



IRELAND'S BIGGEST SELLING  
POLITICAL WEEKLY



# AN PHOBLACHT

## Republican News

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# A New Challenge

**PETER BROOKE** has had to admit that his effort to initiate talks is all but dead. Using one of his cricketing analogies, the British direct-ruler said that "no game is over until the last ball is bowled" but he could not hide the fact that anything else he does now will be an attempt to breathe life into a corpse. Yet another British effort to create an artificial political settlement based on the maintenance of the union of the North with Britain and the partition of Ireland, has failed.

For over a year, Peter Brooke has shuttled between the unionists, the SDLP and the Dublin govern-

ment, trying to get a talks process started. Every hint of even a ripple of movement was surrounded by

an ocean of media speculation about a major breakthrough leading to peace and progress. This was exploited by the Northern Ireland Office to put pressure on all sides to talk.

Five days after he met the FF/PD Coalition Foreign Affairs Minister Gerry Collins, in Dublin last week, Brooke admitted that the end was in sight. The gap between the SDLP/Dublin side and the unionist side could not be bridged. That gap was not just about the timetable for

*"Sinn Féin is prepared to take up the challenge presented by the talks failure. We are willing to talk to the British government and any other political party without preconditions."*

— Martin McGuinness

talks and when Dublin should be involved, the unionists wanted to face Dublin as part of a 'United Kingdom' delegation led by Brooke and comprising the unionists and the SDLP. Brooke agreed. Thus, even the way the talks were conducted would be a clear re-affirmation of the union with Britain.

Dublin and the SDLP would not agree to this and now the pressure is back on them from unionists and pro-unionists to retreat again and agree to the British/unionist agenda for talks.

### CHOICES

The Dublin government and the

SDLP now have three choices: they can give in and agree to the unionist agenda; they can do nothing; or they can follow a real way forward.

That route was mapped out by Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams when he addressed the party's Ard Fheis last weekend. Pointing out that Brooke's assertion that Britain "had no selfish strategic or economic interest in Northern Ireland" presented a challenge to Dublin and the SDLP, he said:

"Given British assertions of disinterest... the Dublin government and the SDLP are duty-bound to advance the argument that the best way to seek agreement among the people who share the island of Ireland is for Britain to adopt a policy of ending the union in the context of a united Ireland. They should then actively seek agreement among the people who share the island of Ireland on how this can be accomplished."

### NO PARTITIONIST SOLUTION

On past record this challenge will not be met by them and they will choose to do nothing. But no-one can now accuse republicans of being prophets of doom when they predicted the inevitability of the failure of the Brooke initiative, even if talks got off the ground. As Gerry Adams said after Brooke admitted the breakdown:

"There is no partitionist solution. This lies at the core of the failure of Mr Brooke's talks to find agreement. It is time to move on. It is time to establish an Irish agenda for the resolution of the conflict in Ireland."

Brooke said that the time for him to "put up the shutters" on his talks may be approaching. What is approaching is the time for Britain to shut up shop altogether and leave it for the Irish people to decide their future. Brooke's failure has presented all nationalists with a challenge to stand up to Britain. It must be met.



● Breakdown — Collins and Brooke in Dublin on January 31st

# HELICOPTER FORCED DOWN UDR base blasted

WAR NEWS

CROWN FORCES across the Six Counties continued to come under attack from active service units of the IRA over the past seven days, with a series of operations being launched in counties Fermanagh, Tyrone, Derry, Antrim and Armagh. Meanwhile yet another firm has confirmed that it will no longer be fulfilling contracts to the crown forces, adding a logistical nightmare to their current military difficulties.

The worst damage sustained in the IRA operations came at Magherafelt UDR base in County Derry, which was blasted by a 500lb van-bomb on Sunday, February 3rd.

The IRA military operation got under way, early on Sunday evening, when armed Volunteers arrived at the home of an employee of the crown forces biggest contractor in the Six Counties, Henry Brothers of Magherafelt. The collaborator was then held while Volunteers loaded the substantial explosive device onto a van.

Shortly after 9pm the man driving the bomb arrived, under IRA escort, at Magherafelt UDR head-

quarters. As instructed, he drove the van bomb into the base before shouting a five-minute warning. Soldiers stationed at the base were able to act on the warning, thus averting any crown forces injuries; the base, however, sustained substantial damage.

## HELICOPTER UNDER FIRE

The South Armagh Brigade of the IRA has said that Volunteers under its command mounted a sustained attack, using heavy calibre machine-guns, against a British army helicopter attempting to land at Forkhill Barracks on Thursday evening, January 31st.

In their statement on the attack the IRA said that the aircraft was struck by repeated gunfire and was forced into making an emergency landing. RUC sources confirmed that the craft was struck by gunfire.

The operation began when two separate active service units took up position near to Forkhill base. One unit established firing positions covering a flight path regularly used by incoming aircraft to the Forkhill base. The second unit moved in close to the base itself and established positions to lay down fire at the base so as to protect those volunteers engaging the helicopter.

At 7.30pm the Volunteers operating an anti-aircraft weapon opened fire on a single Wessex helicopter which was making its final approach to Forkhill. They claimed a direct hit on the craft. Simultaneously, the second ASU began firing heavily into Forkhill Barracks. All Volunteers safely withdrew from the area and there were no reports of crown forces having returned fire.

## BELFAST GRENADE ATTACKS

Crown forces positions and personnel came under three separate grenade attacks in the Belfast area in a five-day period from Wednesday, January 30th.

The first of the attacks was mounted against Mountpottinger Barracks in the Short Strand where a single device was thrown into the main barracks yard, where it exploded, causing damage.

The second of the targets was a joint British army/RUC mobile patrol which came under attack in Stewart

Street in the Markets on Thursday, January 31st.

Finally, Andersonstown RUC Barracks was subject to a double grenade attack on Sunday evening, February 3rd. Both the devices exploded but there were no confirmed reports of crown forces injuries.

## LAW COURTS DISRUPTED

The Belfast Law Courts, recently cordoned in behind an elaborate security exclusion zone, have suffered severe disruption over the past week with the IRA in Belfast sending three elaborate hoax bombs to the area.

The IRA operations which caused lengthy clearance operations and the suspension of court business came on Wednesday, January 30th, Tuesday, February 5th and Wednesday, February 6th. There were in addition two other city-centre bomb hoaxes on Wednesday, January 30th, which threw city traffic into chaos and tied down large numbers of crown forces personnel.

## ROSLEA & COOKSTOWN BOMBS

The IRA's South Fermanagh

## CONTRACTOR PULLS OUT

A Ballymena car firm has become the latest in a long line of businesses in the Six Counties to publicly acknowledge that they are withdrawing from contracts with all branches of the crown forces. R Kennedy and Son issued a public declaration to that effect on Saturday, February 2nd, less than 24 hours after the IRA had warned the firm "to desist from aiding the British war machine or face the consequences".



• Magherafelt UDR base blasted on Sunday night by a 500lb van bomb

# BRITISH INTELLIGENCE PLOT REVEALED

A SINISTER ATTEMPT to induce members of the nationalist community into becoming paid informers has been revealed by Sinn Féin, which made available details and documentation to *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, which show a well-planned campaign by British intelligence operatives to ensnare individuals through the supply of money by post.

It is known that up to five people have been targeted by British intelligence, but it is certain from other information available, which cannot be disclosed, that others have been targeted and have not yet come forward.

The chain of events associated with the plot began in early December, when a number of well-known republicans from the Six Counties began receiving sums of £100 through the post in hand-addressed plain envelopes, all of which were posted in Belfast. The mon-

ey, almost always five used £20 Bank of England notes, would arrive wrapped in an unmarked sheet of typing paper. No indication of its source was given and the envelope contained nothing apart from the money.

These sums of money arrived at weekly intervals and continued to come right up until the end of January. Those in receipt of the money contacted Sinn Féin immediately.

**BUSINESS LETTERS**  
On January 29th, the next

stage of the British intelligence plot unfolded when similarly addressed hand-written envelopes arrived containing letters purporting to come from an unnamed company and signed, JW Walker.

The letters, which were worded in such a way as to appear as legitimate business recruiting letters, thanked those receiving them for "showing an interest in our company" and referred to "Our small retainers you will have by now received", an obvious reference to the £100 sums of cash.

The sender referred to the "retainers" as demonstrating "our appreciation and sincerity in this matter". The letter then went on to describe the company as being involved in "the consultancy field" servicing a wide

range of diverse clients who require advice and guidance on a wide range of modern day issues".

## EXPERTISE

The sender continued: "From other recommendations, you have been identified by us as having considerable expertise and

knowledge to offer our company." The letter went on to refer to the company's "considerable success in the past" and asked the recipients to consider "switching to our team in the future". An offer was then made to supply a "substantial package which will be to our mutual benefit".

"Thank you for showing interest in our company and we hope that the small retainers you will have by now received will demonstrate our appreciation and sincerity in this matter.

As you will probably know our company is involved in the consultancy field and we service a wide range of diverse clients who require advice and guidance on a wide range of modern day issues. In the course of their business

From other recommendations you have been identified by us as having considerable expertise and knowledge to offer our company and as you will probably know our company is involved in the consultancy field and we service a wide range of diverse clients who require advice and guidance on a wide range of modern day issues. In the course of their business

Naturally as we have enjoyed considerable success in the past and we would hope that you could see your way to becoming part of our team. If you are interested in this you would like to discuss with you the possibility of us offering and benefit.

We would hope that you could see your way to becoming part of our team. If you are interested in this you would like to discuss with you the possibility of us offering and benefit.

Wednesday 30.1.91 - Between 2 pm and 4 pm.

Thursday 31.1.91 - Between 2 pm and 4 pm.

Yours sincerely,

*[Signature]*  
[Signature]

To acquire this "substantial package" the individuals in question were invited to "Take up our offer" by phoning "Our London Office-081-7592242, strictly" on the dates, times shown below.

The letters ended with two sets of times and dates.

## GO PUBLIC

Speaking to AP/RN, a Sinn Féin spokesperson appealed to anyone receiving such offers to immediately go public, thus neutralising the threat to themselves and other members of their community.

The spokesperson continued by referring to what he described as a very elaborate and well-orchestrated plot which had as its intent the sowing of fear and uncertainty in the nationalist community. He ended by drawing attention to the underlying fact revealed by the efforts of British intelligence in trawling for informers — in their desperation and obvious lack of hard information from within the nationalist community.

BY HILDA Mac THOMAS  
**THE INSTIGATOR** of the 'talks about talks', British Direct-Ruler Peter Brooke, is ready to admit publicly that his initiative, now over one year old, has failed. Or, as he put it on Tuesday, February 5th, that the time may have come to "put up the shutters" and "take stock".

The gap that could not be bridged between the unionists on the one hand, and Dublin and the SDLP on the other, may have seemed a procedural detail to outside observers, but in fact it touched the core of what separates unionists from nationalists. Unionists insisted that Dublin should not be involved in talks until "substantial progress" had been made in the talks with the SDLP regarding an internal administration in the North. They also wanted Dublin to face a 'United Kingdom' delegation led by Peter Brooke and comprising the unionists and the SDLP. In other words, the format of talks would in itself be a clear re-statement of the union of the North with Britain, with Dublin being treated as a neighbouring foreign government.

Towards the end of January, after "cordial" talks with the SDLP, Brooke mentioned the possibility that all sides would agree to let him referee, and decide at what stage Dublin should get involved in the talks. No one, Brooke said, had rejected this suggestion. Press reports were once again peppered with optimistic leaks about "movement" and "progress". A "formula" was "on the table". Unionists issued a few upbeat statements: talks were "a real possibility" for OUP leader James Molyneaux, while



• British Direct-Ruler Peter Brooke and 26-County foreign minister Gerry Collins. Talks about what?

Sammy Wilson of the DUP predicted "full-scale talks by Easter".

#### NO-ONE SHIFTING

However, Dublin foreign affairs minister, Gerry Collins, after last week's Inter-governmental Conference meeting with Peter Brooke, put an end to speculations: no political party could dictate to the Dublin government when it could enter talks. Whatever formula was on the table, no one had shifted from their stated positions.

The see-saw pattern of optimistic speculations and cold shower statements which

unfolded through the year of toing and froing by Brooke between unionists, the SDLP and the Dublin government, is not merely the work of uncritical reporters who are long on hype and short on analysis. It is also the result of careful media management by the Northern Ireland Office in an effort to put pressure on all sides to talk.

Brooke's declaration on Tuesday may have been his last attempt at frightening unionists, due to meet him on Thursday, into some sort of compromise.

Pressure will also be intense on the SDLP and Dublin to avoid being blamed for

the imminent death of the Brooke 'initiative'.

But the British objective, in all this, as indeed in Brooke's repeated conditional offer of 'talks' to republicans if they give up the armed struggle, seems to be to get people to 'talk'. For people to be seen to talk. For talks to be taking place. But Northern nationalists, who 70 years ago this year were condemned to live as second-class citizens in their own country, and indeed all Irish people, who to this day are still prevented from exercising control of their own destiny as a nation, are entitled to ask: Talks about what?

#### OUT, OUT, OUT

Unionists are clear: Irish unity, of course, is 'Out'! But so too is a return to institutionalised power-sharing, as established by the Sunningdale Agreement of 1973 — 'Out'! and a 'right of inspection' for the Dublin government, as set out in the Hillsborough agreement of 1985 - 'Out'!

The British are clear also. While they say they are 'neutral', they proclaim even louder that they will not disengage unless asked to do so by a majority of the people of 'Northern Ireland'. In other words: they won't consider going, regardless of their claim to have no interest in staying in Ireland.

The 'talks about talks', which all knew but would not admit were doomed, have been nothing more than a year-long diversion. The British may be able to claim abroad, in the USA in particular, that they have been doing something about Ireland. But the establishment of democracy in Ireland as a whole has not been brought one inch closer, nor would it have been even had Brooke succeeded in the unlikely prospect of actually getting talks underway.

## Wounded brother speaks out

"THERE were no soldiers knocked down, not a bit of it. There was no warning, no sign of a warning."

In these words Michael Caraher totally refuted British army claims that he and his brother Fergal had been involved in any incident with the soldiers who opened fire on their car on the Tullynavall Road in South Armagh, wounding him and killing Fergal on December 30th.

Michael from Killybane, near Cullyhanna, was speaking to journalists on Friday, February 1st, for the first time since his release from hospital where he had undergone operations to remove a single bullet which had ripped through his back on the day of the fatal shooting. He explained how as a result of his injuries he had to have two pieces of his lung removed.

Caraher, still in obvious pain and very weak as a result of his ordeal, spoke of how he and Fergal had been stopped in the car park of the Lite 'n' Easy pub on the Tullynavall Road by a soldier who enquired where they were going. He explained that the soldier had nodded and indicated that they should drive on, having ascertained that they were headed for Dundalk. He said

there had been "no friction" between themselves and the soldier.

#### SHOT

Continuing with his account Caraher added that he and his brother had driven out slowly onto the Dundalk Road:

"I heard a series of bangs — constant rapid firing. There was an awful smell. I saw bullets hitting the front window, hitting the dash board all around me, hitting the dash — I don't know how I wasn't riddled."

On the killing of his brother he added:

"Fergal says 'I'm hit', and fell on top of me. He was saying 'ah Michael, ah Michael' and groaning and I realised I was hit. I drove as far as I could. I tried to talk to Fergal and lift him up but I was too weak — I knew at that stage he was dead."

The testimony of Michael Caraher bears out accounts so far given to the family solicitor, who is in the process of preparing a case against those involved in the



• Michael Caraher at the spot in Cullyhanna where his brother Fergal was shot dead without warning by British soldiers and he himself was seriously wounded

killing. It will come as added public evidence that the Tullynavall shooting was yet another example of the shoot-to-kill policy endorsed by the British government and en-

thusiastically carried out by its military wing in the Six Counties. What effect it will have on the so-called official inquiry into the incident is altogether a different matter.

Michael Caraher, himself one of the most important witnesses to the events of that fateful day, has still not had a statement taken from him by the RUC.

# US seeks extradition of Irishman from Germany

THIRTY-ONE-YEAR-OLD Tyrone man Gerry McGeough, currently on remand in a German prison following his arrest in 1988, was served with extradition warrants from the US on January 5th, 1991. They allege that McGeough was involved in an attempt to purchase weapons in the US, back in 1983.

Gerry McGeough was arrested on the German/Dutch border in August 1988 along with Belfastman Gerry Hanratty. They were subsequently charged with "possession of war weapons", causing an explosion at Duisberg and attempted murder at Duisberg. Gerry McGeough faces additional charges relating to another explosion at Rheindahlen. Since then the two have been held on remand in separate German prisons.

On March 16th, 1990, the investigating magistrate ordered that charges of causing an explosion and attempted murder at Duisberg should be dropped for lack of evidence. The prosecution subsequently appealed this and the charges were reintroduced.

The actual trial commenced on August 16th, 1990 in Dusseldorf. British media commentators complained bitterly about the opportunity afforded to the two Irishmen to

address the court, at length, on the injustice of Britain's occupation of Ireland.

It is clear that the prosecution fears for their prospects of substantiating the charges against the two men. Throughout the trial there have been several attempts by the German prosecuting authorities to collaborate with other states in building a case against the men. It seems the German authorities are concerned that the court may reject the charges against Hanratty and McGeough and that this is the reason that they are now trying to link them with charges in other countries.

## MYSTERIOUS

It has recently been learned that confidential papers drawn up in Sweden, in the course of an application for political asylum, have mysteriously been made available to the German authorities.

McGeough's family have undergone constant harassment from the crown forces in Dungannon over the years, and there was a marked increase in this behaviour following Gerry's arrest. His father, who has been in ill-health for years, recently suffered a stroke and is unable to travel the long distance to Germany to visit his son. The problems facing the family are bad enough at present but they would be phenomenal should they have to visit their son in the US.

If McGeough is extradited, he

could become the USA's second Joe Doherty, who has been held in custody for years without ever being convicted of an offence. Sinn Féin's POW Department have called on the American people to prevent such a situation developing by lodging objections with various politicians and government departments involved and by organising an anti-extradition lobby which would highlight the injustice of McGeough being extradited.

The Irish Political Prisoners in Europe Solidarity Group have said that they "view the recent serving of extradition warrants on Gerry McGeough as a sinister development in the cases of Irish people imprisoned in European jails".

## STATE TO APPEAL

Meanwhile lawyers for Belfastman Michael "Beaky" McKee, whose extradition to the Six Counties was refused by the High Court in Dublin on January 25th, have been unofficially informed that the state is to appeal that decision to the Supreme Court.

The decision by the state to appeal the High Court ruling means another round in McKee's fight against extradition has begun and will present another challenge for the anti-extradition campaign. That appeal, and the appeal by Tony Sloan and Paul Magee against the High Court decision to extradite them, will be key cases in the Supreme Court's interpretation of the 1987 Extradition Act.

# Loyalist bomb alert in Dublin

A LOYALIST paramilitary group, the Ulster Freedom Fighters — alter ego of the UDA — has claimed responsibility for the planting of several incendiary devices in shops in the centre of Dublin.

Two devices were discovered in Clery's on O'Connell Street shortly after 9am on Monday, February 4th. Later two devices were found in the North Earl Street Branch of Dunnes Stores and two more were found in the St Stephen's Green Shopping Centre branch of the store.

In a statement issued to the BBC in Belfast on Monday evening the

UFF claimed that they had planted between 15 and 20 such devices around the city on Saturday. It is believed that the devices found on Monday may have been planted on Saturday. The bombs were all of similar construction, consisting of a cigarette packet, and a container of lighter fuel with matches sellotaped to it, and a bottle-top filled with chemicals.

It is believed that the UFF may have used the cover of the international rugby match at Lansdowne Road to make their way from the North to plant the firebombs. Shops were warned to remain extra vigilant and to continue to search their premises in the wake of the alert.



• Clery's in O'Connell Street where two incendiaries were discovered on Monday night

# New Consensus hypocrisy exposed

BY LIAM O COILEAIN

ON THURSDAY, January 31st, the hypocritical attitude of the self-styled peace group, New Consensus, towards violence in Ireland was highlighted by a group of nationalists from the Six Counties. A number of victims, and relatives of victims, who survived British army or pro-British violence travelled to Dublin to mount a picket on the home of David Norris of New Consensus and also on the Department of Foreign Affairs, for Direct Ruler Peter Brooke's meeting with Dublin's foreign minister, George Collins.

The group included recent assassination victim Fergal Caraher's father, Peter John, along with two of his daughters, two brothers of shoot-to-kill victim, Séan Burns, Brendan Duffy and Archibald Livingstone, the respective fathers of young plastic bullet victims Séamus and Julie, George Doherty, who lost an eye due to a plastic bullet, Tony Doherty, whose brother was shot dead on Bloody Sunday, the mother of Derry plastic bullet victim Paul Whitters, relatives of Rosaleen McDonald, who, along with her husband, Mervyn, was killed by loyalists, a brother and sister of Aidan McAnespie, Séan Montgomery, who survived an Official IRA murder bid last year, relatives of Sam Marshall, another victim of a loyalist death-squad who was set up by the RUC, and Anne Bradley, the wife of John McNeill, one of the



• Victims and relatives of victims of British violence picket the home of New Consensus member David Norris

three men killed by British soldiers outside the Belfast bookies shop last year.

In the afternoon the group moved on to St Stephen's Green to picket the Collins/Brooke meeting. The families received virtually no media attention in the 26 Counties for their efforts. In direct and stark contrast, a protracted and concerted media campaign had advertised the following Saturday's New Consensus picket of the Sinn Féin Ard Fheis, both in the press and on the airwaves.

## CIRCUS ARRIVES

But when the long-promised and much-hyped New Consensus circus finally arrived outside the Ard Fheis at noon they numbered just over 150 people. Reports in that morning's press had the organisers forecasting a convoy of peace pickets converging on the city-centre from Belfast, Galway, Limerick and Cork, numbering around 1,000.

A measure of the audacity and confidence of New Consensus in the present media-friendly climate was made clear when the OUP's Chris McGimpsey still had the nerve to round off the proceedings by claiming that over 600 people were with him. The following day's *Sunday Express* reported a crowd of

700. The *Sunday Independent* reported a similar number, although the next day's *Irish Independent* recorded a more realistic figure of around 200.

David Norris spoke of how he and others living in his house had been "intimidated" by a gang of people the previous Thursday. He then went on to present his credentials as an unbiased man of peace. He claimed that he had been asked and had agreed to be part of an independent inquiry into the killing of Fergal Caraher. Neither the INC, which is sponsoring the only independent inquiry so far known of, nor the Caraher family, know anything about this. He did not mention that relatives outside his house protesting at New Consensus' stance on the British violence had cost him a son and seriously injured another.

Also present on the picket was Proinsias Ó Ruaidh, whose speech denouncing republicans was greeted, to his obvious discomfort, of Sinn Féin counter-demonstrators opposite. In 1977, IRSP leader Seamus Costello was shot by the Workers' Party's comrades in the Official IRA. Workers' Party representatives

and members were prominent on the picket, including TDs Pat McCartan and Eric Byrne. Former Taoiseach Garret FitzGerald was there, as was Conor 'Section 31' Cruise O'Brien, independent Senator Shane Ross, revisionist playwright Hugh Leonard, former Lord Mayor of Belfast Reg Empey, the DUP's Jim Walker and Ann Blake, Alliance Party leader John Aldridge, the Peace Train group's leader, Chris Hudson and a number of Fine Gael TDs including Monica Barnes, who chaired the proceedings.

## WILL BE TOLD TRUTH

The picketers were handed leaflets from Springhill Community House, in West Belfast, inviting them to visit the city. "If you want to create peace rather than just demonstrate in favour of it," the letter read, "you should talk to those who are most hurt by bad government and by war. Please accept our invitation to meet such people in Derry, Fermanagh and Belfast. You will be treated with courtesy and dignity on your visit. You will be told the truth."

A group from the Mennonite community also picketed the Ard Fheis. They had earlier in the day placed a similar picket on the British Embassy and they refused to join the New Consensus picket. Sinn Féin members and stewards respected their principled stance.

Sinn Féin Ard Chomhairle member Joe Reilly read a short statement to the Ard Fheis following the picket. He criticised the hypocrisy and partisanship of the New Consensus leaders saying: 'They have never published or printed any material critical of the British government's role in Ireland. Given the above facts I believe we are entitled to question the credibility of some of the leaders of this group. It is my belief that the leadership of New Consensus is not interested in peace but are a group of people who have a political axe to grind.'

His message to New Consensus and its strange alliance of unionists was that they "are not a peace movement."

"What New Consensus are opposed to is Sinn Féin."

# RUC terror tactics in Belfast



• SEAMUS DOWNEY

**IN TWO** separate incidents in Belfast, members of the RUC's notorious Divisional Mobile Support Unit (DMSU) squads, using blank cartridges and a fire-flash stun grenade, have carried out terror attacks on local people.

The first of the incidents occurred on Tuesday evening, January 29th, in the Beechmount district of West Belfast. A man, who does not wish to be named, was making his way to a local chip shop when two RUC Land Rovers screeched to a halt beside him. The rear doors of one of the vehicles were flung open and the man found himself confronted by an RUC man who was aiming a shotgun at him. Seconds later the RUC man fired and there was a loud bang as the blank cartridge went off. The RUC men jeered and laughed as they sped away leaving their victim shaken by his frightening ordeal.

Two sellers of *An Phoblacht/Republican News* were to be the next targets of the RUC. Pat McBride (41) and Seamus Downey (17) were selling papers door-to-door in the Leeson Street area of the Lower Falls when they were accosted by members of a mobile patrol who had parked their vehicles just ahead of the sellers.

Seamus Downey recounts what happened:

"Two of the RUC men approached us and began giving us verbal abuse about working for Sinn Féin. They took our personal details, searched us and held us for about ten minutes before getting back into the jeeps. As we drew level with the rear jeep the doors were flung open and something was thrown at us. As we began diving for cover, not knowing what it was, there was a very loud explosion and a blinding flash. One RUC man shouted as they drew away, 'That was only a flash, next time it'll be the real thing'."

# Crum relatives forcibly strip-searched

**IN A** further escalation of the confrontationist and intimidatory policy of the Crumlin Road Jail administration, three sets of visitors to the jail have been humiliated and degraded through the use of the strip-search weapon, previously restricted to prisoners themselves.

The visitors, including a mother and her five-month-old baby, were all singled out in the space of a five-day period up to January 31st, showing that the incidents are part of a growing pattern in which prison staff are constantly pressuring the prisoners, directly on the wings, and now through their relatives.

In the first of the incidents, a Tyrone woman, who does not wish to be named, was assaulted during

ing a forced strip-search. The woman was leaving the prison after a visit when she was confronted by five searchers who demanded that she strip and open her mouth. She refused to comply, as was her right, pointing out that both she and the prisoner had already been searched. Despite protests, she was subjected to a strip-search and was assaulted by at least two of the searchers as they forcibly opened her mouth

and shoved their fingers in.

Susan McCrory told *APRN* how she and her five-month-old child were also forced to undergo a humiliating and degrading strip-search which lasted a full 20 minutes. She said: "The screws stripped my baby down to his nappy and they even searched that. It was disgusting and very upsetting."

This latest twist in the harassment at Crumlin Road indicates that the administration there is fully intent on continuing with the failed policies of attempting to break and demoralise republican prisoners as part of their overall objective of forcing integration with loyalists at the jail.



• Susan McCrory and her five-month-old child who were forcibly strip-searched

## PREYING ON THE POOR

**THE DISCOVERY** of files from the British government's Department of Health and Social Security's (DHSS) Fraud Squad, on a West Belfast refuse dump last week, confirmed people's worst fears about what can only be described as the scurrilous activities of a set of people working within communities. They are those employed by the DHSS to spy, snoop and prey on people who are already bearing the brunt of the British government's failed economic and social policies, the unemployed, the sick, lone parents and the poor.

At a press conference on Wednesday, January 30th, Sinn Féin displayed a set of files which, the DHSS later confirmed, belonged to their fraud section. If there was ever any room for doubt, this documentation clearly establishes, not only the despicable nature of the activities of the DHSS Fraud Squad in pursuit of their victims but also

the insidious reasoning behind their actions.

Documentation on the training of fraud squad employees reveals that after one week's instruction and three weeks' training 'on the job' members of the squad are let loose to spy on families' homes, track down family members, question people about the activities and movements of their neighbours, quiz children about their parents whereabouts and trail people and vehicles around the city. In the TV-cop jargon of the fraud officer's files, claimants are 'ID'd' when they sign on and 'suspects' are followed, monitored, watched and hounded.

### 'CRIMINAL INTENT'

Within the documentation particular groups are singled out for scrutiny, apparently because the DHSS believes they are more likely to be fraudulent. The files reveal detailed information on the Travelling community, including a map of the Glen Road camp site. The file includes

a list of 'itinerants'. Single parents also appear to occupy the minds of fraud officers as potential 'cohabs' and the documents provide examples of the homes of women living alone with their children being watched, the arrival and departure of any male visitors monitored, and their relationship with the claimant speculated on. A father who maintains contact with his children when he is separated or not living with their mother is acting 'suspiciously'. Amongst the documents is a report of a father attending his son's birthday party.

Malicious allegations and anonymous letters are the bread and butter of the fraud squad's 'investigation' and 'evidence' and the files include a number of anonymous allegations included in the case studies of people unfortunate enough to have come under the DHSS officers' scrutiny.

Amongst all the case study paperwork, reports and procedural guidelines, one message is clear, for the DHSS fraud officer, the poor have no right to privacy or respect. For the DHSS fraud officer, to be poor is to be potentially a criminal and it is his or her job to act accordingly.

### 'DOING THE DOUBLE'

There are many prevailing myths about 'doing the double'; for anyone unfamiliar with the term, 'the double' is signing on the dole while still employed and earning wages in a job. Media stories perpetuate the myth that vast numbers of working-class people are abusing the provision of welfare and far from being in dire need are willfully

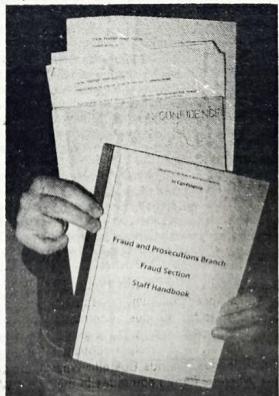
creaming off any benefit they can get away with claiming. Nothing could be further from the truth. Caught between the totally inadequate levels of welfare provision and, in an area like West Belfast, within a labour market unable to provide full-time, secure, well-paid work, 'doing the double' is a totally rational strategy for survival. Inadequate benefits are supplemented by inadequate wages, and vice versa. It is not greed but desperation which drives people into attempting to supplement their meagre welfare entitlement with occasional or part-time work.

The fact that people are forced to supplement their benefit by 'illegally' working for a few extra pounds, is implicitly recognised by the practices revealed in the fraud officer's files. To check for claimants amongst employees the DHSS Fraud Squad can demand access to companies' payrolls. In the documents the payrolls investigated by the fraud officer were almost exclusively in companies offering only casual, part-time, low-paid work — cleaning contractors, catering firms, retail and distribution trades.

Perhaps the most telling statement amongst the documents was a 'confession' by a single mother who accepted work for a few hours a week as a waitress in a restaurant because she couldn't afford to buy an asthmatic child warmer clothing.

"I am only receiving £35 a week and that's for me and two children, and even when you take my family allowance into this it still wasn't enough to run the house and feed and clothe my two kids."

A glimpse into the files of the DHSS Fraud Squad is truly a glimpse into the murkier regions of society, a murky world made all the more nauseating when one considers the regular and ongoing swindles involving rich companies and rich directors creaming off multi-million pound sums, with little or no retribution.



## FRIDAY EVENING

### BROAD FRONT STRATEGY RE-AFFIRMED

SINN FÉIN's 86th Ard Fheis opened on Friday night amid much media hype and speculation on the party's attitude towards an IRA cease-fire. That such speculation was idle, and media-generated, became apparent very early in the proceedings as outgoing party chairperson, Séan MacManus, asked those assembled in Dublin's Mansion House, the historic site of the First Dáil in 1919, to reflect on "the bravery of the men and women of Oglach na hEireann who daily confront the British invader".

MacManus reiterated that the fundamental cause of violence in Ireland today is that of the British occupation of the Six Counties, saying:

"Great hope has been generated by politicians of all hues with repeated statements that there is an onus on the IRA to call a cease-fire so that the peace process can be moved forward. What constantly amazes me is the failure of these people to address the root of all the conflict in Ireland — the British military and administrative presence here. Republican resistance is a reaction to that presence and continued efforts to portray all the problems of the North as stemming from republican actions are futile and hypocritical. To expand that view is to overlook the commitment of successive Westminster administrations to maintain the union, to disregard the oppressive presence of 90,000 British armed forces in the Six Counties and to forget about all the repressive legislation enacted to enable Britain to retain its presence here."

He condemned the "lip service" paid by Leinster House politicians, since the foundation of the 26-County state, to the aspiration of Irish unity: "Time after time, especially in the run-up to elections and particularly by Fianna Fáil, the 'green card' has been produced in an effort to play on the latent desire of the vast majority of the people of this state for national re-unification". However, "rather than lead from the moral high ground of the nation's right to self-determination they have colluded with the enemies of the Irish people".

#### BROAD FRONT

Of course the major purpose of an Ard Fheis is to shape policy. The first debate proper saw an overwhelming affirmation of Sinn Féin's broad front strategy of working with other groups and individuals to develop an all-Ireland anti-imperialist mass movement. During the course of a very open discussion, Dublin Sinn Féin's John Doyle made the point that "we need to work with people who



● JO REILLY and Séan Mac Manus at the 86th Ard Fheis

share common aims even if they don't support all the policies of Sinn Féin". Fergal Connolly of Dublin Sinn Féin spoke of the need "to become the vanguard of all sources of discontent on this island".

In debates on other motions the Ard Fheis also criticised the British policy of political vetting of community groups and withdrawing funding from them on trumped-up charges, the Glór na nGael decision being the most obvious example of this policy. Bairbre de Brún spoke of the need to fight Britain's policy of divide and conquer by refusing funding to groups which disagree with British policy

while Councillor Pat Rice commented on the lack of legal redress available to such groups, "against all the principles of natural justice". Séan Marlowe of Dublin Sinn Féin spoke of the need, where possible, for Sinn Féin to become more active in the trade union movement in the Six Counties, to demonstrate to working class Northern Protestants that Sinn Féin is not just about 'Brits Out' but that we want a completely new system North and South.

#### POW REPORT

Former republican prisoner Roibeárd



● BAIRBRE de BRÚN

Mac Leannachán delivered the POW Report to the Ard Fheis. He said that "we in the POW Department will be making certain demands on the membership, primarily that republicans begin looking at what is happening inside the prisons in terms of how it impacts on the wider struggle and not merely viewing what happens inside the prisons as a matter which should be dealt with as simply a 'prison issue'".

Tommy Brogan said that this was the first time that there was a public POW presence at an Ard Fheis and that their primary aim this year was to listen and learn in order to come along next year to make a positive input to the debate. He rubbish media speculation that the prisoners were some sort of "weak link" and wanted a cease-fire, stating categorically that "the vast majority of POWs support the IRA's campaign to secure a British withdrawal and are resolute in their determination" to secure that objective.

## SATURDAY MORNING

### THE CONNOLLY TRADITION

ANNE SPEED opened Saturday's proceedings by introducing Sinn Féin's strategy on economic affairs. "Rebuilding the Connolly tradition in the labour movement" by linking the objectives of the national struggle with those of trade unionists was at the core of the republican platform. "Above all," she argued, "the Connolly tradition means a united Irish labour movement which refuses to recognise sectarian privilege or operated by any sectarian discrimination."

Considerable anger was expressed by delegates over the £3 billion per year which leaves this country in repatriated multinational profits, while 26-County PAYE taxpayers are left paying an undue amount. Delegates also showed their opposition to the Programme for Economic and Social Progress. The PESP is the

government's latest attempt to forestall trade union opposition to its policies by promising an across-the-board pay increase of between 3% and 4% a year for the next three years.

John Doyle of the Ard Chomhairle explained how ridiculous government claims could get. After last week's budget, a minister stated that the unemployment benefit, which had been increased by 4%, had risen 25% above inflation: "What he meant was that people were getting 30p more per week!"

#### AGRICULTURE

Joe Reilly presented the views of the party on agriculture, pointing out that the sector "is in crisis on both sides of the border" and exposing the role of the EC in creating that crisis. He explained that 80% of funding through the Common Agricultural Programme went to the richest 20% of farmers.

There was warm welcome from speakers for recent moves to organise small farmers into the United Farmers' Association. Many delegates were highly critical of the Ard Chomhairle's failure to set up a functioning agricultural department. Outgoing chairperson Séan Mac Manus pointed to the fact that setting up such a department required the "active participation" of members in farming areas and called for rural republicans to play such a role. Councillor Eddie Fullerton pointed to the frightening decline in the number of small farmers and argued for an integrated approach to employment in rural areas which linked agriculture with forestry and fishing.

Councillor Hugh Brady of Derry spoke of the danger to the environment from the waste incineration plans of the city's DuPont chemical company. During the latest round of Hillsborough talks, Dublin's environment minister Pádraig Flynn actually suggested that this waste should go to an incinerator which would be built on the 26-County side of the border in Donegal. Brady was scathing about Flynn's move — "it now seems there's only a united Ireland for toxic waste, not for people!"

#### LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The bureaucratic local government system in the 26 Counties was addressed in a series of proposals which would increase democratic control of local politics. The appointment of county managers would be the responsibility of the council, not the environment minister as at present. Power would be decentralised.



● MICHEÁL Mac DONNCHA

tralised. "If politics is for people, then participation is the key," said Monaghan councillor Caoimhghin Ó Caoláin.

#### ABORTION MOTION

A motion from Cumann Thraolach Mhic Shuibhne of Cork calling for the organisation's policy on abortion to be "in support of a woman's right to choose", proved to be the most controversial of the day. It was opposed by the Ard Chomhairle and an amendment from Derry Chomhairle Ceantair sought to alter the policy so that it would be "in support of the individual's right to make a conscientious decision for or against abortion without coercion from any other individual or group".

Introducing the Cork resolution, James Mac Barron said that he was worried that "the arguments against are not going to be based on morality" but upon expediency. He called on the party to "take it seriously" and to adopt "a leadership role" on the question of abortion.

A number of speakers from Derry, including Daisy Mules, Dodie McGuinness, and Mitchel McLaughlin, opposed the Cork motion as it stood but supported the Derry amendment. They argued that Sinn Féin would have to take note of the fact that 25 women each day their amendment did not mean that the organisation would be taking a pro-abortion stance.

Rita O'Hare and Anne Speed both

pointed out that the Cork motion would have substituted present policy with a slogan and that the most urgent priority on the abortion issue was for republicans to support the demand for freedom of information. Among those who opposed both the Cork resolution and the amendment was Gerry Adams who argued that Sinn Féin's current stand on the issue was "the most progressive policy of any party in the island" and that other political organisations feared even to discuss the matter. Both the Cork motion and the Derry amendment were defeated.

#### CENSORSHIP

During the discussion on censorship which followed, Larry O'Toole, the Gateaux strike leader who was kept off the airwaves by Section 31, called on RTE journalists to refuse to abide by the censorship measure. He pointed out that had the Gateaux dispute taken place in the Six Counties, he could have been interviewed.

Micheál Mac Donncha reminded delegates of Charles Haughey's vague commitments to reform of Section 31 during the 1987 election. MacDonncha said he had challenged the premier about this failed pledge at a press conference and was told that he, Haughey, would have to "consult with the security authorities".

"This was an astonishing admission that Dublin government policy is made in Garda Headquarters or in Harcourt Square, while I always thought it was made in Westminster."



● ANNE SPEED

86ú Sinn Féin Ard Fheis... 86ú Sinn Féin Ard Fheis... 86ú Sinn Féin

# SATURDAY EVENING

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

SATURDAY AFTERNOON'S proceedings opened with a short question and answer session in which delegates from the floor posed a variety of questions to be answered by members of the Ard Chomhairle.

Opening the session a delegate from County Cork asked for a brief outline of Sinn Féin's broad strategy. Responding to the question Pat Doherty said that Sinn Féin's primary objective was British withdrawal, that its ultimate objective was the creation of a democratic socialist republic and that the party's immediate objectives in the year ahead were contesting the local elections in the 26 Counties, ensuring that the 75th anniversary of the 1916 Rising becomes a major national event, and working with others in broad front campaigns.

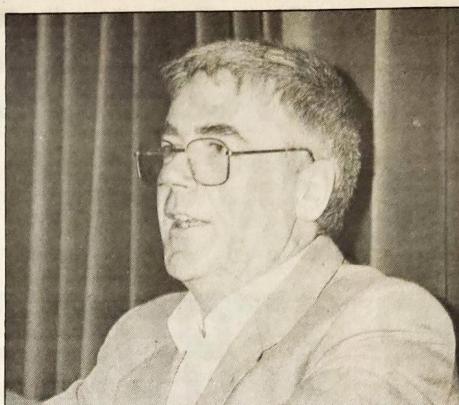
A speaker from a Dublin cumann asked if the party saw broad front work as more important than strictly Sinn Féin work. Replying, Anne Speed said that Sinn Féin recognised that broad front work gave the party the opportunity to bring its policies to a broader group of people and that broad front work should be viewed as complementary to party work.

In response to questions about Sinn Féin's platform in the forthcoming local

elections in the 26 Counties, Pat Doherty said that the outstanding difference between other political parties and Sinn Féin was the fact that Sinn Féin was the only party which was raising the question of national democracy. The party would also be challenging Section 31 and calling for greater democratic control in local government.

In answer to a question on Sinn Féin's position on the SDLP, Rita O'Hare said that it was frustrating to see the SDLP posing as so-called constitutional nationalists while at the same time endorsing the Hillsborough Treaty. She concluded that the SDLP's claim to be nationalist stands in direct contradiction to their attitude to the Brooke talks in which they have allowed themselves to be drawn into an internal settlement scenario.

The session concluded with a vote of thanks by Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams to Joe Reilly and Tom Hartley, who had both held the position of Ard Rúnaí and Seán MacManus, Sinn Féin's



● JIM McALLISTER  
first, and now outgoing, party chairperson, who was moving on to local work.

### ROUSING WELCOME

A rousing welcome from the Ard Fheis was enjoyed by a speaker from Euskadi, María Alberoi, an international solidarity worker, thanked Sinn Féin for the opportunity of attending the Ard Fheis. She continued:

"Your country and mine know each other better and better every day. We know each other because we share a similar oppression and we are part of a similar struggle. The Basque people are prepared to shout from the mountain tops to the whole world the truth about what is happening in Ireland."

Concluding her address with a clenched fist salute and a call for a free Basque Republic and a free Irish Republic, the Basque delegate left the platform amidst resounding applause.

### DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS

Speaking on behalf of the Ard Chomhairle, Jim McAllister said that what Dublin people knew as law and order, people in the Six Counties know as repression. Citing the new legislation in

introduced to enforce border restrictions as an example of the insidious nature of repressive legislation in the Six Counties, he said that legislation which allows the seizure of vehicles used in the reopening of border roads was blatantly being used by the RUC as a punitive measure against border communities. He said that the very first time that the new legislation was used by the RUC was when a car, parked outside a number of houses close to the border road which local people were endeavouring to reopen, was seized and confiscated by British crown forces.

In the face of outrages by the British crown forces, like that inflicted on the Carragher family, said McAllister, merely to call for an inquiry by the British was not resisting repression. It simply told the Brits to be careful in the implementation of repressive measures. Condemning the media's role in allowing the repression of the nationalist community to go largely unchallenged, McAllister said that the media was avoiding its responsibility to oppose repression. On the New Conscience group, he said: "Our people are being killed and they're picketing us. Blame the oppressor not the oppressed. Don't

add insult to injury by trying to blame us."

A speaker from North Kerry described the constant harassment and intimidation endured by republicans in the 26 Counties at the hands of the Special Branch and Garda. He said his home was constantly visited by members of the Special Branch, sometimes twice in the same day.

### SEGREGATION

Addressing a motion from the H-Block cumann in support of the demand for segregation, and an end to the policy of forced integration as "the last vestiges of the failed criminalisation policy of 1976-81", a statement was read out from the republican POWs in Crumlin Road Jail in which they outlined the appalling conditions there.

The section on Repression in the Political Report and the motion by the H-Block cumann were endorsed by the Ard Fheis.

### CULTURE

Opening the debate on culture, Gearóid Ó hÉara, head of the Cultural Department described himself as "delighted" that a translation service was available at the Ard Fheis for the second year running. Praising the Ard Chomhairle and party members, he said that the translation service was a clear indication that Sinn Féin took the Irish language seriously. He also acknowledged the commitment of prisoners to the language. He continued: "Sinn Féin doesn't recognise British authority in this country. Street signs are already up in nationalist areas in the Six Counties and we don't give a damn about British permission. They stole our land, they stole our placenames and they have tried for hundreds of years to suppress us but they still can't control what we say and the way we think. Our language is a powerful sign of our Irishness. Speaking Irish is a powerful sign that we are not accepting British authority in Ireland."

Following several contributions which endorsed the cultural section of the Political Report and stressed the commitment of Sinn Féin to reviving the national language, the Ard Fheis moved on to the party president's address.



● PAT DOHERTY

# SUNDAY EVENING

## GULF WAR STRONGLY OPPOSED



ON Sunday afternoon Ted Howell of the party's Foreign Affairs Bureau delivered the department's report which laid much emphasis on the responsibility of the Dublin government for the promotion and defence of Irish interests, particularly the fundamental issues of Irish reunification, independence and sovereignty.

The failure of successive Dublin governments to elevate these issues on an international platform was blamed as a significant factor in the perpetuation of conflict in Ireland. The government was called upon to use the prevailing international political climate brought about by developments in Eastern Europe and Germany, which had put the issue of national self-determination at centre stage. They were asked to use the international forums of Europe and the United Nations to promote a democratic resolution to the conflict, based on the internationally recognised right to self-determination. He pointed out that not since 1969 had Dublin raised the issue of the Six Counties in the United Nations. Howell gave a detailed account of the work of the Foreign Affairs Bureau over the past year. The department has promoted information on anti-nationalist discrimination, censorship and Britain's shoot-to-kill policy to wide audiences and influential groupings in the USA, Canada and France. A major success on the international stage has been the MacBride Principles campaign, which he said would continue until it achieves its objectives. He outlined the case of Joe Doherty whom the British are still attempting to

have extradited from the USA. "Win or lose," he said, "his status as a freedom fighter is beyond doubt." He thanked all those in Britain, Europe and the US who have assisted with the welfare of Irish republican prisoners and their families who must travel long distances to visit their loved ones.

### GULF WAR

Throughout the afternoon there was condemnation by many speakers of the Gulf War and the refuelling of US warplanes at Shannon airport. Speakers said that the potential for conflict was built into colonialism's legacy in the region and that while the US and Britain claimed to be fighting for the independence of Kuwait, the invasions of Panama and Grenada and the partition of Ireland were conveniently forgotten. The Kuwaiti government had not been democratic and the war was concerned with securing the profits of the Kuwaiti economy for the West. The human cost of the war would be borne by the Iraqi working-class. In Ireland the price being paid was the further erosion of 26 county sovereignty. The UN was being discredited by almost handing power over to the USA. The war in the Gulf did not serve the people of

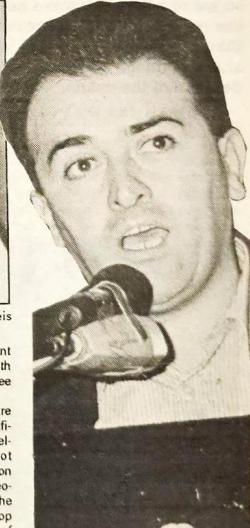


● María Alberoi from Euskadi a guest speaker at this year's Sinn Féin Ard Fheis the region and all foreign armies should be withdrawn. Ted Howell called also for the full restoration of sovereignty to Lebanon.

### GUEST SPEAKERS

Guest speaker Karmelo Landa of the Herri Batasuna party from Euskadi, on behalf of the Basque freedom fighters saluted those who fight for freedom in Ireland. He castigated the excuses given by the allied powers for their presence in the Gulf, saying that the Irish and Basques knew better than anybody that they did not go there to free anybody or anything but to oppress the Arab people. Speaking in Euskara, the Basque language, with delegates and visitors benefitting from the simultaneous translation facilities, he asked — "What right have the British to speak of the invasion of Kuwait while they have invaded, and now occupy and oppress the people of the Six Counties preventing by force of arms the unification of Ireland?"

"With what right can those who govern the Spanish state criticise Saddam Hussein while they torture, imprison and kill Basque freedom fighters and prevent



● Karmelo Landa of the Herri Batasuna party from Euskadi

undermines its credibility and effectiveness as a guardian of agreed international aid.

Two other emergency motions were passed which supported the right of self-determination for the Baltic republics of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia, and which condemned the Northern Ireland Electricity Board's purchase of 25,000 tonnes of South African coal as an act of sanctions busting.

... 86ú Sinn Féin Ard Fheis... 86ú Sinn Féin Ard Fheis...

# OUR VISION SEES PAST PARTITION AND POVERTY — OUR STRUGGLE REMAINS INTACT

AP/RN here reprints an edited version of the Presidential Address by Gerry Adams MP to the Sinn Féin Ard Fheis on February 2nd.

## Mise Eire

Is sine mé ná an Chailleach Béara

Mór mo ghlór

Mé do rug Cú Chulainn cróga

Mór mo náire

Mo chlann féin do dhíol a máthair

Mise Eire

Is uaigní mé ná an Chailleach Béara.

SO WROTE Pearse in his sadly prophetic poem. Pearse the poet, the educationalist, the visionary. Pearse the fool, or so we're asked to believe nowadays. Pearse and Connolly, the republican and the socialist. Two fools. And old Tom Clarke, 15 years in English jails. Another fool. McDermott and McDonagh. Two more. Ceann and Plunkett. All that delirium of the dead.

In the words of the 1916 Proclamation:

"We declare the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland to be sovereign and indefeasible. The long usurpation of that right by a foreign people and government has not extinguished that right, nor can it ever

be extinguished except by the destruction of the Irish people."

Foolishness.

"The Irish Republic is entitled to, and hereby claims, the allegiance of every Irishman and Irish woman. The Republic guarantees religious and civil liberty, equal rights and equal opportunity,

tunities to all its citizens and declares its resolve to pursue the happiness and prosperity of the whole nation and all its parts, cherishing all the children of the nation equally, and oblivious of the differences carefully fostered by an alien government, which have divided a minority from the majority in the past..."

Brave, idealistic, unselfish sentiments. But foolish all the same. Mistaken. Criminal. Better to forget all about it. The 1916 Rising? Better to pretend it never happened. No matter that it was the beginning of the end of the British Empire? Let them commemorate it in India, or Africa. Anywhere! Except Dublin. No matter that the 26-County state owes its existence to these men and women who fought and died in this city for the Republic. It is safer to commemorate Joyce and Beckett, Behan and Yeats in Dublin. Little wonder most of them left.

The 1918 elections? The people ratified the 1916 Proclamation? Ach, don't mind the people. Their heads were astray with all the foolishness. Of course in 1966 there were great commemorations. It was safe enough then. The grey men in the mohair suits elbowed 1916 veterans out of their way in the scramble for places on platforms throughout this state. Then we were all off to Dublin in the Green, or

the Foggy Dew with the Boys of Barry's Column, and Sean South and Boolavogue, and the Boys who bate the Black and Tans. More foolishness, but sure not to worry. We've put all that out nonsense out of their heads.

No need to live in the past. We Irish have a fixation with our past. It's 1991. We're Europeans. All has changed, changed utterly.

Who wants to cherish all the children of the nation equally nowadays?

Can't they emigrate? Or sign the dole?

Equal rights and equal opportunities?

Unfettered control of Irish destinies?

The right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland?

Fools chasing a dream.

## A SALUTE TO 1916

It's because they are afraid that the dream will come true that this state refuses to pay fitting homage to the deeds and writings and achievement of the men and women of 1916. They fear the social and democratic intent of the 1916 Proclamation. Their achievements are but a broken parody of the free, independent, egalitarian society the people wanted in 1916 and

still desire today.

The vision of the 1916 Proclamation has yet to be fulfilled. They know that. Not even the vision of those who supported the foundation of this state has been fulfilled. They know that too. Arthur Griffith, hardly a revolutionary one of their own, laid it out for them in 1922, the year he died.

"If our language and culture decay and disappear; if our people be landless when land abounds, if our country remains deforested and undrained; if the emigration of the young and the vigorous continue; if our harbours remain semi-derelict and our fisheries unworked; if our commerce stagnates and our industries remain undeveloped, if the jail, the barrack and the poorhouse continue to be prominent features of our Irish landscape - if all these things endure, then no longer can we blame England. The blame must rest with ourselves for moral cowardice that shirked the responsibility of building up the nation..."

It is hardly surprising that those with whom the blame rests have little stomach for commemorating their "moral cowardice". Because the anniversary of their failure and of the failure of partition is one of the main messages of this 75th anniversary of 1916.

And that must be the message which republicans hammer home this special commemorative year. Because despite the Dublin government's best efforts, 1916 will not be forgotten. Sinn Féin applauds those "non Sinn Féin" initiatives to mark the 75th anniversary. This is not solely because it is an issue of historical importance and an occasion of national pride. These are important enough, but more important from the republican viewpoint are the unfulfilled promises of the Proclamation and the unfinished business of today.

Sinn Féin welcomes any effort to debate these issues, to commemorate them, to celebrate them. They are not republican property. They are part of our common history and the property of all the Irish people. As republicans our interest is special and to a degree personal. We who stand in direct lineage to the men and women of 1916 (and women need to be written back into that chapter of history), we have a special pride in their words and deeds.

We salute all the unknown men and women of 1916 and of every generation which struggled for freedom and justice and peace for this country and its people. Where would Pearse and McDonagh and Connolly and McDermott and Joseph Plunkett and Clarke be if they lived in Ire-



● Delegates voting at this year's Ard Fheis

86ú Sinn Féin Ard Fheis... 86ú Sinn Féin Ard Fheis... 86ú Sinn Féin



• Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams  
land today? We can be sure where  
they wouldn't be. They wouldn't be on  
the picket outside this Ard Fheis. They  
wouldn't be on RTE, they wouldn't be  
signing Hillsborough Treaties or justi-  
fying partition or poverty, or extra-  
dition or inequality, unemployment or  
the decline of Irish culture.

We can presume as signatories of  
the Proclamation, that they would  
have stayed with the Republic. So we  
applaud them and we applaud all  
those other men and women who stay  
true to the Republic. The people of the  
hidden Ireland out there in every coun-  
try, the staunchly loyal people, rural  
and urban who have never sold out.

In applauding the Volunteers of  
1916, we also salute their successors,  
the Volunteers who struggle for Irish  
freedom today. I pay a special tribute  
to the activists of Sinn Féin. We send  
greetings to political prisoners, espe-  
cially those in England, some now in  
their 12th year. On your behalf, I ex-  
tend best wishes and greetings to all  
our friends and to supporters of Irish  
freedom everywhere. Tá muid buioch

daibh.

This is a hard struggle. Many lives  
have been lost or wrecked. We re-  
member everyone who died in this  
long war. We extend sympathy to the  
families of all the dead. We particu-  
larly recall Sinn Féin members, Tommy  
Casey and Fergal Caraher and IRA Vol-  
unteers Dessie Grew, Patrick Sheehy  
and Martin McCaughey, who was also a  
Sinn Féin councillor. Another IRA Vol-  
unteer died since our last Ard

Fheis. He was Volunteer Séad Bateson  
who died in his 14th year of incarceration  
in the H-Blocks of Long Kesh. Go  
ndéanfaidh Dia trócaire aru. The  
families of these activists have a spe-  
cial place in our hearts. We extend our  
solidarity to them.

#### A FREE FEDERATION OF FREE PEOPLES

When we gathered here last year it  
seemed that a new order was shaping  
the world's establishments and that  
the vision of ordinary people of every  
nationality — a vision of justice, equality  
and peaceful co-existence — was at  
last starting to direct the thinking of

those not want to. It cannot stand aside  
from a world order which it seeks to  
emulate. Mr Haughey has a duty to  
Irish citizens to oppose this war. It is  
an unjust war. Apart from the highly  
questionable assumption by the US  
and Britain of the role of liberator, given  
their records of interference and inva-  
sion of other countries, the entire  
motivation of the war to control the  
oil-fields of the Gulf makes it morally  
indefensible. Nor had all the peaceful  
options been exhausted. The use of  
economic sanctions was abandoned  
as useless after only four months and  
the military option was enthusiastically  
embraced. Sanctions, it appears, are  
adequate only when the injustice is  
against the powerless and oilless black  
majority in South Africa.

Sinn Féin have consistently said  
that negotiations, without precondi-  
tions, are an essential first step in the  
search for peace, whether in Ireland,  
South Africa or in the Gulf, and that  
the conditions which create violence  
can only be ended in the context of a  
comprehensive political settlement.  
We remain committed to this search  
for a real and lasting peace.

There should be no war in the Gulf.  
There should be no war in Ireland.  
There should be no war in the world.  
There should be a political settlement.

In recent months, the print media,  
especially sections of the British print  
media, have carried stories of my al-  
leged involvement in the preparation  
of ceasefire proposals for Oglach na  
hEireann. If the issues were not so se-  
rious, those fictitious accounts could  
be ignored. Indeed, they might even  
be the source of some amusement.  
For example, I was amazed to read re-  
cently in a British newspaper an out-  
line of what I planned to say in this  
presidential address. That was even  
before I knew what I was going to say,  
or before this had been written.

It is no coincidence, of course, that  
the journalists who put their names to  
such propaganda are not here today to  
hear at first hand what Sinn Féin has

to say on the British-sponsored con-  
flict in our country and how we think it  
can be ended.

#### A PEACE INITIATIVE ?

There is also speculation that Sinn  
Féin is interested in a peace initiative.  
Let me put an end to such speculation.  
Sinn Féin is interested, and Sinn Féin  
will continue to be interested and in-  
volved in seeking ways and means to  
bring peace out of the chaos and division  
created by the British occupation of  
part of our country. That is one of  
the central reasons for our existence. It  
is the foundation upon which this par-  
ty and our philosophy is based.

The general public in Ireland and  
Britain hear little of Sinn Féin's peace  
proposals. This is because they are de-  
nied their right to such information and  
we are denied our right to ex-  
pound it. But the Irish people also hear  
little of the peace proposals of our na-  
tional political opponents. There is little

public debate about peace plans from  
Fianna Fail, Fine Gael, the SDLP,  
PDS, WP, or the unionists. That is be-  
cause they have no peace proposals.  
Neither does the British government.

#### UNIONISM

The Irish establishment presides  
over a partitionist state in this part of  
Ireland. It has its own political reality.  
It has helped through its media and  
spokespersons to build perceptions  
about the North.

Its apologists ignore, not because  
they do not know but because that is  
their choice, they ignore the nature of  
the British state in the North. They ig-  
nore the role of unionists in maintaining  
that state. An example of unionist  
"democracy" can be witnessed in  
Belfast City Council.

This council is the biggest locally  
elected administration in the British  
state in Ireland, and the third largest in  
Ireland. Sinn Féin is the second largest  
party in its chambers. The two main  
unionist parties form a majority. Other  
sizeable political opinion is rep-  
resented. None of them are permitted  
any power, even within the limitations of  
local government powers. Why? Be-  
cause the unionist parties, conspire  
and connive and bully all power into  
their own hands the way they used to  
do throughout the North. Until we  
stopped them.

Their leaders, Paisley and  
Molyneaux, have yet even to admit  
that there was ever any injustice in the  
Six Counties. Even now they deny that  
injustice exists. Their followers, who  
fight with their backs to the wall, to de-  
fend what little advantage they have  
got, are in a way more victims of the  
system than we are. The breaking of  
the deadlock will liberate them as  
much as it will liberate us. It will liber-  
ate us all.

#### ARTICLES TWO AND THREE

The demand for the amendment of  
Articles Two and Three of the 1937  
Constitution has been led by the un-  
holy alliance of Fine Gael and the  
Workers Party and was brought as far  
as an unsuccessful vote in Leinster  
House last autumn. These parties wish  
to remove the commitment to Irish  
unity contained in the Constitution.  
What, in effect, they want to do is to  
enshrine in the 1937 Constitution the  
British-guaranteed unionist veto over  
constitutional change in Ireland. They  
are asking the people of the 26 Coun-  
ties to declare that partition is legiti-  
mate.

It is no accident that those who  
masquerade as progressive constitutional  
crusaders seek no amendment or deletion of the British Government of  
Ireland Act or change in the British  
government's claim to ownership of  
Irish territory.

The deletion or amendment of Arti-  
cles Two and Three will not remove  
the cause of conflict in the Six Coun-  
ties. On the contrary, such action will  
perpetuate it. These articles have never  
been used by the IRA in defence of  
its actions. Their removal will have no  
effect on armed struggle. It will, how-  
ever, reinforce and encourage the in-  
transigence of unionists and will meet  
with no reciprocal gesture by them.

Articles Two and Three are not a  
claim by Dublin on the North. They are  
a statement of commitment to the na-  
tional integrity of the Irish people, all  
the Irish people, regardless of reli-  
gious or political affiliations. Symbolic  
though this may be, especially when  
viewed against the history of Dublin's  
refusal to seek its fulfilment, the formal  
removal of this commitment would be  
another shameful surrender to British  
injustice. It would be trumpeted  
around the world by the British  
government as an acceptance by the

Irish people of the right of the British  
government to partition and occupy  
Irish territory.

Mo chlann féin do dhíol a máthair.  
In the recent debate in Leinster House,  
and in support of this constitutional  
move, Fine Gael leader, John Bruton,  
made one of the most extraordinary  
speeches ever heard in that assembly.  
In the course of a vicious attack on re-  
publicanism, and this party, he said  
that in a united Ireland run by Sinn  
Féin, no-one would be able to leave  
the country without my permission.

It is my sincere hope that we fulfil  
his worst fears. That is, I hope he is  
right about Sinn Féin governing a  
United Ireland. After all, as Alan Dukes  
would say, Fine Gael has to be right  
some time. However, in the event of  
myself ever forming such a govern-  
ment, Mr Bruton, be assured that An  
Taoiseach Gerry Adams would be the  
last person to prevent you, or any of  
your colleagues, from leaving Ireland.

#### TALKS

Peter Brooke is the latest in a long  
line of British ministers sent from Lon-  
don to rule six Irish counties on behalf  
of his imperial government. Mr Brooke  
purports to be different from his pre-  
decessors. In some ways, of course,  
he is different but whether this is a dif-  
ference in substance as well as style  
remains to be seen. Sinn Féin hopes it  
is and it is our sincere wish, sceptical  
and doubtful as we may be, that his  
regime will make real differences and  
usher in real change in the relation-  
ship between his country and ours.

Mr Brooke directed a number of  
statements and keynote speeches at  
republicans in the last year. Some of  
these indicate that there may be a de-  
bate in government circles. If this is  
so, we welcome it. While there are  
some apparently positive aspects to  
these speeches, which I will come to  
later, it is important to note also some  
of the more negative aspects. A key  
factor in all his statements is the total  
omission of any mention whatsoever  
of the situation in Ireland and its contin-  
ued use of power here. It is as if the  
conflict originated and continues in a  
vacuum. There is nowhere the slight-  
est hint of British government respon-  
sibility for the conflict in our society.

On the question of British policy, it  
is clear also from Mr Brooke's state-  
ments, that the main aim remains the  
re-establishment of a locally-elected,  
partitionist administration in the Six  
Counties as envisaged in the Hillsbor-  
ough Treaty with some limited author-  
ity devolved from Westminster. The  
British government knows that if it can  
put together a stable arrangement, under-  
pinned by itself and Dublin without  
any British commitment to end the  
Union, then such a development, un-  
likely though it appears to be, will al-  
most certainly strengthen the Union and  
insulate the British government from  
any criticism for its involvement in Ireland.

1992 appears to be the main motor  
for Mr Brooke's various initiatives. Af-  
ter 1992, as Western Europe re-aligns  
itself and the upheavals in Eastern Eu-  
rope are settled, a new political terrain  
will emerge and the British presence in  
Ireland, and the methods it uses to  
maintain the Union, will be put under  
the spotlight of international scrutiny.  
British policy-makers know this. That  
is why Mr Brooke's talks about talks  
monologue is shadowed by a parallel  
strategy aimed at enticing the IRA to  
end its armed struggle — not, as far as  
can be ascertained from Mr Brooke's  
remarks, not in the context of a  
change in British policy towards Ire-  
land, but in the context of the above  
policy concerns.

Maybe, some political analysts will  
speculate, maybe these aren't the factors  
governing British strategy? Fair  
(continued on page 10)



Ard Fheis 1991

In Ard Fheis... 86ú Sinn Féin Ard Fheis... 86ú Sinn Féin Ard Fheis...

(continued from page 9)

enough. It is up to Mr Brooke to clarify the situation.

He has hinted on a number of occasions of the inevitability of talks with Sinn Féin. When he has been asked by us to spell out his scenario for such talks, he has fudged the issue. His assertions of goodwill towards those we represent bear no relation to the life they are forced to live under British military occupation. This party has a democratic mandate to represent the views of our electorate. This mandate has been strengthened in the last year in a series of by-elections in the Six Counties. Our opponents have attempted to marginalise, to ignore and to censor that mandate. Despite their best efforts it remains as strong and as determined as ever.

Peter Brooke is wasting our time as well as his own if he seeks merely to patronise us with occasional statements.

At last year's Ard Fheis, I said that Sinn Féin is ready, at any time, to discuss the conditions in which peace and justice can be established. I said then, and I repeat again today - it is Peter Brooke who is delaying this process. It is his government which is prolonging the conflict. A year has passed since then. An extra year of conflict and over a year since Mr Brooke admitted that there could be no military defeat of the IRA. Serious observers of the conflict in Ireland, including the British government and its policy makers, know that talks with Sinn Féin are inevitable. Mr Brooke's remarks represent a public acceptance of this reality by a British minister. They are an implicit, but clear, public admission that the British government and others have failed to dislodge our support or erase the legitimacy or centrality of our political party.

The logic of Mr Brooke's own statements on this issue is that he should abandon his government's undemocratic practice of refusing to recognise the rights of our electorate. It is now only a question of when this will be done. If he is serious Mr Brooke will do it sooner rather than later.

## A CHALLENGE

Great play has been made of Mr Brooke's assertion that "the British government has no selfish strategic or economic interest in Northern Ireland". This statement has been pre-



● Gerry Adams delivering the presidential address at this year's Ard Fheis

sented by our opponents in the Irish establishment as a great challenge to us. On the contrary, it is a greater challenge to them. The republican position has been to invite Mr Brooke to prove his statement and to act upon the logic of what he says. In other words, the British government should henceforth base its policy on this professed lack of interest in the continuance of the union and move on to a policy of constructive and peaceful dissolution of the union.

Sinn Féin must continue to demand that a peace process be initiated, that progress must replace the rhetoric and that a real start must be made. The British and Dublin governments must not be allowed to dodge their responsibilities.

I asked earlier if Messrs Haughey, Hume, Spring, Bruton, De Rossa or O'Malley are prepared to take the political risks which are necessary if war in Ireland is to become redundant. Peter Brooke has given them the opportunity, unintentionally perhaps, but an opportunity all the same, to set aside their failed policies and empty rhetoric and to change their histories and, more importantly, the sad tragic history of our people. Are they up to the task?

## THE REPUBLICAN VISION

Sinn Féin is prepared to face up to that task and to discharge our responsibilities in a positive and honourable way. We are prepared to take political risks. We are prepared to give and take.

Our vision rejects forced emigration and unemployment, cultural oppression, sexism and inequality. Our vision embraces dignity, education, well-being and equality. Our vision embraces democracy. It is economic as well as political. Our vision is for the distribution of wealth, for the well-being of the aged, for the advancement of youth, for the liberation of women, for the protection of the environment. Our vision is for a free Ireland and a free people. It is for bread and roses as well as for an end to war.

Our vision is for the advancement of youth, for the liberation of women, for the protection of the environment. Our vision is for a free Ireland and a free people. It is for bread and roses as well as for an end to war. Our vision sees the relationship between Britain and Ireland as resting upon our mutual independence.

It is this vision which underwrites the 1916 Proclamation. It is this vision which sustains our struggle. It was this which moved Bobby Sands to write: "If they aren't able to destroy the desire for freedom, they won't break you."

It was this vision which spoke when he wrote: "They won't break me because the desire for freedom, and the freedom of the Irish people is in my heart."

## THATCHER'S LEGACY

Most of us lived through the agony of the British government's failure to break Bobby, Frank Raymond, Patsy, Joe, Martin, Kevin, Kieran, Tom, Mickey and their friends in Armagh Women's Prison and the H-Blocks of Long Kesh. Most of us lived through the agony of the British government's failure to break us. That was ten years ago. It provoked the

unprecedented coming together of the forces of reaction in this country and the development of every conceivable counter-insurgency strategy by the British and Irish establishment.

The hunger-strikes had a lasting and most profound emotional effect upon us all.

It was Mrs Thatcher's intransigence which elevated a domestic dispute over prison conditions to an international issue which focused attention on the nature of the British presence in Ireland.

In July 1981, I visited a number of hunger-strikers in the prison hospital at Long Kesh. Myself, Owen Carron and Seamus Ruddy met most of the men together. Kevin Lynch, one of those who died, was too ill to see us and Kieran Doherty was too ill to be moved but I went with Brendan MacFarlane, the prisoners' leader, to his bedside. Kieran, who was almost blind, had been one of two prisoner candidates elected to the Dublin parliament. Six of his comrades had already died. "Thatcher won't break us," he told me.

We talked for a few minutes. As we left Kieran told us: "Lean ar aghaigh. (Continue on.) We'll break Thatcher in the end." He died three days later, a day after Kevin Lynch passed away.

Such is Thatcher's legacy. Her regime in Ireland has also meant the end of the right to silence, a shoot-to-kill policy, censorship, continued discrimination and the dilution of the quality of life for people in the Six Counties as she cut health, education

and social services. Her contribution to the search for peace in Ireland was singularly negative. Under her rule, Britain won the ignoble distinction of having the worst record on human rights of any signatory to the European Convention on Human Rights. For all these reasons Margaret Thatcher's political demise was not mourned in republican Ireland.

For some years now I have been predicting that our struggle would outlast her regime. I have stated clearly and confidently that the next British government will be faced with a strengthened and consolidated republican struggle. That remains my conviction. Eleven years after Thatcher came to power, the demand for Irish freedom, and its supporters, have outlived her arrogant and dogmatic reign. As Kieran Doherty predicted, Thatcher didn't break us. Our struggle remains intact.

## A CHANGE IN BRITISH STRATEGY?

When John Major succeeded Mrs Thatcher, I wrote to him at 10 Downing Street. Mr Major, was, I said, in a unique position to initiate change. In Sinn Féin's view, I told him, peace would come with the restoration of democracy to Ireland and this process could begin if Britain was to shift the massive resources and energy now used to defend partition to convincing unionists that everyone's best interest would be better served by Britain leaving.

Since then Mr Major, in pursuit of cheap oil, has been involved in the imperial adventure in the Gulf. That was Thatcher's legacy to him and to the world.

When this is over and regardless of its outcome, I am confident that the integrity of the Irish struggle will prevail. Mr Major may then wish to turn his attention to the above issues. By doing so, he will be grasping the nettle of his government's involvement in Irish affairs. He can do so in the knowledge that everything else has failed and that everything else will fail.

As students of British and Irish history, we can cordially assure him that Ireland has had little control of its past. This struggle is for Irish control of our future. Irish republicans want only freedom and justice and peace in our country. Our people deserve nothing less. We will settle for nothing else.

"We said at the outset of those discussions that they were a time-wasting diversion and so it has come to pass. Barring a miracle, or a massive climb-down by Gerry Collins and John Hume (which I suppose is always possible), these talks will shortly end in failure."

The remainder of McGuinness' address was given over to spelling out in detail Sinn Féin's strategy for peace, first mooted in the document of that name over a year ago. He told delegates that the document would be updated and elaborated upon in the coming months and that the party would be challenging the political opponents of republicanism to spell out their scenarios for bringing a just and lasting peace to Ireland.

Following a direct appeal to the media to end their role as unquestioning mouthpieces for the establishment, McGuinness called on the journalists with a responsibility for reporting on the Irish situation to reflect honestly the Sinn Féin position: "We don't mind if you or your editors disagree with our analysis. That is your democratic right. But you wouldn't allow us to manipulate you, so don't let the establishment."

He concluded: "Sinn Féin is prepared to give a lead in the search for an honest peace. Are our opponents?"

In the short debate which followed, all the seven motions were carried with only a call for support for a bill of rights in the Six Counties, from Lagan Valley Sinn Féin, being resoundingly rejected.

## SUNDAY MORNING

McGuinness predicts demise of Brooke talks

## A STRATEGY FOR PEACE

SUNDAY MORNING, over half an hour behind schedule and with the gathered delegates showing definite signs of having enthusiastically supported the various charity functions on the previous night, the Ard Fheis reconvened to deliberate on the section of the political report dealing with Sinn Féin's strategy for peace.

The main morning session centred on the address by Martin McGuinness of the Ard Chomhairle and the ensuing debate around motions dealing with the Brooke talks and current repressive measures in the Six and 26 Counties.

McGuinness, on behalf of the Ard Chomhairle, delivered a paper entitled A Strategy for Peace. The session, given the orchestrated and groundless media hype over divisions within Sinn Féin and the media's favorite pastime, speculation of an IRA cease-fire, meant that the press were there in strength. Instead of divisions what they witnessed was a cogent and logical exposition of the republican position, concentrating on the business of "creating the conditions for an end to conflict in our society and setting in place a stable and open democracy".

McGuinness dealt in detail with what he described as a black propaganda exercise aimed at dividing and conquering. He told delegates: "I have no doubt that there are those outside the Mansion House who will be anxiously looking for differences between republicans at this Ard Fheis. Unlike those on the outside the delegates here know the truth. You know the score. Divide and conquer has always been a key weapon in Britain's armoury. Over the years they have failed to conquer us — they will certainly fail to do so."

Referring directly to cease-fire speculation he commented:

"The purpose of all this is to put republicans in the spotlight as the group primarily responsible for the violence of the past 20 years. In their simplistic and



● MARTIN MCGUINNESS

dishonest analysis the ending of republican resistance would bring peace. The British are not held accountable and this adds to the justifiable sense of grievance felt by that significant section of the community which we represent."

Speaking of the Hillsborough process McGuinness noted:

"The command and control centre established under the Hillsborough Agreement, whilst failing miserably to

get political agreement, has co-ordinated its frontline troops in a ferocious attack on republican resistance. But Hillsborough has failed in its hidden agenda of defeating republicanism and restoring the British policy of Ulsterisation. Because it has failed, as we predicted, the search is now on for a face-saving alternative. Hillsborough Mark III! Will that bring peace? Of course not. No more than Hillsborough Mark I!"

Spelling out the republican position he continued:

"We have reached a sensible and mature conclusion. The absence of national democracy means that we are forced to exist within the context of coercion and conflict. We have decided that we are going to change all that. We are going to create the conditions for peace. We and those who elect us have the right and duty to pursue our policies. The most important policy is a policy for peace. Who then in Ireland, are genuinely striving to create those conditions which would end conflict and create in its place a stable and open democracy?"

## TIME WASTING DIVERSION

McGuinness noted that during the week of the Ard Fheis a London/Dublin conference had taken place with talks also high on its agenda. He remarked that the difficulty was yet again the gap over Dublin becoming involved in the talks.

86ú Sinn Féin Ard Fheis... 86ú Sinn Féin Ard Fheis... 86ú Sinn Féin Ard Fheis...

# Casadh eile ar chamriail na n-Aontachtaithe

LE CIAN MAC AOIDH

BHI an tAth. Des Wilson i láthair mar bheithnóir ar leith an ar chruinniú is déanai de Chomhairle Bhéal Feirste, Dé Luain, Feabhrá 4ú, ach ní raibh sé ann cùig bhomaite gur chuir na hAontachtaithe deireadh leis an chruinniú miosúil. Tá geallta ag Sinn Féin go gcois-fear ar guth náisiúnaioch i Halla na Cathrach, Béal Feirste, d'ainneoin na hiarrachta deireanai seo le hé a chosc.

Rith na dseoirí trí montuairisci na goistí go tapaigh — is gnáth uair a chloig a chaitheamh ag plé na montuairisci céanna. Agus nuair a d'íreigh Sinn Féin leis a mholaodh in aghaidh chosc na Gaeilge sa chomhairle shiùil na hAontachtaithe amach — ag fágáil an chruinniú gan chórann. Ach, cé nár pléadh rún na Gaeilge nó rún eile a mhól deireadh a chur le ceatachais ar Halla nuáin Comhphála na cathrach, mhaigh Alex Maskay go mofál an dá rún aris an mhiúr seachugainn.

"Ild an SDLP agus Sinn Féin le 16 shíleann comhairle ann agus níl ach 13 de dhíth faoi choinneáin. Mar sin de beimid ag cur brú ar an SDLP fanaid ag na cruinntí agus ligint do phobal náisiúnaioch na fadhbanna a bhaineann leo a phlé. Ni feidh tabhain isteach do dheachóireacht tofa na hAontachtaithe i Halla na Cathrach."

Tá crinniú spísealta den Chomhairle fórgartha anois don Aonine, Feabhrá 8ú, le rún tacaíochta d'fhórsai na Breataine agus SAM sa Mhurascaill a phlé. Bhí an rún ón Aontachtaí neamhspleách, Frank Millar, le bheith pléite ag crinniú an Luain i ndiaidh rún Shinn Féin, ach tharraing an moltaoistíar é le bheith cinnéach nach meabhdh córam a fáil do rún na bPoblachtóirí. Maionn rún Millar gur chóir do na Breatanach tóigí ar "a mbua" sa Mhurascaill le hÓigigh lá ná hEireann a chlo.

Ag tagairt don rún d'úr dán Comhairleoir Sinn Féineach, Gerard McGuigan, gur "cráos chun co-gaigh a bhrí ar na hAontachtaithe". Ar seisean: "an chéad rud eile a bheas uathu na carpeádhbhuamáil i gceantair náisiúnaiocha Bhéal Feirste."

## Foghlaím :

táim i mo sheasamh, I am standing up  
táim i mo shui, I am sitting down  
táim i mo lui, I am lying down  
táim i mo chodladh, I am asleep  
táim i mo dhúiseacht, I am awake  
táim i mo chónai, I live, I dwell  
táim i mo thost, I am silent

táim i mo sheasamh  
tá tú i mo sheasamh  
tá sé ina sheasamh  
tá sí ina sheasamh  
táimid inár sheasamh  
tá sibh in bhuar sheasamh  
tá siad ina sheasamh

táim i mo chodladh  
tá tú i do chodladh  
tá sé ina chodladh  
tá sí ina chodladh  
táimid inár gooldadh  
tá sibh in bhuar gooldadh  
tá siad ina gooldadh

Ceacht 25  
Leathanaach 28

## Léigh :

- Tá Séan ina seasmh ; nil Una ina seasmh.
- Tá Eámann ina shui ; nil Máire ina sui.
- Tá Niall ina chodladh ; nil Peig ina codladh.
- Tá Art ina dhúiseacht ; nil Brid ina dhúiseacht.
- Tá Síle ag caint ach tá Tomás ina thost.
- Tá Pól ina chónai cos farrage.
- Tá Máiread ina cóinéar sa chathair.
- Tá Nora agus Páid ina gónáil sa tuath (in the country).
- Tá an seanduithe ina shui cois na tine.

## Freagair :

- Cé tá ina seasmh ? 2. Cé tá ina shui ?
- Cé tá ina chodladh ? 4. Cé tá ina dhúiseacht ?
- Cé tá ina thost ? 6. Cé bhfuil Pól ina chónai ?
- Cé bhfuil Máiread ina cóinéar ?
- Cé bhfuil Nora agus Páid ina gónáil ?
- Cé bhfuil an seanduithe ina shui ?

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● Tógra ó LA, Feabhrá 4ú



## Trí shuile an chuma

## Amadán?

Agus deireann siad gurb  
amadán na hEireannaigh.

Bhuel, tcítear go raibh scail  
forleathán i mbaliteáil Shasana an tseach-  
taineo seo chaite nuair a scaip cuid cleasaithé  
bréag-litreacha i measc a gcairde agus daoine  
eile, ag fógrú Coinscríobhach Oifigíúil mar gheall  
ar chogadh sa Mhurascaill.

Bhí an leithéid seo cló-bhualaithe sna litreacha go n-aintheodh  
duine dall gur magadh a bheadh ann, ach is léir go bhfuil cuid  
Sasanaich a chreidfeadh pé rud a fhraigheann siad tríd an phost...  
is éidé leitheoireachta an SUN agus STAR atá mar chúis le seo is  
feidir.

"Due to cutbacks in Government expenditure in recent years it  
will be necessary for you to provide yourself with the following  
equipment as soon as possible:

Agus liosta de rudai mar: combat jacket, tin helmet, sun-tan  
lotion (high factor), agus ticket (one-way) chugí Riyadh. Bhí na  
litreacha go léir sinthe ag Tom King, Bhí lónrithí i gceantair  
áirítear nuair a fuarthas na litreacha agus seo iad na daoine céan-  
na a thiteann as a stola nuair a chluineann siad Irish Joke no  
scéal faoin Pádraigí Tiubha...

Chuimhneach mé ar sin nuair a chuala mé ráfá eile faoin

Mhurascaill níos moille sa tseachtaí. Coinscríobhach — glaoth  
— ar dhochtúir in airithe as an champa seo a dhul chugí Cuáit le  
post leighis a lónadh leis an Fhórsa 'ldinnáisiúnta'. Bhí sé ar lios-  
ta de chineál éigin leis an TA i Sasain, agus catfáidh me a rá go  
raibh cuid bá ag dul do nuair chualathas an scéal ar dtús.

Bhí daoine ag plé an 'droch-áidí' agus miúfhortún a bhí ag an  
iau seo nuair a tháinig a ainm as riomhairéigin i Sasain chun dul  
chugí cogadh ar an taobh eile den domhan. Cad a thugfeadh an  
dochtúir bocht sin faoch cogadh? Cad a thugfeadh sé faoi óla  
agus Cuáit agus An Láraic?

Ansin, tháinig píosa eile den scéala. Bhí an 'dochtúir bocht' ar  
liosta ceart go leor: liosta de dhochtúirí mar é, a bheadh ag fail  
eiríse €10,000 go blantúil lena n-aínmeacha a choinneáil le fáil  
ar eagla cogadh.

Tháinig an chomhábhá ansin agus ina áit chonaic muid an greann.  
Bhí sé cosúil leis na litreacha siúd a sheol na cleasaithe i Sasain  
ach le dirfis agus amháin. Bhí an litir a fuair an dochtúir an-dáiríre.  
Bhí sé ag dul chugí cogadh nach raibh suim ar bith aige ann.

Ba ghearr agus magadh é — ach bhí lla Eireannach amháin  
nach bhfaca an greann ansin fiú nuair a dúní duine leis go gceann-  
nóidh an £10,000 an tin helmet, combat jacket, sun tan lotion agus  
one-way ticket go Riyadh dó.

Bláin ó shin bhí sé ag gáire a shli go dtí an banc, anois tá sé  
ag gol a shli go — dhúmhach éigin i gCuáit, agus ag cur a shaol i  
mbalb ar son cinniúilchúl óla nó prionsa Cuáiteach. Is dubh an  
greann uaireanta.

— Le Eoghan Mac Cormaic (An Cheis Phada)

BALLRAIOCHT  
SHINN FÉIN

Is é bunaídhamh Shinn Féin  
aistítharraingt na Breataine  
ó na Sé Chontae, thaontú  
áit díre agus bunú phob-  
lacht shóisialach dhaon-  
lathach.

Máin mian leat bheith i do bhall  
de Shinn Féin, nó tuladhéil eolais  
a fháil faoi Shinn Féin nár ár  
ingniomhartha agus ár bpola-  
saithe, lion a thóir thíos agus  
seol is chugí Sinn Féin, 44 Cearnóg  
Pharnell, Baile Átha Cliath 1.  
Ainnm.....  
Seoladh.....

## Teachtaireacht on Chróm

## Cimí ar Crith

De réir thraidisiún na nGael is é  
Lá Féile Bhríde (1ú Feabhrá) tús  
an Earrach. Ach cé gur mhaith  
liom chlaonadh leis na nossána  
Gaeilge, is doiligh creidbheáil  
go bhfuil an t-Earrach ann, agus  
an tsioic ar an talamh go fóill.

Credim anois é, fach. Chonaic mé rud  
an oiche faoi dheréadh a chuir uafás an  
domhain orm — an chéad tuar den Earrach.  
Bhí mé i mó shui go sóna sásta faoi ghlás i  
mo chill, cupán tae ó agam, nuair a

níthótháigh mé rud éigin aisteach ar an urlár.  
Go tobann, thosaigh sé a bhogadh trasna an  
chill go tapaidh. Lig mór scread agus líom mé  
den leaba. Bhí na claróige ar aís.

Is dócha nach bhfaca móran daoine  
fiorchiaróig — ní bhíonn i gceist acu ach na  
seangáin. Feidhíl oillmhór dhúth atá inti,  
agus caithfeoidh iúrthi atá níos éifeachtaí ná  
armúr an T-12. De ghnáth clúintear ar dtús  
iad — an crag, crag, crag de na cois-  
ciméanna tromá. Tá sé de chumhacht ag  
cuid acu eilití ar nós an B-52. Ar an dea-uair  
blíonn muid slán uathu sa gheimhreadh,  
agus iad ina gooldadh.

## CROGA &amp; CALIMA

Bhí cime cróga calma ann a raibh de  
mhisneach air priosúnach a dhéanamh de  
chiaróig mhór ramhar. Lá ina dhiaidh d'oscail

se an seansbhocsa toitíni a bhí á úsáid mar  
phrionsún aige agus cad é a thit amach ach  
na ceadta claróga beaga. Dúradh leis faoi na  
hén agus na beacha ach bhí sé aineolaich ar  
shaol na claróige.



Lá eile bhí cime ar ti spúnóig den anlann  
bhui, a thugtar 'custard' air, a chur ina bhéal  
nuair a chonaic sé rud éigin ag bogadh ar an  
chois suas an spúnóig. Níor iheadh móran  
anlann bhui ó shin.

An rud is fuath liomsa ná nuair a mhú-  
claim san oiche agus mothaim rud éigin faoi  
na pluildeanna ag dreapadh suas mo chois.  
Aagh!

Tá a hiOeanna den bharúil gur seo  
straitéis an OTE lenár meon a bhrioseadh. Dá  
bhfeicteáil a cimí ar crith leis an eagla —  
oglaigh a fuair bua ar inneall cogaidh  
Shasana, seanhonúirí fheachas na pluilde,  
fir mhóra calma — agus na prionsai seile ag  
sileadh óna smigéanna! Tá a ciaróga ag  
pilleadh. Samhradh fada te a bheas ann.

— Le Cam Shúil

# Imeachtaí

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

**NORTH AND SOUTH DUBLIN  
RECLAIM THE SPIRIT OF  
EASTER 1916**  
meets 8pm every Thursday  
16 North Great George's Street  
DUBLIN  
to organise a fitting celebration  
for this year's 75th anniversary  
of the 1916 Rising  
Everyone welcome

**NO TO WAR IN THE GULF  
CAMPAIGN**

meets 8pm every Thursday  
Connolly Hall  
CORK  
UCC Students' Branch  
No to War in the Gulf Campaign  
meets 1pm every Monday  
Common Room  
UCC  
CORK

**NATIONAL SOLIDARITY  
CONFERENCE**

11am-5pm Saturday 9th February  
Conway Hall  
Red Lion Square WC1  
(Holborn Tube Station)  
LONDON  
Speakers from Hatfield Main  
National Union of Mineworkers,  
Hackney Community Defence  
Association,  
Trafalgar Square Defendants'  
Campaign  
and representatives from  
Irish and Black community  
organisations  
Organised by Trafalgar Square  
Defendants' Campaign

**FUNCTION**  
In aid of Sinn Féin Election Fund  
Music by Rogues Gallery  
8pm Saturday 9th February  
Equis Lounge  
NAVAN  
Táille 1

**FRANK STAGG  
COMMEMORATION**  
1.30pm Sunday 10th February  
outside Wakefield Prison  
Love Lane  
**WAKEFIELD**  
Transport from Cambridge Street  
Birmingham B1  
(Hall of Memory car-park)

**FILM**  
'Behind the Mask'  
Directed by Frank Martin  
8pm Tuesday 12th February  
Film Base  
6 Eustace Street  
DUBLIN

**VOIS HENRY HOGAN  
AND DECLAN MARTIN**  
7th Anniversary Commemoration  
Sunday 17th February  
2.15pm: Wreath-laying ceremony  
St Joseph's Cemetery  
Bridge Road  
**DUNLOP**  
3pm: Parade from  
McAleese's Filling Station  
Bridge Road to Carnes Drive  
for unveiling of monument  
Prominent speaker  
All bands welcome

**FILM**  
Ireland: In Focus  
8pm Tuesday 19th February  
'Curious Journey'  
The Unity Club  
96 Dalston Lane  
**HACKNEY**  
London E8 1NG  
Cost £2 waged/£1 unwaged  
Guest speakers, bar  
and live traditional music  
Organised by the Campaign  
for Press & Broadcasting Freedom  
and the Connolly Association  
(continued on page 13)

## Mala Poist

The Editor,  
58 Parnell Square,  
Dublin 1.

country would each erect a giant stone (or rock) monument in the form of the letter 'H', preferably silhouetted against the skyline or in an eye-catching roadside situation. By using a site already owned by a committee member, local stone, and voluntary labour, the cost would be limited to whatever inscription each committee chose. Fifteen to 20 feet would probably be the most effective height, unless the monument was to be on a mountain-top, visible for miles around, when something bigger would be needed. Imagine the effect of dozens (hundreds) of H's suddenly springing up throughout Ireland — similar, yet each one an individual creation.

Joan Travers,  
York,  
England.

## Lithuania

**A Chairde,**  
So all that's wanted in Lithuania is democracy, pluralism, (blessed word; who could have dreamed it up?) and self-determination (Opinion, January 17th).

But haven't you got democracy in Ulster — though nobody should be blamed for having failed to notice. And don't we have pluralism in England? Every five years or so we have the inestimable privilege of putting our cross against Tweedledum or Tweedledee. As for self-determination, you might ask the Rev Ian Paisley about that: who more determined than himself?

Sure many an expatriate Balt would commend the majestic impartiality of English justice — especially the not inconsiderable number who have proudly joined their local Masonic Lodge and Conservative Association. To suggest that such judicial indulgence stops short of the working class is hardly relevant. Aren't we the enemy within; lesser breeds without the Law?

As for the Irish — well, should you find yourself in the dock and they ask you what your name is, never tell them it's Moly. With a name like that they'll send you down for twenty years my boy!

Ah, but isn't it heartwarming to find AP/RN standing shoulder to shoulder with Bush and Major on the Baltic Front! And wouldn't it be the great day for old Ireland if one or two of our republican brothers were to cop, say, an MBE — in harness with the usual mandatory gaggle of loyal Tory Party hacks and royal shithouse boys?

What's that; you aren't with Major, just happen to be going the same way?

Oh, sorry!  
John J Skerret,  
London.

## Beacon of hope?

**A Chairde,**  
The world is once again paying a terrible price for a failure by some parts of humanity to understand that the inadmissibility of liberty and the democratic right to self-determination are fundamental to any concept of human freedom or justice.

The war in the Gulf was not a just war. For 20 years there have been solemn and binding resolutions of the United Nations call-

ing on Israel to withdraw from occupied territories and cease the violation of human rights against the Palestinians. They have not been complied with and there have been no sanctions of any significance enforced against Israel and the world has not gone to war against it. Only when there is a threat to maintaining oil for the US economy, at the equivalent of 70 pence a gallon, does this happen. Iraq was wrong to invade Kuwait and Saddam Hussein was a dictator. But in seeking adherence to universal principles, such as the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force, on which the United Nations is supposed to be based, the Iraqi bluff and circumlocution could have been called by the holding of a Middle-East peace conference that could have raised the issue of rights for the Kurdish people as well as tackling the running sore of the Palestinian question. Thus Saddam could have been undermined and taken apart, peacefully. I hope the Kurdish people might now be able to get self-determination and that this will become a benchmark for other people denied it, including Palestinians, Lithuanians, Balts and the Irish. But I am sceptical.

The practical assistance of many a military stop-over flight at Shannon contemplated by Gerry Collins and the Irish government, thus of course making Shannon a military target, would not be a UN request but a US one. And as long as effective power at the UN resides in the five great power permanent members Security Council, and not with the General Assembly as a whole, then the Constitution and the Dáil must be absolutely sovereign over the territory of Ireland.

This practical assistance, contemplated by Mr Collins, contrasts sharply with his failure to take a strong stand at the EC for immediate and strong action against renewed Stalinist repression of the Lithuanian and Baltic peoples. How does he justify the weakness of the EC response to Lithuania's Bloody Sunday?

What is his government's position on the rights of the Baltic nationalities and what do they propose to actually do about them? How does he think real democrats in America feel about Europe failing them over Lithuania?

This lack of understanding of the inadmissibility of liberty and the importance of the right to self-determination extends beyond Mr Collins. For example, often nationalists in domestic politics, what is the Workers' Party attitude to the renewed Stalinist repression in Lithuania?

This is Easter is the 75th anniversary of the 1916 uprising, arguably the first assertion of the right of small nations and all people to self-determination when all the world was caught up in a war over who should be the biggest ruler. This year also Dublin is European City of Culture. Now that the world has once again been caught up in a war perhaps Dublin can recall that enlightenment and once again be a beacon for the culture of humanity in difficult times.

Joe Murphy,  
Birmingham.



## Bad treatment

**A Chairde,**  
Thank you to AP/RN readers who joined this year's successful Bloody Sunday march which called for British withdrawal from Ireland.

We, the organising committee, were however both surprised and angered at the way that our march was treated by the Committee to Stop the War in the Gulf (CSWG). Just over a week before the Bloody Sunday march we learnt that the CSWG would be held in the 26th, which would rally in Hyde Park. We decided to reverse the route of our march to join their rally. This was to enable those who saw the links between Britain's denial of self-determination for the Irish people and those calling for an end to Britain's war in Ireland who are not welcome on anti-Gulf War marches. Any campaign to put an end to British interference elsewhere can only succeed if it includes those of us who call for an end to British rule in Ireland.

We call on readers to protest to the CSWG but to continue to go on anti-Gulf War marches, raising the joint demands for British withdrawal from Ireland and US/British troops out of the Gulf.

Next year is the 20th anniversary of Bloody Sunday when 14 peaceful demonstrators were shot dead by British soldiers. This event was symptomatic of the British state response to Irish people's demand for self-determination. Human rights abuses in the North of Ireland continue, as does summary execution. We must ensure that our voices of protest are not silenced. Contact us if you

of us demonstrating against the British occupation of Ireland were not welcome to join the rally and our voices were not to be added to those protesting for an end to the Gulf War.

It is significant that marches against the Gulf War in Britain have grown smaller over the past weeks unlike marches in other European countries. We are hopeful that the CSWG will address this problem. However, their treatment of the Bloody Sunday demonstration only sends a message that Irish people and those calling for an end to Britain's war in Ireland are not welcome on anti-Gulf War marches. Any campaign to put an end to British interference elsewhere can only succeed if it includes those of us who call for an end to British rule in Ireland.

We call on readers to protest to the CSWG but to continue to go on anti-Gulf War marches, raising the joint demands for British withdrawal from Ireland and US/British troops out of the Gulf.

Next year is the 20th anniversary of Bloody Sunday when 14 peaceful demonstrators were shot dead by British soldiers. This event was symptomatic of the British state response to Irish people's demand for self-determination. Human rights abuses in the North of Ireland continue, as does summary execution. We must ensure that our voices of protest are not silenced. Contact us if you

can help in making sure next year's Bloody Sunday march is large and successful: CWSW c/o Box 353, London NW5 4NH (Tel: 01-809 1743).

**The Committee for British Withdrawal from Ireland (CBWI): (Troops Out Movement, Irish in Britain Representation Group, Labour Committee on Ireland, Wolfe Tone Society, Women & Ireland Network, Black Action).**

## State journalists

**A Chairde,**

I'm sure I don't have to remind republicans about our "State Journalists", but the last few weeks have really shown them up for what they are. They haven't got the courage or integrity to stand up for themselves, never mind for truth and justice. That is bad enough, but when they criticise and malign those who have, they are despicable and should be ignored by all decent and right thinking people.

Brendan Agar,  
Blanchardstown,  
Dublin.

## H-Block martyrs

**A Chairde,**

May I suggest a relatively inexpensive and impressive and permanent way of marking the approaching 10th anniversary?

Local committees all over the

# NEW BADGE

from  
Republican Publications

# ONLY £2

Bulk Rates Available

From Republican Publications, 44 Parnell Square, Dublin 1 or 51/55 Falls Road, Belfast



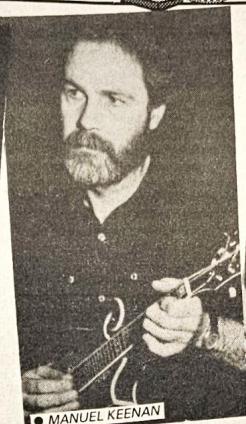
# REVIEWS



• EMMANUEL Mac FARLANE



• JOHNNY Mac SHERRY



• MANUEL KEENAN



• TERRY O'NEILL

## Bright sparks, hot ashes

THE MAKE-UP of Irish traditional, folk and ballad groups tends to be very fluid in every sense. People come and go, appear and re-appear as they do in the hostels where gigs are got together. The best sessions, the best combination of musicians and singers, are too frequently one-off affairs. That makes this tape all the more valuable; while the group Hot Ash would seem to have established itself, the combination they have assembled on this is unlikely to be repeated.

With over 20 tracks and 90 minutes listening time the "couriour combination" has been well and truly recorded for posterity. You have here old-style rebel ballads re-worked, modern freedom songs from home

and abroad, traditional instruments, Gaeilge agus Béarla, poetry and patriotism, and a flute band thrown in to add spice to the pot. And so it should be for a tape which celebrates the 75th anniversary of

the 1916 Rising.

Hot Ash have dedicated this, their first cassette *Who Fears to Speak?* to "the young idealists of 1916 in respect and honour of their achievements, and in defiance of those who would belittle the cause for which they struggled". The songs, music and poetry reflect the spirit of that struggle, with no false division between the heroism of the past and that of the present.

### QUALITY MUSICKERSHIP

Hot Ash vocalists Terry O'Neill and Manuel Keenan

are joined by guest singer Brid Keenan. All three singers are impressive. O'Neill's version of the 19th century ballad *John Mitchel*, once one of the most popular songs of its kind and memorably recorded by the '70s by the late sean-nós singer Seosamh Ó hÉanáin, is especially good. Brid Keenan's rendition of *Bean an Ghealáin* has become well-known at republican gatherings and it is good to see it finally recorded. Her best contribution to this cassette is the song *Bloody Sunday*, one this reviewer was not familiar with, but which deserves to be much better known and widely sung. In an

aside to Bono of U2 the notes emphasise that "this is a rebel song". It is also nice to see the old ballad *The Jackets Green* revived and given a new flavour.

Quality musicianship and commitment are the hallmarks of this recording. Piper Johnny MacSherry is excellent and the arrangements and backings to songs are of the highest standard. The move from Brid Keenan's singing of *An Raibh Tú Ar gCáraí* into a lively march is especially worthy of note and characteristic of what has been achieved. Get your hands on this cassette.

• *Who Fears to Speak?* Hot Ash. Price £5.99 plus £1 postage & packaging. Available from Republican Publications, 44 Parnell Square, Dublin 1 or 51/55 Falls Road, Belfast 12.

## More orders from the captain

LAST WEEK, Captain James Kelly re-launched *The Courage of the Brave*, his analysis of the Hillsborough Agreement which calls for an all-Ireland conference to prepare for Irish unity. The pamphlet was originally published in August 1989.

The captain's career has included a post as a 26-County army intelligence officer during the Belfast pogroms of 1969-70, and being tried in 1970 for importing arms so that nationalists could defend themselves. The introductory note says that he then joined Aontacht Eireann ("a constitutional republican party" led by Kevin Boland, and then when that disbanded he joined Fianna Fáil "which had reassured its constitutional republican cloak". This concept of "constitutional republicanism", obviously central to Kelly's thinking, keeps cropping up in his pamphlet but remains ill-defined throughout.

Now James Kelly believes Fianna Fáil, on whose national executive he's served for many years, has "deserted the high ground of constitutional republicanism" and finds it "the most guilty party in the whole sorry episode of the Anglo-Irish Agreement".

Thus Sinn Féin "is invited into a position where it is seen as the sole remaining standard-bearer of republicanism in Ireland" and Northern nationalists are denied "an Irish national identity". Kelly believes both factors "can only strengthen the hand of the IRA by expanding the sea in which the guerrilla fish

swim, contrary to what the framers of the Anglo-Irish Agreement intended".

Kelly neatly sums up British counter-insurgency strategy as a Kitson and opposite political extradition to the Kitsonian colonial regime.

He juxtaposes the opposition of Haughey to Hillsborough when it was signed up until 1987, the Year of the U-Turn, the "preferred option" of the 1984 Forum Report (a unitary state) and the Articles of the Hillsborough Treaty. He places a little too much faith in the conclusions of the Forum — after all it did end in differing interpretations of its conclusions from Haughey and Fitzgerald and presented the British with Seamus Mallon's famous bag of doily mixtures which Thatcher tore apart. Nonetheless the points in favour of Irish unity given in the report, when read now, are an indictment of the SDLP, Fianna Fáil, Fine Gael and Labour and how far they have retreated from that position and become shackled to the Hillsborough bandwagon.

### STANDARD BEARER

The agreement concluded between the Dublin and London governments at Hillsborough means an acceptance of partition by Dublin and co-operation with the British army, in Tom King's words, "extirpate the IRA".

Thus Sinn Féin "is invited into a position where it is seen as the sole remaining standard-bearer of republicanism in Ireland" and Northern nationalists are denied "an Irish national identity". Kelly believes both factors "can only strengthen the hand of the IRA by expanding the sea in which the guerrilla fish

can be declared

WAY FORWARD

The stated purpose of Kel-

ly's pamphlet is to provide a way forward, to propose a strategy for peace. He gives five steps which he says are necessary for the creation of a new agreement, presumably leading to Irish unity. These are: a declaration by both governments of a willingness to negotiate; a release programme for prisoners and a moratorium on political extradition from Ireland to Britain; an IRA ceasefire; an all-Ireland conference (he says the ceasefire would "clear the ground for this"); an all-Ireland referendum.

There is one vital ingredient missing from these points. Earlier in the pamphlet he says that "if British neutrality is to mean anything in relation to Ireland it must clearly demonstrate, as neutrality implies, that it is disinterested (does he mean uninterested?) in remaining in Ireland". He says the British can do this by "helping to create a platform where Irish nationalism will find expression in a constructive, peaceful manner, side by side with, and as an alternative to, the British position that Northern Ireland is part of the United Kingdom".

### WITHDRAWAL

Surely it is for Irish nationalists to create their own platform. The Dublin government could do this by abandoning Hillsborough and addressing the British on the basis of an Irish agenda. The way for the British to "demonstrate their neutrality" would be to declare



• CAPT JAMES KELLY

that they do not wish to maintain partition and intend to withdraw from Ireland. This is the key element needed to transform the situation, facing the unionists with the inevitability of Irish unity and with the reality that they have a central part to play in shaping a unitary state. Its omission from these proposals weakens them.

*The Courage of the Brave* is to be welcomed as an attempt to frame a strategy for peace. It will be interesting to see what Captain Kelly does about his proposals, particularly within Fianna Fáil, with which he has not broken his connections. After all it is up to that party, more than any other, to reverse its duplicity on the national question.

• *The Courage of the Brave* by James Kelly. Published by James Kelly. Price not given.

## Imeachtaí

(continued from page 12)

### DEBATE ON IRELAND

between

Geoff Bell (author of

The Protestants of Ulster)

and Austin Morgan

(author of James Connolly:

A Political Biography)

7.30pm Friday 22nd February

Jackson's Lane Community Centre

271 Archway Road

LONDON N6

(opposite Highgate underground)

Open to the public

Bar facilities available

### BENEFIT NIGHT

for the family of Dessie Ellis

Music by Saoirse, Storm,

Jacket Potatoes &

The Whole Shabang

Friday 1st March

Haringey Irish Centre

Preatoria Road

White Hart Lane

LONDON

White Hart Lane

LONDON

Speakers: Martha Ellis, Paul Hill

& Gerry Conlon

Admission £4/£3 concession

Late bar

## Join Sinn Féin

SINN FEIN is dedicated to forcing a British withdrawal from the occupied Six Counties, the re-unification 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 .....

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Tel: ..... Age .....

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# Thousands say 'Britain out' in London



● Bloody Sunday demonstration in London on Saturday, January 26th

THREE THOUSAND people took part in a Bloody Sunday demonstration in London on Saturday, January 26th, which started with a rally in Kilburn, and finished in Hyde Park. Marchers and speakers at the demonstration called for British withdrawal from Ireland and recognition of the right of the Irish people to self-determination.

Speakers at the rally included Paul Hill, one of the Guildford Four, Daisy Mules of Sinn Féin and Robin Percival of the Derry Bloody Sunday Initiative.

The march paused outside Paddington Green Police Barracks, the main PTA detention centre in Britain, where banners and placards were displayed calling for the removal of the Prevention of Terrorism Act.

## FIRST PTA ARREST

Speaking at the rally Paul Hill who, in 1974, was the first person arrested under the PTA said: "Irish people cannot be oppressed any longer, they didn't succeed in oppressing me when I was in prison

for 16 years and I ask you now, don't stand alone when you can be together."

Daisy Mules of Sinn Féin told how she had been on a Dublin student contingent at the march which ended with the Bloody Sunday massacre saying "Our initial horror and disbelief at what happened on that day was replaced over time by the realisation that that day heralded the beginning of Britain's shoot-to-kill policy in Ireland." She called for the release of the Birmingham Six, Danny McNamee, Judith Ward and other framed Irish prisoners.

Referring to Peter Brooke's statement that the British no longer had any interest in staying in Ireland, Daisy Mules said:

"Peter Brooke's talks about talks are all but finished. There is no partitionist solution for Ireland. The real problem in Ireland is getting Britain out, the only move which would allow democratic self-determination for all the Irish people."

## TRUE IMPERIALIST AGENDA

She said that by waging war on Iraq, the US and Britain were showing their true imperialist agenda. In the course of this latest war Douglas Hurd has said that the British state has 'no interest in interfering in Iraq, any more than we would interfere in the internal affairs of another country'. "What hypocrisy," she said.

Duncan Melville, a former British soldier who served in the Six Counties, told the march that Britain must leave Ireland now. Bloody Sunday, he said, was a deliberate attempt to quash the civil rights movement in the North, but it had not succeeded in doing so and 19 years on the British public still wanted British withdrawal from Ireland.

# Bush's war "corrupts"

SATURDAY'S No to War in the Gulf Campaign demonstration in Dublin was the largest anti-war mobilisation in recent weeks. Hundreds of people marched from Parnell Square to Leinster House and back to the GPO.

John Maguire, Professor of Sociology in UCC, addressed the marchers. He believes that the war has become "a corrupting influence" on our society, standing morality on its head. Dr Anjum Madani, a representative of the Muslim community in Ireland, "deeply regretted" the Dublin gov-

ernment's abandonment of the principle of neutrality by allowing the refuelling of US planes at Shannon. He argued that the conflict between Iraq and Kuwait was an Arab matter and that it should have been dealt with by Arabs.

Kieran Allen called on people to involve themselves in the anti-war

campaign. This note was taken up by Eamon McCann who took up criticism of the peace movement which suggested that the anti-war campaign was anti-American. He pointed out that opponents of the war were not anti-American but anti-imperialist.

The Gulf Peace Campaign, another peace committee, plans another major demonstration in Dublin on February 17th and the No to War in the Gulf Campaign plans to march to the US Embassy on March 2nd.



● Dr Anjum Madani addresses the No to the War in the Gulf demonstration in Dublin on Saturday

# PTA for

BY TOM O'DWYER

ABBAS CHEBLAK is a prominent Palestinian author and academic who has called for Iraq to pull out of Kuwait. Although he is not in agreement with Saddam Hussein, he is being held in a British prison under threat of being deported for posing a 'danger' to the British state. That threat does not stem from either his views or his actions — Cheblak does not agree with the guerrilla strategy. It stems from his race.

Because he is a Palestinian, the Home Office is expelling him under a procedure, based on the exclusion

process under the Prevention of Terrorism Act. He is to go before a kangaroo court comprising of Home Office bigwigs. He will not be told the reasons why he is threatened with deportation and will therefore be unable to properly defend himself. That would be very difficult in any case as he is denied legal representation.

His one comfort might be that he is not alone. There are also 47 other detainees in his position. Many of them are Palestinian, some are Iraqi opponents of the Saddam Hussein regime. The majority have settled in Britain and face being uprooted from their homes and jobs because an anonymous bureaucrat has decided it.

# Palestinians



● British Internment Camp on Salisbury plain, Wiltshire

Irish people have had to endure but the similarities do not end there. He has also come up against Judge Donaldson, the trial judge in the case of the Guildford Four. At the time, Donaldson told the four innocent people that he would give them the death penalty, if the

Rolls, rebuked him for presuming that he could get justice in this way. People who were — for all practical purposes — interned should not "rush off to the courts".

The man whose most famous trial resulted in 15 years of injustice for four people, added a strenuous defence of his legal system, claiming that it had not become a "casualty" of war. Despite himself, he then proceeded to prove that, if British justice wasn't a casualty of the Gulf conflict, that was only because it died long before.

## NATIONAL SECURITY

Donaldson was prepared to admit that Cheblak was "an innocent victim of circumstance". But, what was or was not a threat to national security was a matter for the government, and only the government, to decide. The courts had no hand, act or part in this. At times of national emergency, such as the Gulf War, governments had to act to "protect" the state. What Donaldson's corkscrew mind saw as "national security" often "displaces civil liberties".

By protecting the British state from "an innocent victim", Donaldson was handing Cheblak back to the pinstripe-and-bowler-hat racists who run the Home Office. Only the strongest international protests will allow him go free.



● Part of a recent Peace demonstration held in London

## SIMILARITIES

His position is one many

# OBITUARY

## Sadie McVeigh

THE DEATH of Sadie McVeigh (nee McDonald) on Sunday, January 27th, after a brief illness shocked Belfast republicans, coming as it did so close to her 62nd birthday.

Although Sadie had a large family of 13 children of her own to care for, she always made local republicans more than welcome in her home. Her rather large teapot, which was always at the ready, became an emblem of her hospitality and was the source of much friendly banter among some of those who often availed of her kindness.

Sadie, up until last year, when ill-health forced her to resign, was a valued and long-standing member of the Irish Republican Prisoners' Welfare Committee and she took part in all its various activities to help lessen the hardship suffered by prisoners and their families.

Friends in the committee remember her as "dedicated and kind, always the first to help". Her tireless work will be sorely missed. Her keen sense of humour is also remembered by all who worked

with her or accompanied her on the many demonstrations and parades she regularly attended.

### FIVE HOURS BAIL

Sadie's Tricolour-draped coffin was followed from St Agnes' Church in her native Andersonstown on Tuesday, January 29th, by a very large contingent of mourners, including her son Tom released on five hours bail from Crumlin Road Jail, only half an hour before the funeral got under way.

Sadie is survived by her husband Tommy and their 13 children. She will be sadly missed for her kindness and her generosity of spirit by her friends, neighbours and the Belfast republican family, whom she did so much to help. Duine den scóth atá anois ar lá, i measc laochra na nGael go raibh a hanam dilis.

## REMEMBERING THE PAST

# The B-Specials

BY PETER O'ROURKE

FOR ALMOST fifty years, the infamous B-Specials, a bigoted and sectarian loyalist force, carried out a reign of terror against the nationalist population of the North.

During the summer of 1920, at the height of the pogroms by loyalist mobs against the nationalist community of Belfast, the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF), a sectarian and private army, began carrying out joint patrols with both British troops and the RIC.

In attempt to regularise this reserve role, the loyalist leader, James Craig, demanded the establishment of a Special Constabulary, which in effect meant making the UVF an official government force and arming them.

In September 1920, at a meeting of the British cabinet it was agreed to raise a Special Constabulary of "well-disposed, loyal citizens" to operate in the Six Counties.

Recruiting for the Ulster Special Constabulary began throughout the North in November. The UVF made strenuous efforts to enrol its members and in many places the RIC openly appealed to UVF members to join. In some areas whole UVF units formed special platoons and where there weren't enough UVF men they were recruited from the Orange Lodges.

The Special Constabulary was divided into three groups; A-Specials, who were full-time and were used to reinforce the RIC in their barracks; the B-Specials, who were fully armed but part-time and were used for local patrol duty; and the C-Specials who were a reserve force, initially with no specific duties, but were available for call-out in an emergency.

In December, the first batch of A-Specials took up duty and in February 1921, the first batch of B-Specials began patrols in Belfast and in other towns throughout the North.

At the end of 1921, following the partition of Ireland and the creation

of the Six-County state the previous June, the Northern regime, led by Craig, assumed control of the renamed RUC and the Specials.

At this time there were 3,500 A-Specials, 15,000 B-Specials and an indeterminate number of C-Specials. In 1925 the A and C-Specials were disbanded and allowed to keep their guns but the B-Specials, which were increased in number, remained in existence.

During the following decades the B-Specials, along with the Special Powers Act, remained the key weapons in the armoury of the artificial, bigoted and sectarian state in the North.

### ANTI-CATHOLIC POGROMS

The B-Specials were responsible for anti-Catholic pogroms in every decade from the 1920s to the 1960s, and were heavily involved in the attempts to smash the civil rights movement of 1968-69, as well as the attacks on the nationalist areas of Belfast, Newry, Derry and other areas in the North in August 1969.

With the eyes of the world focused on events in the North during the summer of 1969, however, the blatant sectarianism of the force became an embarrassment to Britain and, in October the B-Specials were disbanded and a new armed loyalist force, the UDR, replaced them. Former B-Special members joined the UDR en masse and the change, in effect, only meant a change of name and uniform for the bigots of northern loyalism.

The first batch of B-Specials began patrols in Belfast and in other cities and towns in the North on February 4th, 1921, 70 years ago this week.

# In Díl Chuimhne

CONNOLLY, James Joseph (2nd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol James Joseph Connolly, West Tyrone Brigade, Oglaih na hÉireann, who died on February 6th 1989. "Believe that we too love freedom and desire it. To us it is the most divine thing in the world. Let us strike us down and all rise again and renew the fight. You cannot conquer Ireland. You cannot extinguish the Irish passion for freedom. If our deed has not been sufficient to win freedom, then our children shall win it by a better deed." — Pádraig Mac Piarais. Always remembered by his friends and comrades in the West Tyrone Command, Oglaih na hÉireann.

CONNOLLY, James Joseph (2nd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of our darling son Vol Josie Connolly, West Tyrone Brigade, Oglaih na hÉireann, who died for freedom on February 6th 1989, aged 20. As we look up at your picture son, good memories we recall, of the happy days together, once shared by us all. We shall never forget you son, to us you were so dear. There is a special place in heaven, when you die a Volunteer. Ar dheis go raibh sé. Always remembered with love and pride. Sadly missed by his loving mother and father Anna and Joe.

CONNOLLY, James Joseph (2nd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of our beloved brother Vol Josie Connolly, West Tyrone Brigade, Oglaih na hÉireann, who died a martyr for Ireland on February 6th 1989, aged 20 years. Soft be the soil that covers his grave, proud be the country that bore him. Green be the memory of his soul that has gone to join the soldiers before him. I measc laochra na nGael go raibh a man unusual. Always remembered with pride by his loving brothers, Kevin and Barry and by sister Anne and family.

CONNOLLY, James 'Josie' (2nd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol James 'Josie' Connolly, Oglaih na hÉireann, who died on active service on February 6th 1989. RIP. St Joseph, pray for him. Lay him away on the hillsides alongside the brave and the bold, inscribe his name on the roll of fame in letters of pure gold. Always remembered by auntie Kathleen and family.

CONNOLLY, James Joseph (2nd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol James Joseph Connolly, who died from wounds received in action on February 6th 1989. "If you strike at, imprison, or kill us, out of our prisons or graves we will still evoke a spirit that will thwart you. And mayhap, rise a force that will destroy you. We defy you! Do your worst." From his friends and comrades in the world. McGlynn/Seamus Hayes, Sean Ó Feáin Cumann, Castlederg and Aghyaran.

CONNOLLY, James 'Josie' (2nd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol James 'Josie' Connolly, West Tyrone Brigade, Oglaih na hÉireann, who was killed on active service on February 6th 1989. Greater love hath no man than he lay down his life for his friends. Remembered always by Mandy.

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# THE FLYING COLUMN

**A COMRADE** in South Africa has been keeping us informed of the 'humanitarian' activities of the gardai who were part of the United Nations force during the elections in Namibia last year.

She tells us that according to gardai at Ondangwa Airport in August last, the acronym 'UK' was valid because "Ulster" was "part of Britain". The IRA were by such Garda reasoning "scum" and "wanton killers without the faintest idea what democracy is about". When Britain's litany of terror in Ireland was raised it was dismissed as "Prov propaganda".

Little wonder the locals in Namibia came to call them "pink-blue and randy-thick" on account of their complexions, cardigans (worn in temperatures of 38 degrees Celsius) and their libido and inability to handle local currency, a task well within the capacity of the rest of the UN delegation.

Fortunately, they were not taken as in any way representative of the Irish people. Indeed, the gardai, while off-duty and on, shared an evident affinity with the notorious Koevoet death-squads, trained in South Africa, who were supposed to be disbanded to allow free and fair elections but who lingered on. Night after night they could be heard getting drunk together. Doubtless the gardai had a fair few 'heavy gang' yarns of their own to exchange with their new-found bosom buddies.

THE regular protests by establishment politicians that extradition is a matter for the courts were rubbish this week by none other than former Taoiseach Garret FitzGerald.

He admitted, during the course of a 'witty' address to the audience at a business lunch, that it is in fact the Taoiseach who holds the ultimate sanction to whether an individual is to be handed over.

He recalled how Dominic McGlinchey's extradition was almost delayed because he didn't have any change to telephone Dublin from London (where he had just arrived from Washington) to "give the necessary go-ahead".

THIS well-framed shot from the Sinn Féin Ard Fheis was captioned in last Monday's *London Independent* newspaper

as showing a final adjustment "to one of the portraits of republicans who have died during the past year".

And that just about sums up media accuracy and Sinn Féin.

**HENRY ROBINSON**, a Downpatrick member of the Workers' Party, was spotted on the New Consensus picket outside the Sinn Féin Ard Fheis last Saturday sporting a placard reading "Sinn Féin fascists" over a painted swastika.

What Henry the peace-lover's placard didn't say was that he has been convicted and imprisoned for kreecaping. Nor that he is the main spokesperson in the Six Counties for Families Against Intimidation and Terror!

**DID YOU HEAR** the one about the Iraqis having a Scud missile aimed at the sparsely populated New Consensus picket outside the Sinn Féin Ard Fheis?

Saddam didn't reckon it was fair to fire it though, because there wasn't a Patriot amongst them.

## PEASANTS IN THE HALLS OF THE GREAT

A well-known Sinn Féin comrade whose right to remain anonymous this column respects was fêted at a gathering of Sinn Féin's élite in a Dublin restaurant over the Ard Fheis weekend.

All was going well in the Little Lisbon restaurant after he ordered his starter of barbecued spare ribs until he decided to quench his thirst from a bowl of water which was conveniently placed on his right hand side. Being loyal comrades, his fellow diners let him sip away until the waiter approached:

"Excuse me sir," said he loftily, "People have been washing their hands in that all night."

You can't take some people anywhere!

## STRANGE BEDFELLOWS

Former Sinn Féin General Secretary Joe Reilly and Donegal Councillor Liam McElhinney formed a highly lucrative partnership over the Ard Fheis weekend. The pair of them were billeted in the same house, arrived at the Repatriation of Irish Prisoners function together, and promptly walked off with the first and second prizes in the raffle.

Maybe they both had their Weetabix that morning? Or should I say Whatafix?

**WILLIE MITCHELL**, former solicitor and DUP candidate in a Fermanagh District Council election, has appeared in court in Enniskillen recently accused of stealing tens of thousands of pounds from the accounts of clients who had died and of having made false records of payments and receipts.

He was remanded on his own personal bail of £5,000 to appear before a judge and jury at Omagh Crown Court.

A BRIT who shot and fatally wounded his mate in a sanger in Derry got off with a 12-month suspended sentence on manslaughter charges on Thursday, January 31st. Private David Cockle of the Royal Hampshire Regiment did his bit for Irish freedom, the court heard, on August 15th, 1989, the 20th anniversary of the arrival of troops on the streets of Derry in 1969.

Cockle's officer told the court that the Brits had been patrolling a lot more than usual at that time and that Cockle had gone straight on duties of four-hours-on and four-hours-off before shooting Private Mark Mason.

It's just a pity from his point of view, that he didn't mistakenly shoot a civilian, because then he could have avoided all that hassle of a court appearance and a conviction, however minor.

# Dúirt Siad

Exactly two weeks after the Americans announced that the liberation of Kuwait had begun, US marines were fighting — and dying yesterday to liberate a corner of Saudi Arabia... — Robert Fish on Thursday, January 31st.

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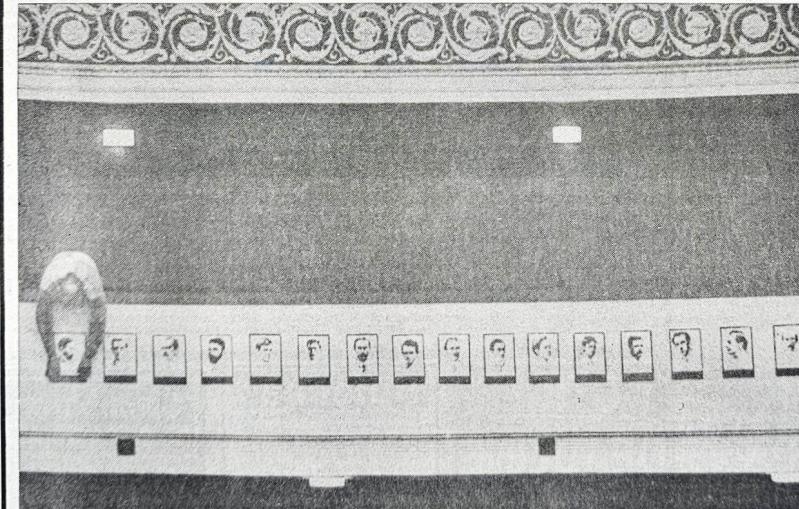
If Saddam Hussein sticks military targets in civilian areas then he has to expect what he gets. — RAF officer on Sky News, Tuesday, February 5th. What kind of friends would deliberately place a base beside a school or a housing estate?

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They could well be contractors working on an airfield. — RAF Squadron Leader Ricky Cobelli describing to the *Daily Telegraph* on February 6th, how he "comes to terms" with killing civilians when he bombs Iraqi supply lines and military bases. He had just blown up a civilian vehicle and its occupants approaching a bridge.

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The basic salary is high. There is plenty of overtime and extra allowances are received for serving in the province, in addition to which there is job security. This encourages them to contemplate large financial commitments. It is easy for young policemen, for example, to lead an expensive life-style well above that of their peers. With their flashy cars, twice-yearly foreign holidays and mortgages they are the province's yuppies and very occasionally they can overreach their financial commitments and get in debt which, in a minority of cases, leads to drink, further aggravating problems with social relationships, and suicide... The study reveals that in many areas, RUC members worry about hanging out their regulation shirts on the washing line for fear that it would give away their occupation and invite an attack on their home. — Extract from a year-long study of the RUC by two sociologists.



# Hot Ash

Who fears to speak..?

New tape now available £5.99, plus £1 p+p from Republican Publications, 44 Parnell Sq, Dublin 1, or 51/55 Falls Rd, Belfast.

TO THEIR SHAME contemporary Irish leaders, politicians, academics and journalists cringe and imitate those who spat on the 1916 rebels as they were led away to be executed or interned, and yet they would not be where they are today, socially and economically, if not for the sacrifice of those heroes whose names they are frightened to mutter.

If the so-called leaders of this country refuse to speak, the people must do so for them. To that end *Hot Ash* dedicate this to the young idealists of 1916 in respect and honour of their achievements, and in defiance of those who would belittle the noble cause for which they struggled.

Feel proud to be Irish. Beir Bua.