



# An Phoblacht

REPUBLICAN NEWS

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Thursday, 9 September 1993



● The shop where Seán Hughes was gunned down — the latest victim of pro-British death squads

## Leading unionist says killing 'may be helpful'

*"In a perverse way this is something which may be helpful because they [Catholics] are now beginning to appreciate more clearly the fear that has existed within the Protestant community for the past 20 years."*

— John Taylor, Official Unionist Westminster MP for Strangford.

THESE WERE THE WORDS leading Official Unionist John Taylor used, to describe the events of the past week which have seen almost daily murders of Catholics by sectarian death squads, armed by the British government. Taylor refused to withdraw his remarks which he made on radio last Wednesday morning and said that unionist headquarters had received phone calls from people asking to join the party because of his comments.

There were no demands from any party for the exclusion of the Official Unionists from any further talks because of this appalling

statement, virtually justifying the sectarian slaughter of Catholics. Nor was there any announcement from the British or Dublin governments that Taylor or his party would be banned from the airwaves. Yet Sinn Féin, whose members and their families and friends have been the target of these death squads, are excluded and censored. No one should be censored

or excluded but the lack of reaction to what Taylor said shows the double standards which operate against a community coming under sustained attack from sectarian killer gangs.

These pro-British death squads continued their campaign of terror against the nationalist population, by shooting dead a man on Belfast's Falls Road on Tuesday. His death came five days after the shooting dead of another Catholic, Michael Edwards, at the end of a week in which loyalist gangs had claimed four lives.

Forty-year-old father of three, Seán Hughes, was in his 'Jon-David' hairdressing salon when two loyalist assassins walked in and shot him at point-blank range. He died at the scene.

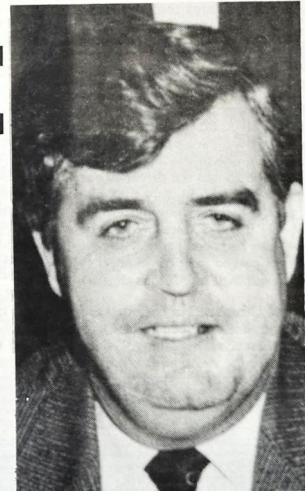
The killers had first fired at a young assistant in the shop but missed as he ducked behind a counter. They then walked

through the shop and singled out Seán Hughes.

Local people who had gathered at the scene demanded to know where the RUC/British army patrols were when the killers struck. This section of the Falls Road is almost permanently saturated with the infamous DMSUs. Indeed, prior to the killing the British army and RUC were everywhere to be seen, but were conspicuous by their absence at the time of the killing. When asked by a reporter to comment, a senior RUC officer, Chief Superintendent Clive McComb, replied "this area is patrolled 24 hours a day".

This admission by a senior RUC officer goes a long way towards confirming the widely held belief that the crown forces have been, and are, involved in collusion with the loyalist death squads.

(continued on page 2)



● JOHN TAYLOR

## News

## Compensation budget jumps £45 million

A DEVASTATING ECONOMIC BLOW to the British treasury was scored by the IRA's North Armagh Brigade, with a massive 1,000lb bomb attack in the centre of Armagh on Friday morning, 3 September.

The financial cost of the Armagh and earlier Derryagh bomb, was put at £4 million by evaluators. The growing number of these huge explosions has forced the Northern Ireland Office to raise the cash ceiling on its compensation budget by more than £45 million, from £844.42 million to £890.25 million.

In a supplied statement, the North Armagh Brigade said that Volunteers under its command assembled the huge bomb in a commandeered commercial van. They then drove the van to the front doors of the British courthouse in Armagh town centre shortly after midnight. This area is frequently patrolled by the crown forces and an array of security cameras continually scan the area. This failed to deter the IRA Volunteers, who successfully bypassed a number of mobile crown forces' patrols on their way into Armagh centre.

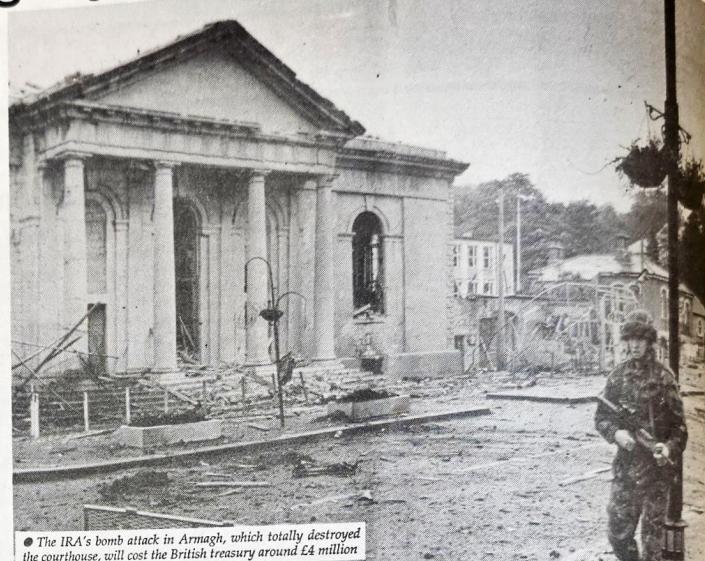
## WAR NEWS

After parking the van outside the courthouse, the device's timing mechanism was set and all Volunteers withdrew.

The courthouse, which is situated at one end of the Mall, took the full force of the blast, which went off at 1am after several warnings were issued about the bomb's location.

The bomb also severely damaged dozens of other commercial premises in the town.

This huge Armagh explosion follows a number of others this year which have included Belfast, Coleraine, Bangor, Lurgan, Portadown, Magherafelt, and Newtownards.



● The IRA's bomb attack in Armagh, which totally destroyed the courthouse, will cost the British treasury around £4 million

(continued from front page)

The ease with which the killers struck on one of the most heavily-patrolled roads in the Six Counties, as well as other evidence, indicates that the UDA (who admitted the killing) had right of way from the RUC through the Falls Road.

On two separate occasions on Tuesday morning, the RUC went into two premises at the top of the Donegall Road to find out who owned two cars parked on the road. On one of the occasions the RUC confronted the driver of one of the cars and bluntly told him "get the fucking thing moved". It was at this exact spot where the two cars had been parked, that the killers parked their car in order to carry out their murderous attack.

Eye-witness accounts all detailed the ease with which the loyalists went about the killing. The car used by the death squad, a black

Vauxhall Cavalier XXI 7255, was hijacked in Snugville Street in the Shankill Road. It was then driven up the Falls Road to the junction with the Donegall Road. It then turned left at the Donegall Road and was parked.

The three occupants of the car, all men, wore baseball caps and black gloves. One of the men also wore a scarf. As two of the men alighted from the Vauxhall Cavalier, one was observed to be carrying a black bag.

The owner of a shop on the Donegall Road spotted the men and immediately thought them suspicious. He ran and locked the shop door. "They were wearing baseball hats and lifted a bag out of the car," said the owner. "I ran over and locked the door when they got out of the car. They then walked around the corner".

A schoolgirl also spotted the car and thought it "dodgy". She wrote down the registration num-



● SEAN HUGHES

ber, ran home and gave it to her father. He related how he phoned the RUC who "were not too fussed about taking details over the phone".

"The RUC didn't want to know. They didn't want to take statements or anything," said the schoolgirl's father.

After the murder the killers casually walked from Jon-David's to their car. They were then driven down the Donegall Road and onto the Westlink. From here they travelled some six miles to Greencastle — to where it took the RUC five hours to trace it.

Speaking at a press conference held in Conway Mill, the day after the killing of Sean Hughes, Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams outlined a number of points in

relation to the current loyalist murder campaign.

Adams also gave details about the aggressive attitude of the crown forces towards local people immediately following the killing and their attempts to arrest some of those who were observing what was going on.

Adams stressed that the death squads campaign can be traced, "directly to British intelligence agent Brian Nelson". It was Nelson who procured the weapons from South Africa, that the death squads are using to such deadly effect. He also pointed out that the RUC and RIR are continuing to provide the personal details from 'security' files to the death squads.

"These files contain details on almost every nationalist household. As a result, loyalists are compiling death lists based on RUC files, which include many people with no political involvement," said Adams.

The Sinn Féin president challenged the Dublin government, church leaders and all political parties, to support a full inquiry into the Nelson affair and he called on them to assert "the right of people to know whether the RUC has a file on them and if there were files on the recent victims of loyalist death squads".

Adams gave details of provocative crown forces' behaviour towards local people who gathered at the scene of the shooting of Sean Hughes.

"Over a 20 minute period I had

to intervene three times as the RUC attempted to arrest people," informed Adams.

The aggravation began when a man, who was unaware that a shooting had taken place, was walking up St James' Road. At the top of the street a British soldier remarked, "We got another one of you bastards."

The man attempted to proceed when the soldier grabbed him. He resisted and two other soldiers joined in the assault. The man managed to get the better of the three soldiers and proceeded on his way across the Falls Road, some 20 yards from where Sean Hughes had been murdered.

The soldiers followed him across the road and a scuffle broke out again between the three soldiers and the man. Again the man fought off his assailants and walked on towards the Rock Bar.

It was here that the incident became uglier. The soldiers informed RUC personnel of what occurred and the man attempted to make off to the man's defence and only Adams' intervention prevented arrests being made by the RUC.

Returning to the theme of collusion, Adams pointed out that following the killing of Hughes, the RUC placed roadblocks on the Falls and Glen Roads. The RUC were made aware that the car used by the killers made off down the Donegall Road, yet it was the one road at which a block was not placed!

"That the RUC placed their blocks on these two roads is evidence that they were more concerned with harassing the nationalists of West Belfast than with catching those who killed Mr Hughes."

"It is my firm belief that past violence serves the broad political interests of the British government and unionist political establishment."

"I am also convinced that part of the rationale behind loyalist attacks is to provoke a reaction in kind from republicans. It is of the utmost importance that this does not happen. I would urge people to remain calm and vigilant."



● Scenes outside the Jon-David hair salon, where Sean Hughes became the fifth victim of loyalist killer gangs within a week



# News

## Catholic father of six shot in bed



beside the loyalist Taughmonagh estate. Shortly after the shooting, the crown forces' checkpoint was again set up on Finaghy Road North, leading into nationalist West Belfast. No similar checkpoint was set up near the obvious route for the loyalist gang's getaway at Priory Park.

Several of Michael Edwards' young children tried to comfort their dying father. The victim's sister-in-law, Kate Pede, later described the devastation felt by his wife Marie and the six children, Eileen, Michael, Joseph, Connor, Catherine and Emma as they waited for an ambulance.

"She thinks it is a bad dream. The children saw their daddy die. They crowded around the bed screaming 'Don't die daddy, don't die daddy'."

Tragically, he died minutes later, surrounded by his family. His father Joseph described his son's killers as being sick in the mind. "Those people need help more than I do at the moment. They're to be pitied more than anything."

A friend described Micheal Edwards as a very hardworking young man "very fond of family life, loved his children, loved his wife and worked very hard".

**W**ith the RUC continuing to refuse to release ballistic information on the weapons used in the continuing loyalist onslaught, it has been disclosed that automatic pistols were used in some of last week's killings. These facts were supplied by neighbours and friends of the victims, the RUC maintaining a selective policy of silence as to the history, if any, these weapons have in previous shootings and where they originated.

An established link has been proved between weapons used in numerous recent loyalist attacks and arms shipments supplied from South Africa with the assistance of British intelligence agent and UDA member Brian Nelson.

Multiple loyalist murders in two Belfast bookmakers' shops, the Castlerock massacre, the Fox family murders, attacks on Sinn Féin offices and the attacks on the homes of Sinn Féin Councillors Annie Armstrong, Gerard McGuigan, Alex Maskay and Bobby Lavery's homes, alongside numerous other recent attacks, have all seen the use of these weapons.

For several hours after midnight last Friday morning, this regular checkpoint was conspicuous by its absence.

After shooting Michael Edwards in his bed, the gang

made off across the Lisburn Road, abandoning their getaway car

that almost 3,000 of these files were held by loyalists. Given the numbers of people still being told by the RUC that their details have gone missing, files are continuing to 'fall' into the hands of the death squads as a matter of routine.

"The first Stevens Inquiry con-

cluded that there was no systematic leaking of information. No RUC members were charged.

With each death this conclu-

sion is exposed as a cover-up.

Death squads are acting on infor-

mation from RUC files and people

with no political involvement are

being targeted for death as a

result.

"How many files does the

RUC have? Is it true that almost

every nationalist is on an RUC

file? Will John Stevens investi-

gate these recent killings and

examine the link between the

murders, RUC files and loyalist

death lists?"

**L**oyalist arson attacks

**N**ATIONALIST HOMES in Armagh were petrol-bombed by the loyalist terror gang the Red Hand Commandos late on Sunday night, 5 September.

The attacks, which were described

by Armagh Sinn Féin Councillor

Noel Sheridan as being designed

to strike terror into the nationalist

community, were tied in to similar

loyalist attacks in Belfast and

North Down over the past couple

of months, in which a number of

GAA halls were destroyed. It is

feared that it's only a matter of

time before a nationalist family is

burned to death if attacks on

homes escalate.

In the most serious attack last

Sunday, three petrol bombs were

thrown into the Legar Hill Park

home of mother of four Anita

O'Hagan. Her children were

asleep at the time of the attack but

all were rescued by firefighers.

The small street, on the

nationalist Callan Bridge Estate,

witnessed at least four other

petrol bomb attacks on the same

night. Petrol bombs thrown by

loyalists smashed through living

room windows while some near-

by homes suffered scorch

damage to doors, walls and

windows.

Commenting on a separate arson

incident Sinn Féin Councillor

Annie Armstrong hit out at those vandals

who destroyed a Presbyterian

Church Hall on the Stewartstown

Rodd in the Dunmurry Cross area,

late on Saturday night.

Councillor Armstrong continued

by saying that the destruction of St Peter's Church Hall was a deliberate act of vandalism and that those who carried it out, for whatever reason,

have done a grave disservice to the nationalist community, and they do not reflect the views of that community.



● Michael Edwards — murdered by a pro-British loyalist killer gang in his South Belfast home

"Death lists and RUC files are one and the same," was how Sinn Féin Councillor Una Gillespie described the way the various loyalist death squads are using information to target the nationalist community.

**R**evealing that Sinn Féin will be writing to John Stevens' second inquiry into collusion between loyalist death squads and the crown forces, Gillespie said that Sinn Féin will be asking him if his current investigation will include the series of recent murders and whether they are linked to RUC files.

She echoed party colleague Joe O'Donnell's comments last week after the loyalist murder of Jim Bell:

"It is known that the RUC has files on tens of thousands of nationalists. During the first Stevens Inquiry it was revealed



# News

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



● Members of the Aer Lingus Craft Unions at the special meeting in Dublin Airport where workers rejected management's pay cut and work change proposals

## TEAM management plan slammed

TEAM Aer Lingus workers are to produce their own blueprint for running the former IDA flagship company. Last Friday, 3 September, the craft unions, which represent the 2,000 strong workforce, rejected the management plan of negative changes in working conditions and £14 million in pay cuts.

The six-page management plan proposed cuts in shift and roster allowances, at least 250 redundancies, the scrapping of the existing productivity deal and the restriction of overtime to four and a half hours each week. An immediate pay freeze would also be implemented.

The company also plans to "hire and contract out" work to meet peak demand. Experience in other industries has shown that this would mean that the contract workers would be paid less, have less employment protection and worse working conditions than the former full-time workers.

TEAM management described the plan as introducing "new lean and mean working methods". However, union group secretary Frank O'Reilly described the plan as "nothing more than a cost-cutting exercise, with nothing but proposals to put pay and conditions back 50 years".

The workers have called for the appointment of a technical director, not from management, but from the actual technical staff.

The unions believe that the senior management lacked techni-

cal and engineering expertise.

The craft workers emphasised that they are "not looking for confrontation". The unions claim that the plan will not "enhance our existing product base or broaden the range of services. The plan did not fully utilise skills available within the company".

The fact that the fault of the present difficulties of Aer Lingus and its subsidiaries lies with management and successive Dublin governments, has been borne out in a survey published in this week's *Fingal Independent*.

The Irish Marketing Surveys (IMS) poll in North County Dublin, an area hugely dependent on the healthy future of Aer Lingus, TEAM and Dublin Airport has found that 50% of those questioned blamed Aer Lingus management for "the problems Aer Lingus is now facing". A further 36% blamed the policies of past and present governments, while only 7% blamed the Aer Lingus workers.

**ON THE SPOT**  
TV presenter Brian Farrell, aka

actor Gerry Lavelle, hosted a special programme, devoted entirely to unemployment outside Dublin's Central Bank last week, on the day that the official monthly unemployment figures for the 26 Counties were due to be announced.

The Irish National Organisation for the Unemployed (INO) organised the edition of *'On The Spot'*, which was attended by six government ministers, actors all, who attempted to juggle the unemployment figures while avoiding answering Farrell's tough questions. Albert Reynolds, Dick Spring, Bertie Ahern, Ruairí Quinn, Eithne Fitzgerald and Michael Woods were all there.

Alberto's Amazing Acrobats', the amused audience of passers-by were told, "will amaze and delight you with their ability to reduce the unemployment figures without changing the numbers of people out of work".

As Stephen Colbert of the INOU explained, the aim of the coalition government's juggling with figures is to prevent the official unemployment toll from reaching 300,000.

The stunt took place on Friday, 3 September, just hours before the monthly figure for the total amount of people out of work was announced. This figure turned out

to be 297,300, seasonally adjusted to 292,800, a fall, according to the government.

Colbert explained, after the tableau between the six juggling cabinet ministers and Farrell, that among those who are not included on the Live Register are "people on the Preretirement Allowance Scheme, Preretirement Credits Scheme, smallholders and self-employed receiving unemployment assistance as well as people working on a week-on/week-off basis". The INOU estimates that up to 30,000 people signing on are not included on the Live Register.

If the unemployment figures included lone parents, not to mention the inestimable number of emigrants, the repeated failure of a succession of governments' jobs policies would be all too apparent," said Colbert.

### UNTRUSTWORTHY GOVERNMENT

"Public servants are always being presented as people on the make, when in reality they provide essential services and are major contributors to the exchequer," said Irish Nurses Organisation (INO) General Secretary PJ Madden.

Madden's comments come as the INO meet in Donegal this week to vote on whether to

oppose or accept another 'national wage programme' to follow the PESP.

The general secretary claimed that "There has been nothing but continued attacks on public service unions by government spokespersons. The national executive of the INO are seeking a mandate from the conference to oppose another PESP-type agreement in the coming special-delegate ICTU conference later this month."

The INO executive said that there was no reason to trust the coalition government as it had attempted to break the PESP obligations twice.

The INO will also call on the government to cut the retirement age for nurses and provide higher wages for student nurses who make up 20% of the 14,600 INO members.

### A UNION BANK NOW

The promise by the present partnership Dublin government to create a "third banking force" has been well publicised. The conflict between the banks and financial organisations concerned have also been publicised. It is known that both the Agricultural Credit Corporation (ACC) and the Industrial Credit Corporation (ICC) are opposed to the merger, as are the TSB and An Post savings bank.

The proposed merger between the ACC and ICC will, according to the plan presented to Bertie Ahern, involve hundreds of redundancies. Now a dispute has broken out between the MSF union and the ATGWU and SIPTU over the merger.

The need for an alternative to the Allied Irish Banks, Bank of Ireland, Ulster Bank and National Irish Bank capitalist cartel, has never been more pressing. Surely the MSF, ATGWU and SIPTU should stop falling for the management and government hype and instead call on the ICTU to take the lead and either make a bid for one of the public-sector banks or set up its own cooperative bank using union membership as its initial customer base.

Irish workers and their families are being directly bled by the capitalist retail banking sector in both the Six and 26-County states. The ICTU are the only alternative 32 county economic organisation. There is a pressing need for them to act.



● Government ministers doing what they do best — juggling the truth

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

# Clinton letter slams British

A LETTER FROM US President Bill Clinton to the head of an American political group Americans For A New Irish Agenda, who are this week conducting a series of meetings with political leaders throughout Ireland, supports the idea of an American peace envoy.

Also included in the letter was a pledge from Clinton to take a more active role in helping to find a lasting peace in the Six Counties and strong criticism about Britain's role in Irish affairs.

The delegation quoted the US president as saying:

"I believe the appointment of a US special envoy to Northern Ireland could be a catalyst in the effort to secure a lasting peace."

"We believe that the British government must do more to oppose the job discrimination that has created unemployment levels two and a half times higher for Catholic workers than Protestant workers. There

can be no lasting settlement in Northern Ireland until such discrimination is ended."

Addressing the British government's shoot-to-kill and collusion policies, President Clinton's letter said:

"We also believe that the British government must establish effective safeguards against the wanton use of lethal force and against further collusion between the security forces and Protestant paramilitary groups."

With loyalist death squads killing nationalists at will and the fact that nearly 3,000 RUC intelligence files are now in the hands of the death squads, supplied by members of the crown

forces, this section of President Clinton's letter obviously met with some embarrassment when the American delegation met British Direct Ruler Patrick Mayhew in Stormont Castle on Wednesday.

The US delegation is being headed by Bruce Morrison. Morrison, a former Congress member, is a prominent Democrat politician and a former law school colleague of President Clinton. He was the chairperson of Irish/Americans for Clinton/Gore, a group that mobilised the Irish/American vote for the Democratic candidates in the last US presidential campaign.

Also in the delegation, which will be reporting its findings directly back to the White House, is Charles Feeney, chairperson of General Atlantic Corporation, Bill Flynn, chairperson of Mutual of America,

and Niall O'Dowd, editor of the *Irish Voice* newspaper.

The group will be accompanied on part of their visit by the new US ambassador to Ireland, Jean Kennedy Smith.

The delegation met with Albert Reynolds and Dick Spring as well as President Mary Robinson on Tuesday, before travelling to Belfast on Wednesday. Whilst in Belfast, they attended a meeting at Stormont Castle with British Direct Ruler Patrick Mayhew. They met with unionist politicians on Wednesday.

Today, Thursday, 9 September, they will meet with Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams, Ard Chomháile members Martin McGuinness, Máiréad Keane and Lucilia Breathnach, the party's general secretary.

A wide agenda is expected at this meeting, with the continuing denial of a visa for Gerry Adams being one item almost certain to be raised. During the US presidential contest, a pledge was made by Bill Clinton to allow Adams a visa to the US. This pledge has to date

not been fulfilled.

With growing pressure around the world for a peaceful solution to Britain's war in Ireland, the idea of a US peace envoy appears to be gaining momentum. The British government, mirroring their unionist counterparts, have voiced opposition to the idea of a US envoy. However, responding to this typical British blocking tactic, Morrison said in Dublin on Tuesday that it was perhaps time that the British government looked at recent peaceful developments around the world. Morrison continued:

"An independent point of view can often be helpful where the parties on the ground can't in fact reach agreement. We are here to listen and learn and to share our concern about the situation in Northern Ireland and Ireland generally and hope to learn things that we can take back to an interested and committed Irish/American community as to how we can be helpful here in Ireland."

from all committees and several court actions by the party, forcing the council to change its policy, McGimpsey ludicrously claimed that the decision 'had nothing to do with the court cases'.

The unionist councillor's bigotry also became apparent when he cited the figure for Sinn Féin's overall electoral support in Ireland and said they did not have 'a big enough mandate to be at the talks'. He thus ruled out 40% of the nationalist population of the Six Counties and the largest single party in terms of first preference votes on his own council.

The meeting was picketed by Sinn Féin over the Dublin Political Youth Forum's continued exclusion of the party from its organising committee and its refusal to invite Sinn Féin speakers to address its meetings. Sinn Féin wrote to the forum and to the individual parties protesting at the exclusion, which the forum defended after its first meeting in July. When this was raised at Tuesday's meeting, Labour Councillor Dermot Lacey falsely claimed that the party had not been excluded.

Lacey told AP/RN after the meeting that the forum was "still considering" whether Sinn Féin should be allowed to address them. Sinn Féin youth spokesperson Jim Heffernan, said that the forum had deliberately excluded the tens of thousands of people who vote for Sinn Féin. "What message does this give to those nationalists who suffer daily as a result of Britain's continuing occupation?"



• Chris McGimpsey's carefully-crafted "reasonable" image has been shown to be false by his recent comments

Brian Campbell and Colm McGirr by the SAs in Tyrone in 1983. In fact Maginnis did make the remark. He said:

"Until we persuade the government to coordinate anti-terrorist activity a great deal more, we will certainly not be taking one swallow to mean a summer." (AP/RN, 8 December 1983.)

McGimpsey tried to portray the Official Unionists as the benevolent force on Belfast City Council and boasted of the proportionality rule written into the council's standing orders after May's local elections. When it was pointed out by Sinn Féin's Joan O'Connor that this only happened after years of deliberate exclusion of Sinn Féin



• Moatview Tenants' Group protesting at Dublin Corporation's inactivity in tackling the joyriding menace in their area

# Action demanded on joyriding

TENANTS in a Dublin Corporation housing estate have been blocking the main roads around and into the estate every evening in protest at the scourge of joyriding in the area. They are demanding that the local authority install ramps on the roads. Moatview Tenants Group, from Coolock in North Dublin, brought their protest to City Hall this week when they picketed the monthly council meeting.

Moatview residents say they have been living in fear for the past three years that someone will be killed by the joyriders. The speeding of stolen cars through the estate, followed by their burning, has become a nightly occurrence. One resident has had his garden wall demolished twice. On the last

signature had been given to the Corporation three years ago, calling for ramps to be built.

Coolock Sinn Féin's Larry O'Toole was present at the picket on Monday. Calling for action from the Corporation he said:

"It is only a matter of time before serious injury or death is caused by joyriding in this area. Corporation officials from the Traffic Department visited Moatview in 1990 and agreed that ramps were the best solution. Protests should continue until long overdue action is forthcoming."



# An Phoblacht

REPUBLICAN NEWS

9 September 1993

## The voice of 'moderate unionism'

In the early hours of Friday morning, 3 September a loyalist death squad walked into the family home of a father of six children and shot him dead as he lay in his bed. The man's name was Michael Edwards. Statistically, he became the fourth person shot dead by loyalists within a week and the 25th victim of the death squads in 1993.

In establishment media terms, Michael Edwards was an "innocent victim". By this, we are led to understand he was not a member of the IRA, he was not in Sinn Féin and, although a newsagent, he did not sell *An Phoblacht/Republican News*.

In recent months, the loyalist death squads have issued statements detailing those people who, in their eyes, are "legitimate targets". They include members of the GAA and people who play traditional music. Michael Edwards, like so many other "innocent victims" did not fall into any of these categories.

The history of this state informs us that to become a victim of the death squads, one does not have to fall into any of the above categories. To be a nationalist or Catholic is "legitimate" enough reason to be brutally slain.

The premise on which the Six-County state was created, and on which it was ruled for 50 years by the Unionist Party, was that it was a Protestant state for a Protestant people.

During that 50-year period, the unionist regime considered it appropriate to let loose the Orange mobs and death squads whenever nationalists agitated for equal rights.

When the Hillsborough Treaty was signed in 1985, nationalists were informed a "pragmatic unionist leadership" would emerge as a by-product. Since that time, particularly in the 26 Counties, figures such as the McGimpsey brothers and Ken Maginnis have been held up as the epitome of pragmatism and moderation.

One of the McGimpseys, Christopher, is a unionist councillor in Belfast. In an interview he gave to RTÉ on Thursday morning, 2 September, he did what unionist politicians are wont to do. He sought to articulate the rationale behind the death squads' random sectarian murder campaign.

Michael Edwards lived in Finaghy Road North and, in McGimpsey's distorted political vision, he made himself a legitimate target by virtue of his "encroachment" into this once Protestant area.

Another voice of the "moderate" Unionist Party, John Taylor, said in the wake of the killing of hairdresser Séan Hughes on Tuesday that it may be a good thing that Catholics are being killed.

The death squads were created by unionists and nurtured by the British. As the unionists explain the rationale behind the death squads' sectarian murder campaign, the British stand in the shadows and provide them with encouragement in the form of weapons and suggestions as to how best they can be employed.

Brian Nelson was but one British agent, with the role of conveying messages from his masters to the death squads. Chris McGimpsey and John Taylor are but two unionists in a long line who will ensure that message is given an explanation.

As a British minister in the House of Commons pointed the death squads in the direction of human rights solicitor, Pat Finucane, are we now to expect the death squads to step up their targeting of Catholics and nationalists because of their "encroachment" into 'Protestant areas'?



● Eight months after taking office the 26-County coalition government is still clinging to the same failed economic policies

## Crossed lines for coalition

■ BY NEIL FORDE

A PROMISE of 1,500 new jobs and a fall in unemployment figures, all coated with warnings from Bertie Ahern on the need for wage constraint and maintaining competitiveness. Yes the Leinster House holidays are almost over and the TDs are slowly making their way back from the assorted summer schools and foreign holidays.

The public knew that the partnership government were back in the hot seat through the steady increase in glib statements emanating from Merrion Place, the Dublin government HQ. John Bruton breathed a sigh of relief, as the holiday season was one of prolonged trauma for him, harried by the media and undermined by elements in his own party.

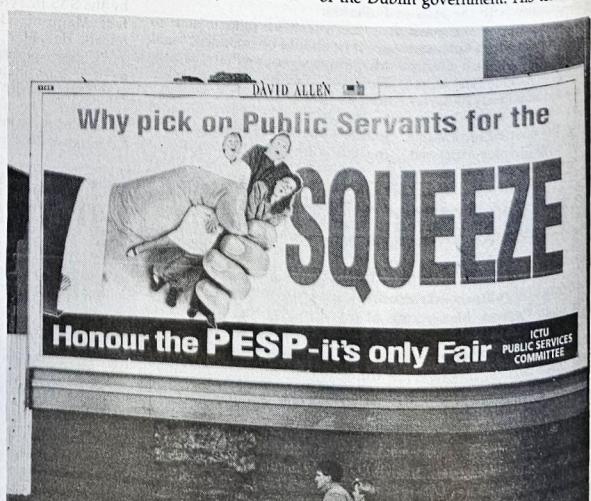
The coalition cabinet were the first back to base as they met to put the finishing touches to the 'National' Development Plan (NDP). Observers would wonder why they bothered as the whole process is dictated by Brussels bureaucrats. The EC Commission set the conditions as to what projects are suitable for funding and they have the final say in which projects will finally be financed.

However, the NDP is the key that holds

the Labour/Fianna Fáil coalition government together. The promise of being seen as the deliverers of £6.8 billion drives the coalition policy programme. The question is, now eight months into this 'centre-left' government, what form is the Dublin government policy programme taking and what is the Fine Gael or PD alternative?

The answer is that the partnership coalition is still producing the same neo-monetary capital and multinational-friendly policies that are dictated by the World Bank, the transnational corporations and the EC bureaucrats. Fine Gael's alternative is that they can do the same thing, only better.

No one better than Ruairí Quinn epitomises the transnational capitalist ethos of the Dublin government. His tenure has



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

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## News

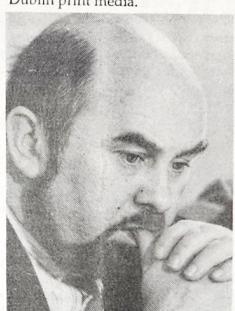


by more than our main trading partners.

Obviously, he had forgotten Albert Reynolds' statement only two months ago when the 26 Counties topped a survey of 38 countries for industrial performance and industrial efficiency. The report found that the 26 Counties unit labour costs in manufacturing fell by 13% between 1987 and 1991, while most other states' labour costs in the survey rose by more than 20%.

However, the real figures did not matter to Ahern. The real reason for his speech was the government's opening salvo in the upcoming negotiations for an alternative to the PESP. So we have Quinn, Ahern and Reynolds all making statements on the need for wage restraint, while profits of companies increase.

Only the change in phone charges, reduced for business, increased for the majority of consumers, has generated media comment. Fine Gael attempted to take a lead on the issue, but the media concentrated on the seemingly unstoppable downspin of Fine Gael as a political force. The 26-County economy still does not merit serious discussion on the airwaves or in the pages of the Dublin print media.



● Ruairí Quinn, epitomises the transnational capitalist ethos of the Dublin government

seen the Department of Labour renamed as Employment and Enterprise and a forum on employment set up. Meanwhile back in the real world, we await Quinn's announcement this week that 1,500 new jobs have been created through the new Telecom phone charges.

The charges are basically a levy on consumers in order to subsidise business which will allegedly create jobs through falling costs and of course, that favoured government word, increased "competitiveness". The jobs promised are in telemarketing and computer sales. So here is the Labour/FF solution to the jobs crisis — low paid employment running up profits for foreign multinationals.

Bertie Ahern reaffirmed this coalition vision last week when he spoke at the Stokes Kennedy Crowley annual management conference. He spoke of the need for "pay moderation", claiming that wages in manufacturing had risen

## Extradition plans to placate British

THE LEAKING of details of the Dublin government's proposed amendment to current extradition legislation to the *Sunday Tribune*, has led to a strong reaction from the Irish Anti-Extradition Committee.

The new proposals, if accurately reported, will make possession and use of any kind of firearm an extraditable offence. It will apply to all explosives offences and all offences involving the use and threat of violence. It covers all kidnapping offences, attacks on property and other offences involving aircraft and ships.

This list is far in excess of the requirements laid down by the European Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism and is a clear signal to Britain that conveyor belt extradition will be forthcoming.

Previous decisions by the 26-County courts, preventing extraditions that would have been politically expedient for Dublin, caused embarrassment and bad feeling between the two governments, while providing justice for the extradition victims themselves.

These proposed changes in the law would effectively do away with all vestiges of the political offence exception and make extradition virtually unchallengeable in the courts. Already, defendants

cannot point to general human rights abuses in the Six Counties as sufficient reason why they should not be extradited. There is also no onus on the British authorities to come up with enough evidence to prove that there is even a prima facie case to answer.

All that would be necessary, should the amendment be carried, is that the warrant be in order before a prisoner would be handed over to the British.

Nora Comiskey, spokesperson for the Irish Anti-Extradition Committee stated:

"By finally doing away with the political offence exception, the Irish government is effectively sacrificing the state's judicial autonomy, for the short-term goal of placating the British government."

Criticising the Dublin government, she asserted that "Albert Reynolds and Dick Spring should be tackling the British government on its tarnished human rights record in Ireland."

"Detainees are still being routinely abused in Castlereagh.

## British under pressure

■ BY HILDA  
Mac THOMAS



● Former US Congress member Bruce Morrison

THE DEAL struck, or 'understanding' arrived at, by the unionists and British prime minister John Major's party at Westminster last July, has made the prospect of inter-party talks in the Six Counties a nonstarter. But this in turn has opened an avenue for Irish/American lobbyists to remind US President Bill Clinton of his electoral promise to send a 'peace envoy' to Ireland. Hence the arrival this week of a delegation led by former US Congress member Bruce Morrison, who chairs the Americans For a New Irish Agenda lobby. The delegation met representatives of the Dublin government, and travelled to Belfast for discussions with British Direct Ruler Patrick Mayhew and all Northern parties. As this includes Sinn Féin, the DUP has predictably declined to meet the US visitors. Just as they did one year ago when the inter-party talks moved to Dublin, the DUP has once again chosen 'staun' posturing at the expense of talking.

The Dublin government has shown broad support for the US delegation, and let it be known last week that it was favourable to the US sending an envoy to the North. They hope that this might put some pressure on the British government at the next London/Dublin Conference meeting this Friday.

When Dublin Foreign Affairs Minister Dick Spring meets Patrick Mayhew in London on Friday, he will officially try to ascertain the prospect of inter-party talks resuming in the Autumn, or failing that, the possibility of the two governments going "over the heads of the parties", as Spring put it recently. Dick Spring will of course deny that rumours of his government's support for a US 'peace envoy' originated from his ministry. He will even assure London of his government's

continued determination in assisting with their fight against the IRA, as shown by their proposed new extradition bill. But Dublin has definitely upped the ante in the last few weeks.

This said, a US envoy has little chance of success in bringing about a peace process, unless the US government is determined to apply whatever pressure is necessary on the British government and this would be such a reversal from traditional US foreign policy as to be highly improbable. Also, the British government is not about to start pestering its unionist allies into a new talks process only weeks after securing their support in Westminster. In fact, the only British policy at present seems to be to pursue its agenda of repression, open and covert.

THE recent spate of loyalist attacks is very much a part of it. While loyalist death squads are quite capable of operating under their own steam, they have been armed by the British. In many instances it is obvious that they have access to British army and RUC intelligence in order to plan their attacks and they seem to benefit from a 'blind eye' attitude on the part of crown forces on the ground.

Loyalist attacks may be the desperate response of a community trapped into a historical cul-de-sac, but the British see them as serving a useful purpose in the

present situation. They hope loyalist terror might force northern nationalists to lower their expectations and accept a limited settlement within the confines of the Six Counties. They also harbour the hope that nationalists might resent and reject the IRA, if it continues to refuse to get embroiled in retaliatory action. If on the other hand, the IRA did get involved, this would deflect the pressure from the British themselves and allow them to present the war as religious or tribal infighting. The British have perfected such tactics in many other parts of the world earlier this century, in Kenya and Malaya for example.

But these tactics have up to now failed miserably, and are likely to continue to do so. Northern nationalists, fearful though they may be for their survival, are well aware of Britain's part in the present spate of attacks and even nationalist middle-class politicians like Alistair McDonnell and Joe Hendron have stopped blaming the IRA for every loyalist action and started asking questions of the British themselves. Far from applying pressure through their loyalist 'counter-gangs', the British are under pressure as never before.

■ BY LIAM  
O COILEAIN

One-judge Diplock Courts make a mockery of any claim that justice is fairly dispensed. The families of the three people killed in Gibraltar have had to go to Strasbourg to have their claims of shoot-to-kill given a proper hearing."

Comiskey also pointed to the manner in which US deportee Joe Doherty and former extradition victim Michael 'Beaky' McKee have been treated since their return to the H-Blocks. Both men have been refused requests that their time spent in prison outside the Six Counties be taken off their sentences. In McKee's case, despite an assurance by Direct Ruler Peter Brooke when he was fighting extradition from the South that his time in Portlaoise Prison would be taken into account, this promise was reneged upon when McKee was subsequently arrested in Belfast, an unjust decision backed up recently by the Six-County Court of Appeal.

"The government may look on this bill as a way of speeding up the extradition process and tying up what it calls loose ends, but justice and human rights campaigners must oppose it all the way," said Comiskey.



● Extradition victim Michael 'Beaky' McKee

**S**INCE THE COLLAPSE of the Soviet Union and the East European countries in its sphere of influence, Ireland has, arguably, the most censored media between the Atlantic and the Urals. Along with the array of repressive legislation banning republicans from the airwaves, North and South, the long-running saga of the refusal of information on abortion services to women and the overwhelming pro-Maastricht sentiment of the 26-County media in last year's EC referendum, underline the danger to democracy posed by the suppression of a free circulation of ideas.

The Irish people, living in a constant state of political and economic emergency since the foundation of the two states, are not new to censorship as the exile of some of our most famous writers will testify. Its all-pervasive nature is even more glaring at a time when the ruling power blocs are claiming the mantle of leadership in a modern democracy, allied to a federation of European states.

In particular, the inadequate and biased reporting of events in the Six Counties and perhaps more fundamentally, the failure to provide explicit analysis of the determining forces of the political conflict, is contributing to a poverty of consciousness on the island. Over the past 20 years, we have witnessed a cultural deprivation that can only limit and damage the potential of present and future generations.

On top of this cultural denial that a shortage of information produces, we have the much written about attempt by several illustrious historians, to revise and recreate the influences that shaped current political and economic conditions.

Many of the key figures in the reframing of Irish historiography into a more sympathetic view of the British role in Irish affairs, have gradually taken senior academic positions in Irish educational establishments. The columnists and commentators who propagate and popularise these views have spread their influence through the media.

Witness the reaction of the media to the investigation of the Dublin and Monaghan bombings in 1974, by a British Yorkshire Television programme.

Not only did RTÉ never pursue a story, which it is well equipped financially and has enough journalistic talent to do, it neglected to transmit the programme to its audience, despite a clear public interest in its contents. The newspapers, with some exceptions, dropped the subject within a few days of the transmission, despite evidence presented, and indeed supported by former Taoiseach Jack Lynch that British intelligence orchestrated the attacks which killed 33 people in the single biggest bombing incident of the conflict, and that a former Garda Commissioner, Edmund Garvey, passed on vital forensic evidence in the case to his British intelligence handlers.

The *Irish Times* 'security' correspondent Jim Cusack, went so far as to undermine the authority and integrity of the programme by suggesting that its sources had been discredited, when in fact that is not the case.

This neglect and disinformation are symptomatic of the depths of censorship and self-censorship to which the media in this country has descended. While investigative talent abounds and in many areas is

allowed a free rein, it is primarily on social and political issues in the 26 Counties that such licence is given.

To the exclusion of a rounded, national debate on the past and future of this divided country, there has been instead a savage, unremitting attack on not only republican ideas but on a range of issues deemed unworthy of the 'new consensus', 'liberal' agenda.

The 'liberal' facade of this agenda is best exposed by one page of the *Sunday Independent* in February 1992, in the days and weeks of the most sustained and brutal attack in years on the nationalist people of Belfast. Commenting on the killing of three people and the serious injuries to others, by a lone RUC officer in the Falls Road offices of Sinn Féin on 4 February, John Dillon, an academic at UCD, revealed that his first reaction to the killings was that 'it serves them right'.

Below this, in a lengthy review of the ongoing dispute at RTÉ, Eoghan Harris suggested that three named producers and vocal supporters of the trade union action 'had dodgy links downtown', implying that Sinn Féin or the IRA were somehow manipulating the several hundred RTÉ staff in dispute.

Even though a cursory examination of the political histories of either writer would help explain the motivation behind such vicious and dangerous commentary, the fact that they could utter such statements without rebuke or protest, indicates a serious and real threat posed by sections of the media to the democratic spread of ideas.

**D**uring last year's debate on EC political and economic union, we witnessed the invocation of Section 31 by the government to secure airtime for pro-Maastricht propaganda, the refusal by the Supreme Court to grant equal time and taxpayers' money to alternative views and, as mentioned, the continued denial of basic information and right to travel to Irish women.

We also had the pathetic spectacle of one newspaper editor, Vincent Browne of the *Sunday Tribune*, apologising to his readers for not providing balanced views on the Maastricht debate, three days after the vote took place.

Perhaps in some distant day in the future, he will look into his heart three days after internment is introduced and offer his apologies for having consistently campaigned for it, through his columns and editorials.

On the deletion of Articles Two and Three of the Constitution, for which he has also called, he may be forced to editorialise on the tragedy such a decision caused for a nationalist population, whose political position has been undermined again.

# RESISTING C

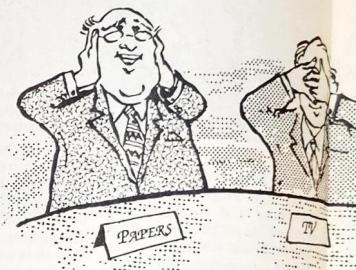
## The need to make

Irish politicians and other establishment figures.

The *Irish Times* was used by British intelligence interests to leak sensitive details of a meeting in London last year which revealed serious shortcomings in the operations of their rivals in the British police. The embarrassing leak for the English Special Branch was part of an elaborate and successful propaganda campaign by MI5 in its efforts to gain control of operations against the IRA. The *Irish Times* 'security' correspondent, Jim Cusack, was not so keen to follow up a story, twice carried by the *Irish Press* indicating the concern of some senior gardai over the unauthorised presence of large numbers of MI5 personnel in Dublin and the 26 Counties generally, in recent years. Untrue and completely unsubstantiated stories connecting the IRA to drugs, angel dust, pornography and dog fighting, regularly appear in the media.

It is not that journalism does not contain committed and honest reporters and investigative talent. Indeed, these past three years have been a field day for the newspapers, with the unfolding of successive business, political and clerical scandals. Who could have imagined a few years ago that one of country's most successful and ruthless businesspeople would be caught in a jacuzzi with dozens of lines of coke up his nose, or that the popular and paternalistic Bishop Casey would be exposed by a former lover and his son, or indeed that the great survivor, Charles Haughey, would be evicted in a torrent of allegations of corruption and scandal?

Yet crucial events in the Six Counties, involving everyday loss of life, and the widespread



abuse of state power cannot be covered adequately by the media in the 26 Counties. RTÉ producer Alex White has pointed out that the station has for long been unable to make a serious programme about the political conflict in the Six Counties, due both to Section 31 and self-censorship within RTÉ. It is now apparently conscious policy on the part of media executives to prevent any information reaching the public which may distort the preferred image of the political conflict as a tribal and religious dispute, mediated by the British government in consultation with their counterparts in Dublin. The *Sunday Independent* simply refuses to carry news from the North as a matter of policy, even news on aspects of life not directly connected to the political conflict.

The increasing competitiveness between newspapers already threatened with a decline in advertising and the advance of other forms of information technology, has made the press more vulnerable to commercial influences of various types. The controllers of Irish newspapers and commercial firms will notice this.

While the press may be real news, the nature of news is determined by interpretations of the proprietors and senior executives.

The treatment of C.

Haughey by the *independent* group, who now with effective control of the *Sunday Times*, constitute a public monopoly in the country.

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• SHANE ROSS



• CONOR CRUISE O'BRIEN



• EAMON DUNPHY

# CENSORSHIP

## Let ourselves heard



vulnerable to influences of varying controllers of the media industry are forces with a political agenda.

People pay to read the nature of that which is determined by the interests of the media and their owners and editors, as the *Independent* pointed out, with effective *Sunday Tribune*, publishing in the country, is a part of the process.

Trivial as this example may seem, it highlights another, equally insidious relationship between the parliamentary political process and what has been described, with justification, as the Dublin-centred media.

While talented, even progressive writers are thick on the ground, an overwhelming amount of space in news reporting is devoted to trivia. Although the careful manipulation of Leinster House correspondents has been a factor of political life for years, the incestuous relationship between politicians and press prevents whole sections of the people from expressing a view or acquiring a mirror on their diverse realities.

The extinction of communities across rural Ireland, the destruction of the natural environment, the debilitation and

loss of morale in overgrown city communities and the daily human residue that command single lines in news reporting of the Six Counties, are the hidden subjects of history. Why is it that an incident that would be spread over days of news coverage 20 years ago commands such cursory attention now? Are we imagining it, or is it the case that the harassment, torture and killing by state forces in the Six Counties or indeed the actions of the IRA and other participants in the conflict, are no longer deemed worthy of thorough investigation?

With the demise of *Magill*, *Hibernia* and other less well-established investigative publications, the task of analysing and presenting facts with logic, has fallen to a handful of selected journalists and the space allocated to them by even more carefully vetted editorial staff. It is not that the facts are unknown, it can only be that the reality of what is happening is too dangerous to reveal. Why else, the refusal to publish or broadcast what is undoubtedly of, and in, the public interest? The implication is that to reveal the extent of misery, of repression, of brutality, of destruction would expose the emptiness of the aspiration to be a 'modern European democracy'.

Furthermore, to give voice to the suffering might very well allow the serious threat of a different vision to emerge, one that has people living in some kind of harmony, even on the basis of that which motivated the most progressive of the founders of the 26-County state.

Or better still, a vision formulated on the basis of a clear and critical assessment of how this particular country, with one third of its people unemployed, its

young people emigrating or without hope and the mass of people struggling to make ends meet, can achieve a greater equality and democracy and how a realistic end to partition and the creation of a united economy and political system, can be attained.

What precludes this is the interests of those who have managed to do well in each state, through discrimination and physical repression in the North and political and economic exploitation in the South, including by the powerful of the press.

Condemning the 'terrorists' as the inspiration for censorship and the cause of this cultural poverty is not only misleading, it is a deliberate and conscious effort to portray the victims of oppression as its own creator.

This was most clearly illustrated by the media response to the attack on the Falls Road office in that same dramatic week in February 1992, that left five nationalists dead in a bookie's shop, an attack that has been replicated several times to an even more mute media response.

Or indeed, the attack on the two British soldiers who drove into the funeral cortège in Andersonstown in 1988. On both occasions the media reflection of the British government's official response was to call for more repressive measures against the bereaved nationalist population and to portray the community as a whole as culpable for every breach of human rights, no matter who is responsible for any particular act of violence or resistance.

In the face of a globalising of capital control of the news media and the controlled dissemination that flows from this — most evident in the coverage of the Gulf War — it is difficult to perceive a change in direction of the establishment press or news media.

While public broadcasting staff will resist the commercialisation of the airwaves that has already affected the written press, the defence of the status quo and economic constraints will be hard to overcome.

It is left to the popular will to make its own voice heard. Rhetorical as that may sound, it remains in the new world order of things the only option for oppressed peoples everywhere. In Ireland that implies the formation and development of a new media — which appeals to popular desire for information and analysis

Sunday Independent

Vol. 80 No. 20 July 11, 1993

BIGGEST ABC 1 READERSHIP

CONOR CRUISE O'BRIEN EAMON DUNPHY

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mark a watershed last month, when several senior SDLP figures responded angrily. *Sunday Independent* columnists were talking of a 'pan-nationalist front', parroting loyalist death squads who were stepping up their campaign against nationalists and Catholics of every shade, including SDLP members. Even Garret FitzGerald in his *Irish Times* column had to dissent from the *Sunday Independent* attack on Hume. As in the case of the Mary Robinson handshake with Gerry Adams the incident has seen cracks appearing in the anti-nationalist consensus, a consensus which can only be sustained by the non-reporting and false reporting of the North, promoted by the *Independent* group.

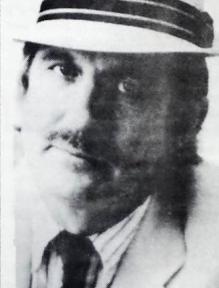
The *Irish Press* coverage of the national struggle, for historical reasons, was once in advance of its counterparts but the restrictions of space imposed by a tabloid format inevitably meant a dropping of standards. Their serious financial problems and management turmoil does not help either and may ensure that the *Irish Press* will disappear or come under new ownership by the end of the year. The *Irish Press*'s management clearly decided some time ago that news on the North does not sell papers. Its coverage has diminished and the *Sunday Press* has been partitioned with only the northern edition carrying the column by northern editor Anne Cadwalader.

The *Independent* group has plumbed the depths of anti-nationalist rhetoric and deliberately non-reporting of events in the Six Counties. The daily *Irish Independent* carries minuscule reports of events, usually buried well inside the paper. The *Sunday Independent* has become the flagship of the most viciously anti-nationalist writing in the country. With columnists like Conor Cruise O'Brien, Eamon Dunphy, Shane Ross, John A. Murphy, Patricia Redlich its pages are a wasteland for real journalism and have long become platforms for those espousing the political creed of neo-unionism.

The *Sunday Independent* attacks on John Hume for his dialogue with Gerry Adams

neo-unionist

journalism



• AENGUS FANNING



• VINCENT BROWNE

That can only be done, with creativity and effectiveness, through combined effort. Resisting the censorship of ideas is a crucial feature of any liberation struggle, just as ideas are the seeds of liberation itself. A new beginning should be made, and soon.

## Reviews

# Relatives record collusion with death squads

■ BY LIAM O COILEAIN

RELATIVES FOR JUSTICE, a group formed in 1991 to focus attention on the use of state terror by the British government, has published a report on British shoot-to-kill operations and collusion with loyalist death squads.

The group was founded by people who had lost relatives due to Britain's shoot-to-kill policy. It also highlights the widespread use of lethal plastic bullets in the Six Counties and the collusion between crown forces and loyalist death squads, aimed at terrorising and assassinating political opponents.

The spokesperson for the group is Niall Farrell, who, along with other relatives of the three IRA Volunteers shot down by the SAS in Gibraltar in 1988, has succeeded in having the case investigated by the European Commission on

## Human Rights.

The report lists killings by loyalists from the shooting of Sam Marshall in March 1990 to the shooting dead of Martin Lavery in North Belfast by the UVF in December 1992. Its publication is timely as loyalists intensify their campaign of sectarian slaughter.

The report lists the names of the victims, the organisation which carried out the killing, where known, incidents of leaked secret intelligence files and the arrest, charging and conviction of a few of the perpetrators, who have

included serving and former members of the crown forces.

Relatives for Justice points to the Brian Nelson case, which demonstrated the links between the crown forces and one loyalist death squad, the UVF. Nelson was at the centre of UVF operations, selecting victims for sectarian killings, at the same time as information was regularly being passed between himself and his British army intelligence handlers.

The report also details the amount of sectarian killings in which South African weaponry has been used between 1988 and March 1993, weaponry secured by loyalist death squads with the help of British military intelligence. Brian Nelson was also

instrumental in these dealings.

According to Relatives for Justice, information and weaponry are not the only forms of collusion. They point to the 27 members of the crown forces in the period covered by the report who were charged with offences ranging from possession of firearms to murder.

"A section of the Northern Ireland administration is aware of this policy," says the group. "It protects it by withholding information, insincere cosmetic investigations, no prosecutions and the curbing of inquests. The families and friends of the victims not only suffer the insult of cover-up and lies but they often become targets for harrassment and abuse from the British army and RUC. They seek redress



● The recent publishing of a booklet by the Relatives for Justice group again highlights the collusion between crown forces and loyalist killer gangs

in publicising the truth to the world and will not cease to bring their grievances before governments and international human rights bodies."

● Shoot-to-Kill and Collusion

(Violations of Human Rights by State Forces in N. Ireland. A Record of Murders by Loyalist Paramilitaries 1990-1992), is published by Relatives for Justice, 1 Westend Park, Derry BT 48 9JF.

## Forcing a confession

■ Le Deirdre Nic an tSaoir

WE'VE all heard of the Birmingham Six, the Guildford Four and Judith Ward — the miscarriage of justice cases which were eventually overturned. In the South, we've had the Sallins 'Kerry babies' cases and a number of others that were not so high profile. But how many thousands of other miscarriages of justice cases are there? How many thousands of others have had confessions forced out of them by the 26 Counties' police force?

The Irish Council for Civil Liberties (ICCL) in their pamphlet *Police Interrogation Endangers the Innocent*, set out to detail how the state has been eroding people's rights while in detention, how false 'crime hysteria' has led to additional detention and interrogation powers for the gardaí and why innocent people confess to crimes they did not commit. The ICCL also lists the

reforms required to prevent further Birmingham Six-type cases occurring in this state.

Gene Kerrigan in "The anatomy of an interrogation" analyses a fictional confession, based on and quoting police interrogation methodology. He shows how often, gardaí elevate suspicions of guilt to belief to fact, which means that an interrogation is not aimed at establishing the

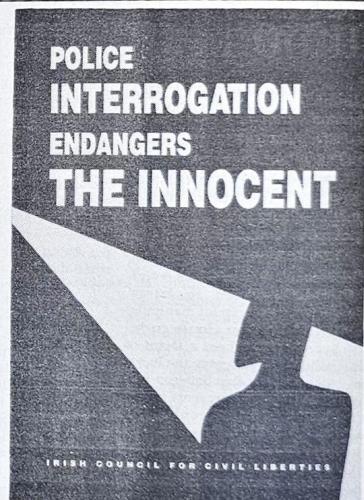
truth, but at confirming the gardaí's 'facts' and confessing to their 'version of the truth'. Kerrigan gives a very good explanation of how seemingly obvious statements can be made to read totally differently. The psychological battle of an interrogation is also described by Kerrigan.

The rest of the booklet outlines the powers of arrest for interrogation and the problems associated with them, the use and abuse of Section 4 of the Criminal Justice Act 1984 and Offences Against the State Act, the erosion of the right to silence, the lack of safeguards during interrogations and the drawbacks of custody regulations and complaints procedures.

The final chapter lists eleven essential reforms and as republicans, many of whom have sampled the 26 Counties' judicial system, we should be to the fore in pushing for these reasonable reforms. The people of Ireland owe a debt to the ICCL for fighting for their rights.

We owe it to ourselves to be as well versed as possible in the laws of arrest, detention and interrogation, so that we too can challenge the erosion of our rights.

● *Police Interrogation Endangers the Innocent*. Published by the Irish Council for Civil Liberties. Price £4.99. Available from the Sinn Féin Book Bureau, 44 Parnell Square, Dublin 1.



IRISH COUNCIL FOR CIVIL LIBERTIES

## Catalogue of abuses

CLERGY FOR JUSTICE was formed in 1992 at a meeting of Catholic priests from North and South. In the wake of the Warrington bombing and the so-called Peace '93 initiative it was decided by the group to issue a statement "Justice — the Way to Peace" to highlight the need for greater awareness of the underlying causes of the conflict in the Six Counties. Clergy for Justice say its main aim is to inform people, especially in the 26 Counties, about the realities of life in the Six Counties and the effects of partition. The group aims to address the different kinds of political violence but above all the institutional violence of the state itself. "Very little is heard about this in the media or from the church leaders," says Clergy for Justice.

In pursuit of their aim Clergy for Justice has produced a number of small

leaflets. These include *Just Another Weapon — Legal Abuse in Northern Ireland*. With headings of each year from 1969 to the present, the pamphlet presents in summary form some of the most glaring abuses of their own law perpetrated by the British rulers of the Six Counties. They range from the golden handshake for convicted UVF chief of staff and informer, Samuel Stevenson, in 1969 to the acquittal of the parsons in Coalisland in 1993.

As Clergy for Justice spokesperson Joe McVeigh said, it is up to everybody to ensure they are informed and "it is not enough to say 'it does not concern me'".

Clergy for Justice publications can be obtained direct from 41 Lorcan Park, Dublin 9.



● Des Wilson and Joe McVeigh at the launch of Clergy for Justice's booklet on legal abuses in the Six Counties

# News/Reviews

## Lightning flashes on Jones' Road

KILKENNY won their 25th All-Ireland Hurling Final last Sunday, when they deservedly beat Galway to retain the Liam McCarthy Cup. They won by five points (2-17 to 1-15) in the end but that score line doesn't do justice to a wonderful second-half performance by Galway, against the strong wind.

It was a memorable final for its lightning pace and the ferocity of the battle in the second half, as the Connacht players fought back to level the scores and then take the lead with nine minutes left. It was a very sporting game and the attendance of 63,460 went home happy after watching a game with only 21 frees in 70 minutes.

Galway can take pride in their great effort but Kilkenny showed their class when

they came from behind in the closing minutes to win the match. Twenty-year-old PJ Delaney was their hero when he put paid to western hopes with a perfectly taken goal in the 67th minute, to put the Cats four points ahead. He added a point, as did DJ Carey and that was enough to clinch victory.

Earlier on, it seemed that Galway would win. After a lukewarm first half they

trailed by 1-8 to 1-6, but they recovered splendidly to level the scores in the 53rd minute. Two minutes later, Joe Cooney, hurling tremendously at midfield, put them ahead. There was great passion in their play but with their attack not having any great penetration, Kilkenny held out. Both sides missed scoreable chances throughout the match. Kilkenny had 15 wides while Galway had 13.

Kilkenny were so impressive in the first 20 minutes that they should have led by more at half time. Their hurling was splendid and it looked as if Galway were in for a hiding. Pat O'Neill was

a colossus at centre half, while Liam Simpson, Willie O'Connor and Liam Keoghan also dominated their opponents. Up front, Adrian Ronan, PJ Delaney and Liam McCarthy carried the battle to Galway. However, Pat Malone did great work in midfield for Galway and helped by defensive colleagues Gerry McInerney, Murty Killilea and Pádraic Kelly, they stayed in touch.

Kelly was the best player on the pitch in the second half and overall was man of the match, despite some fine Kilkenny performances by Pat O'Neill and PJ Delaney. Adrian Ronan showed his sharpshooting

qualities when he scored Kilkenny's first goal in the 10th minute. After the Galway the goalkeeper Burke, made a great save from PJ Delaney, he crashed the sliothar to the net to leave his side leading by 1-2 to 0-3. The Cats tore into Galway then but couldn't put them away. Liam Burke revived western fortunes when he scored a goal in the 23rd minute. Galway's revival then began and it continued in the second half, but in the end, the best team won.

It had been 55 games since a League of Ireland side had won a match in Euro-

pean competition, but all that changed last Wednesday when Cork City and Shelbourne overcame Welsh and Ukrainian opponents, to advance to the first round proper of their European competitions. I was in Tolka Park to see Shelbourne take on Karpaty Lvov in the Ukraine in the Cup Winners' Cup. Right from the start, Shelbourne attacked their opponents. They got their reward in the eighth minute when Greg Costello opened the scoring to leave the aggregate score at 1-1.

Ken O'Doherty and Pádraig Dally both went close for the home side and Mick Neville saw a tremendous 30-yard free kick come back off the bar, but at half-time the score remained 1-0. The Dublin side continued in the same vein in the second half and the 5,000 crowd were rewarded for their great support when Brian Mooney scored a brilliant goal from 30 yards in the 67th minute. With Antonio Izzy adding a third for Shelbourne, it capped a great night for League of Ireland football (or National League as it is now called). The Ukrainians pulled a goal back but with Mark Rutherford also hitting the crossbar in the second half, 3-1 was the least that Shelbourne deserved.

Congratulations also to Cork City from coming from 0-1 down to beat Cumbran Town of Wales 2-1 and so go through on the away goals rule. But, where oh where, did they get those jerseys?



● Kilkenny's PJ Delaney tries to get his shot past Galway's Murty Killilea during last Sunday's entertaining All-Ireland Hurling Final at Croke Park

## Sinn Féin willing to meet Parry family

LAST MONDAY'S *Panorama* programme, featuring the parents of Warrington bomb victim Tim Parry, was surrounded with misrepresentation of the issue of Sinn Féin participation in the broadcast. The party was willing to meet the Parrys and told the programme makers this but said it had been "grossly misrepresented".

In the Saturday edition of the *Belfast Telegraph*, it was alleged that Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams had "snubbed" the Parrys by refusing to meet them. Party press officer Richard McAuley said the paper had not contacted him for a comment on the matter before publishing the story. Nor did the *Panorama* programme makers, the Kilroy-Silk company Kilroy Television, explain what occurred between them and Sinn Féin.

McAuley said: "I reject absolutely any suggestion that Sinn Féin snubbed the Parry family."

"In the letter to the programme makers I expressed our clear willingness to meet Colin and Wendy Parry. Like Mr Parry, I was of the view that he and the programme audience watching any meeting between Gerry Adams and the Parrys should have an opportunity to hear his [Adams'] voice."

"Unfortunately, under the broadcast restrictions Gerry Adams' voice

would not have been heard. To use an actor's voice in such circumstances was, in my view, unrealistic."

"Did the representative of the Kilroy-Silk company who made the programme pass this letter or its contents on to the Parry family? The Parry family have never contacted me to arrange a meeting."

"I must admit that given the anti-Irish views expressed in the past by Kilroy-Silk, I had reservations about the programme. I believe my concerns have been confirmed by events."

The following is the text of the letter sent by McAuley to John Bridcut of Kilroy Television on 4 August. No reply to the letter has been received by Sinn Féin.

Outlining what happened, Richard

A Chara,  
Mr Adams has asked me to reply to your letter of  
29 July.  
We have discussed at great length the proposed  
programme and we accept without reservation your  
Parry to approach this situation with open minds. I  
have read with interest recent comments made by  
Mr Parry in relation to this conflict.

We are of course willing to meet with the Parry  
family. I'm sure that you would agree that this  
indirect form of communication is neither  
satisfactory to us or to the Parrys. I would ask that  
you pass this letter on to them to assure them that  
we would like to meet them and that they can  
contact me directly at any time at the numbers I have  
listed below.

Of course, in the context of the censorship of Mr  
Adams and other Sinn Féin spokespersons, the  
proposal to film such a discussion is, in our view,  
unrealistic.

However, I would be happy to explain this view to  
the Parrys themselves.  
Is mise,  
Richard McAuley.

## Senator's silly season

A CLAIM by a Fine Gael senator that a visit by an *Irish Press* journalist to republican prisoner Pamela Kane in Limerick jail was a "breach of security", has been rejected as an attack on free speech and the rights of prisoners.

*Irish Press* journalist Mairéad Carey visited Pamela Kane in Limerick and her story appeared in the paper on 26 August. It described conditions for the prisoner and her engagement to

H-Block prisoner Martin O'Neill.

Fine Gael Senator Dan Neville said the visit had "grave implications for our custodial system and the security of the state". He demanded that the minister for

undetermined and threatened by such an innocent and relatively minor occurrence.

"The concern expressed recently by the Irish Countrywomen's Association at the conditions of women in Irish prisons and the general lack of progress on long overdue penal reform, are issues which public representatives such as Senator Neville should be seriously addressing."

"A start could be made by alleviating the conditions which Pamela Kane herself endures and against which she and her family have long campaigned."



● PAMELA KANE

# Léirmheas/Nuacht

## Sráidbhaile faoi léigear

**C**HUIR fórsaí coróine na Breataine an sráidbhaile Cullyhanna in Ard Mhacha Theas faoi léigear faoi choinne roinnt uaire Dé Luain, 6 Meán Fómhair.

Bhí siad ag seannáint a leagan fén de na himeachtaí nuair a scailt saighdiúirí na Breataine Féigil Caraher chun bháis agus gohoin siad a dhearthaí Micheál ar 30 Mí na Nollag 1990.

Thosaigh an obráid ollmhór forghabhála ag breacadh an lae nuair a bhog na fórsaí coróine isteach leis an sráidbhaile a dhruidim.

Bhí roinnt daoine gléasta i ngnáth éadai in éineacht leis na fórsaí coróine agus bhí siad ag tiomáint carr bán de dhéanamh Rover a bhí cosúil leis an charr a bhí na deartháireachára Charaher ag tiomáint ar an lá a lámhachadh iad.

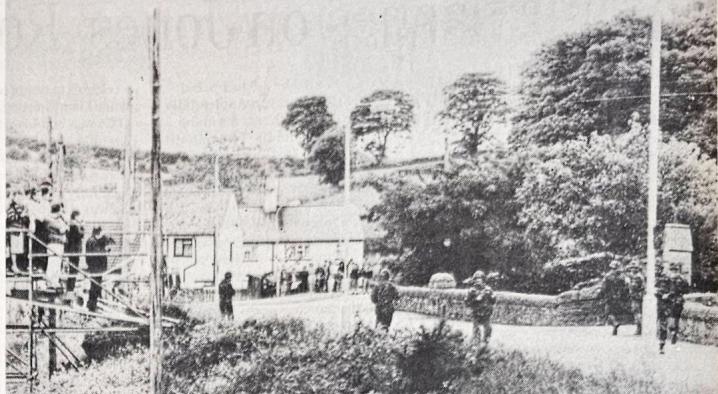
Scannánadh aí carraí nuair a bhí sé a thiomáintíth agus creideann muintir an cheantair go

raibh fórsaí na Breataine ag aithris leagan s'acúsan de na himeachtaí a bhain le lámhachadh na gCaraher.

Creideann muintir Chullyhanna go raibh an choróin ag ullmhú don tráit de bheirt shaighdiúirí Sasanaacha atá cúsíthe le lámhachaidh na gCaraher a thosnáinn i Samhain na bliana seo.

Dúirt an grúpa áitiúil córa, Cullyhanna Justice Group, a thionól fiosrúchán poiblí cheana ar lámhachaidh na gCaraher, go raibh sé iontach amhrasach nach raibh duine ar bith de na finneáitíteach san athairthís nó nach ndearna na péis teagmháil a bhí le clann Charaher ní lena bhliodóin mar le cúisír na athairthís.

Ag caint i ndiaidh d'fhórsaí na coróine an léigear a thógáil den



● An sheachain seo caite dhéan fórsaí an cheorón iarrach aithris a dhéanamh ar an iníucháidh poiblí a dhéan an Cullyhanna Justice Group i 1991, bliain tar éis de Micheál Caraher bheith lámhachta ag saighdiúirí Sasanaacha

bháile d'fhiúraí an Cullyhanna Justice Group, "cad é mar atá an RUC le fanacht saor aontaoibhachas i gcuisíú na seirte shaighdiúirí Sasanaacha a bhí páirteach sna

lámhachaidh nuair a bhí siad ag cuidiú leis na saighdiúirí ar maidin ina athairthís ag suíomh na lámhachadh.

Lean an grúpa ag rá: "D'a-

neoin go bhfuil beirt shaighdiúir cuisithe creidimid mar gheal ar claochpháirteachas idir an RUC agus arm na Breataine nach mbeidh cóir ar bith le fáil sa chás seo."

## Tacaiocht Bhord na Gaeilge éilithe ag O Muilleoir

**T**á an comhairleoir Sinn Féineach, Máirtín O Muilleoir, ag éileamh ar Bhord na Gaeilge cuirí a thabhairt do chomhairleoirí de chuid Shinn Féin agus an SDLP i mBéal Feirste chugimseáintear teanga i dtír Chonáll ar an mhí seo chugainn d'ainneoin réiteach na comhairle gan freastal air.

Bhí O Muilleoir ag caint tar éis do Comhairle Bhéal Feirste ionadaithe réiteach go geurí teachtaíthe chugimseáintear i Hong Kong agus sa Fhrainc.

Le roinnt blianta anuas feinleírigh comhairleoirí Shinn Féin ar chomhairle Bhéal Feirste mí-úsaíd airgead iocáirí rátá na cathrach ag comhairleoirí aontach-

tacha ar thuras thar sáile. Tá sé cruthaithe ag Sinn Féin nach bhfuil i mbunús nór na dturas seo ach leithscéalta do laethanta saor in aice.

Chuir O Muilleoir i leith na n-aontachtaíri go raibh síad sásta ionadaithe a chur thar sáile ar na turais agus aor dhuilíteach siad cúpla cead punt a chaitheamh chun ionadaithe a chur chugig

comhhdháil ar dhátheangachas i nGaoth Dobhair.

Dúirt sé gur bhanáin an réiteach seo le cosc na comhairle ar an Ghaeilge ó bhí 1988 ann agus go dtíspéann sí go soilítear teip na n-aontachtaíri an tráisíúin náisiúnach i mBéal Feirste a iithim.

Dúirt sé gur chóir do Bhord na Gaeilge tacailoch a thaispeáint do Ghaeilí na cathrach. Arsa sé:

"Tá mé anois ag éileamh ar Bhord na Gaeilge a chuid tacailochta a shoilíriú do Ghaeilgeoirí Bhéal Feirste — meastar sa daonáireamh deireanach go bhfuil 20,000 acu sa chathair — le cuirí a thabhairt go dtí an seimíníar d'ionadáil amháin ón Shinn Féin a thacaigh leis an mholaodh d'ionadáiocht na comhairle ag an chomhdháil."

## Raidió na Life le teacht ar an aer

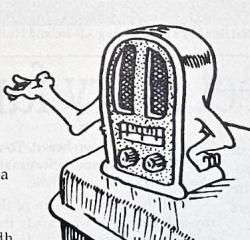
**R**achaidh Raidió na Life, an chéad stáisiún Gaeilge i mBaile Atha Cliath, ar an aer go hoifigíúil Dé Sathairn, 25 Meán Fómhair.

Beidh an stáisiún ag craoladh ar 102 FM seacht lá sa seachtaí. Beidh an stáisiún ag cloisteáil ar fud Bhaile Atha Cliath idir 5 in go 10.30 in achan lá agus ar an Satharn agus ar an Domhnach beidh cláir bhíreannach.

Tá an stáisiún lonnaíthe in Aras Bhord na Gaeilge, i gCearnog Mhuirfean i mBaile Atha Cliath. Tá triúr duine forstaithe go láinneartha ag an stáisiún agus ceathair eile go páirtaimseartha ar scímeanna FAS. Tá an stáisiún ag iarráidh ceathair duine eile ar an scíomh chéanna. Beidh na craoltóirí uillige.

Beidh an stáisiún úr ag baint úsáidíse as nachtshleibhris 98 FM agus déanfaidh síand aistíseachán ar na cinnlíní. Craoibh jad ach an oiche a 7 in agus a 8 in.

Deir Máire Nic Eoin, cathaoirleach an choiste stáraithe, gur



Gaeilge amháin a bheas mar mhéan chraolachán ag Raidió na Life ach nach mbeidh cosc ar bith ar amhráin Bheárla.

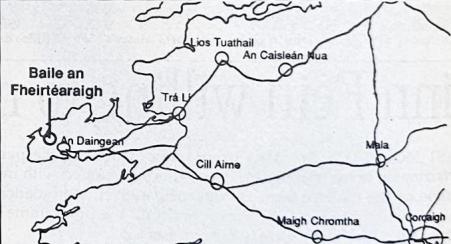
Braithn Raidió na Life ar scairsealbhóirí agus urraofach. Má tá díul ar bith agat scaireanna a fháil nó má tá eolás ar bith de dhíth ort faoi Raidió na Life thíg leat dul i dtéagmháil leis an stáisiún ar 01-6616333.

ta fanacht ann agus a chuid béalí a fháil saor in aisce, Shíl Damien go raibh an t-ádh leis. Ach an raibh?

Ní óstán a bhí san "Hostel Central" agus sórt áit chónaithé ag seanchónaíodh ná haité. Ní raibh fágtha ann ach trír. Tharla rudáil a chuir iontas ar Dhamien... agus le linn d'éirigh rudáil níos measa! Ar eagla go millfínn an scéal ní inseoidh mé níos mó, ach

bhí scéal aisteach agus iontach le híse ag Damien ar theach abhaile dó. Ní ionann sin agus an baile a bhaint amach!

Caithfear ardtholadach a thabhairt do Ré O Laighléis. Tá stil na scribhneoireachta oscailte, neamhspleách, tapaidh. Ní bac d'á laghad ar na haborraí atá rithimíúil, solíte. Tagann aidiacht i ndiaidh aidiachta, iontas i ndiaidh áthais, grá i ndiaidh uaignis. Measamh go



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spéisíúil... draoíochta fíu. Nil an léitheoireacht trom ná tuairisí agus is annamh leabar a láinn tu nach féidir a chur uait. Nil locht le fáil agam ar an úrscaí seach nuair a bhí bheireadh le lité, shíl mé nach raibh léite agam ach an chéad chaisibl. Tá súil agam go dtagann scéal seo gan faoi taistealáid seo gan mhoill.

An Taistealáid le Ré O Laighléis. Cló Iar-Chonachta. Luach £3.50.

## Fíorthuras

■ LE MÍSTÉI Mac SEAIN

**N**I RAIBH MÉ inimhe An Taistealáid a fhágáil nuaim i ndiaidh dom toiseacht ar an léith-eireoireacht. Ní gnáthúil é seo agus is deas leabhar a léamh ina rinneadh iarrach briseadh ar shíúl ó ghnáthábhár na scribhneoireachta Gaeilge.

Is dáta scoile é Damien a shcoirionna ar dhul go traenach a threor a fhad le hóstán é. In áit airgead a dhíol d'ofráil Madame Lacombe post do san óstán agus bheadh sé ábal-

taobh amuigh den stáitíán. Is dáta scoile é. In áit airgead a dhíol d'ofráil Madame Lacombe post do san óstán agus bheadh sé ábal-

# Nationalists to march in Bellaghy and Cookstown

THE NATIONALIST PEOPLE of South Derry and Tyrone are to demand the right to march through the streets of Bellaghy and Cookstown on 12 and 26 September respectively. The marches, organised to assert and demand the right to freedom of movement for nationalists, come at the end of a summer when loyalist marchers were escorted by British crown forces through nationalist towns, despite the protests of residents.

Calling on the nationalist people of South Derry to support the march, the Right To March Committee said that "for too long nationalist people have been refused the right to march in their own towns, while at the same time they are forced to endure the triumphalist marches of the Orange Order and their fellow travellers as they engage in sectarian coat-trailing exercises".

In addition, Orangemen gather every year in Bellaghy for what is termed "a mini-Twelfth" but what is

actually involved, is upwards of 60 bands and several thousand followers marching through an overwhelmingly nationalist village.

This is in stark contrast to the treatment of nationalist marches. Since the 1981 Hunger Strike, people of the area have repeatedly been refused the right to gather or march on their streets. In fact, the funeral cortège of Francis Hughes, who died on hunger strike, was prevented from passing through the village.

"From then, no nationalist gathering

has been allowed through Bellaghy by the RUC," said the Right To March Committee statement.

With the announcement of their planned march and rally, nationalists in Cookstown have put down a timely marker about their right to walk along their own streets in the Tyrone market town, without being stopped and harassed by the crown forces. "Freedom of Movement" is the main theme of the planned march.

Under the banner of the Tyrone Nationalist Rights Committee, a number of local and national groups have pledged support.

Speaking to AP/RN this week, local Sinn Féin representative Martin Conlan, (a candidate in last May's local council elections) outlined plans for the historic march, scheduled to take place on Sunday, 26 September.

"It is regarded as highly unusual for nationalists to march up Cookstown's main street," said Conlan, "but we have the same rights as any other section of the community and we are determined to exercise that right."

He pointed out that Cookstown is probably the most militarised town in the county, with permanent checkpoints situated at several points along the main street. The removal of the crown forces' permanent checkpoints is also being demanded by the Tyrone Nationalist Rights Committee.

"The continuous stopping and harassment by the crown forces at both these checkpoints and other parts of the town, notably around the Greenvale estate, is directed solely at the nationalist community.

"Young people in particular are singled out by the RUC's Divisional Mobile Support Units for 'special treatment' during the day, and more sinisterly, at night when there are fewer people about to witness their sectarian brand of 'policing'.

"Threats by the RUC to people from the nationalist community are growing in number. Given the collusion between the RUC and loyalist

death squads, these threats must be taken very seriously. Loyalist death squads have in the past been able to move about with relative ease."

It is beginning to emerge that senior planners in the crown forces have taken a decision to deliberately target young nationalists in this part of the county, using isolated checkpoints, particularly between Stewartstown and Cookstown, to stop, harass and threaten nationalists.

With this in mind, the march organisers are asking people to assemble at 3pm at McGovern Drive in the Greenvale Estate, moving off along Main Street to the rally outside the town hall, at which Martin McGuinness will speak. A name plate remembering an RUC "shoot-to-kill" operation will be unveiled just before the march moves off.

McGovern Drive has been named after a young nationalist agricultural student, Kevin McGovern who was shot dead in September 1991 by the RUC's DMSU as he walked to a local disco with a friend. The RUC later confessed that their victim was not their intended target and refused to reveal who else they had planned to shoot that night.

As posters go up in the area giving details about the march, messages of support from a number of groups and individuals have begun to arrive with the organisers.

Messages of support have arrived from the Irish National Congress and the South Tyrone/North Monaghan Community Association, who have been very active reopening border roads, blown up and cratered by the British army. The Community for Justice Group, tenants groups and the Victims Support Group, which offers advice to people under pressure from the RUC to act as informers, are also actively mobilising for the march.

Concluding his comments, Conlan said that the march will, "bring together a variety of campaigning groups who are unhappy with the level of British forces disruption in local communities. We are sure from the responses we are getting throughout the county and indeed further afield, that this will be another landmark in nationalists' fight for equal rights, 25 years after the start of the Civil Rights Movement."



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

## Attack on democratic rights

A Chairde,

On Saturday, 21 August, I was one of four socialist campaigners staffing a Pathfinder literature table on O'Connell Street, Dublin, when a man approached me and asked if I was English. Then I was asked if I was in favour of women being allowed to have abortions. When I said I was, he punched me in the mouth and ran off waving his fist and laughing.

I spoke nearly all day to people interested in discussing the ideas presented by the books on the literature table. Pathfinder Press is a New York based publisher which prints books on political issues, including abortion rights, the situation in Yugoslavia, the ANC's fight for a free and democratic South Africa, and the example of Cuba's revolution.

Nelson Mandela, Karl Marx, Che Guevara, and Malcolm X are among the world figures published by Pathfinder.

My experience in Dublin was that people were keen to discuss all the issues contained in these books and many wanted to read them. However, if the individual who assaulted me was unrepresentative of the working people of Dublin as a whole, he nevertheless shows the degree to which some of the forces opposed to a woman's right to choose abortion are prepared to use violent means to prevent free and democratic discussion of this issue.

As is reported by the press this week in America, this has reached the point of murderous attacks on doctors who perform abortions. My assailant may appear to represent the views of an isolated fringe, but all those in favour of defending the democratic right to free

speech and open discussion, must take note of such incidents and be prepared to organise to oppose any attempts to restrict or attack democratic rights and freedom of speech today.

Ian Grant,  
Pathfinder Bookshop,  
47, The Cut,  
London SE1 8LL,  
England.

## Addicts and contact centres

A Chairde,

As a part-time voluntary worker on one of the inner city contact centres which give its services to drug addicts and/or HIV sufferers, I am concerned about the image the contact centres might have of the Concerned Parents against Drugs (CPAD). The CPAD are hon-

est and sincere in their efforts to rid the drug pusher from their communities and have always made it clear that it is the non-user drug pushers who ruin children's and adult lives. The drug addict/pusher is a victim of the non users drug pushers.

I am sure the CPAD are as much concerned as the contact centres are, about the quality of life the addict has. The decision to stop using drugs must come from the addict alone. In the meantime, we seek to improve the quality of addicts' lives by harm prevention, to give support to HIV sufferers and to prevent the spread of HIV, to improve access for drug users to medically prescribed and legally controlled drugs such as physteptone and other substitutes to street drugs. If the CPAD agrees with the above, would they please state so.

K Bennett,  
Ballymun,  
Dublin 11.

## Féile an Phobail

A Chairde,

The August Féile was so successful that it's time to establish a commercial tourist industry near the Cultúrlann on the Falls Road. As it is the first city Gaeltacht, the welcoming urban atmosphere is novel and exciting. The vitality and variety of events were of a very high standard, especially the spoken Irish.

Advance publicity and early circulation of programmes are necessary. Investment in a well-run hotel, like the main one in Irishmór that has some family rooms, would be useful, as well as B+Bs and a medium priced hotel with package holidays.

Are there any other large disused local buildings that could be adapted? Funding must be available to develop the different aspects of tourism

and urban renewal.

Exchange group visits would be welcome and workshops to introduce new friends. Lists of intelligent, entertaining speakers could be made. There is so much untapped goodwill and talent available if invited. The Winter Merriman School adds a lot of cash and entertainment to the host town, Kilkenny, in January 94. Westport was booked out the last three Januarys. Their sung percussion Mass was really innovative.

It's great to hear that a study group is working on setting up an Irish medium credit union. A dozen enthusiasts prepared for the years of weekly drudgery, would be an integral educational force. The steady success is great for the morale when it starts at zero.

Rath Da ar an obair.  
Clára Ní Ghioilla,  
Cill Rónáin,  
Inisín,  
Araínn,  
Contae na Gaillimhe.

# Notices

## REMEMBERING THE PAST

### Red Hugh O'Donnell

Red Hugh O'Donnell, lord of Tyrconnell, was born in 1572. His father, Hugh Dubh O'Donnell, was one of the northern chiefs who had been allied to the English for years.

Fearing that the O'Donnells might go over to the Irish side, the Queen's deputy in Ireland, Sir John Perrot, decided to extend to that family his policy of holding hostages for the good behaviour of the Irish chiefs.

In 1587, Red Hugh was enticed aboard a ship in Rathmullan Harbour on Lough Swilly, taken to Dublin and imprisoned in Dublin Castle. Three years later, he managed to escape but was recaptured within a few days in the Wicklow Mountains.

On Christmas Eve 1591 he escaped again with Art and Henry O'Neill, sons of Shane O'Neill. They made for Glenmalure in County Wicklow, in bitter winter weather, to seek refuge with Fiach McHugh O'Byrne. Art O'Neill died from exposure on the way.

Red Hugh eventually made his way to his father's castle at Ballyshannon, County Donegal. His captivity and suffering during

his escape, which left him permanently crippled, made him a bitter enemy of the English.

Hugh Dubh resigned in favour of his son and in May 1592 Red Hugh was inaugurated as 'The O'Donnell', the last of the Gaelic kings.

In 1595, when Hugh O'Neill and other northern chiefs went in to open rebellion, O'Donnell threw himself into the struggle on their side. During the years which followed, the English suffered several defeats, the most notable being at the Battle of the Yellow Ford, in August 1598.

After the defeat of the Irish at the Battle of Kinsale in December 1601, Red Hugh sailed for Spain. There he was promised help from King Philip III, but he became suddenly ill, having been poisoned by an English agent, James Blake of Galway.

Red Hugh O'Donnell died at Salamanca on 10 September 1602, 391 years ago this week.

■ BY PETER O'ROURKE



## The CAPTIVE VOICE

AN GLÓR GAFA

*The Captive Voice* *An Glór Gafa* is a quarterly magazine written in its entirety by Irish Republican POWs currently being held in Ireland, England, Europe and the US. It is published by Sinn Féin's POW Department.

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## DRAW RESULTS

### Dublin Republican Memorial Raffle

1st Prize £300: T. Bateman, Tallaght, c/o Sean O'Farrell, ticket no 196; 2nd Prize £150: Séan Cunningham, Sheephill Ave, ticket no 397; 3rd Prize £50: Kevin Barry, c/o Pat Bell, ticket no 285.

## Imeachtaí

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

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

### In Díl Chuimhne

DODDS, Francis; McLAUGHLIN, Raymond. In proud and loving memory of Volunteers Francis Dodds (died 9 September 1973) and Raymond McLaughlin (died 9 September 1985). "Many die fighting oppression so that future generations may live in freedom and prosperity. All of us must pay the price of freedom in some way." — Bobby Sands. Proudly remembered by their friends and comrades in the Republican Movement.

BENNETT, Dickie (5th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Dickie Bennett. Always remembered by the Carroll/Ashé Sinn Féin Cumann, Cabra, Dublin

HARTE, Gerard; HARTE, Martin (5th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteers Gerard and Martin Harte, Oglach na hÉireann, killed on active service 30 August 1988. Always remembered by Eileen.

McLAUGHLIN, Raymond (8th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of my brother Ray, who died on 9 September 1985. All things must come to pass so hope should never die. There is no height in our blood's might, that a free man shan't deny. There is no source or foreign force can break a man who knows, that his free will no one can kill and from that freedom grows. Always remembered by

brother Columb, Catriona, Ciárán and Columb Og.

McLAUGHLIN, Raymond (8th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Ray, who died on 9 September 1985. We bleed that the nation may live. I die that the nation may live. Damn your concessions England, we want our country. Always remembered by friend and comrade, Michael.

McLAUGHLIN, Raymond (8th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Raymond McLaughlin, Oglach na hÉireann, who died on 9 September 1985.

Your fiery spirit and indomitable courage has set fire to an unquenchable flame, which we, the Irish people, will follow to its just and inevitable conclusion — the demise and destruction of imperialist rule, which enslaves and exploits our people. Rest assured, when the dawn of true freedom emerges and shines forth upon our people, we will remember your names with pride.

Always remembered by Barney, Long Kesh.

MULLIN, Brian; HARTE, Gerard; HARTE, Martin (5th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteers Brian Mullin, Gerard Harte and Martin Harte killed on active service 30 August 1988. You have given us cause through your death. We will honour your names with pride. Always remembered by Barney, Long Kesh.

MULLIN, Brian; HARTE, Gerard; HARTE, Martin (5th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of my father, Volunteer Séamus Twomey. No longer in my heart to share but Daddy dear you are always there. Always remembered by his daughter Patricia, son-in-law Brian, grandchildren Brian Óg, Róisín and Ciárán.

TWOMEY, Séamus (4th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of my father, Volunteer Séamus Twomey. No longer in my heart to share but Daddy dear you are always there. Always remembered by his daughter Patricia, son-in-law Brian, grandchildren Bredaán, Séamus and Caitlín.

PETTICREW, Anne Marie (20th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Anne Marie Petticrew, who died on active service 1 September 1973. Always remembered by Aunt Shirley

MULLIN, Brian (5th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Brian Mullin, who died on active service 1 September 1973. Always remembered by Aunt Shirley

Oglach na hÉireann, killed on active service 30 August 1988. He died as he lived, fighting for the cause of Irish freedom. Loved and remembered always, by Eileen.

MULLIN, Brian; HARTE, Gerard; HARTE, Martin (5th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteers Brian Mullin, Gerard Harte and Martin Harte killed on active service 30 August 1988. Fuar siad bás aír son saorise. Always remembered by Dan.

MULLIN, Brian; HARTE, Gerard; HARTE, Martin (5th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteers Brian Mullin, Gerard Harte and Martin Harte killed on active service 30 August 1988. You have given us cause through your death. We will honour your names with pride. Always remembered by Barney, Long Kesh.

MULLIN, Brian; HARTE, Gerard; HARTE, Martin (5th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of my father, Volunteer Séamus Twomey. No longer in my heart to share but Daddy dear you are always there. Always remembered by his daughter Patricia, son-in-law Brian, grandchildren Brian Óg, Róisín and Ciárán.

TWOMEY, Séamus (4th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of my father, Volunteer Séamus Twomey. No longer in my heart to share but Daddy dear you are always there. Always remembered by his daughter Patricia, son-in-law Brian, grandchildren Bredaán, Séamus and Caitlín.

PETTICREW, Anne Marie (20th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Anne Marie Petticrew, who died on active service 1 September 1973. Always remembered by Aunt Shirley

MULLIN, Brian (5th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Brian Mullin, who died on active service 1 September 1973. Always remembered by Aunt Shirley

and Uncle Raymond.

PETTICREW, Anne Marie (20th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Anne Marie Petticrew, who died for the cause of Irish freedom. Always remembered by the Gilbey and Petticrew families in the Bone and Ardoone.

TWOMEY, Séamus (4th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Séamus Twomey, whose fourth anniversary occurs on 12 September. Mary Queen of the Gael prayer for him. Fondly remembered by his wife Rosaleen, son Gerard and daughter Rosemary.

TWOMEY, Séamus (4th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of my father, Volunteer Séamus Twomey. Dear are the memories silently kept of a father I loved and will never forget. Always remembered by his daughter Veronica, son-in-law Brian, grandchildren Brian Óg, Róisín and Ciárán.

TWOMEY, Séamus (4th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of my father, Volunteer Séamus Twomey. No longer in my heart to share but Daddy dear you are always there. Always remembered by his daughter Patricia, son-in-law Brian, grandchildren Bredaán, Séamus and Caitlín.

PETTICREW, Anne Marie (20th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Anne Marie Petticrew, who died on active service 1 September 1973. Always remembered by Aunt Shirley

MULLIN, Brian (5th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Brian Mullin, who died on active service 1 September 1973. Always remembered by Aunt Shirley

September 1989. Always remembered by Patricia O'Brien and sons, Gerald and Desmond. RIP.

### Comhbhrón

FITZGERALD. Deepest sympathy is extended to Gerard on the death of his mother. From Ral and Elaine; From Mary and Séamus, Ardoone; From Ann O'Sullivan; From Martin Doherty; From the republican POWs, Portlaoise.

MCALLISTER.

Sincere sympathy is extended to Tom on the death of his father Robert, who died 3 September and

granny Ellie, who died 4 September. From his comrades in Long Kesh and all Republican POWs; From Sinn Féin POW Department.

### Buiochas

DOHERTY. Michael and Patricia Doherty would like to take the opportunity to express our gratitude to all those associated with our recent retirement party. We remember also our absent friends. In particular, the POWs in England, H-Blocks, Portlaoise, Maghaberry and Limerick. It was gratifying to renew acquaintances with old colleagues from the RVH and for their lovely presents, support and kind words, we send our sincere thanks. No appreciation would be complete without mention of the Republican Movement and

the Felons Club who contributed so much.

McLAUGHLIN. The McLaughlin family of Fairview, Dublin, thank all who sympathised and sent Mass cards and wreaths and who attended the funeral of Kathleen McLaughlin. Mass offered for their intentions. From the McLaughlin family of New York and Dublin.

### Beannachtaí

DONNELLY (Whitemoor). All the best on your birthday Vincent. Best wishes from Mary, Buncrana.

MCCARTNEY (Maghaberry). All the best on your birthday Ronnie. Best wishes from Mary, Buncrana.

MURPHY (B wing Crumlin Road). Happy birthday Martin from your darling wife Siobhan, loving children Máireáid and Emir and your parents and friends.

O'HAGAN (H8 Long Kesh). To Séan (wee pet), thinking of you darling, on our 20th wedding anniversary. Love from Róisín and children, Tracy, Máireáid, Denise, Karen, Séan Óg and Ursula.

QUIGLEY (FCI McKean, Pennsylvania). Happy birthday Martin, hope you have a good day. Thinking of you always. From Johnny Molopay, Kiernan Staunton, Séan Mackin and family, Boston Three Committee and friends in New York and Boston.

TRUTH CAN be stranger than fiction, but embellishment can also be the making of a news item, especially where UTV is concerned.

The station last week reported on alleged IRA threats against a theatre company in Sligo town.

Upon investigation, AP/RN found out that the theatre had received a complaint from a member of the public about the play, which centres around the Connacht Rangers' Mutiny. We understand the complainant has a personal connection to a character in the play and was concerned about the manner of his depiction. A reporter from UTV subsequently rang Sinn Féin's Sligo representative, Seán MacManus, asking if he had any statement to make about alleged IRA threats.

MacManus replied that he knew nothing about any complaint. He had read the script (the play hasn't even opened yet) and personally had no problems with it. He added that republicans would oppose any censorship of artistic work anyway.

MacManus unequivocally assured the reporter that no threats had emanated from the Republican Movement, a fact accepted by the theatre management. However, UTV went ahead with its fictitious yarn in their evening bulletin on 2 September, making propaganda out of fantasy.

**PATSY MCARDLE** is a good and well-respected journalist. So can I only assume that it was the Sunday Express that crucified his story on the 26-County reserve force's (the FCA) drive to recruit young women?

"Girls join terror fight" was the headline on a story reporting that "young Irish women aged between 17 and 35 are

**THE OFFICIAL UNIONISTS** have finally decided to meet the United States delegation to Ireland, including former member of Congress Bruce Morrison.

But the reason for accepting the invitation to talk, despite Morrison's insistence on meeting all parties, including the cardinal sin of talking to Sinn Féin, could have as much to do with Calvinist financial logic as any political manoeuvres, at least if party spokesperson Jim Wilson is to be believed.

"It costs an enormous amount to send a unionist delegation to the USA. It would be downright stupid when the Americans are paying the air fares not to meet them in Belfast," said Thrifty Jim.

**M**OST PEOPLE who think of the prisoners' dependents' organisation An Cumann Cabhrach would associate it with reasonably sober events such as testimonial dinners and national draws.

But one lunatic from Belfast is set to change all that. Pat Madigan, for

reasons best known (and kept) to himself, is going to throw himself over the sea cliffs at Annetstown, County Waterford on Sunday, 26 October, attached to nothing more than a glorified elastic band.

'Mental' Madigan, as this columnist christened him upon hearing of his madcap



fundraising scheme, will bungee jump some 250 feet towards the rocks below.

Pat would welcome sponsorship from our readers, and, who knows, he may even survive to collect.

Anyone wishing to contribute should be aware

that Pat is an organ donor. Pledges of cheques, postal orders, bank drafts, credit cards and cash (preferable) will be gratefully accepted and acknowledged by Bob Smith, An Cumann Cabhrach, 44 Parnell Square, Dublin 1. Tel. 8726100.

**THE WORKERS' PARTY** in the Markets area of Belfast has been sounding off recently, with wild claims about the IRA in the area.

According to Sticky candidate for South Belfast Paddy Lynn, at a press conference "thousands of cars and thousands of houses" have been taken over in the Markets area alone by the Oglaih.

But just six days later it was reported in *Sunday Life* that one Paul McGeown, a Workers' Party election worker for Lynn, had been remanded in custody on three separate charges of hijacking taxis during July and August.

**S**TILL IN Belfast, Mount Pottinger-based RUC member Sandy Boyd wasn't his usual talkative self when he ran into a Short Strand resident at the Lammas Fair in Ballycastle.

Sandy, standing tall in T-shirt and shorts, was so dumbfounded by the chance encounter with one of the residents he spies on daily, that words failed him.

**W**HAT CAME FIRST, the stockbroker or the chimp? A Swedish newspaper put this question to the test and made a startling discovery. The paper gave 10,000 Kroner (£830) to five stock exchange experts and a chimpanzee and sent them away to invest it on the market.

The chimp threw darts at names of companies listed on the Stockholm exchange while the experts brought their

After all, I have a second-cousin who once said "Good Morning" to a Roman Catholic... Is she a target...? Am I a target...?

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## News

## Euro spotlight on Britain over Gibraltar

■ BY NEIL FORDE

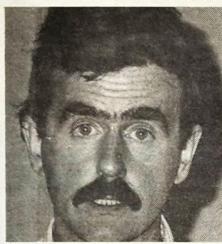
THE DECISION of the European Commission on Human Rights to rule that the British government has a case to answer for the 1988 killings of three IRA Volunteers, is a significant victory for their families and the families of other shoot-to-kill victims. The families have conducted their case with no help from the Dublin government and working against a constant barrage of British government obstacles, media disinformation and the legal and financial resources of the crown.

The historic European Commission decision came five years to the week after the first whitewash inquest into the shooting dead of Mairéad Farrell, Séan Savage and Daniel McCann sought to cover up and legitimise the British government's

planned execution of the three.

To get the commission to even consider their case, the families had to exhaust all 'domestic' avenues open to them. The all-male jury in the 1988 Gibraltar inquest found that the three had been "lawfully killed". Before this inquest, the British government issued immunity certificates on information about the SAS operation in what they claimed was "the public interest". In 1990, Douglas Hurd, then Defence Secretary issued each family with a certificate under the 1947 Crown Proceedings Act.

The British government claimed in the 1990 certificates that because the killings had taken place outside British jurisdiction, they had no legal responsibility for



• NIALL FARRELL



## US Congress member barred from trial

THE TRIAL of seven Ballymurphy teenagers, who are protesting their innocence, on charges connected with grenade attacks on British crown forces, is set to begin at Belfast's High Court on Thursday, 9 September. The Voice of the Innocent group, which was set up to campaign for the teenagers' release, believe the trial was deliberately put back from Monday to hinder the group's efforts to expose the injustice.

A US Congress member, Robert Menendez, an American lawyer Eoin Bell and US Voice of the Innocent organiser Jean Forrest, were in Belfast to observe the opening submissions. The postponement now means they will miss the trial because they had to return to America on Tuesday, 7 September.

"It just seems like they're putting the observers off," commented a spokesperson for Voice of the Innocent.

The trio had been involved in controversy on Friday when they were entering Belfast High Court

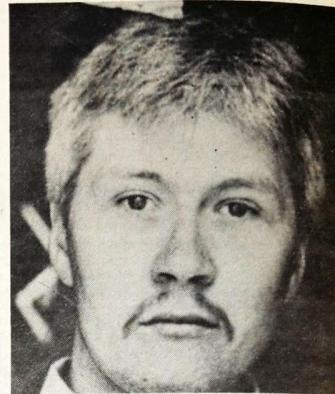
and were delayed by the RUC. They had gone to the court to observe another trial.

The only evidence against the Ballymurphy Seven is statements they made under duress in the notorious RUC interrogation centre of Castlereagh. The case has been the focus of international attention from groups and individuals, concerned about Britain's human rights abuses in the Six Counties.

Human rights campaigners, particularly from the United States, have put strong pressure on the British government regarding the case. Some of these campaigners, including observers from The Helsinki Watch Committee, The Breton Law Society as well as several American lawyers, will attend the trial.



• VOL MAIRÉAD FARRELL



• VOL DAN McCANN

the actions of the SAS. The British government blocked their families' attempts to sue them for compensation in the Belfast High Court in 1991. The families then began the lengthy process of preparing their case for the European Commission on Human Rights.

In a four-hour hearing, held in camera, the commission, made up of senior lawyers from the states which have ratified the European Convention on Human Rights, heard oral submissions from lawyers representing the families and the British government.

The families were represented by Belfast solicitor Barra McGrory and a Dutch lawyer Douwe Korff. Niall Farrell, brother of Mairéad also attended the hearing. The British government were represented by six lawyers and advisers from the Home Office and the Ministry of Defence.

The case against the British government was made under Article Two of the convention which states that "Everyone's right to life shall be protected by law. No one shall be deprived of his life intentionally, save in the execution of a sentence of a court following his conviction of a crime for which the penalty is provided by law."

The families asserted that the murders were part of a shoot-to-kill campaign by the British government and that the Gibraltar action was "neither planned nor executed in such a way as to

minimise the need for the use of lethal force". In all, 26 people have been killed by British crown forces since the Gibraltar killings in 'shoot-to-kill' circumstances.

Relatives for Justice, a group which was formed in April 1991 to focus on the use of state terror by the British government in the Six Counties, welcomed the decision. Its spokesperson Martin Finucane said "this decision means that this shoot-to-kill policy, which has claimed many lives, will now be scrutinised by an international independent legal body at a European level".

Finucane also said that "it is regrettable that this case has taken over five years to reach this stage. The long delay could have been circumvented if the Irish government had used its rights as a high contracting party to the European Convention of Human Rights to bring this case directly to Strasbourg."

"It is a sorry fact that five and a half years after the families asked the Dublin government to take the



• VOL SEAN SAVAGE

Gibraltar case to the European Court of Human Rights, they are still awaiting an answer."

Sinn Féin spokesperson on legal affairs Councillor Paddy MacManus, called on the Dublin government to "recognise the importance of this case and agree to support the families in the future".

Though it took the families 18 months to get a hearing and only five per cent of such cases actually get this far, it could still take up to another year for the case to come before the actual Court of Human Rights.



# An Phoblacht

REPUBLICAN NEWS

UNCENSORED NEWS

9/9/1993

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