature of the Dublin government's EC policy.

## Major wants counterinsurgency not peace — IRA

IN response to British Prime Minister John Major's rejection of the Adams/Hume initiative, the IRA has said that it believes Major is more interested in counterinsurgency than in achieving peace. The leadership of Oglaih na hÉireann said that it was still committed to seeking peace and justice in Ireland.

In a statement issued on Tuesday, 2 November, the IRA noted Major's rejection of the Irish peace initiative. They said of his position as outlined this week that they were "concerned that far from being the forerunner of an alternative peace initiative, it is in fact the forerunner of a counterinsurgency offensive". The statement continued:

"This has not worked in the past and will not bring peace in the future.

"We in the IRA repeat our commitment to seeking peace and justice in Ireland. On 3 October we outlined our position on this initiative. We said then:

"The leadership of the IRA wel-

comes the Adams/Hume initiative. We are informed of the broad principles which will be for consideration by the London and Dublin governments. It is unfortunate that the British reaction to date has been negative, however, if the political will exists or can be created then this could provide a basis for peace.

"We, our supporters and our activists, have a vested interest in seeking peace and justice in Ireland. Our objectives, which include the right of the Irish people to national self-determination, are well known. Our commitment remains steadfast. This continues to be our posi-

tion."

It is a simple, uncomplicated policy. Simply fly over in the government jet (the captain may or may not let you in the cockpit) get in as many photos as possible, shake hands with everyone and go to bed leaving your stocking over the fire. Wait for Santa Delors to come.

There was a prize for everyone last week at the EC summit. The Dublin government won the equivalent of a half-full lucky dip bag. They went over telling us that they were confident of getting the European Agency for the Evaluation of Medicinal Products.

This EC agency would have the potential of serious job creation as the state in which that agency was sited would also attract pharmaceutical companies to move there. Their research and development, which is relatively labour intensive, would be more cost effective the nearer it was to the agency. So the job creation potential of the agency is substantial. In the end London got it, in spite of confident predictions from the Dublin government in the summer that they would win.

The European Central Bank, as predicted in AP/RN last July, went to Frankfurt. The British got a consolation prize of the Medicinal Evaluation Agency. The Dublin government won the Veterinary Inspection Office, which will employ 100 people.

Meanwhile, the institutions and the development of the EC superstate rolled on. The siting of the £33 billion European Monetary Institute (soon to be renamed the European Central Bank) in Frankfurt signalled that there will be no democracy in the new 'European Union'. It will continue to be dominated by the deutschmark and the needs of the German, French and Benelux economies.

On the military front, the EC leaders committed themselves to four areas for joint EC actions. A 'joint action' may or may not mean the sending of EC combat troops. The EC commission was, as usual, unclear and noncommittal on the actual meaning. Central and Eastern Europe,



• JACQUES 'Santa' DELORS

the Middle East, South Africa and the former Yugoslavia were the possible areas of action.

There was no reaction from Reynolds to this decision. It fell to two MEPs, TJ Maher (Independent) and Paddy Lane (Fianna Fáil) to question common EC foreign policy missions involving Irish troops.

Maher said "Ireland could never enter a defence pact with other EC member states while part of the island is occupied by another power". This was echoed by Paddy Lane, who said "we would be foolish to give open-handed agreement to be part of a defence unit with the British army while they are occupying part of this country".

This fell on deaf ears as the Dublin government delegation merely kept on shaking hands and getting in the photos. They might even have negotiated for a second helping of dessert. But as usual, when they came back empty handed in the important category, blind to the growing power of the European Union, but most of all blind to their growing powerlessness.

As one of the smaller EC states the Dublin government should be leading the campaign for the democratisation and the demilitarisation of the EC. Their failure will be to our cost.

# News



● Sinn Féin's Caoimhghín Ó Caoláin briefing members of the US Congress on the peace initiative on Wednesday, 27 October. Noraid's Martin Galvin (left) and Congress member Peter King (centre) are also pictured

## Wide support won for initiative in US

FOLLOWING a highly successful week in the United States securing support for the Adams/Hume peace initiative, Monaghan County Councillor and Sinn Féin Ard Chomháire member Caoimhghín Ó Caoláin, has returned to Ireland.

The visit was aimed at gathering support at local and national level in the US, principally from the Clinton administration, members of the US Congress, State Assembly members, city councillors, labour leaders and the Irish-American community in Washington and New York. It took place in the context of the Clinton administration's continuance of the visa denial policy of previous US governments, refusing to allow Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams to visit the country.

On Tuesday and Wednesday, 26 and 27 October, on Washington

DC's Capitol Hill, Councillor Ó Caoláin briefed members of Congress and officials from the offices of many other Congress members, on the peace initiative.

It was the first time that Sinn Féin was formally represented in an official capacity on Capitol Hill and the historic briefing of Congress was hosted by Congress member Peter King. Among many others present, were Congress members Manton, Walsh, Neal, Coyne and Gilman. Also present were representatives from the offices of other Congress members, including Joe Kennedy.

Ó Caoláin held a press conference afterwards which was attended by Irish-American and mainstream US media, including the US information service Voice of America, which aired a live international broadcast with Ó Caoláin across 35 European countries.

Several other meetings took place with members of the Senate and the House of Representatives on a private level on Capitol Hill, where significant progress was made in securing support for the Adams/Hume initiative and new names were secured to add to those 16 Congress members who had already declared support for the joint Adams/Hume declaration of 25 September.

Later, Caoimhghín Ó Caoláin visited Baltimore where he briefed representatives of Irish Northern Aid and the Ancient Order of

Hibernians on the initiative and addressed the US visa denial policy.

The Monaghan councillor then travelled to New York where he met with Mayor David Dinkins, who had earlier concluded a press conference with Jesse Jackson and who was later to be joined by President Bill Clinton as part of his Mayoral re-election campaign.

The importance which was attached to the Sinn Féin meeting was underlined by the fact that Dinkins took time off from such a hectic schedule to meet with the Sinn Féin representative.

Caoimhghín Ó Caoláin thanked Dinkins on behalf of Gerry Adams for the Mayor's invitation to the Sinn Féin president to visit the United States.

Speaking to the press, Mayor Dinkins said the Adams/Hume initiative was "encouraging" and "one of the best prospects for peace the people of northeast Ireland have seen for many years".

silences voices, an exclusion order which prevents travel, or simply an attempt to prevent a public meeting, is no solution to war."

Una Gillespie explained that the Sinn Féin councillors welcomed the invitation to speak because it helped "break down censorship". She stated:

"The Adams/Hume initiative is the first real opportunity for peace in 25 years."

Una Gillespie, a West Belfast councillor, also spoke at the Socialist Movement's conference in Chesterfield at the weekend.

Meetings were later held with members of the New York State Assembly and New York City Council where Assembly member Joseph Crowley and City Councillor Walter McCaffrey undertook to initiate resolutions of support through their respective representative bodies.

Later that evening, Thursday, 28 October, Councillor Ó Caoláin presented the first public address by a Sinn Féin representative on the Adams/Hume initiative at the Roosevelt Hotel in New York. The event was very well attended by representatives of all Irish and Irish-American organisations in the city.

The following day, Ó Caoláin had breakfast with members of the Labour Coalition on Ireland and representatives of the main labour organisations in the United States, where similar commitments of support to those in Washington were received.

Later that day, Ó Caoláin had lunch with Irish-American business people in New York followed by a special meeting with the Mayor of Yonkers, Terence Zaleski, and his Irish Affairs Committee.

Ó Caoláin also had private meetings with Irish Northern Aid and Clan Na Gael in New York, before attending a farewell social in the Phoenix Bar in the Bronx, to cover the costs of the week-long visit.

While in New York, Councillor Ó Caoláin was featured on a 20-minute live broadcast on the Adrián Flanelly radio show.

Councillor Ó Caoláin said that he was encouraged by the warm and sincere interest of all those he had met in the course of his visit.

Prior to his return to Dublin on Sunday, 31 October, Ó Caoláin expressed disappointment with the text of the Brussels joint communiqué issued on the previous Friday by Albert Reynolds and British Prime Minister John Major. The Sinn Féin councillor stated that it had clearly rejected the Adams/Hume initiative.

"This is a major set-back for the cause of peace in Ireland, particularly so as it appears that the Dublin government have acquiesced to Britain's negative response."

## Britain responsible for war

PEACE in Ireland, Palestine and South Africa was the theme of a packed public meeting in Sheffield, chaired by British Labour Party MP Helen Jackson. The meeting — sponsored by the Troops Out Movement, Sheffield's Palestine Solidarity Group and its Socialist Movement — took place on Thursday, 28 October, in the city's Memorial Hall despite calls in the local media to stop it going ahead.

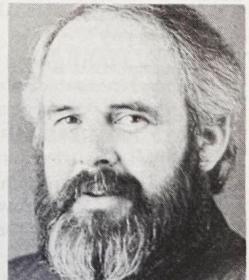
Sinn Féin Councillor Una Gillespie and Francie Molloy spoke about the Adams/Hume initiative and the possibility for peace in Ireland. They

shared the platform with Palestinian speaker Musser Al Farrah. Helen Jackson MP, who had recently returned from South Africa, opened

the meeting with a message of support from the ANC. She quoted Nelson Mandela: "It is the oppressor that always determines the response of the oppressed."

Troops Out Movement spokesperson, and one of the meeting's organisers, Lynn Brandon said:

"Far from peacekeeping in Ireland, Britain is responsible for the war. Censorship, whether it's the Broadcasting Ban which



● FRANCIE MOLLOY

## Soldier charged with funeral shooting

BRITISH SOLDIER from the 9th/12th Lancers appeared in Belfast Magistrates Court on Thursday, 28 October, charged with attempting to murder a mourner outside the home of IRA Volunteer Thomas Begley.

Eddie Copeland was shot and seriously wounded, on Tuesday, 26 October, when a number of shots

were fired from the back of a British army Land Rover as it drove past mourners outside the

Begley's Ardoyne home. A number of bullets struck houses in the street and one resident had a lucky escape when a bullet went through her front window, passing inches from her head.

Appearing in court, Trooper

Andrew Brian Clarke (26) from Liverpool, was dressed in civilian clothing and remained silent throughout the three-minute hearing. The soldier's address was given as Girdwood Barracks, Belfast. An RUC detective inspector told

the court that he believed he could connect Clarke with the charge.

The soldier was remanded into military custody on the bail of £2,000 until 19 January 1994.

Meanwhile, the two British soldiers charged with the killing of Fergal Caraher in Cullyhanna, County Armagh on 30 December 1990, are to go on trial next week. The trial is due to begin on Monday, 8 November.



# An Phoblacht

REPUBLICAN NEWS

4 NOVEMBER 1993

# News

## Myth of tit for tat

**T**HREE ARE MANY WAYS to describe and 'mitigate' the indiscriminate attacks and killings by loyalists on the nationalist community. For the last week, the 14 latest loyalist killings have been described as reactive, retaliatory violence. However, this is a fundamentally flawed analysis of loyalist attacks on the nationalist community of the Six Counties and border areas.

From the McMahon family, who lost five family members on 24 March 1922, to the Greysteel massacre last weekend, the history of the Stormont state is the history of systematic unprovoked violence, killings and murders against nationalists. It is a 70-year history of collusion between the crown forces and the murder squads.

Perhaps surprisingly, it was Cardinal Cahal Daly who this week recognised the truth of this when he said:

"Loyalist killings are more than just retaliation and revenge. The current murderous campaign against Catholics is the continuation of a long series of violent attacks on innocent uninvolved Catholics, going back many years in our history. These attacks historically predated IRA activity. They run in parallel with, but often precede IRA acts".

Anne Cadwallader writing in the *Sunday Press* highlighted this last week. She wrote:

"The Shankill bombing has now replaced the 'pan-nationalist front' (remember that?) as a handy cover for the continuing loyalist killings which carry on relentlessly, causing fear in the Catholic community not felt since the 1970s".

In one case, the shooting dead of the Cairns brothers, the car used in the killing was bought a week before the Shankill bomb.

The truth is that for the last 25 years in particular, loyalist murder squads have attacked nationalists indiscriminately while many politicians and media have either ignored, or worse still, explained away loyalist violence.

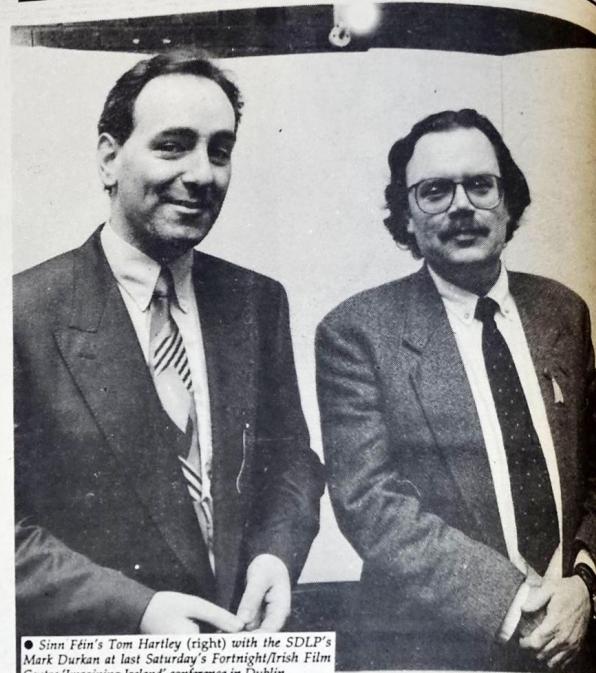
Last January, the UDA promised to intensify its murder campaign "to a ferocity never imagined". In 1992, they proclaimed that they would target "the republican community". In April of this year, a member of the UDA Inner Council told an *Irish Times* reporter that "anyone who interferes in the internal politics of Northern Ireland will have a price to pay".

But as highlighted elsewhere in this paper, that has translated into attacks on pubs, GAA clubs, betting shops, taxi drivers and passengers and shopowners. It is in fact, and always has been, an attack on the whole nationalist community.

It is an attack which has been carried out with weapons supplied by MI5 and with the help of RUC/RIR intelligence files, and directed by the loyalists' British masters.

The level of attacks is not unresponsive to changing political events, it is paralleled with the British political agenda in Ireland. In 1991, during the Brooke talks, the Combined Loyalist Military Command called a ceasefire for the duration of the negotiations.

It is no accident that the positive moves by the nationalist community for a real peace process have been met with an increase in loyalist violence and a rejection by the British of the Adams/Hume proposals. It is Britain who fuels, condones and directs loyalist violence. It is, ultimately, only they who can call off their dogs of war.



• Sinn Féin's Tom Hartley (right) with the SDLP's Mark Durkan at last Saturday's Fortnight/Irish Film Centre 'Imagining Ireland' conference in Dublin

## Breaking the log jam

■ BY NEIL FORDE

**T**HE DENIAL of nationalist democratic consent, the enshrining of a unionist veto, the debate on the peace proposals — these were the themes of a packed meeting on the Adams/Hume initiative in Dublin last weekend.

Two nationalist politicians, two journalists and a chairperson whose weekday job is offering Six-County viewers the censored news came together for a stimulating forthright debate on the Adams/Hume's peace proposals.

Tom Hartley Sinn Féin national chairperson, Mark Durkan SDLP chairperson, *Irish Times* reporter Suzanne Breen, *Irish Independent* political columnist James Downey and BBC current affairs presenter Séamus McKee all spoke at a fringe meeting of the Fortnight/Irish Film Centre Imagining Ireland Conference last weekend.

Mark Durkan was first to address the crowd which had packed into Connolly Hall in Dublin's Temple Bar. Many people were turned away from the crowded venue. Durkan told the audience that the Adams/Hume dialogue was "not an exclusive approach". There were "no traps, no threats, and no imposition in the proposals".

The two leaders were he said "trying to create the conditions for a total cessation of violence". Out of this they sought to create a consensus of all the people of this island. "The initiative and a total cessation of violence," could he said "earn

freely given. That is the rub of our problems."

"The word consent is used today as a political justification for the perpetuation of the problem," said Hartley.

"This bogus concept is a British government created and maintained concept. Dublin governments have acquiesced in this. Unionists have understandably grasped the negative power it bestows on them.

"Unionists will not change because 'consent' — a euphemism for the veto — makes it plain that they don't have to change. Nationalists on the other hand do not have any option. Their consent to participation is not even part of the equation."

Hartley ended his address by stating that "in seeking a democratic settlement unionist consent is of course desirable. They cannot have a veto on the democratic settlement itself".

Top of the agenda for questions following the speeches was the Reynolds Major communiqué and Dick Spring's six principles.

On the communiqué Hartley said that it would "be a major setback if the British government rejected an Irish peace process and the Dublin government acquiesced".

On the Spring plan, Hartley said the way to measure the plan was to ask "will move the position forward".

"I don't think they move us forward," said Hartley.

Mark Durkan also spoke about John Major's reaction saying he was dismayed. Tom Hartley ended the meeting by affirming that "the British government should not be allowed to torpedo an Irish peace process".



John Major's reaction to the Adams/Hume peace process has been "inexcusably negative and dismissive"

## Major's 'weak stomach' sickens nationalists

**I**T WOULD TURN MY STOMACH." Those were the words used by British Prime Minister John Major in Westminster on Monday, to explain why he would not consider talking to republicans or, by implication, consider the proposals made by Gerry Adams and John Hume.

Those words may well come back to haunt him in the months to come. Northern nationalists are united at present as they have not been in a long time, partly in fear, but mostly in anger and determination. The glib rebuttal of the Adams/Hume proposals by John Major has incensed most people across the whole spectrum of Irish nationalism.

"I take this as a personal insult" was a comment I heard many times from middle-class SDLP voters. At the weekend the London paper, the *Independent on Sunday*, published an appeal by 50 business people, Catholic and Protestant, asking Major to heed the Adams/Hume proposals.

This is a view shared by an increasing number, as more people lose their lives, particularly nationalists subjected to an unprecedented onslaught by loyalist death squads.

John Major and Albert Reynolds met briefly during the EC summit in Brussels on Friday, 29 October, to discuss the current situation in Ireland, and presumably, the Adams/Hume proposals which, so the British government said, it had not yet seen.

The two prime ministers issued a joint statement after a meeting which lasted 45 minutes and which up to the day before British government sources would not confirm was going ahead. At the core of the statement were six points. However five of them merely reiterated in various ways

that people who use or support "violence" cannot be talked to or take part in discussions. Point six contained the usual vague promise of "imaginative response" should a "renunciation of violence" be made "and sufficiently demonstrated".

The joint statement contained no indication of a strategy for peace, no hint of a plan on how to

move the political situation forward.

It dismissed the Adams/Hume proposals in these words:

"...There could be no question of [the two governments] adopting or endorsing the report of the dialogue that was recently given to the Taoiseach and which he had not passed on to the British government."

The statement concluded with a paragraph supporting a resumption of the inter-party talks which broke down in the Autumn of 1992.

The joint statement was clearly a snub for Hume in spite of the sentence acknowledging "John Hume's courageous and imaginative efforts". The Adams/Hume

proposals were being "buried", Hume was being "sidelined", said many commentators.

**A**t the weekend, John Hume pointed out that if the death toll currently mounting in the Six Counties was happening on Major's doorstep, the British prime minister would be beating a path to his door to ask what this peace strategy was about.

The Sinn Féin president described the British government's response as "inexcusably negative and dismissive". Major's dependency on unionist votes at Westminster was obviously an important factor in this. He said "party political interests and the Tory party's accord with the

■ BY HILDA  
Mac THOMAS



The scene at the peace rally in Andersonstown, Belfast, last Sunday

unionists is dictating the British government's attitude to peace in Ireland". Gerry Adams went on to express support for any effort the Dublin prime minister might make to "focus the attention of the British government on its responsibility to play a leading role in removing the causes of conflict and division in Ireland". (See page 8 for full statement).

In Westminster on Monday, John Major reiterated his government's position expressed in the Brussels statement. As unionists listened intently he commended the Dublin government for its acknowledgement of "the right of unionists to give or withhold consent", and said Dick Spring's proposals "clearly pointed towards constitutional reform in the Irish republic at the right time and in the right circumstances".

John Hume came back on the attack. Why had the prime minister rejected his proposals before he had talked to him about them? Major retreated behind the Dublin government:

"I listened very carefully to what the Taoiseach had to say."

He finally added that he would be happy to meet John Hume "and also the leaders of the other constitutional parties".

**A**s both John Hume and Gerry Adams have pointed out in various statements, if there is a real peace initiative from whatever quarter, they would support it if it contained the potential to move the situation forward. But is there a new British initiative?

All John Major is talking about is reviving the inter-party talks process, a twice failed initiative in which the Six County participants, unionists as well as SDLP, do not even believe. This sounds more like a diversion and a time-wasting exercise than a ground-breaking initiative for peace.

Major seems unwilling to risk losing his unionist allies in Westminster by moving in a direction which they perceive as undermining their privileged position.

The weakness of Major's position in Westminster at present means that, just as the unionists dictated the pace during the three-strand talks process in 1991 and again in 1992, they are dictating the pace today in relation to British policy.

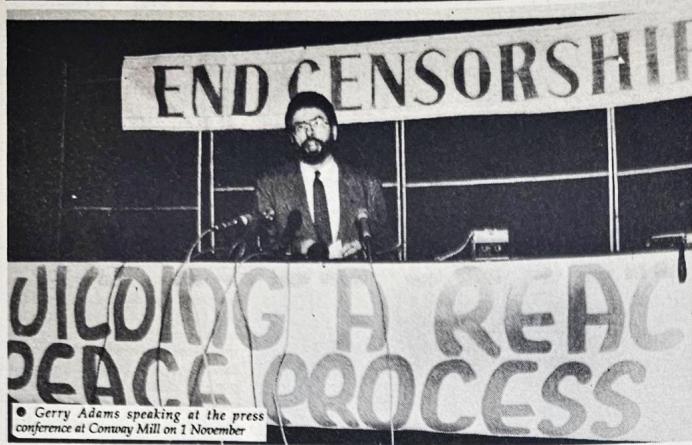
In previous years the unionists, and particularly the OUP, successfully placed their preconditions high on everyone's agenda. Articles Two and Three were elevated from a nationalist symbol to the main obstacle to political progress, and an excuse for refusing to consider the way forward.

There is no change in the unionist position today. The difference is that they hold a key to John Major's survival in Westminster, and this bodes ill for the chance of peace in Ireland.

The British government seems to have nothing to offer except condemnations, rejections and high-sounding moralising statements on "violence".

In a world context in which protracted conflicts are being settled by former enemies sitting down and talking, all John Major could find to say on Monday is that talking to republicans would "turn his stomach".

If John Major does not have the stomach for it, maybe he should leave politics. His over-sensitive digestive tract is costing people's lives.



• Gerry Adams speaking at the press conference at Conway Mill on 1 November

# Major has no interest in peace

AT A PRESS CONFERENCE in Belfast on Monday, 1 November, Gerry Adams responded in detail to the Brussels communiqué issued by the Dublin and London governments. The following is the text of his statement.

On 25 September John Hume and I issued a joint statement. In that statement we pointed out that our discussions, aimed at the creation of a peace process, which would involve all parties, have made considerable progress. In effect, we, as leaders of northern nationalist opinion, reached agreement on a process which if adopted by the two governments could lead us out of conflict and towards a real and lasting peace on this island.

After decades of conflict this is, clearly, a significant development. It has been warmly received both by nationalist opinion in Ireland, North and South, and by international political opinion. It has focussed the minds of the London and Dublin governments in an almost unprecedented way on the need for a real peace process. On 3 October, the leadership of the IRA welcomed the initiative and pointed out that it could provide the basis for peace.

The response of the British government to the developing peace initiative has been inexcusably negative and dismissive. Major's dependency on unionist votes has obviously been a significant factor and this has been a matter of serious concern for those involved in the peace initiative.

In our joint statement John Hume and I recognised that 'the broad principles involved will be for wider consideration

between the two governments'. On Friday last Mr Reynolds and Mr Major issued a communiqué on these matters. Their joint communiqué clearly rejects the process outlined by John Hume and I, yet it offers no obvious alternative. I am satisfied that John Major has no real interest in developing a real peace process. I am certain that he is out of step with British public opinion on this issue. He cannot and must not be permitted to reject this opportunity for a lasting peace.

Sinn Féin is firmly committed to the search for peace. If the governments have an initiative let us hear what it is. I have no interest in having my name attached to such an initiative. Neither, I am sure, has Mr Hume. Our interest is in building a real peace process.

Our primary concern (and the concern of everyone who has an interest in peace must be) at this time is to ensure that the substantive issues and the dynamic required to advance all parties to the conflict towards a meaningful peace process, are included in the thinking of the two governments and in any alternative, if they are considering an alternative, to the process proposed by Mr Hume and I.

Let me repeat that I am satisfied that Major is not interested in developing a real peace process at this time. Major's desire is to hold onto power. Party political interests and the Tory party's accord

with the unionists is dictating the British government's attitude to peace in Ireland. That attitude must be changed. I support Mr Hume's efforts to do this.

There is an onerous responsibility on Mr Reynolds. It is obvious that the British government will seize upon any opportunity to divert attention from Major's reluctance to be part of a genuine peace process and in order not to be seen to have rejected an opportunity for a lasting peace.

Let me assure Mr Reynolds that I am anxious to ensure that any proposals he may have will be given a fair hearing by republicans. At the same time he must be aware that the seriousness of the situation and recent events demand urgent action from his government to focus the attention of the British government on its responsibility to play a leading role in removing the causes of conflict and division in Ireland. An endeavour by Mr Reynolds to do this would have my support. No one can be allowed to play propaganda games with a situation as serious as the one we are all faced with.

Two weeks ago I pointed out that we are at a crossroads in our history. An opportunity to create a real peace process clearly does exist. This requires courage and imagination, particularly on the part of the two governments. In our proposals to them John Hume and I pointed a way forward.

In the absence of any other initiative I reiterate my conviction that the process advanced by Mr Hume and myself contains the substantive issues and the dynamic required to advance all parties to the conflict towards a meaningful peace process.

Until we are persuaded that there is an alternative process this will remain my view and I am fully committed to pursuing it.



• Vigil outside the GPO Dublin on Sunday 31 October, following the Greysteel massacre

# Vigils North support Adams

THE PEACE INITIATIVE pursued by the political leaders of Six-County nationalists, Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams and SDLP leader John Hume, was given a vote of confidence at vigils held in the 26 and Six Counties.

Rallies, organised by community leaders and civil rights activists, and attended by hundreds of people in support of the Adams/Hume peace initiative, were held throughout Belfast on Sunday.

In the north of the city hundreds of people attended rallies at Flax Street, Ardoyne, and at the site of the memorial, in the New Lodge Road area, to the 15 people who lost their lives in a no-warning loyalist bomb attack on McGurk's Bar in December 1971.

The vigil in the Short Strand area of Belfast was attended by 300 people, while hundreds more gathered on the Andersonstown Road at the Busy Bee car park.

Speaking at the New Lodge rally a community activist with long years of experience of the reality of life in North Belfast agreed that the Adams/Hume dialogue was the only initiative with the "possibility of bringing about a total cessation of all violence".

The community worker heavily criticised the British government's attitude to the Adams/Hume talks and condemned British Direct Rule for

the Six Counties Patrick Mayhew for his efforts to resurrect the so-called Brooke/Mayhew talks process.

Concluding, the speaker called for inclusive dialogue, saying that, "we need a process that will allow everyone who is involved in this conflict to have a say in how to end it. We need a solution that can gain the allegiance of everyone."

Speakers at the Busy Bee rally included Michael Kelly, brother of eleven-year-old Carol-Anne Kelly, shot dead by British crown forces in 1981. He appealed to the British government, "not to shut the door on Adams and Hume" and "to talk to Gerry Adams".

Sinn Féin Councillor Alex Maskey told the rally that if as seems likely the British government has rejected the Adams/Hume proposals "it is a bitter disappointment. A positive response might have transformed the entire situation."

Maskey voiced concern that the Dublin government may have accepted, "Britain's right", to reject the Adams/Hume initiative.

If this is so then, "develop-

ments over" pa  
represent a major  
peace in this country.

Well-known rights activist expressed his respect for Gerry Adams and taking the political initiative in initiating the talks.

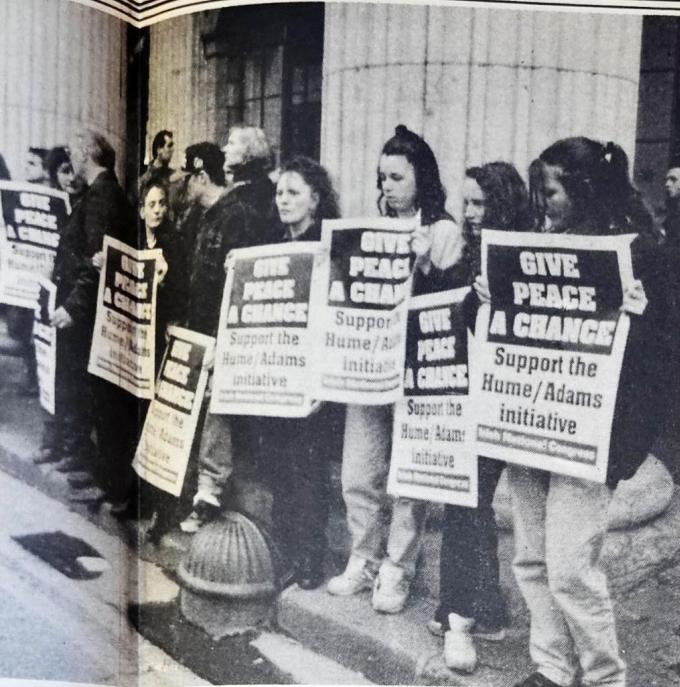
Wilson said, "We the people like the people who do not belong to a Ireland should be people who are willing to talk to and about."

He said, "As a people like the people who do not belong to a Ireland should be people who are willing to talk to and about."

The Belfast plantations who should be slaves who should be what they were.

Community groups in Groves summed up the situation that "it was a terrible strate that the British government who suffered people else, was a terrible

Adams/Hume initiative in Dublin. I attended



# North and South Adams/Hume

ments over the past few days represent a major set-back for peace in this country".

Well-known West Belfast community and human rights activist, Fr Dee Wilson, expressed his admiration and respect for the courage shown by Gerry Adams and John Hume in taking the political risks they did in initiating their talks.

Wilson told the crowd that it is "we the people who will decide who our elected representatives will be, who they will talk to and what they will talk about".

He said it was a disgrace that people like Mayhew and Major who do not have a single vote in Ireland should try and tell Irish people who their representatives should talk to.

The West Belfast priest likened this scenario to "the plantation owner telling the slaves who they shall talk to and what they will talk about".

Community worker Liz Groves summed up the importance of the Belfast rallies saying that "it was important to demonstrate that the nationalist people, who suffered more than anyone else, want peace. The Adams/Hume initiative was the best way of achieving it".

"The formula that violence must end before political dialogue begins has not worked in any other country. Political talks must take place now in order to bring about peace.

These talks must seek not only unionist consent but must also acknowledge the right of northern nationalists to withhold their consent to British rule.

"Peace cannot be achieved through closing doors. The gov-

In Dublin over 200 people attended a vigil called by

the Irish National Congress on Sunday. The rally at the GPO was chaired by Robert Ballagh who said he wished to express his horror at the atrocity of the previous night at Greysteel, County Derry, and his sympathy to all those bereaved over the past month.

He continued:

"The escalating violence in the North of Ireland during this last month underlines even more the need for an active peace dialogue.

"We are disappointed that the Irish and British governments have failed to positively respond to the courageous efforts by John Hume and Gerry Adams. Their dismissal of the Hume/Adams initiative and their failure to offer anything new in its place other than a continuing policy of containment and deadlocked talks is tragic and can only lead to further conflict.

"The formula that violence must end before political dialogue begins has not worked in any other country. Political talks must take place now in order to bring about peace.

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"Peace cannot be achieved through closing doors. The gov-

ernments must respond to the Hume/Adams dialogue or they bear some of the responsibility for the mounting death toll."

A minute's silence was observed at the vigil and the lament Caoineadh Luimni was played by Cormac Bhreatnach and Niall O'Callanáin.

An RUC inspector told Sinn Féin's Mid-Ulster representative Barry McElduff that he could not guarantee the safety of demonstrators holding a peace vigil outside the town hall in Cookstown, County Tyrone on Monday, 1 November. The group handed out leaflets and displayed placards calling for support for the Adams/Hume initiative. They received a supportive response from the public.

Over 50 people held a vigil in Toome on Sunday. Commanding those who took part Sinn Féin Councillor John Hurl said:

"It is very important that none of us are spectators to the peace process; we should all do something to assist it. We believe that the Adams/Hume initiative is progressive and forward looking. In stark contrast to this the British government is going backwards with its negative and insulting response to peace moves. Dialogue is the only solution and must begin now."

"Peace cannot be achieved through closing doors. The gov-

# Unionists must not be used to veto change

**I**N A HIGHLY-SIGNIFICANT SPEECH on the Six Counties on Wednesday, 27 October, came three days after Albert Reynolds met John Major in Brussels and set the tone for that meeting. But the speech contained nothing new. In fact it seemed to actually reinforce support for the British-government backed unionist veto on the future of the Six Counties. The emphasis in the speech was on "agreement between the unionist and nationalist traditions" rather than on the responsibility of the two governments to move the situation forward. The key role of the British government was not mentioned.

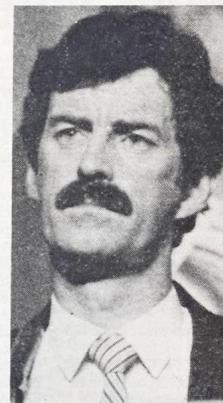
The first of the "six principles" set out by Spring stated that "the people living in Ireland, North and South, without coercion, without violence, should be free to determine their own future". The second said "that freedom can be expressed in the development of new structures for the governing of Northern Ireland, for relationships between North and South, and for relationships between the two islands. For many of us, of course, the freedom to determine our own future by agreement should lead to the possibility ultimately of unity on this island".

It is the third and fourth of Spring's principles that were most controversial and indeed contradictory. His third principle said that "no agreement can be reached in respect of any change in the present state of Northern Ireland without the freely expressed consent of a majority of the people of Northern Ireland".

In his next principle Spring apparently went further than previous statements by the Dublin government, and further than Article One of the Hillsborough Agreement when he said:

"Let us once and for all accept here that if we talk about the freedom of unionists to give their consent to constitutional change, we must also recognise the freedom of unionists to withhold consent from such change, unless and until they are persuaded by democratic political means only."

Clearly the consent of a majority of the people of the Six Counties is not the same as the consent of unionists, who constitute roughly 54% of the population there. Nationalists and a section



● DICK SPRING  
of unionists could also constitute a majority in the six Counties. This point was questioned by the SDLP's Séamus Mallon after Spring had made his speech.

The fifth point seemed to be hinting at support for changes to Articles Two and Three of the 1937 Constitution. Again the word "consent" — a desirable concept in its ordinary meaning — appeared to be used as a codeword for the unionist veto. Spring said that "if we believe in consent as an integral part of any democratic approach to peace, we must be prepared at the right time and in the right circumstances to express our commitment to that consent in our fundamental law".

"Fundamental law" refers to the Constitution and the inclusion of this point in Spring's "six principles" would also cause concern to many nationalists.

One Sunday newspaper political correspondent with sources in the Fianna Fáil/Labour government said that the speech had been put together quickly in the two days before it was delivered and that it had given rise to tension between Spring's office and that of Albert Reynolds.

The point of contention between them was the fourth principle which referred to unionists having a right to "withhold consent".

The sixth principle outlined by Spring said that the "men of violence... can come to the negotiat-

ing table, that they can play a peaceful part in the development of Ireland's future if only they would stop the killing, and the maiming and the hurting. We will make a place, and we will develop structures, to bring in from the cold those who have lived in the shadow of their own terrorism — and we are prepared to begin that process the moment a total cessation of violence makes it possible for us to do so."

In an initial response to Spring's speech Sinn Féin said:

"Sinn Féin believes that the route to peace in Ireland is to be found in the exercise of the right to self-determination, without impediment of any kind, by the Irish people as a whole.

"The ultimate exercise of that right is in the first instance dependent upon the British government conceding the principle.

"Sinn Féin is firmly committed to the search for peace. The primary concern at this juncture is in relation to the process and the vital political dynamic required to move the situation in that direction.

"In this, Mr Reynolds discussions with British Prime Minister John Major will have a crucial bearing.

"The British government must not allow its dependency on unionist votes at Westminster to delay the search for lasting peace.

"All in Ireland who seek peace should not permit the British to defeat us in such a way."

**S**peaking in Scotland on Friday evening, 29 October, Sinn Féin Six-County Chairperson Mitchel McLaughlin said:

"Common sense tells us that the peace process in Ireland will only succeed if unionists are not allowed to impede the search for agreement.

"Likewise, the peace initiative will only work if unionist antipathy to political change is not allowed to be deployed as an effective veto to the right of the Irish people as a whole (of which the unionists are an essential section) to exercise self-determination.

"Everyone knows that attempts in the past at internal solutions have always failed. There can be no internal solution.

"If the British government has any serious desire to facilitate the search for peace in Ireland the unionists cannot be allowed any power of veto over the peace process."

# Reviews

## The former Volunteer

■ BY ART MAC EOIN

**I**N 1976, Derryman Shane Paul O'Doherty was given 30 life sentences at London's Old Bailey for his IRA activities in Britain. He was 21 years old. Released from prison in 1989 following highly-publicised accounts of his estrangement from the IRA during his years in jail, O'Doherty went to Trinity College, Dublin, where he studied English.

*The Volunteer*, an account of O'Doherty's experiences in the IRA, is an interesting, exciting and colourful, if somewhat embellished, account of the early days of the current phase of struggle against British misrule in Ireland. In it, O'Doherty also attempts to give an explanation of why he subsequently distanced himself from the IRA and adopted a pacifist ideology.

It would be my own belief that O'Doherty's experience does not represent that of the average IRA Volunteer in the Six Counties. At the age of ten years, he concealed in the floor boards of his Derry home a self-penned note: 'When I grow up I want to fight and, if necessary, die for Ireland's freedom.'

This indicated an obviously intense, idealistic and somewhat romantic personality, particularly when one considers that he wrote the note in 1965 before the Six Counties had become an arena of struggle and before he had any awareness of modern republicanism.

Unlike most, O'Doherty had no doubt at the tender age of ten years that he would one day be an IRA Volunteer involved in an armed struggle against British occupation. He says that he was deeply affected

by the writings of the 1916 leaders and engaged in what he terms a "lonely and emotional communion with the spirit of these writings — to the extent I wrote and hid my own Pearsonian note already described. I might often write with a vein of irony or satire, but it would be untrue to play down the patriotic dedication that I felt for years before there was any outlet for it, and the absolute confidence that I would be involved in an IRA campaign."

As a republican from the 26 Counties, I read the foregoing with mixed feelings. On the one hand, I don't think O'Doherty's route is the one trod by the average northern nationalist to the ranks of the Irish Republican Army, British army and RUC harassment, sectarian discrimination and the realisation of one's designation to second-class citizenship in the Orange state, the absence of democracy and normal political avenues to change, seem the more practical and likely experiences which lead to active involvement in the IRA there.

And yet at the same time, as a republican from the 26 Counties I can personally identify with O'Doherty's route to republican activism. Never experiencing military occupation or

sectarian discrimination at first hand, I would have to say that the historical resonance of the terms Sinn Féin and IRA are powerful influences on the young and idealistic in places like Dublin. An awareness of previous periods of IRA activity which dislodged the British from the 26 Counties would be compounded by events like the early H-Block protests, the 1981 Hunger Strike, the Loughall ambush, and Gibraltar. Add to this an interest in history and politics and a natural inclination to take up political positions, it is inevitable that many not obviously or directly affected come to question themselves as to where they stand on the national liberation struggle. The more idealistic ask what can they do to participate in it and look to such participation with a sense of honour and pride which is hard to equal.

The antinationalist bigots down here love to harp on at length about a romanticism within Irish republicanism. But they miss the point completely, reducing the entire dynamic of the republican struggle to what they portray as a few malcontents obsessed with history and what they call the 'blood sacrifice'.

While this neo-unionist clique are not likely to be acquainted with any republicans from the 26 Counties, they have even less idea of the northern nationalist experience. I doubt, however, if O'Doherty's personal account will do much to enlighten them. It's the sort of book from which they

will undoubtedly take what they want and overlook that which upsets their pro-British analysis.

Another aspect which seems to separate O'Doherty from the average IRA Volunteer is that of class. His childhood seems to have been comfortable enough and he lived in what appears to have been a relatively quiet, mainly middle-class district of Derry city. Of course, IRA membership has never been the preserve of those from any one social class.

O'Doherty paints a vivid and exciting, possibly exaggerated picture of his role in the early days of the armed struggle, in the first part of the book. The latter parts concentrate heavily on the arguments going on in his head while imprisoned and his increasing doubts about his role in the struggle which eventually resulted in the adoption of a pacifist approach. It is patently obvious that this change was the result of O'Doherty's capitulation to a strong sense of personal guilt attached to his involvement in life-threatening armed activities.

In many ways O'Doherty's eventual decision to part ways with the IRA is directly related to his decision from an early age to become involved with it. He

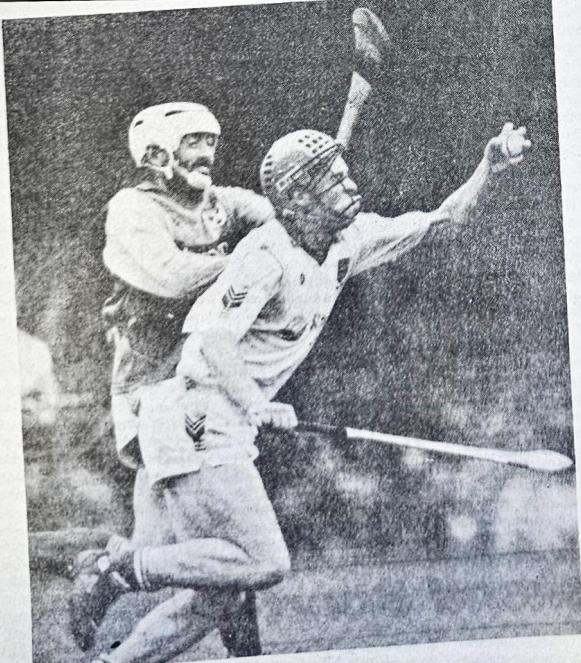


deals very much in a romantic, and intensely theoretical view of the world which seems to obscure his perceptions of the harsh realities of that world, of life and of revolutionary struggle. In many ways O'Doherty's book demonstrates the dangers of romanticising armed struggle in particular.

Romanticism should never be confused with idealism. Because a course of action is correct does not automatically mean that it is nice, and the opposite is often the case.

James Connolly would have something to say on the subject to incumbent Volunteers: 'No, there is no such thing as humane or civilised war! War may be forced upon a subject race or a subject class to put an end to subjection of race, of class, or sex. When so waged it must be waged thoroughly and relentlessly, but with no delusions as to its elevating nature or civilising methods.'

• *The Volunteer: a former IRA man's true story*, by Shane Paul O'Doherty. Price £4.99.



• Waterford's Ger Harris flies past Wexford's Paul Flood to score Waterford's first goal at New Ross last Sunday

## Kilkenny cruise to win

■ BY RORY DUNNE

**A**LL-IRELAND CHAMPIONS Kilkenny travelled to Trim last Sunday and they cruised to an expected win over All-Ireland B champions Meath. The home side tried hard but at the end of the day they couldn't match Kilkenny's class and skill.

The Cats made the perfect start with two goals from Adrian Ronan and Eamonn Morrissey in the opening six minutes and as the half progressed, DJ Carey, Canice Brennan and Ronan piled on the points. Pat Potterton and David Martin kept the home side in touch but at half-time Kilkenny led by 3-7 to 0-4. After the break, Meath made a gallant comeback with goals from Potterton and Mike Cole and at one stage the deficit was only six points, but at the finish Kilkenny won easily by 4-14 to 2-8.

The National League champions Cork, gained their first points of the present campaign when they defeated Antrim by 2-21 to 3-11. Cork's apathetic attitude to the league was summed up by the paltry attendance of 150 at Ballinlough. The

difference in the two sides was their forward lines, with the former Carlow player Mark Mullins particularly impressive at centre forward. He scored eight points, all of them from play. Cork led by 1-6 to 0-1 after 15 minutes but Antrim didn't help their cause by shooting 15 wides.

Antrim kept in touch throughout the second half but their hopes were dashed by Cork's second goal in the 49th minute. Barry Egan scored the decisive goal but he was a bit lucky as the ball struck a defender's leg and that helped it to the net.

Antrim had reduced Cork's lead to two points after 50 minutes, following John Carson's second goal and a pointed 65 by Paul McKillen. Then Mark Mullins entered the fray by scoring four unanswered points to leave Cork the likelier winners.

Antrim kept on battling and only a great save by goalkeeper Ger Cunningham prevented Carson from getting a hat-trick in the 54th minute. Seán Paul McKillen crashed the rebound to the net but it was too late by then.

One of Cork's newcomers, Fergal McCormack, had a great run through the Antrim defence in the ninth minute and unmarked full forward Paul O'Callaghan took the pass from him and crashed the ball to the net. John Carson caused Cork a lot of problems and his first goal just before half-time left Antrim trailing by only 1-12 to 1-7. His second goal in the 36th minute was hit to the net after a great run, but in the end his two goals weren't enough.

Elsewhere in Division One, Wexford, Tipperary and Galway had wins over Waterford, Limerick and Down respectively, while Laois beat Westmeath in Division Two where Offaly and Clare drew.

# News



## Corporation urged to act against pushers

■ BY LIAM O COILEAIN

UP TO 200 south inner city residents marched to Dublin's City Hall on Monday evening to demand that the drug problem in their area be tackled seriously by Dublin Corporation.

The protest march, organised by the St Catherine's Combined Communities Group and South Inner City Concerned Parents Against Drugs, made its way from School Street to City Hall to lobby councillors arriving for the regular monthly meeting. They were joined outside City Hall by Councillor Christy Burke of Sinn Féin

and Independent Councillor Tony Gregory.

The residents' main demands are that they should be consulted in flat allocations, that the corporation should promptly evict convicted drug pushers from local authority accommodation and refuse to rehouse them and that proper community and sports

facilities be provided for young people in the area to give them an alternative to the streets.

The extent of the drugs problem in the area has reached epidemic proportions, with the number of addicts reaching record levels, according to local people. The night before the march, suspected drugs dealer Francis Rodgers was shot dead in the Coombe area of Dublin. Rodgers, a former British soldier, was apparently the latest victim of the escalation of violence within and between criminal drug-pushing elements in the city.

A leaflet handed out by the marchers said that "the people of the south inner city have been witnessing for years the serious problem that the official circles are now conceding exists".

"We have seen the living environment deteriorate substantially with flat complexes virtually taken over by pushers and turned into drugs supermarkets. We know the fear this has engendered. We have seen the children having to be locked indoors for their protection,

the elderly afraid to walk to the shops..."

They pointed out that when communities stand together, even with official neglect of the problem, pushers and drugs can be thrown out and a safe environment for children created. This was the case in School Street flats complex, formerly a black spot, but which was cleaned up by concerted action involving residents, gardaí and the corporation.

"Even kids are afraid to go out and play," said Bernard Dempsey, of the St Catherine's group, who estimates that there are over 100 pushers operating in the small area between Dolphin's Barn and the Oliver Bond flats, not including addicts selling for the pushers to feed their own habits. "If something is not done then there'll be no hope whatsoever for young people," he said. "If it keeps up all the decent people will move out and the flats will go to rack and ruin."

He said that residents were asking to be given a day's notice of

new tenancies by the corporation, so that they could be checked out. He also warned that in the absence of effective official action, local people would sort out their own areas, giving known pushers 24 hours to get out or steps would be taken "to put them out".

Councillor Christy Burke congratulated the residents for tackling the issue. He told AP/RN:

"Corporation tenants have a right not to have to live beside drug pushers. Parents should not have to attempt to raise their children in local authority estates and flat complexes alongside this trade in death. Because of official neglect, this has been the case. People are now again taking their demands for a decent standard of living, free from these parasites, to the streets. I will do all in my power to support them."

Councillors at the meeting agreed to invite officials responsible for the allocation of flats to their next meeting to discuss the issue. They also urged that extra resources be allocated to deal with the drug problem.



● Dublin's children have a right to live in areas free from pushers

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

## Aer Lingus workers ballot on Cahill plan

■ BY ART MAC EOIN

AER LINGUS workers are to ballot on the Cahill plan for the airline which involves £50 million in cuts following agreement between union representatives and management. Four outstanding pay issues have been referred to a special Labour Relations Commission Tribunal for adjudication.

These include the 5.25% in pay rises owed to staff under the PESP and over £1,000 in back money which accrues from this.

The tribunal is also to adjudicate on the company's refusal to pay future service increments to staff and its intention not to pay any new pay round.

The precise details of what's on offer are to be given at public meetings over the next week. Workers will be balloted on whether to

accept the general proposals.

800 job losses and massive cutbacks in working conditions are the fruits of the Cahill plan. There are to be massive cuts in overtime, shift allowances and other work allowances and a host of new work practices for remaining workers.

Meanwhile 250 redundancies are being sought at TEAM Aer Lingus. Talks on new work practices at TEAM still have to take place.

The strikers had been subjected to several vitriolic attacks recently by Frank Boland of the Cork Chamber of Commerce during the strike, including a statement that they were guilty of "industrial terrorism".

### CORK POSTAL WORKERS RETURN TO WORK

At a mass meeting of Communication Workers' Union (CWU) members in Connolly Hall, Cork, on Tuesday, 2 November, postal workers in dispute with An Post decided to return to work. Throughout the strike the CWU leadership opposed the workers action.

The strikers had been subjected to several vitriolic attacks recently by Frank Boland of the Cork Chamber of Commerce during the strike, including a statement that they were guilty of "industrial terrorism".

Reacting to these remarks Don O'Leary of Cork Sinn Féin said

there was "no justification for such comments". O'Leary continued: "Mr Boland seems to think it reasonable that it is workers who must make all the sacrifices in the current economic crisis. He's wrong, and as the postal workers have demonstrated, workers will not lie down so easily."

### YOUGHAL CARPET WORKERS ACCEPT DEAL

The workers at Youghal Carpets in Cork have accepted the company's plan for the plant. The decision was taken at a mass meeting of the SIPTU workforce in Connolly Hall on Monday. The company, Coats Viyella, had threatened to close the plant if

the workers rejected their terms. 109 people, or one in four of the workforce, will be made redundant.

### AMBULANCE DISPUTE OVER

A three-year no-strike clause has been forced on ambulance workers in the Eastern Health Board area. The acceptance by workers of the Labour Court proposals on Tuesday, 2 November saw the end of the five-week old dispute. The stoppage began over a pay settlement dating back to 1989.

The ambulance workers will resume work on Thursday morning, 4 November.

If you have a story at your workplace, let us know. Get in contact with AP/RN. Phone 8733611/8733839.

# Nuacht

## CURSA NUA FIONTRIOCHTA TRI GHAEILGE

# Daltaí den scoth de dhíth

■ LE HOISIN O MURCHU

Lábhair an t-Ollamh Finnbar O Brolcháin os comhair sciafite Lhaimháig ag cruinniú poiblí sa Chultúrlann i mBéal Feirste, oiche Dé Máirt, 2 Samhain, ar an cheimh nua fiontraochta atá ag toiseacht ar Choláiste na hOllscoile Bhaile Atha Cliath ar an bhliain seo chugainn.

## Scoil gheimhridh faoi choinne Bhéal Feirste

TÁ SCOIL GHEIMHRIDH á reachtáil don chéaduair ag Coiste Fhéile an Phobail, Bhéal Feirste Thiar, idir Dé hAoine 3ú agus Dé Domhnaigh 5ú de mhí na Nollag.

Is é téama na scoile ná "Scribhneoirí Éireannacha agus an Chriochdheileáit".

Binn roinnt imeachtaí liteartha le linn na priomhfhéile achan bliain agus binn réimse de diospóireachta agus de shéisiún phlé le cuig bliana anuas.

Dúirt Deirdre Nic Mhanáis de

choiste Fhéile an Phobail "go mbeadh an scoil gheimhridh á thionól mar chuid d'fhorbair agus de leathnú na heagráocha agus mar rud a thabharfadh deis dúnún dinú agus beachtú ar ábhar ar leith seachas réimse d'ábháir mar a dhéanamh le linn na feile"

Beidh na himeachtaí ar fad ar

Bhfí cruinniú nf ba luaithe sa lá ar an ábhar seo ag O Brolcháin le daltaí agus muineoirtí i Meánscoil Feirste. Mhfnigh O Brolcháin an leagan amach a mbeidh ar an chúrsa nua a münnefáit tri mhéan na Gaeilge amháin.

Dúirt O Brolcháin gur círfa den scoth atá i gceist aige a thagann faoi bhráid na Rannóga Gnó, Ríomhraiseachta agus Teangeola. Dúirt sé nach mbeadh ach 15 dalta sa tir ar fad ag toiseacht

ar an chúrsa an bhliain seo chugainn agus mar sin nach mbeadh ach scoth na ndaltaí ag dul don chúrsa. Mháigh sé nach nglacfaidh le níos mó ná 20 daltaí ar fad ar an chúrsa i mbliain ar bith ina dhiaidh sin.

Cuireadh i leith Uí Brolcháin roimh seo go raibh an círfa claoonta in aghaidh duine ar bith nach raibh Gaeilge aige. Ag freagraírt an lírmheasa seo arsa O Brolcháin go simplí:

"Tá an círfa claoonta in aghaidh duine ar bith nach bhfuil Gaeilge aige!"

Dúirt sé nach bhfuil a mhasamhail de chúrsa ar fáil in áit ar bith eile sa tir agus na trí rannóga ag tacáil leis. Mar sin ní raibh ach na daltaí is fearr de dhíth air.

Tá O Brolcháin tosaithe anois ar chamchuaírt timpeall na nGaeilgeoirí aonair ar bith nach raibh Gaeilge aige. Ag freagraírt an lírmheasa seo arsa O Brolcháin go simplí:

Tá sé de rún aige fostá dul thart ar scoileanna Bhéarla a bhfuil caighdeán maith Gaeilge acu.

Má tá tuilleadh eolais de dhíth déan teagmháil le Féile an Phobail, An Chultúrlann, 216 Bóthar na bhFál, Béal Feirste BT12 6AH. Fón (023) 313440. Facs (f/ch) (023) 238594.

I measc na gcainteoirí a bheas i láthair ag na diospóireachtaí éagsúla beidh Mary Holland, Nell McCafferty, Steve McDonagh, Ulick O'Connor, Bill Ralston, Pádraig O Snodaigh agus go leor leile.

Beidh diospóireachtaí ar chinsireacht ar ionnána cultúrtha, ar litriocht na hÉireann agus athscríobh na staire.

Tá na heagrathair ag tariscint pacáiste lóistín agus brífeasta do dhá oiche, dhá lón, an turas stairiúil agus saorchead isteach go dtí cíug shéisiún diospóireachta agus chug an oiche cheoil ar an Satharn faoi choinne £50.



## ACHT NUA BREATNAISE — TREISEOFAR ÉILIMH ÉIREANNACHA

Tá Acht nua na Breataise ag teacht i bhfeidhm roimh an Nollaig a chuireann dualgas ar an earnáil phoiblí sa Breatain Bheag gnó a dhéanamh trí Breatnais leo siúd sa phobal gur mhaith leo é.

Déanann an acht bord reachtúil as Bord na Breataise a bhí ina bhord comhairleach go dtí seo. Beidh an bord nua cheaptha freagach as treoracha a leagan amach le feidhm phraiticiúil a thabhairt don phrionsabhal gur cheart déileáil leis an Breatnais agus an Béarla ar bhonn cothrom.

Cuireann an acht nua d'íallach a oifigiú stáit lasmuigh den Breatain Bheag cloí le foráilachá an acha nuair atá siad ag déanamh gnó le Breatnais a bháineann leis an Breatain Bheag.

Chomh maith sin tugann an acht nuar ceart dílíúil do dhaoine Breatais a labhairt i gcásanna círfe agus beidh sé ar chumas an bhoird deontaíodh a bhronnadh chun an teanga a chur chun cinn.

Tá bille cearta Gaeilge á n-éileamh le fada ag gníomhaithé Gaeilge in Éirinn ó thuaidh agus 6 díreas.

Cuirfidh Gaeilgeoirí sna Sé Chontae go háirthe an-spéisí i stáit dílíúil na Breataise sa Breatain Bheag.

Níl stádas ar bith oifigiúil ag an Ghaeilge sna Sé Chontae gí gur thaispeán an daonáireamh is maille i 1991 go bhfuil 142,000 duine sna Sé Chontae a bhfuil cumas na Gaeilge acu ar bhealach éigin.

Is cinnte go gcuirfidh na hathrúithéan acht nua Breataise leis na hélimh go bpíleann ríaltas na Breataine leis an Ghaeilge ar an bhealach chéanna agus a bpíleann siad leis an Breatnais.



Pádraig O'Keeffe — tá sráth cheithre chlár raidió ag toiseacht ar RTÉ 1 ar shaol an fhidiléara cháiliúil as Ciarráil Dé Sathairn seo, 6 Samhain, ar 9.15in. Tá CD agus cásáid a n-eisiúint i dteannta leis an sráith

**Shinn Féin**

**BALLRAÍOCHT**

**SHINN FÉIN**

Is é bunaidhm Shinn Féin aistíraingt na Breataise ó na Sé Chontae, athaontú ar dtíre agus bunadh

phoblacht shóisialach dhaonlathach.

Más mian leat heithí i do bhall de Shinn Féin, nó tuilleadh oíras a fháil faoi Shinn Féin nó ár gníomháortha agus ár bpolasaithe, líon an fhoirm thíos agus seol é chug

Sinn Féin, 44 Cearnog Pharnell,  
Baile Atha Cliath 1.

Ainm .....

Seoladh .....

.....

..... Aois .....

**Oíche Gaelach**

Beidh fáilte roimh chách chug

**Siamsa**

Ag Cómóradh chéad bliain Conradh na Gaeilge

**SATHAIRN 13 SAMHAIN**

*Halla Uí Chinnéide*

Láirionad Éireannach, Murray Street  
Candem Town, Londain

# Letters

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

## Women for real peace

A Chairde,

The escalating violence in the Six Counties has shocked everyone and reinforces the urgent need for peace. The Adams/Hume initiative is the only process in the last 25 years which points the way towards a just and lasting peace.

Never has it been more urgent for women and women's groups to actively involve themselves in the search for peace.

The sixth annual republican women's conference will take place on Saturday, 6 November, from 11am to 5pm in the North Star Hotel, Amiens Street, Dublin.

This conference will allow women the opportunity to take part in discussions and hear opinions which you do not normally have access to, because of censorship.

As women, we have a responsibility to ensure that the Adams/Hume peace initiative is supported. If we do not put pressure on the 26-County government to respond to this, what future for the Six Counties? What chance for peace on this island?

I hope that you will attend this conference and involve yourself in the search for lasting peace.

Mairead Keane,  
Director Sinn Féin  
Women's Department.

## Astonishing ignorance

A Chairde,

I am writing to your paper to state a fact which I feel must be made clear to your readers. I was listening to the radio on 27 October on the day of the

peace rallies when a reporter asked a participant of the Dublin rally: "Are you also praying for the nationalists who have been murdered in these past few days?". I was astonished to hear the reply: quote: "Yes, but they would not have died if the IRA had not put the bomb on the Shankill."

Where have these people been living this past 25 years, when they shot Jim Bell, Padraig McMahon, Jody Reynolds and his family? Did the UDA/UVF need any excuse then? Indeed not and as a matter of fact, recently when they have shot nationalists dead, they have admitted that they were shot merely because they were nationalists which is something that we have always known.

Where were these peace rallies when all these nationalists were being murdered, or when the pan-united front was exercising its policy of ethnic cleansing. Maybe they were not aware of all that has been happening here lately, but maybe if they rallied for the repeal of censorship as often as they do for peace they might be better educated on the situation. They would then be able to give a sensible comment to reporters instead of pouring out British propaganda.

Joseph Grogan,  
Belfast.

## Hypocritical reaction

A Chairde,

The hypocritical reaction to the tragic events at the UFF headquarters last Saturday by the British government and its loyal servants in the media, was breathtaking.

Once again they have used an appalling tragedy and the consequent suffering of whole

families to score cheap political points. They misrepresented and distorted the facts continually and rather than simply showing solidarity with our peoples' suffering, they incited more of the same.

As one looks around the world today, the clear evidence is that talking without preconditions is the only solution to our problems, so if it can be done in South Africa and between the Israelis and Palestinians, why is it too much to ask for here in Ireland? John Major and Patrick Mayhew continually employ hypocritical rhetoric to cover up their apparent apathy towards the peaceful resolution of this conflict. They say that they will not talk to those who perpetrate acts of violence. Not true. They both served under a government that not only talked to Saddam Hussein and Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge, the perpetrators of the notorious 'killing fields', but also gave them weaponry and military know-how. This begs the question, if they can make deals with two of the most notorious mass murderers of modern times, why can't they talk to the IRA, not to mention Sinn Féin, a legal and democratic political party with elected representatives in every corner of this island?

The British and Irish people deserve the truth not censorship, not hypocrisy and not misinformation, yet they have been inundated with this since last Saturday's tragic events unfolded. Initially, when the news broke that the bomb had exploded prematurely, and that one IRA Volunteer was dead and another seriously injured, the media accurately reported it as a mistake. This turned out to be a short-lived accuracy, for they immediately returned to their propaganda-oriented agenda by using

such terminology as "sectarian" "atrocities" etc.

Further distortions arose such as the "tit-for-tat" scenario when the facts are that of the 14 people killed before last Saturday, 12 were Catholics murdered by loyalist death squads. Since Saturday, four more Catholics have been murdered, one of those a 70-year-old man, who was interrogated for at least an hour before being shot in the head several times. These have all been reported as revenge attacks, understandable in the circumstances, so the media would have us believe. Loyalist paramilitaries have never needed an excuse nor motivation to murder Catholics. In recent statements it is apparent that justification is no longer a prelude to murder for them, just blind hatred.

The time has come for peace in our land and if the British government can show a fraction of the integrity that Gerry Adams and John Hume undoubtedly possess there may yet be hope.

Pádraig Mac Lochlainn,  
Buncrana,  
County Donegal.

## Peace needs justice

A Chairde,

Intergovernmental talks, considering the process suggested by John Hume and Gerry Adams, will, hopefully, help bring to an end the violence which has resulted in many thousands killed and maimed in Ireland since 1969. More than a mere cessation of violence is necessary, however, if we are to have real peace. The underlying causes of the violence will have to be removed and, for example, effective means must be found to ensure

equality of opportunity for all in employment practices.

It is generally conceded now that, as noted in the June 1969, *Review of the International Commission of Jurists*, Catholics in the North of Ireland were subjected to political and economic discrimination by Belfast governments in order to impoverish them and induce emigration. Georges-Henri Beauvois, who chaired an April 1992 commission in London dealing with "Human Rights in Northern Ireland", is on record stating that "direct discrimination of the most invidious kind still occurs in Northern Ireland" and he charges that the UK government has demonstrated a singular unwillingness to effect real change.

Clergy For Justice has reviewed the relevant legislation and measures taken by Westminster and in *Fair Employment Legislation in Northern Ireland: A Cosmetic Exercise*, shows that Beauvois' charges are well-founded. Discrimination is still being utilised "in order to weaken economically the Catholic minority and to induce emigration." Effective means to deal with all forms of discrimination will have to be taken to ensure a real peace based on justice.

Clergy for Justice,  
Fr Maurice Burke,  
Fr Tomas Walsh,  
Fr Joe McVeigh,  
Fr Des Wilson.

## 'Rebel Cork' is a misnomer

A Chairde,

Before and after the All-Ireland final we repeatedly heard the slogan "Rebel Cork" trotted out, even on censored TV and radio. The rebels from Cork were thin on the ground

but many brave Derry people had to be rebels to exist over the last 20 years in a province where only our rivers run free.

All credit to a Cork team for giving us a great match, but facts are facts and one can't overlook the fact that across their chest was inscribed "Barry's Tea". Peter Barry, when foreign minister, spent his time following up and thinking out ways of killing "the national struggle" at the highest level. Dan Breen would turn in his grave if he saw the number of 26-County soldiers and civic guards, some of them footballers and hurlers of note, who go on daily and nightly "witch hunts" on and near the border, assisting the Brits to do their dirty work. If the Cork County Board badly need "Peter's Pence" let them get it, and switch to Cocola.

Please, please Cork, do not play the patriot game.  
Sperrin Metal,  
County Derry.

## Support Wolfe Tone Society

A Chairde,

The town of Redditch just outside Birmingham, now has a branch of the Wolfe Tone Society republican support group. Our aim is to raise funds and to help the voice of Sinn Féin to be heard, restricted as it is through censorship and to bring light and truth to the British people about the withdrawal of British armed forces in a country where they are not wanted nor needed. No support can be too small, no contribution too little. Don't just feel sorry about the situation in Northern Ireland. Act now, join us in our efforts to bring about peace and justice in Ireland.

Write to:  
PO Box 3572,  
Redditch,  
Worcestershire B98 9HN,  
England.

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

PLEASE KEEP LETTERS SHORT

# Sinn Féin National Draw Results — Week 5

**STAR PRIZE**  
1st Prize £10,000  
or Car:  
Ticket No 962,  
Catherine Hughes,  
Carrickcroe,  
County Monaghan  
Seller's Prize £250:  
Jimmy McKenna, Monaghan

2nd Prize £750: Ticket No 1801, Phelim Brady, Ballyconnell, County Cavan.  
3rd Prize £500: Ticket No 7839, Dungiven, County Derry.  
4th Prize £250: Ticket No 6379, J Gallagher, c/o T Grant, Baile Atha Cliath.  
5th Prize £100: Ticket No 13981, London.  
6th Prize £50: Ticket No 10625, Beefort.  
7th Prize £50: Ticket No 13140, Pomeroy, County Tyrone.  
8th Prize £50: Ticket No 9676, Sion Mills, County Tyrone.  
9th Prize £50: Ticket No 2434, Rory Ferguson, Kells, County Meath.  
10th Prize £50: Ticket No 12332, Craigavon, County Armagh.  
11th Prize £50: Ticket No 11356, Silverbridge, Newry, County Down.  
12th Prize £50: Ticket No 8959, Strabane, County Derry.  
13th Prize £50: Ticket No 9412, Magherafelt, County Derry.  
14th Prize £50: Ticket No 16217, Micky Rooney, Summerhill, Dublin.  
15th Prize £50: Ticket No 4964, Biddy O'Donnell, Garavogue Villas, Sligo.



# News/Notices

## Death squads working to British agenda

AT A TIME when pro-British death squads stalk many nationalist areas of the Six Counties at ease, a commemoration in Armagh city on Sunday, 24 October, marked the anniversary of the shooting dead of Peter Corrigan by the same forces eleven years ago.

The commemoration, which was chaired by Stephen McCleary, heard the main oration from Sinn Féin Councillor Noel Sheridan.

Peter Corrigan, a Sinn Féin member, was killed while walking along the Loughgall Road. His

brother and son who were with him, narrowly escaped death when assassins opened fire as they passed the old Bairnswear factory. Sadly, Peter's son Martin was to die in similar circumstances some years later.

Sheridan said that Peter Corrigan was not a man to sit back and allow the injustices of the Six-County state go unchallenged. "Throughout his life he opposed the British occupation of the Six Counties. His opposition cost him dearly — years of imprisonment, daily harassment from the crown forces and finally, his death at the hands of the British-backed Protestant Action Force."

Eleven years on from Peter

Corrigan's killing, the same forces are stalking the streets of many areas in the Six Counties. Loyalist gangs are still killing nationalists, often on information supplied by their friends in the official crown forces.

Sheridan said that it was a myth to believe that the loyalist gangs work purely to their own agenda. "That agenda is still being supported by the British, if somewhat covertly these days."



• NOEL SHERIDAN

# Join Sinn Féin

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

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

Name.....

Address.....

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

### Imeachtaí

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

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

BALLYMURPHY SEVEN PICKET: 1-3pm, every Saturday, O'Connell Bridge, DUBLIN

LEÁCTH: 'Cinsireacht' le Diarmuid O Gráinne, 8pm, Deardáin, 40 Samhain. Club na Táiníorí, 36 Cearnog Pharnell, BAILE ATHA CLIATH. Cathaoirleach: Pádraig O Snodaigh. Fáilte roimh chách

FUNCTION: In aid of Tucson Six

Defence Fund. 9pm, Friday, 5 November, The Lantern, DUNDALK. Music by Joe McSheehan. Táille £2

FUNCTION: 8.30pm, Saturday, 6 November, Conway's Pub, Parnell Square, DUBLIN. Organised by Sinn Féin Women's Department

ANTI-EXTRADITION PICKET: In support of Joe Magree. 10.30am, Monday, 8 November, Green Street Court, DUBLIN

PUBLIC LECTURE: On Father Michael Flanagan, 8pm, Tuesday, 9 November, Russell Court Hotel, Harcourt Street, DUBLIN. Speaker: Denis Carroll. Organised by Dublin '68 Committee. All welcome

PUBLIC MEETING: On the

Adams/Hume talks. 8.30pm, Tuesday, 9 November, Creighton Hotel, Clones, MONAGHAN. Organised by Sinn Féin

PICKET: On the National Irish Bank, 3.45pm, Thursday, 11 November, Dame Street branch, DUBLIN. Organised by the INC

COMMEMORATION: Annual Manchester Martyrs Commemoration. 8.30pm, Friday, 12 November, HUGGINSTOWN, County Kilkenny. Speaker: Fr Patrick Ryan

ANTI-EXTRADITION PICKET: On the Fianna Fáil Ard Fheis, 12.30-2.00pm, Ballsbridge, DUBLIN. All welcome

FUNCTION: Crumlin by-election fundraiser. 8pm, Saturday, 13 November, Horse and Jockey

pub, Inchicore, DUBLIN. Organised by the Logue/Marley Sinn Féin Cumann. Táille £2

FUNCTION: Featuring The Irish Brigade. 8pm, Saturday, 13 November, Widow Scallion's, Pearse Street, DUBLIN

COMMEMORATION: Edentubber Martyrs Commemoration. Assemble 2.30pm, Sunday, 14 November, Caesars Nightclub, EDENTUBBER, County Louth. Speaker: Rita O'Hare

POW FUNTION: In aid of An Cumhan Cabhrach. 8.30pm, Thursday, 25 November, Cabora House, Faussagh Avenue, DUBLIN. Ballads by Ragamuffin. Táille £2. Organised by the Carron/Ashé Sinn Féin Cumann. Everybody welcome

JAMES CONNOLLY FORUM: The Illusion of Growth — the Failures of the Irish Economy. 8.15pm, Monday, 8 November, Connolly Hall, East Essex Street, DUBLIN. Speaker: Richard Douthwaite

REPUBLICAN BAND: The Volunteers Tom Smith/Christy Harford Memorial Band, Dublin, is looking for new members. No experience necessary. Contact Pat Bell at Dublin 8733611 or any band member

### Draw results

The Omagh Comháile Ceantair E5 Private members draw  
1st No 1395 — Drumquin  
2nd No 0531 — Carrickmore  
3rd No 1230 — Omagh  
4th No 1695 — Castlederg  
5th No 0730 — Loughmacrory

### In Díl Chuimhne

CONEY, Hugh; McAULEY, Kevin; McPARLAND, Liam. In proud and loving memory of Volunteers Hugh Coney (died 6 November 1974), Liam McParland (died 6 November 1969) and Fian Kevin McAuley (died 6 November 1975). The

Republic stands for truth and honour. For all that is noblest in our race. By truth and honour, principle and sacrifice alone will Ireland be free." — Liam Mellows. Proudly remembered by their friends and comrades in the Republican Movement.

MCKENNA, Martin (14th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of

Volunteer Martin McKenna, who died on 23 October 1979. Ar dheis Dé go raibh a hainm. Always remembered by Val and Dolores, Dublin.

Comhbhrón BEGLEY. Deepest sympathy

is extended to the Begley family on the death of Thomas. Go ndéana Dia trocaire ar a hanam usáil. O chomhairleadh Stephen and Emmanuel, H5, Ceis Fada.

MAGEE. Sincere condolences are extended to our friend and comrade Joe Magee POW and

his family, on the recent sad death of his father, Charlie. From republican POWs, Portlaoise Prison.

O'HALLORAN. Limerick Sinn Féin extends sincere sympathy to the family and friends of Martin O'Halloran, Thomondgate, who died recently.

### Cuimhni Breithlæ

MAGUIRE. A birthday memory for Gerry Maguire, whose birthday would have occurred on 7 November. From Brenda, Theresa, Kevin and Brenda.

# Smyth trial hears RUC lies

■ BY LIAM O COILEAIN

INTO ITS FOURTH WEEK, Jim Smyth's San Francisco extradition trial saw defence lawyers conclude their evidence and the prosecution begin calling its rebuttal witnesses, initially all RUC officers.

On Monday, the defence called Séan Mackin to the stand. Mackin, who has recently been granted asylum in the United States, told the court how his family had been harassed and intimidated by the crown forces in the Six Counties. He himself was arrested over 100 times, he said. He recounted the court the details of how he was tortured and humiliated after one such arrest in 1975. He later took a civil suit against the RUC but the court ruled he had injured himself.

The next witness called by the defence was Jane Winter of the Six-County-based Committee for the Administration of Justice (CAJ). She testified that according to figures compiled by the CAJ, there is not only a vast difference in the number of arrests of Catholics as compared to Protestants, but also in how the cases were treated in terms of the conduct of trials, the level of convictions and the length of sentences. She said that the system for investigating civilian complaints against the RUC is unsatisfactory because in the initial stages the RUC investigates itself.

Winter concluded her testimony on Tuesday, 26 October, when the defence called its final witness, Joseph Quinn, a member of Smyth's legal team, employed by the Public Defender's Office in San Francisco. Quinn, who accompanied Karen Snell, Smyth's counsel, to the Six Counties to compile evidence, told

On Thursday, 28 October, an RUC

the court of the complete lack of cooperation from the civil authorities in the Six Counties. Supposedly public records necessary for Smyth's defence proved difficult to obtain and the defence team was followed by a crown forces' vehicle, he said.

After hearing Quinn's testimony, Judge Barbara Caulfield directed prosecution counsel Mark Zanides, to obtain a statement from the British government as to whether the crown forces had followed the defence team's car.

On Wednesday, 27 October, the prosecution called its first rebuttal witness, RUC Inspector Daniel Brennan. Brennan, based in North Queen Street Barracks in Belfast, and a member of the force since 1978, claimed that in all his years, he had never seen or heard of a case of harassment or abuse of civilians, except once, when an officer was reprimanded and transferred.

He further alleged that policing in unionist areas has been raised to the same level as in nationalist areas and that when this occurred the number of complaints of harassment and abuse was vastly increased. He added that while homes are always raided with "probable cause", they rarely find what they are looking for because the "terrorists" are clever, and always move things around.

On Thursday, 28 October, an RUC



● JIM SMYTH

Sergeant Sullivan, assigned to a DMSU in Armagh and Dungannon and based in Coalisland, talked of his role in setting up vehicle checkpoints, alleging that the searching of people's cars is carried out on the basis of intelligence reports. He said that he was acquainted with the family of Bernadette McAliskey, who had earlier given evidence. He said that he had often personally investigated their complaints of suspicious activities in their area and always found them to be unfounded.

Under cross-examination by Snell, Sullivan admitted that he was somewhat familiar with the efforts of the McAliskey family, since 1975, to obtain a permit to keep a weapon in their home for their own defence, but could not explain why it was not granted until 1982, almost a year after the near fatal gun attack on their home.

Next into the stand was RUC

Detective Superintendent Robert Cooke, who claimed that questioning sessions in interrogation centres are never to exceed two hours without a break. Cooke, whose job it is to supervise up to 20 interrogations at a time, testified that people are entitled to be examined by their family doctor before sessions and that all interviews are monitored on video, although tapes are not kept. He admitted that the audio portion of the interrogation sessions is neither monitored nor taped.

He testified about the rights of those under interrogation, but claimed under cross-examination that no assaults had taken place in custody since the 1970s. Under further questioning by Snell, he was forced to admit that the British government has been forced to pay out thousands of pounds in compensation for assaults which have occurred in the last ten years. Cooke also told the court that families are allowed to visit detainees in interrogation centres, but said that he had never seen it happen.

He also admitted that while about 2,000 complaints of brutality were received last year, no interrogation session has ever been stopped, nor have disciplinary proceedings ever been taken against interrogators. Snell observed in court that the United Nations Commission Against Torture has criticised the very idea of interrogation centres and that Amnesty International, as lately as 1991, had filed an Urgent Action Order in the case of 17-year-old Damien Austin, whom they found to have been tortured in custody.

Superintendent Cooke, after admitting that 90% of convictions in the Six Counties are based on "confession" evidence, said that many people had thanked him for taking their confessions. The trial is continuing.

## REPUBLICAN WOMEN'S CONFERENCE

11am Saturday

November 6

North Star Hotel,

Amiens Street,

Dublin.

Republican Women Speak



AGENDA

11.00am Introduction to the Conference.

11.15am Women and Peace.

Mairead Keane,  
(Director Sinn Féin Women's Department)Una Gillespie,  
(Sinn Féin Councillor, Belfast)Joan O'Connor,  
(Repeal Section 31 Campaign)Workshop: Censorship  
1pm-2pm Lunch  
2pm-3pmDrama and Presentations  
3pm-5pmCollusion/Loyalist  
Death Squads.  
Annie Armstrong  
(Sinn Féin Councillor, Laburnum)  
Chrissie McCauley,  
(Director Republican Publications)  
Pádraigín  
Ni Mhurchadha,  
(Sinn Féin Councillor, Moraghen)

The apparent shunting aside of John Hume may yet prove to be a serious miscalculation. Mr Major would do well to study the plea from 50 prominent Catholic and Protestant leaders who believe that Mr Hume should be allowed to develop his process. Given the mounting daily toll of death, time is on nobody's side and the idea of another 20 years of this is simply unthinkable.

— Irish Press editorial, Monday, 1 November.

There should be a moral imperative upon all politicians to spend all their waking hours searching for a constructive way forward. Instead, people such as Hume, who have taken risks in the cause of peace, are singled out for abuse. — Sunday Business Post editorial, Sunday, 31 October.

Spring's six-point plan, apparently underwritten by the Fianna Fáil organisation, not merely grants the unionist population a permanent veto on all constitutional change and provides for the enshrinement of that veto in the basic law of Ireland, but also opens the way for the creation of Six-County political institutions — that is, for an internal solution to the national question.

From his base in North Kerry, Spring's appreciation of life under unionist political control may be minimal, but he must be aware of the basics of the unfortunate history of the Six-County state. He knows the violent nature of the society fashioned by Ulster's unionists, he knows of the crude and offensive way they exercised power for decades. — Sunday Business Post editorial, 31 October.

Dick Spring's statement of six principles in the Dáil last week may seem eminently reasonable to those of us not cursed with strongly-held principles of our own. But what will northern nationalists do if we dismantle Articles Two and Three of the Constitution?

What will unionists give in return? And what does a settlement mean to unionists? No more shooting, but no change either? Their reaction to the Tánaiste's statement was depressing. Unionist leaders still believe that a rapacious republican lurks within every southern politician. But no southern politicians or SDLP members have ever paraded at night carrying gun licences. The threat of armed resistance to change always lurks just below the surface of unionism. — Emmanuel Kehoe in the Sunday Press, 31 October.

I think that the Hume/Adams peace proposals are dead for the moment and as a result, many more people may now die in the North whose lives may have been saved had that plan been put into effect. — Nell McCafferty, Questions and Answers, RTE 1, Monday, 1 November.

The two governments now have taken the ball. They have got to

## Dúirt Siad

run with it. They have had the ball for 25 years to bring about a solution to this problem. Now if they fumble it this time they are going to look mighty foolish in the face of the type of courageous approach which was taken both by Hume and Adams, to try to get an end to violence in the North of Ireland. — SDLP MP Séamus Mallon, Questions and Answers, RTE 1, Monday, 1 November.

The Shankill bombing has now replaced the "pan-nationalist front" (remember that?) as a handy cover for the continuing loyalist killings which carry on relentlessly, causing fear in the Catholic community not felt since the 1970s. — Anne Cadwallader, the Sunday Press, 31 October.

It's as if the violence only started with the Shankill bombing, but in the ten weeks before then, 12 Catholics were killed by loyalists. There were no special television programmes for them, no messages from the queen, or books of condolence from Dublin, or speeches by the cardinal. The world was basically saying to the Catholic community: 'You'd better learn to live with killings.' — Belfast community worker Séamus McAloran, quoted in the Irish Times, Friday, 29 October.

Loyalist killings are much more than just retaliation and revenge. The current murderous campaign against Catholics is the continuation of a long series of violent attacks on innocent and uninvolved Catholics, going back many years in our history. These attacks historically predated IRA activity. They run in parallel with, but often precede IRA acts. — Cardinal Cahal Daly, 28 October.

Cyprus was an ideal, if ironic, setting for Mr Major's rejection of talks with Gerry Adams because, in 1956, the then Colonial Secretary, Alan Lennox-Boyd, said he would never negotiate with Archbishop Makarios because of his support for EOKA terrorists. Five years later, the Archbishop was shaking hands with the queen of England. It would be interesting to know how many Commonwealth leaders have at some time been associated with terrorism (or freedom fighting, if you prefer), and involved in atrocities such as the shooting down of a civilian airliner in Rhodesia in September 1978, and massacring the survivors. — Former British Secret Intelligence Service

(MI6) agent James Rusbridge, referring to the Zimbabwean guerrilla campaign of Robert Mugabe, the *Guardian*, Thursday, 28 October. Prince Charles took part in Rhodesia/Zimbabwe's independence ceremonies with the "man of violence", Robert Mugabe.

Now nobody wants what northern nationalists really want. They seem to really want their grievance. That's the sign of a psychotic condition. So we cannot just pin it all on the Provos and pretend all the rest of them are normal. And the same is true of the unionist side, but it is not so acute because private conscience forces them to say what they mean. — Former Workers' Party and Fine Gael guru Eoghan Harris, the Irish Times, Friday, 29 October.

Many of us in the South would like to shut the door on the self-pitying violent delinquent. But it is our progeny. We must either teach it to sit and eat at the table without hurting the rest of the family or we must commit it to institutional care. — Eoghan Harris.

You go to the shops for a pint of milk, you go into town in a black taxi, you walk home from the pub at night and you're lucky if you come back alive. — Ardoyne resident on the fear that grips nationalist Belfast, the *Guardian*, Monday, 1 November.

As many leaders prior to Yitzhak Rabin have pointed out, making peace with one's enemies almost always involves finding some way of opening a dialogue with opponents whom one finds personally and politically repugnant. That is the challenge which governments in London and Dublin still have to face. — *Observer* editorial, Sunday, 31 October.

If only we could pull the plug and let the whole damn place sink into the Irish Sea — good riddance to the lot of you, Gerry Adams, Ian Paisley and all. If only we could turn away from this ancient tribal conflict and get on with the 20th Century. But of course we can't. Like it or not, Northern Ireland is not a corner of hell, but part of the United Kingdom. It is inconceivable that a civilised country should allow this to go on forever. But what can we do? — Racist rubbish from John Williams, Political Editor of the *Daily Mirror*, Monday, 1 November.

This latest atrocity only lends new urgency to the need for all parties to come together to find a lasting political solution to the North. The Irish and British governments, aided by ALL political parties together have the power to ensure that it will be remembered as the LAST. — Editorial in the *Star*, Monday, 1 November.

## News



• Picket by Sheffield Troops Out Movement, held to protest at the fifth anniversary of the British Broadcasting Ban on Sinn Féin

## Broadcasting ban to be tightened

THE EXPERTISE of actors miming the voices of Sinn Féin members censored under the British Broadcasting Ban, may well necessitate the introduction of more stringent broadcasting restrictions, the British prime minister has announced.

John Major has promised a review ban following backbench Tory and of the five-year-old broadcasting unionist complaints about the use

of actors with Irish accents to voice-over interviews with Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams. According to Major some recent interviews, "did stretch the guidelines to the limit and perhaps beyond".

According to the critics, in recent television interviews, the lip synchronisation used to deliver the words of Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams has been so accurate as to give the impression that he is speaking. This, the critics affirm, constitutes a flouting of the ban by the BBC, ITV and Channel 4. The

ban was introduced in October 1988 by the Thatcher government.

Sinn Féin has described this latest debate on the ban as "proof, if proof was ever needed, of the ridiculous nature of the existing legislation, and of the belief of the Tory government that the elected representatives of 30 per cent of nationalist voters should not be heard".

In response to a question from Tory backbencher Jill Knight during Prime Minister's Question Time on Tuesday, 2 November, Downing Street officials

announced that British Heritage Secretary Peter Brooke is to review the working of the ban.

At the time of the Major/OUP deal during the passage of the Maastricht Treaty, one of the unionist demands was mooted to be an extension of the broadcasting restrictions on Sinn Féin.

The announcement of the review and possible further broadcasting restrictions on Sinn Féin, has increased nationalist anger that the British government is deliberately blocking any progress on the Adams/Hume initiative.

## 'Law an ass' says Brandon

■ BY LIAM O COILEAIN

STEVE McDONAGH of Brandon Books has described the decision by the High Court in Dublin to uphold the Independent Radio and Television Commission's decision not to broadcast Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams' voice advertising his book of short stories, *The Street and Other Stories* as "ludicrous".

The Repeal Section 31 Campaign has also expressed its disappointment at the ruling.

Sitting on Friday, 29 October, Judge Carney, who earlier this year upheld the same ban in relation to RTÉ, said that there was material available to the IRTC to support the view that the broadcasting of the advertisement would have the de facto effect of advocating support for Sinn Féin.

"We are not too surprised given the RTÉ decision in July," said Steve McDonagh. "It is a bad decision." He added that the question of an appeal against both the IRTC and the RTÉ ruling is still under consideration. He said that he was "heartened by the support received by Brandon since the RTÉ ruling in July by writers and writers' organisations at home and abroad".

He said that the Irish Book Publishers' Association has written to Albert Reynolds and the minister with responsibility for broadcasting, Michael D Higgins, over the issue. He also cited the support of the international writers' association, PEN, and the international free speech campaigning group, Article 19. Refer-

ring to the High Court decision that Gerry Adams is "Mr Sinn Féin", McDonagh declared: "The law is an ass."

Brandon Books had challenged the decision by IRTC chief executive Michael O'Keeffe not to broadcast the advertisement because it could be in breach of Section 31. The publishers had argued that O'Keeffe's letter was the result of a fixed policy which did not take into account recent High Court and Supreme Court decisions on Section 31 when it took this decision.

Niall Meehan, spokesperson for the Repeal Section 31 Committee, described the decision as ludicrous. "How can any state which terms itself a democracy stand over and defend a decision like this, when a voice advertising a book of short stories can be banned as a threat to the state?" he said. "The Irish government must surely act soon to end this farce."

The committee also criticised RTÉ's coverage of the events of the past week, saying that it illustrated "the damage done by censorship and the urgent need to end Section 31".

In a statement it highlighted

the extensive RTÉ coverage given to the peace vigil in Dublin after the Shankill bombing, which was advertised in advance and covered by both radio and television. The day after the killings in Greysteel there was also a vigil in Dublin, also attended by Susan McHugh of Peace '93, which was not mentioned on any RTÉ programme, presumably, according to the committee, because it was organised by the Irish National Congress.



# An Phoblacht

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4/11/93

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