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# An Phoblacht

REPUBLICAN NEWS

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Thursday, 14 January 1993

# Jury exposes

# British

"If what you say is correct that would  
have to be cold-blooded murder?"  
"Yes that is correct".



● Volunteer Séamus McElwain, a brave intelligent soldier who gave his youth and life for peace in Ireland

THE BRITISH government's propaganda, that it administers the Six Counties according to the normal rule of law in a democratic society, was dealt another major blow with the findings of the inquest into the death of IRA Volunteer Séamus McElwain. The jury at the inquest in Enniskillen found that he was shot dead as he lay injured, five minutes after he was cut down by fire from undercover British soldiers.

The jury of five women and six men gave the lie to the official British account issued after the killing in April 1986. The lies of the RUC and British army at the time were exposed and the jury found that Séamus McElwain could have been arrested by the troops who killed him. Key evidence at the inquest was given by McElwain's comrade, republican prisoner Séán Lynch who was brought to testify from Long Kesh where he is serving a 25-year sentence.

As with all other shoot-to-kill incidents and the inquests into them, the British government sought to have the true facts suppressed at the

inquest of IRA Volunteer Séamus McElwain by having Armed Forces Minister, Archie Hamilton, issue a Public Interest Immunity Certificate (PIIC). This prevents members of the crown forces from being required to identify themselves in court.

However, despite the British government's seeking to influence the outcome of the inquest, the jury found, firstly, that a British undercover unit ambushed McElwain and Séán Lynch, opening fire on them without shouting a warning and secondly, that McElwain, wounded in the initial burst of fire, was subsequently executed as he lay wounded.

On this count the jury rejected the SAS

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# lies

## News

# IRA brings down chopper GUN BATTLE ON FERMANAGH BORDER

## War News

AFTER it carried out a mortar attack on a border checkpoint an IRA unit withdrawing from the area was involved in a gun battle with the British army in County Fermanagh last week after it carried out a mortar attack on a border checkpoint. During the exchange a British army helicopter was forced down by IRA machine gun fire.

Describing the operation the IRA said:

"On Friday, 9 January, two successful attacks were carried out by the IRA in County Fermanagh. At 4pm three mortar bombs were fired at Mullan Bridge checkpoint. Two exploded at their target.

"When a British army helicopter responded to this operation they were attacked by machine-gun fire. One helicopter was forced to crash-land.

"Intelligence reports say that the British sealed off the Stragowra Cross area. They removed the helicopter by covered lorry. Contrary to media reports all attacks were carried out in County Fermanagh."

### ■ CITY-WIDE ATTACKS

In another week of sustained

operations the IRA's Belfast Brigade mounted several attacks on the crown forces across the city and forced the closure of the vast Harbour Estate in East Belfast, where most of the north's petroleum and oil supplies are located.

The Belfast Brigade said that last Wednesday, 6 January, within hours of a visit by Patrick Mayhew, to the Harbour Estate, IRA Volunteers cut their way through 'security' fencing and placed two 5lb bombs containing high explosives under huge oil storage tanks in a highly restricted area adjacent to Belfast Harbour Airport. The tanks are in an area which is also a base for the British army and navy.

Massive disruption to the oil and gas supplies was averted

when only part of one of the devices exploded.

Earlier the same day hoax devices were placed at various points throughout Belfast, causing widespread disruption and tying down large numbers of the crown forces.

The following day Thursday, hoax alerts continued to keep the crown forces busy dealing with them. During the alerts an IRA active service unit engaged the British army at their New Barnsley base on the Springfield Road, West Belfast. The Volunteers fired 15 rounds at the base, throwing crown forces patrols in the area into confusion.

There was no return fire reported from the enemy forces.

A clever ruse to lure the crown forces out of their city centre barracks in Queen Street was put into place on Sunday night, 10 January. Volunteers placed an anti-personnel mine at the rear of a China shop in nearby College Street Mews and set the firing mechanism of the mine. They then broke the shop's front windows setting off the premises alarm system. Following this they also coolly removed items from the shop and left these outside the shop.

As the crown forces moved towards the shop the device was detonated and was heard over a wide area of the city.

That the IRA can operate in city centre locations on a weekly basis has totally rubbed any British



notion of containment of the republican struggle. These operations have resulted in more crown forces patrols being placed in the area in ever more desperate measures to shore up morale among British forces.

As this city centre operation was being conducted on Sunday night, IRA Volunteers on the outskirts of North Belfast placed a 1lb bomb under a car owned by a member of the crown forces in the Glengormley area.

The car was owned by RUC Detective George and which had been parked outside his house was wrecked when the device detonated as British army technical officers approached it.

Monday, 11 January last witnessed other RUC personnel in Belfast coming under IRA rocket attack in South Belfast.

In the course of this attack the RUC barracks in Donegall Pass, near the city centre on Monday evening shortly before 7pm a rocket was fired as RUC personnel in an armoured car stopped outside the barracks. The rocket narrowly missed the armoured car and exploded at the barracks' blast wall.

This is one of the main centres for RUC Special Branch operations against nearby nationalist resistance in the Markets and Lower Ormeau Road.

In their statement the Belfast Brigade said that its Volunteers moved into several positions around the heavily fortified barracks with one Volunteer launching the rocket from the junction of Conduit Street.

As the RUC sensibly sought cover behind the high blast wall, which now surrounds the entire barracks following last March's massive 1000lb bomb attack, all Volunteers gradually withdrew from their positions and dispersed safely, despite rapid large crown forces movements in the immediate area.

### ■ FAIT CLAIMS REJECTED

Belfast Brigade, Oglach na hÉireann released a statement refuting a report carried in the *Irish News*, on Monday 11 January, claiming that the IRA has ordered 200 young people to leave Ireland this week. The report emanated from the British-sponsored Workers' Party front FAIT.

## Executed UVF member 'played crucial role' — IRA

LAST MONDAY'S execution of key UVF organiser Matthew John Boyd from Dungannon, County Tyrone, was claimed by the IRA's Tyrone Brigade.

In a statement the IRA detailed this UVF member's involvement in sectarian killings and bombings over a long period, from his close association in the 1970s killing of nationalists in County Tyrone, to his most recent involvement in the killing of Patrick and Diarmuid Shields at the beginning of last week.

Boyd was executed on Monday, 11 January, by an IRA active service unit who had been keeping him under intense scrutiny as he travelled throughout the east Tyrone and north Armagh area.

He was shot twice at 3.30pm on the Donaghmore Road in his Vauxhall car, and died four hours later in the Royal Victoria Hospital, Belfast.

"Boyd had a long involvement in the UVF dating back to the 1970s when, along with other known UVF members, he was responsible for the reorganisation of that sectarian murder gang in the Moy and Dungannon area. He had been arrested on several occasions by the crown forces fol-

lowing UVF bombings and shootings, but was always quickly released. He was a close associate of Ted Sinclair who was charged with the double murder of Peter and James McKeown in 1975."

Continuing the IRA statement said that "his increasingly crucial role in UVF sectarian murders became clear and IRA intelligence had him under surveillance along with several other UVF personnel.

"Our intelligence was that he was in the process of setting up another nationalist when he was executed by us on Monday. Previously he had been noticed in the vicinity of several UVF attacks.

"He was not a milkman collecting accounts but had been a mechanic at Killyman Creamery and used a fridge repair business to gain entry to nationalist homes and businesses in the area. He had had access to McKeown's butchers shop in the Moy prior to the murder of Kevin and John McKeown, and also to Pat Shields' shop shortly before himself and his



● MATTHEW JOHN BOYD  
son were murdered last week by the UVF.

"In view of this evidence we would call upon those nationalist business people with whom Boyd had contact to examine their and their families' personal security as Boyd's role as intelligence gatherer will mean he has already furnished his UVF associates with information which could still be used in further murderous attacks against nationalist families."

Concluding the IRA once again reiterated that they "will not get involved in a sectarian campaign but, as on Monday afternoon, we will execute those involved in sectarian killings".

## Oglach respond to Mayhew

THE IRA has responded to the statement made by direct ruler Patrick Mayhew on Monday, 11 January. Mayhew said that the IRA continued its campaign because they were "driven by their dead and by those behind the wire". He promised that "unless they abandon violence" there would be "more dead, more lives spent behind the wire, and another blighted generation".

On Wednesday in a statement issued by the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau in Dublin the IRA responded:

"On Monday, as part of his government's ongoing propaganda offensive, Patrick Mayhew, in typical outdated colonial style, threatened that continued republican resistance would meet with a British response which would mean 'more dead, more lives spent behind the wire and another blighted generation'.

"This propaganda offensive

is linked to the rise in British-inspired killings of nationalists and the increased open British military effort.

"The IRA have a message for Mayhew. Your policies have failed; we are not fooled and we remain resolute. So long as you persist in the failed policies and we will face you with determined resistance."

"Mayhew should abandon his futile strategy and begin the process which will help end this conflict."

# Call on Higgins to lift Section 31

■ BY ART MAC EOIN

ONE OF THE MORE INTERESTING appointments under the new Fianna Fáil/Labour coalition government has been that of Labour's Michael D Higgins to the new ministerial post of Arts, Culture and the Gaeltacht which includes within its brief responsibility for television and radio broadcasting.

Higgins has for many years been publicly opposed to Section 31 of the Broadcasting Act under which the current Ministerial Order continues the ban on interviews with or broadcasts by Sinn Féin and several other named organisations, and he was a sponsor of the campaign to repeal Section 31.

The appointment comes at a time when censorship and access to information are high profile issues in the 26 Counties. Freedom of information was at the centre of the state's recent referendum regarding abortion. The case of Larry O'Toole banned from the airwaves as spokesperson for the Gateaux Workers' Strike Committee in 1990, because of his membership of Sinn Féin received much attention over the past year and saw High Court Judge Rory O'Hanlon rule that RTE was wrong to bar O'Toole under Section 31. RTE is currently appealing that decision. This weekend also sees Dublin hosting a major conference, sponsored by Michael D Higgins among others, on censorship, secrecy and democracy. Entitled "Let In The Light" the conference will discuss the issue of Section 31 censorship.

It remains to be seen whether Higgins will refuse to sign the Ministerial Order under Section 31 or if he will direct RTE to drop its appeal in the Larry O'Toole case, but if he does not act to transform the current situation of all-pervasive political censorship and suppression of information he will face a severe credibility problem as a champion of civil liberties and an anti-censorship campaigner.

Speaking on RTE radio on Wednesday, 13 January, Higgins acknowledged his opposition to Section 31 but would only go as far as to say that "all these issues will have to be looked at anew" by the cabinet. He did not say whether or not he would sign the ministerial order on 17 January.

In a statement following the formation of the new cabinet Sinn Féin welcomed Higgins's appointment. On behalf of the party Ard Chomhairle member and Monaghan County Councillor Caoimhghín Ó Caoláin said:

"We note his record of opposition to Section 31 of the Broadcasting Act. We call on him now to implement Labour Party poli-



■ Anti-censorship and civil rights campaigner Michael D Higgins has responsibility for broadcasting in the new government. Section 31 is up for review and ratification by him in the coming week

cy and not to renew the orders under Section 31 of the Broadcasting Act which are due for renewal on 17 January.

"This is the first opportunity the new government will have to prove its promised commitment to openness and change. By end-

ing political censorship they would be making a major contribution to real dialogue and the search for peace."

## Partners make their promises

■ BY NEIL FORDE

THE 26-County Labour Party has set the agenda for government in the programme agreed between Dick Spring and Albert Reynolds, while Fianna Fáil has emerged for the new year as born-again social democrats.

On paper we are promised 30,000 new jobs a year, a £250 million jobs fund, mortgage aid, a new national economic and social forum, a reorganisation of government departments, an Ethics in Government bill, the extension of the DART line, and of course the promise of a 50 metre swimming pool plus a national sports stadium. These are just some of the contents of the Fianna Fáil/Labour programme for government.

Back in life outside Leinster House we are faced with an ongoing currency crisis, rising unemployment, (293,000 at the end of December) and a growing number of company plant closures, three so far in the last two weeks. The question is can the new 58 page programme for government create policy and structures to deal with the growing problems of the 26-County economy? Both Dick Spring and

Albert Reynolds seem to think so. "An economic and social breakthrough" was how Albert Reynolds described the new coalition. The programme does represent a comprehensive shift for Fianna Fáil away from their monetarist policies of the previous five years. The programme also represents a series of policy U-turns for FF.

Dick Spring was more cautious when he told the special Labour Party conference in Dublin last weekend that the programme was negotiated against a "tough economic background". Spring told the delegates that "it will be wrong to minimise the difficult economic and financial challenges that confronts us". Even so the programme was endorsed overwhelmingly by the Labour delegates.

There are two aspects to the programme. Firstly there are a

range of policy proposals that are to be welcomed, although they are long overdue. The section on social justice and a compassionate society contains a range of positive worthwhile measures.

The programme promises positive action on housing, homelessness, social welfare, health and education. The implementation of European and UN conventions on human rights through legislation is to be welcomed particularly as it includes conventions on the repatriation of prisoners.

There will, it seems, be an end to privatisation and a renewed commitment to ACC and ICC banks. The new term for state banks is "a third banking force". Aer Lingus will receive an immediate cash injection.

Even here there are still glaring questions. The section on social welfare tells us that the coalition partners are "committed to the establishment of a caring society". However nowhere does it give a commitment to redress McCreevy's 12 cutbacks. They do say they will implement the now six-year-old commission on social welfare report recommendations. This would be

welcome but there's no specific commitment to any particular measure such as the key one of raising the welfare payment of a single person to £65 per week (and that was the recommended rate in 1987).

The section on health offers no promise to redress the inequities between private and public healthcare in the state. The reduction of waiting lists will not in itself reduce the parasitical relationship between private health care and the state-funded system.

The second aspect of the programme is its range of proposals aimed at solving the unemployment problem. The target is to create 30,000 jobs a year.

Again the policies aimed at job creation are in the large part worthwhile. The first problem is in their figures. Without fundamental social and economic change 30,000 jobs a year is a huge target; however with a projected 25,000 people entering the labour market each year, the best we can hope for over the next five years is that unemployment will fall by only 5,000 a year. Using December's unemployment figures this will leave 268,000 people unemployed in 1997.

This is the fundamental flaw in the programme's principal objectives. The programme wants to

create economic prosperity and social justice. What is needed in Labour's glossy terms is a definition of economic justice, for that is what is missing in the programme.

Labour propose to remove the low paid, especially families, from the tax net, there is no commitment to either a property or wealth tax. In the absence of this it is hard to see how the budget deficit will be eliminated without cutbacks of some kind.

Labour also propose a range of new government structures, a reorganisation of the IDA and county enterprise boards. Missing is the vital element of economic democracy. Nowhere in the programme does Labour propose to let local communities or the unemployed direct access to the funds. Real democracy and a real partnership would begin with people's control of the new IDA Ireland and Forbairt agency.

This is the fundamental economic injustice of the 26-County economy. Labour say they want to restore confidence in the democratic process. The only way to make democracy work is to make the economy just; its wealth belongs to us all. A true "partnership throughout the economy, our society and our community" would create a just economy not only a "caring" social welfare system.

## News

# MI5's Norwegian plot to discredit IRA

THE BRITISH secret service, through a diplomat based in Oslo, plotted with a senior Norwegian intelligence officer to discredit the IRA in August 1991, a top Norwegian newspaper has revealed.

The story was broken in November by the main Norwegian daily newspaper, VG and was later followed up on by the radical Norwegian paper, *Klassekampen*. The story has not been denied by the Norwegian authorities.

The papers revealed how a top Norwegian officer conspired with British diplomat and MI5 agent, John Venning to approach a for-

mer Norwegian intelligence officer and mercenary, Espen Lie, with a proposal that he rob armaments from a Norwegian army depot and offer them for sale to the IRA. The sale would then be publicised to expose and discredit the IRA.

The officer concerned is a lieutenant colonel in a section of the Norwegian intelligence services known as E14. This section con-

trols a network of organisations known as the Stay Behind Groups. These groups have their origins in those bands of guerrillas who stayed on in German-occupied Norway during the Second World War to try to liberate their country.

When the war ended a secret network of these groups, with some very prominent people, including military commanders, was established. The groups stayed in existence, controlling arms depots around the country, their main aim being to maintain a line of defence against the perceived threat of communism and the Soviet Union. They were officially, though secretly, linked to military intelligence.

The existence of the Stay



• STELLA REMINGTON — Director General, MI5

Behind Groups network was only revealed in 1978 when police uncovered an arms depot in a raid on the premises of shipping boss Hans Otto Meyer. They had raided the premises because Meyer was suspected of smuggling alcohol. The lieutenant colonel in charge of this network is under the direct command of the head of Norwegian intelligence.

Espen Lie was approached by MI5's Venning to stage a break-in at a Norwegian arms depot to steal rifles. He would then attempt to make contact with the IRA to come to no avail when Lie reported the matter to the police. He is also said to have provided photographs of his meetings with Venning.

Espen Lie is currently in prison in Norway on charges related to racketeering and dealing in stolen goods.

MI5 has, since building up Norwegian military intelligence during the war, had strong links with its Norwegian counterpart. British troops hold regular exercises in Norway, both states being part of NATO. These exercises are usually preceded in the Norwegian media by dire warnings of potential IRA attacks on the British troops.

## London's world money status threatened by IRA

THE IRA's economic bombing campaign in England has threatened London's status as Europe's premier financial centre, the Lord of Mayor of London warned Prime Minister John Major.

On 20 December, the *Observer* newspaper's 'Business' section noted that the tempo of Christmas trade in London's Oxford Street — Europe's busiest shopping precinct — "was probably greater in the build-up to Pancake Day than Christmas". Small bombs planted by the IRA in Oxford Street the previous Wednesday had, the *Observer* said, "left their mark on the nerve of family shoppers". It had also cost traders between £5 and £10 million in lost takings on Wednesday.

The Saturday before Christmas, a bonanza shopping day for West End retail stores, saw IRA hoax bomb warnings paralyse Oxford Street, Regent Street and Piccadilly Circus for several hours. One store manager told the BBC that although his outlet had only been closed for three hours, the IRA had cost his company £60,000.

Two days before Christmas, the London *Independent* said IRA bomb hoaxes caused "chaos" in three cities — Manchester, Milton Keynes and Newcastle. Shopping centres were evacuated and rail and bus stations were closed. There had been attacks on commercial centres in Manchester and at Wood Green Shopping City, North London, earlier in the month.

"The IRA bombing campaign is beginning to bite", the following Monday's *Irish Times* reported in a story headlined "IRA campaign hurting London business". The story continued "Shopkeepers complained that numbers were well down on the usual spending spree that marks the run-up to the festive season."

The IRA's bombing in April of the financial heart of the City of London — which caused over £800 million of damage, more than

the British government's total £600 million bill for the Six Counties since 1969 — forced the capital's top financiers to seek government backing when insurance firms threatened to cancel cover in the face of the IRA campaign.

Terrified bosses pleaded for the same sort of government compensation scheme that exists in the Six Counties. If companies could not obtain insurance for their London offices against IRA attacks, they would find safer locations abroad, business leaders said.

The Lord Mayor of London publicly begged Prime Minister John Major to save the city. London's future as Europe's premier financial centre, the Lord Mayor said in a letter to Major, was threatened by the IRA.

On 10 December the Corporation of London — which owns a third of all the capital's property, including the famous Lord Mayor's Mansion House and Guildhall — was told by its insurers that they were withdrawing cover for buildings, worth £6 billion.

Leading overseas insurance companies withdrew cover for bomb damage on commercial property throughout London because the risk of IRA attack was so high. The cost of damage was so enormous, the overseas companies said, that they could not calculate premiums that would ensure a fair return or a safe fund to pay claims. The insurance market, one City of London financial expert said, with unintended irony, recognised that the impact of IRA attacks "made the ceiling so unpredictable".

The head of a leading City-based pension fund warned in the *Sunday Times* "If the government



• London's Lord Mayor is begging John Major to do something to save his city from the effects of the British government's war in Ireland

does not step in, it will be a victory for the IRA".

Eventually, the British government was overwhelmed by pressure from financiers. Michael Heseltine, the president of the Board of Trade, agreed a compromise solution on 21 December. A new insurance industry company will cover the risk from the IRA but will be reinforced by the gov-

ernment acting as reinsurer of last resort should the costs be beyond the industry's means. City of London tenants nevertheless, still face an increase on insurance premiums of more than 50% because of the IRA campaign. The annual insurance for a £100 million London property will rise from £100,000 to £150,000.

Even the former general sec-

retary of the Ulster Unionist Party, Frank Millar (now the *Irish Times*' London editor), has been forced to admit that British police resources are being "seriously stretched" by the IRA's tactics.

"That City dealers are forced to make contingency arrangements is doubtless regarded as proof that the campaign is working."

## News

## Irish Post survey exposes racist PTA

**I**N A SURVEY in the London based *Irish Post* newspaper, published last Thursday, 7 January, the realities of life for the Irish in Britain were exposed. The survey confirmed what civil liberty groups and Irish community groups in Britain have been saying for decades now. It found that nearly a quarter of people from the Six Counties living in Britain have been detained or affected in some way by the PTA, and one in ten males from the 26 Counties have also suffered the same treatment.

The survey was analysed by University of Bradford Professor James O'Connell, who described the findings as representing "a background of harassment against the Irish community".

With such a high rate of Irish people being affected by the PTA,

either through direct arrest, detention for long periods, denial of legal representation while held, or suffering indirectly when family members and other relatives are denied access to those arrested, the act itself is widely regarded as legalising racist intimidation of the

Irish. Everyone entering Britain through air and sea ports from Ireland has to fill out a PTA card, and even if not stopped at that point, questioned and arrested, it is frequently the case that in the weeks and months ahead Scotland Yard's 'anti-terrorist squad' will follow this up with an early morning armed raid at the address given on the card.

Even if not charged, as in the vast majority of cases, Irish people have lost their houses, flats and in some cases their jobs, as a consequence of such raids.

With findings such as 80% of all

respondents believing that Irish people charged with 'terrorist offences' would not receive a fair trial in Britain, the ongoing injustices against Irish people, such as the case of Crossmaglen man Danny McNamee, will continue to haunt British "justice" and those responsible for it in the eyes of the international community.

An additional indirect effect is the fear imposed by the PTA, which greatly restricts progressive debate on Britain's role in Ireland and which resulted in 45% of the people surveyed saying that they would be reluctant to discuss

## Loyalist link to London gangsters

**E**NGLISH POLICE have admitted they believe members of pro-British death squads in Ireland are being hired as contract killers by London criminals and that loyalists have carried out at least two murders in the British capital.

English detectives have said they believe the killings are being organised through a former UDA member who has lived in Spain but who is now London based and is involved with East End drugs gangs.

According to a report in London's *Independent on Sunday*, 10 January, a man wanted for questioning about the organising of two gangland killings, is a former prominent member of the UDA who went to Britain after he was shot during an assassination attempt during an internal UDA feud.

In one killing in September 1990, two men wearing motorcycle helmets walked into the Prince of Wales pub in Caledonian Road, Islington, north London, identified their target and walked out again. They returned a few moments later and shot Brendan Carey

(47) five times with handguns before escaping on a motorcycle. Police in London say they believe the killing was organised after London criminals had a dispute regarding the proceeds of drugs deals and robberies.

In another incident a man later revealed to be a police informer, was gunned down outside his home in Kent. Two men were later charged.

Scotland Yard detectives claim that assassins from loyalist death squads such as the UDA have been hired to go over to Britain to carry out such killings. Speaking to reporters one detective said: "I don't know whether the UDA command in Belfast knew about and sanctioned these killings, but I am sure that cash has been paid to some of its members for murders carried out in London."

## CORK REJECTS CHARGES

**C**ORK CORPORATION voted to do away with its controversial service charges at its latest meeting on Friday, 8 January.

Councillors arriving for the crucial meeting were greeted by a picket of over 60 people campaigning against the charges. The protest was organised by the Householders Against Service Charges.

After adjournments, frantic consultations and votes on all manner of minor amendments, the councillors finally came to vote on the issue. Bowing to public pressure, they voted by 17 to eleven to withdraw the unpopular charges from the estimates. Only Fianna Fáil, the PDs and one Fine Gael councillor voted for the charges. Two other councillors were absent due to

illness while PD TD Máirín Quill was on holiday in Africa.

The Corporation now faces possible abolition as the councillors balked at raising rates by 17% to make up the service charges loss, so failing to strike a rate.

The ball is now in the court of the new Minister for Local Government under the Fianna Fáil/Labour Coalition government. Cork Sinn Féin PRO James McBarron welcomed the decision saying that "the people of Cork have finally got what they voted for in the last local elections, the abolition of service charges".



● The US president-elect, Bill Clinton with his 12-year-old daughter Chelsea. Mr Clinton announced that she is to go to a private \$10,000 Quaker school in Washington DC.

## KEEN EYE ON CLINTON'S IRISH POLICY

**W**ITH THE forthcoming inauguration of United States President-elect Bill Clinton, now only a matter of days away the key people around him who will be implementing the Democratic president's foreign affairs policies, have been gathering together to put into place some of the new administration's proposed actions regarding Ireland.

Following last week's disclosures that one of the main supporters of the MacBride Principles is to become a senior US foreign policy advisor, fair employment campaigners on

both sides of the Atlantic are increasingly hopeful that British government inaction on this fundamental aspect of the Six-County state will be challenged.

Dr Clifton R Wharton, a for-

mer president of Michigan State University, chairperson of a major teachers' pension fund and a director of the Ford Motor Company was named as being one of President Bill Clinton's key advisors on international affairs. Six years ago as a director of the Ford Company, he favoured a proposal calling for the implementation of the MacBride Principles at the company's West Belfast plant.

Around the same time, when chairperson and chief executive of the Teachers' Insurance and Annuity Association and College Retirement Equities Fund he was a major influence in that corporation's stand against unfair employment practices, both in the Six Counties and South Africa.

Also strategically involved during the transitional period of the new administration in recent days are key players in Clinton's election campaign.

**B**oston mayor, Ray Flynn, who was co-chairperson of the Clinton election campaign committee and Irish 'Green Card' Congressman Bruce Morrison have been asked by the transition team to "solicit the opinions of leading statesmen, human rights advocates and Irish-American representatives about the best way to engage the British and Irish sides in a constructive manner".

Former US President Jimmy Carter has agreed, in an undertaking to Mayor Flynn, to help in the search for a peace envoy to the Six Counties. The two influential US politicians met last Sunday, 10 January in Massachusetts.

Carter's name, among others, has been mentioned as a possible peace envoy whose brief would include the raising of human rights abuses by the British forces in Ireland and involving the Washington government in the vital peace process in Ireland.

Summing up the feelings of frustration among Americans of Irish descent, who number over 45 million in the US, Mayor Flynn said, "Tragically, US foreign policy has looked the other way in Northern Ireland for the past 12 years."

Britain's Irish war in the company of British citizens.

Given the British government's television, radio and media censorship on this subject this 'reluctant' percentage ensures everyday discussions are severely limited.

It is to the great credit of those groups in Britain who steadily plough away opening up discussions on Ireland that they continue, despite suffering under the PTA themselves.

*The Irish Post*, by publishing this survey has provided what Sinn Féin's spokesperson on legal affairs, Paddy McManus has described as "a valuable tool for political representatives and Irish community groups in Britain to use in the scrapping of this highly offensive and racist legislation".



# An Phoblacht

REPUBLICAN NEWS

14 JANUARY 1993

## A chance to change

THE formation of a new government in Dublin has caused many to raise hopes of fresh and imaginative approaches to many major issues and the appearance of several new faces at cabinet level may have increased for many this sense of optimism.

The most pressing issue facing the Irish people is the continuing partition of the country and the resultant conflict with its cost in terms of human life and economic development and progress.

That section of the 'Programme for Partnership Government' agreed between Fianna Fáil and Labour which deals with the North is frustratingly vague. There is a commitment to attempt to re-start the Six-County talks process but it fails to point towards a British withdrawal as a way to end conflict and does not mention a united Ireland.

Last weekend's Labour Party conference which endorsed the coalition deal with Fianna Fáil, saw delegates lobbied by the Irish National Congress (INC) in regard to Articles Two and Three of the 1937 Constitution. In the light of recent attacks on the constitutional affirmation of Ireland's territorial integrity as a country of 32 counties, the INC asked Labour delegates to oppose within their party any moves to remove Articles Two and Three. There is no direct reference to the Articles in the government programme but the paragraph which refers to seeking "any necessary endorsement in a referendum for an agreed package" was said on RTE radio by Ruairí Quinn last weekend to "obviously" include Articles Two and Three.

Compounding these worries and increasing the fear of Northern nationalists the new Dublin government has as yet failed to respond to the remarks by Patrick Mayhew in regard to Articles Two and Three of the 1937 Constitution. Mayhew called for the Articles to be removed from the constitution saying they were "unhelpful" to the situation in the North.

Listed under priorities in the section on defence is a commitment to "equip the defence forces to carry out their principal missions, notably providing security back up to civil authorities, especially along the border...". This of course is not designed to prevent British army incursions but to help the British occupiers bolster a border which is not wanted by the Irish people and which every Dublin government has an obligation to work to remove.

What is most notable about the programme's section on the national question "Working for Peace" is its brevity and lack of detail. That does not mean that the new government has foregone its opportunity to make a new beginning. It can and should do this. It should join with all who seek genuine dialogue leading to peace with justice in working for the adoption by the British government of a policy of ending partition. Dick Spring's apparent eagerness to get the brief in Foreign Affairs has been linked with a desire to play a key role on the issue of the Six Counties. If this is not to be merely a personal profile-raising exercise he should be adopting a new policy to end the "nationalist nightmare" that the Hillsborough Agreement which he signed was supposed to end. A failure to do so will dent the image of radicalism which Labour has used to sell this joint programme for Fianna Fáil. It will also prolong a tragic conflict.

The time for change is long overdue.

## News

# Sinn Féin drive to democratise City Hall

IN LAUNCHING Sinn Féin's drive to democratise Belfast City Hall and improve the running of council services, Councillor Alex Maskey has called on Lord Mayor Herbert Ditty and Deputy Lord Mayor Frank Millar to "step aside" in the interest of all the people of the city.

Councillor Maskey said that the ceremonial duties of Lord Mayor and Deputy Lord Mayor "could be carried out by senior officials until the new council convenes in June".

Maskey, who is leader of the party's group on the council said: "There could be no better way to start the process of getting the council back on the tracks than for the present Lord Mayor, Herbert Ditty and Deputy Lord Mayor, Frank Millar, to step aside in the interests of all the people of the city. Both men, who have been put in position by the unionist bloc on the council, have led the council deeper into chaos and compounded anti-nationalist discrimination during their period of office. Their ceremonial duties could be carried out by senior officials until the new council convenes in June."

"Under these two men, the council has been held up for public ridicule on almost

a monthly basis. The snub to Michael Carruth; the junkets scandal; High Court judicial reviews taken by Sinn Féin; the continuing discrimination against Catholic employees as highlighted by the recent Fair Employment Commission Tribunal into a community services appointment; brickbats from the local government auditor; the axing of up to 600 jobs and the running down of council services."

Friday, 8 January witnessed the latest Ditty affrontery when the Lord Mayor of Dublin, Gay Mitchell, was frostily greeted in the City Hall. Although Mitchell is sympathetic to unionism, Herbie Ditty viewed him as a Lord Mayor "from a foreign country". He also defended the council's snub to Olympic gold medallist Michael Carruth who was not invited to the civic reception for his fellow medallist Wayne McCullough of Belfast last autumn.

Councillor Maskey said that Ditty's "offensive attitude to the Lord Mayor of Dublin is only the latest debacle in a year which has seen the council humiliated time out of number by the behaviour of Messrs Ditty and Millar".

Belfast City Council, which enters into its 105th year in 1993, has long been regarded by nationalists in the city as a bastion of unionist bigotry. For more than a century the unionists felt that Belfast City Hall was a Protestant council for a Protestant people. Throughout the period of the past century unionists have continually discriminated against the Catholic and nationalist people of the city.

However, Sinn Féin believes that increased public awareness of the discriminatory, corrupt and incompetent policies of the council can help bring them to an end. In that way jobs — at least 600 are being lost as the council implements Tory privatisation policies — and services can be saved.

With nine councillors Sinn Féin is the second biggest party on the council. In his booklet *Belfast City Council: A Bastion of Bigotry*,



• Alex Maskey and Séan Keenan, two of the Sinn Féin councillors who are fighting to break the bigotry in Belfast's City Hall

# News

Sinn Féin Councillor Máirtín O Muilleoir wrote, "Before Sinn Féin entered Belfast City Hall in 1983 the council operated as a cosy club for bigots. Unionist misrule, corruption and discrimination went unchecked as the SDLP 'opposition', rather than battling to expose the travesty of democracy at City Hall, sought to ingratiate itself with the ruling unionist clique."

Prior to Sinn Féin's entry into the council little was said of endless rounds of junketing. In the last two years, around £100,000 per annum has been spent on junkets which took councillors around the world. An additional £118,000 went on free meals in 1991 for councillors (with the exception of Sinn Féin).

Among the places visited by the high-flying councillors were: Malmo, Singapore, Hong Kong, Philadelphia, Padua, Rotherham, Madrid, Paris, Barcelona, Brussels, Sydney and Toronto.

Sinn Féin is demanding an end to wasteful trips, the capping of expenditure on trips at £30,000 per year, and the capping of expenditure on free meals at £30,000 per year.

Over the next 18 months, at least 600 posts will be lost on Belfast City Council as the unionists — with the support of the SDLP and Alliance — implement a series of Tory privatisation policies.

The council's CHAMPS committee, which is responsible for the privatisation process, has given the green light to job losses and cutbacks in the opening hours of council services. It has approved plans to introduce new conditions of employment for council workers which will reduce their wages, and take away their present entitlement to holiday leave, maternity leave and so on.

However, while the council sanctions job losses and cutbacks, councillors themselves continue their junketing and their privatisation consultants enjoy £100-a-night hotel accommodation.

Sinn Féin demands an emergency strategy to save as many as possible of the 600 jobs under threat and the adoption of guidelines to ensure that Catholic/nationalist employees are not disproportionately hit by the lay-offs.

A recent Fair Employment Commission Tribunal found that five Catholic employees — most of them graduates — were passed over for a council post

which went instead to a Protestant with one 'O' level. An FEC investigation into Belfast City Council last year found that only 28 out of 162 senior personnel were Catholics. The council's response was to demand the resignation of FEC head Bob Cooper.

The 'Belfast Says No' banners remain in place at City Hall, despite a council commitment to ensure no emblems or banners which infringe the neutrality of the workplace are erected.

The council has been found guilty by the FEC and the courts of discriminating against Catholic employees and ratepayers on several occasions. These include an attempt to ban funding to the Falls Women's Centre; discrimination against employees in the Technical Services and Community Services Departments; an attempt to deny the children of the Whiterock Playground equipment. The Council has spent over £100,000 of ratepayers' money unsuccessfully defending its illegal practices. The Irish language has been banned by the council since 1988, despite census returns which show that around ten per cent of the people of the city have a working knowledge of the language.

Sinn Féin is demanding a commitment by all councillors to the adoption of a proactive role in the promotion of equality within the council, the removal of the 'Belfast Says No' banners which are the modern equivalent of the old 'No Catholics Need Apply' posters, the adoption of goals and timetables to improve Catholic representation in all levels of the workforce.

At a time of crippling cutbacks and job losses within the council, unionist, SDLP and Alliance councillors have combined in a middle-class alliance to impose the burden of a £30 million conference/concert hall on the ratepayers of Belfast.

It is expected that the hall, due to open in 1995, will run at an annual loss of £2 million. To finance this pet project the unionists have cut back on essential services in areas of multi-deprivation and put workers on the dole. Yet even the supporters of the project admit that the only permanent tenant will be the Ulster Orchestra — fuelling fears that the hall will be the most expensive band hall in Europe.

The SDLP once opposed the project. Joe Hendron



● Belfast Lord Mayor Herbert Ditty's blatantly sectarian reception for "foreigner" and pro-Unionist Dublin Lord Mayor Gay Mitchell (right)

said, "There is no way we can justify spending vast amounts on the concert hall while at the same time cutting back on jobs." The SDLP subsequently reneged on this promise and now backs the scheme.

Sinn Féin says that the costs of the hall should not be met by cutting existing services even further and that the SDLP should honour its pledge to oppose the project while posts are being axed.

In line with its drive to democratise City Hall, Sinn Féin has produced a leaflet for distribution to ratepayers and community leaders in nationalist and unionist areas and a poster to highlight the growing chaos in the council.

Councillor Maskey, summing up the aim of the party's campaign, said:

"Our campaign will stress the need for real democracy in Belfast City Hall rather than a few token positions for nationalists in exchange for their silence on the Council's discrimination. The SDLP and Alliance parties should not be throwing the unionists a credibility lifeline when their corrupt and bigoted structures are on their last legs. They should instead join with us to dismantle the discriminatory machinery at City Hall and save council services and jobs."

## BLOODY SUNDAY INITIATIVE

1972 — CALENDAR OF EVENTS — 1993

Thursday 28 January

**FAILTE ROIMH ROBERT McBRIDE**

"South Africa's peace process" by Robert McBride

Followed by an evening of entertainment. Artists include the far famed Helen Brady

Evening concludes with a Céili Bar Facilities Available

Guildhall 8.30pm Adm £1.00

Friday 29 January

**CHRISTY MOORE**

Rialto 8pm

Tickets Available at Quaver £9.50 and £7.50 Concessionary

Tickets not available at BSI

Saturday 30 January

**HUMAN RIGHTS ROADSHOW**

Pilot's Row 10am

Exhibitions, Workshops, Video Screenings plus Human Rights Groups

Workshops commence at 10.30am

10.45-11.45am "Bloody Sunday and the Corruption of the Judiciary"

Eamonn McCann, Paddy Hill and John Kelly

"The Case of Patrick McLaughlin"

Valerie McLaughlin, Robin Percival

12 noon-1pm "Derry's Future... Retailing lies about jobs?"

Campaign for Decent Wages

2.30-4.30pm "After the Collapse of the Talks — What Path to Peace?"

Prominent contributors in attendance

Creche facilities available

**ROCK GIG AT THE RIALTO**

8.00pm Adm £1.50

Rare Schtumn, Cuckoo, Paul McCartney, Nyah Fearties, Dave Dugan, Joe Mulheron

Sunday 31 January

**BLOODY SUNDAY MARCH**

"Beyond Injustice"

Johny Walker (Chair)

Robert McBride, Bernie Bradley, Valerie McLaughlin

Creggan Shops 2.30pm

THIS WEEK'S AP/RN publishes Sinn Féin's submission to Initiative '92. Initiative '92 describes itself as "an open table for anyone to put forward proposals for the future of Northern Ireland". It places special emphasis on the participation of the 'ordinary' people of the Six Counties. A commission is chaired by Professor Torkel Opsahl, a human rights lawyer from Norway, is travelling around the Six Counties hearing submissions from groups and individuals and will issue a report on what has been said to it, and on its own conclusions.

Introducing its submission Sinn Féin "welcomes the opportunity to promote the need for increased dialogue", while criticising some of the terms of reference of the Initiative which refer only to a 'Northern Ireland' context.

Sinn Féin's contribution is in three parts, covering the way forward to peace, published here, the social and economic aspects and law and justice. AP/RN will be publishing the remaining sections in the coming weeks.

*Sinn Féin is convinced that there is a way forward out of the present political impasse in which conflict has been sustained in the North for the past 23 years. That way forward involves the creation of a peace process leading towards the permanent settlement of the government of Ireland on the basis of national self-determination for the people of the island as a whole.*

## Out of the Six-County context

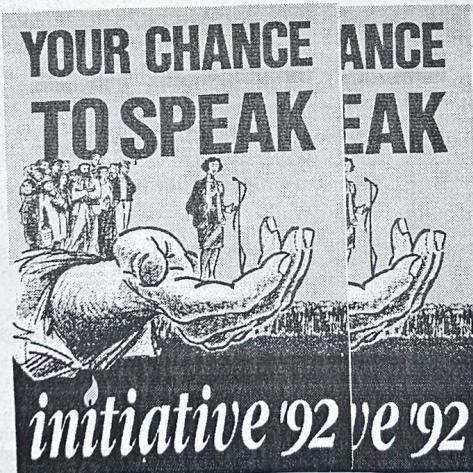
BEFORE elaborating on that peace process we will argue that a way forward cannot be found purely within a Six-County context.

Sinn Féin believes that no arrangement which leaves intact the partition of Ireland can bring about peace and reconciliation.

Lack of democracy is inherent in this society because the Six-County statelet was imposed under threat of force against the wishes of the Irish people.

While the lives of people in the Six Counties could be improved in many ways in the short term, the long-term well-being of our communities depends on no less than the dismantling of the state and the creation of an Irish national democracy. There are numerous demands being made on the British administration by community groups, trade unions, human rights bodies, women's groups, the unemployed, elected representatives and others which amply illustrate the widespread discontent with the social and economic crisis in which we find ourselves.

It is proper that these demands should be raised and that the British government which claims to be administering the Six Counties responsibly, should be called to account. However, even in the short term, the experience of most groups who have made such



demands is that the British government is unaccountable here.

The ongoing conflict in the Six Counties cannot be divorced from its context in Irish history which is essentially a history of domination of our country by Britain and attempts by the Irish people to end that domination. The division of Ireland by partition and the divisions along sectarian lines of people within the Six Counties are a result of policies pursued by successive British and British-sponsored administrations. These divisions are the symptoms, not the cause, of the problem.

Therefore it is essential to recognise that the basic problem is not just one of community relations within the Six Counties. Such a definition allows the British government to pose as the 'honest broker' seeking a settlement between two opposing factions, or as a 'peacemaker' whose armed forces are 'keeping the warring sides apart'. The creation of such a misleading view of the conflict here is very important to the British government's strategy, particularly in the international context. The misleading view of Britain as 'honest broker' masks

Britain's historical and contemporary colonial role in Ireland.

None of this is to deny the deep divisions which exist within the Six Counties or to minimise the huge challenge this poses to all who are concerned with seeking a way forward out of the present political impasse. The gulf between the unionist and nationalist communities is deep and will not be easily overcome. But sectarian divisions do not have their basis in differences of religion or race. They arise directly from the political situation and specifically from the injustice inflicted on one section of the population — nationalists — by the state to the advantage of another section of the population — unionists. This injustice continues unabated to this day and is manifested most clearly in the sectarian discrimination in employment and more than double rate of unemployment and poverty suffered by Catholics in comparison to Protestants (23% of Catholic males unemployed compared to 9% of Protestant males; 67% of long-term unemployed are Catholic males).

The historical experience in the Six Counties is that sectarian differences have been consciously fostered by the unionist establishment who maintained a "Protestant parliament and a Protestant state" (James Craig) for 50 years. Fair employment legislation by the British government has not diminished the basis of such discrimination and there is no prospect that it will do so. This was admitted in September 1992, in a leaked confidential report prepared by senior Stormont civil servants for NIO Minister for Employment Robert Atkins.

To overcome injustice and discrimination and to achieve a realistic prospect of reconciliation we must look beyond the context of the failed Six-County statelet. It was founded on the denial of democracy and can only be maintained by undemocratic means. Today it exists on a life support machine of British government subventions, is the most militarised area in Western Europe, the poorest region under the jurisdiction of Westminster and one of the most disadvantaged regions in the EC.



● The British created myth that their armed forces in Ireland are "keeping the warring sides apart" is integral to British government strategy in the international context

## CREATING A PEACE

RUBLICANS believe that this conflict can be ended; that reconciliation can be achieved between our divided people; that sectarianism and discrimination can be eliminated; that a new politics can come about in which democracy and not domination is the keynote; that the common interests of working people regardless of religion, can be addressed.

It is our contention that partition and continued British rule are the root causes of the present divisions and will perpetuate them so long as they are maintained. The road to lasting peace, prosperity and reconciliation therefore is through unity and independence.

Power in the Six Counties today is held by the government at Westminster. Not only does it claim jurisdiction over the area through the Government of Ireland Act 1920, and successive legislation it also has facto control through a military infrastructure, the purpose of which is to dissident among 40% of the population which owes allegiance to the state. The army and armed RUC military bases and throughout the North are the largest and most powerful force in the conflict.

To justify its presence the British government's "consent of a majority of the people of Northern Ireland" (Article 1 of the 1985 H

# Way Forward



Their armed forces in Ireland  
part is integral to British  
context

## A PEACE PROCESS

Power in the Six Counties today is held by the British government at Westminster. Not only does it claim de jure jurisdiction over the area through the Government of Ireland Act 1920, and successive legislation, it also has de facto control through a political/military infrastructure, the purpose of which is to stifle dissent among 40% of the population which owes no allegiance to the state. With its army and armed RUC and its military bases and posts throughout the North it is the largest and most powerful force in the conflict.

To justify its presence here the British government cites the "consent of a majority of the people of Northern Ireland" (Article 1 of the 1985 Hillsbor-

ough Agreement). This unionist veto is central to the political conflict. It is the cornerstone of the British government's public rationale for its continuing exercise of sovereignty over the Six Counties.

Both as individuals and as a significant national minority Irish unionists have democratic rights which not only can be upheld but must be upheld in an independent Ireland. That is the democratic norm. The guarantee of democratic rights for unionists in a united Ireland is an essential prerequisite for peace, reconciliation and stability.

Those democratic rights do not supersede the democratic rights of the nation as a whole. In the guise of a democratic 'majority' the British sponsored

unionist veto over the future of the Six Counties negates democracy in Ireland. It prevents the Irish people from exercising sovereignty and self-determination.

However the unionists hold only tenancy of the veto. The only deeds rest in the political vaults of Westminster and Downing Street.

The British government bestowed the veto on the unionists when the Six-County statelet was created, transferred it to the 'Parliament of Northern Ireland' in 1949 after the 26 Counties left the British Commonwealth, and transferred it back to the unionists after Stormont was pro-rogued in 1972. The veto is therefore not some creation of nature but of a British act of parliament.

The only basis for the size and composition of the Six-County state was the creation of

the maximum area which could accommodate a unionist majority, thus perpetually guaranteeing that undemocratic veto over the constitutional future of Ireland.

Thus to seek an end to the unionist veto is not to deny the rights of the unionist people. It is to assert that as in any other society, those rights must be exercised with respect to the rights of others, in this case the majority of their fellow citizens.

If there is to be movement towards conditions in which the debate about national reconciliation can take place, the British government-bestowed unionist veto needs to be removed.

We believe it is necessary to break out of the present conception of politics prevalent in Ireland, where one person's gain is conceived automatically as another person's loss.

## CONDITIONS FOR DEMOCRACY AND PEACE

Those in the Six Counties who are at present committed to pro-British unionism have nothing to fear from a democratic and secular Ireland. We can all gain from a democratic settlement. We all lose from the continuation of the present impasse.

Without the explicit expression of a desire on the British government's part to end partition unionists are unlikely to be convinced of the need for change and will remain intransigent, in the confidence that the British government will continue to underwrite their contrived majority with force and finance.

Therefore the primary responsibility for allowing a peace process to develop rests with the British government.

The elements which are needed to bring about conditions for peace are:

- A British government which makes the ending of partition its policy;
- A Dublin government which has the same policy end;
- Cooperation between the British and Dublin governments to bring about their joint purpose in the shortest time possible consistent with obtaining maximum consent to the process and minimising costs of every kind;
- Democracy and practicality demand that this be done in consultation and cooperation with the representatives of the Irish minority, the Northern unionists, as well as with the representatives of Northern nationalists. This would in effect be a process of national reconciliation.

These are the requirements towards which those who claim peace as their end should work. These are the criteria against which any claim to peace as an end should be made.

All the issues flowing from a British decision to disengage should be the subject of free debate and negotiation in which the representatives of all sections of the Irish people are represented.

Sinn Féin has set out its views in greater detail on how this peace process can be brought about in its discussion document *Towards a Lasting Peace in Ireland*. We note the failure of the Dublin government and the SDLP to confront the British government directly with the democratic demands of the Irish people.

For its part Sinn Féin is committed to pursuing peacefully and non-violently our efforts to achieve true democracy in Ireland. We believe that the potential which exists in the Irish people to overcome the many social, economic, and cultural problems which affect us is largely untapped and will remain so as long as the burden of partition rests on our shoulders. We can only move forward as a people when that burden is removed.

# Reviews

## Cruising into trouble

■ BY NEIL FORDE

WHEN A FILM becomes a vehicle for a Hollywood superstar you become immediately suspicious, especially if Tom Cruise is involved. Having brought us films such as *Top Gun* and *Days of Thunder* we know the worst of what Cruise is capable of being involved in. However *A Few Good Men* now on general release skirts many of the pitfalls Hollywood blockbusters fall into, and instead delivers a credible worthwhile film.

In the wake of *Patriot Games*, it seems unbelievable that a US blockbuster, which takes in the inevitable millions at the box office could be relevant to the conflict in Ireland. In fact Ireland is not mentioned once in the film. However as the plot unfolds only the most apolitical would not see the connection between the US troops based in Cuba and British soldiers' behaviour in Ireland.

Apart from being an exciting blockbuster in the classic court room thriller genre *A Few Good Men* also highlights the brainwashing and dehumanisation which US soldiers are subjected to during training. 'Unit, corps, God and country' is the belief system that US marines are indoctrinated into. The underlying theme of the film is that while US troops are 'protecting' American interests around the world they cannot be humane, they cannot have

ethics or morals other than those interpreted by the chain of command. Instead the overriding objective of the troops' training is that they obey orders, no matter what the order is.

Cruise plays Daniel Kaffee a US Navy lawyer, who is assigned to defend two marines charged with murder. Kaffee is a lawyer who plays the legal system. None of his cases come to court as he uses the military hierarchy's embarrassment at soldiers' law breaking to win reduced sentences. Kaffee successfully plea-bargains all of his clients' cases. (Reduced and nominal sentences is the norm in the Six Counties for convicted British soldiers).

The two marines ruin Kaffee's easy life by pleading not guilty. Enter Demi Moore as Kaffee's side kick and conscience. Moore plays an officer from the armed forces Internal

Affairs Department. She is determined to expose the practice within the US marines of 'Code Red', punishments. Code Red is a system of punishing soldiers, often physically assaulting them. Code Reds are used to enforce the soldiers' training, conditioning them to believing in the chain of command above all else.

Our two marines killed a member of their unit who choked on a gag pushed down his throat while receiving a Code Red punishment. They claim they have committed no crime as they were only following orders to punish their fellow marine. Cruise had bargained a six-month sentence for the marines but is forced to contest the case.

Jack Nicholson plays a blinder as the demonic colonel who disdains any investigation into his troops. His role is key to the story as he offers a concise reasoning for his soldiers' actions. His reasoning which concurs with that of many British propagandists is that his troops are 'protecting the American people'. The lives of his troops are, according to him, 'constantly under threat', and the law as it exists in the US does not apply to them.

The crucial point in the film is that the marines acted under orders. The depth of their training was that no action of any sort was taken except through the chain of command. This is in direct contrast to the British propaganda in the Six Counties where there have been over the years an endless amount of



● Crown forces have for over 20 years been involved in an endless series of murders which will never become the theme for a Tom Cruise blockbuster

seemingly trigger-happy foot soldiers, who can manage to arrange elaborate murders all on their own initiative.

No British colonels, or generals, have ever been put under questioning in a British court regarding the actions of their soldiers. Even at preliminary inquests soldiers and their officers can refuse to give evidence. Crown forces have over the past 20 years been involved in an endless series of murders which will never become the theme for a Hollywood film.

There will be no film of Fergal Caragher's murder, or the murders of Peter McBride, Kevin McGovern and Pat McBride. However Cruise, Nicholson and Moore have inadvertently shown just the beginnings of what such a film might prove — that soldiers usually don't shoot unless someone orders them to, or else creates an environment which legitimises shoot to kill murders.

The big 'however' about this film is that it is viciously anti-Cuban. We are told by Nicholson of the '3,000 men

out there trained to kill me'. The US bases on Cuba's periphery are there to 'protect the ordinary US citizen'. The Cubans are portrayed as constantly waiting to attack the US, which is laughable as it is the US which has been engaged in a 30 year war of economic attrition against Cuba.

Apart from this *A Few Good Men* is worth a viewing while we wait for someone to make a decent film about the 'few rotten apples' on our side of the world.

## Low expectations

■ BY BREANDAN MAC RUAIRI

THIS WEEKEND in Edinburgh as the Irish rugby team embark on another five nations championship campaign, expectations have rarely been so low.

Rocked by the recent abdication of coach Ciaran Fitzgerald and deflated by poor form that records defeat in the last seven internationals, some enduring romantics would assert that these are classic conditions for an Irish resurrection. Alas the modern rugby game has advanced beyond the time when such idyllic fantasies occasionally became reality.

After the usual tedious selection process a team has, at least, been named and obvious limitations notwithstanding there are some signs of hope and possibility. Since the retirement of Ollie Campbell and Tony Ward, indecision and sterility has dogged the half-back sector, the new combination provides for renewed optimism.

Scrum-half and captain Michael Bradley has been in and out of the side over the years, somewhat unfairly I believe. He has rarely played badly for his country and while no Gareth Edwards or Nick Farr-Jones this Cork player is strong and reliable.

Outside him, 21-year-old new cap Niall Malone is perhaps the most intriguing choice, many followers see him as the answer to

longstanding difficulties. It may well be unfair to foist such an imposing burden on a player as yet unproven at this level, but his credentials are encouraging. A schoolboy prodigy and an Oxford University blue make him already something of a novelty. His debut in the cauldron of Murrayfield will tell us much about his character and future potential.

Failure to secure an ample share of line-out ball has been one of the central reasons for Ireland's latter-day decline. (If you haven't got the ball, you can't play!) There is little in the make-up of this pack to suggest the situation might improve, although the absence of recognised jumpers in the Scottish forward division means it is not all one way traffic.

Wingers Simon Geoghegan and Richard Wallace are proven try-scorers with the pace to rattle any rearguard. In the centre Philip Danaher is a fierce competitor, the perfect foil for the elegant Vincent Cunningham alongside him. Cunningham was one of the few successes of last summer's calamity in New Zealand, he truly came of age then and when in full flight is a very fine player.

The loss of fullback Jim Staples is crippling. Despite the national team's banishment to the doldrums, Staples has emerged as a number 15 of some style and virtuosity. Replacement Colin Wilkinson at 31 has waited a long time for his chance and one hopes he



● Michael Bradley, scrum-half and captain gets the ball away during the final trial

will apply himself diligently to this formidable challenge. Irrespective of how he performs, it is hard to see how his promotion can be anything other than a stop-gap measure. A fit Staples would embellish any side.

Scotland are also going through a transition period. Several of their most famed warriors have hung up the boots. Accordingly some scribes conclude that they are more vulnerable than they have been for some time. Perhaps, but

even a cursory glance at their team-sheet dismisses such thoughts from my mind.

Behind the scrum, their formation oozes quality. The Hastings brothers have broken Irish hearts in the past. Tony Stanger on the right wing is world class while new face Stark on the left flank is reputed to be a "flair". Craig Chalmers and Gary Armstrong are probably the most experienced and effective half-back partnership in the game.

Sure enough the pack dis-

plays a fair quota of unfamiliar names but enough stalwarts remain to suggest that this sector will not be found wanting when duty calls.

An Irish victory is certainly possible but hardly probable. A narrow home win is the most likely outcome, such a result allied with a fighting display, would be viewed as a step forward, leaving the side well-played for the encounter with France at Lansdowne Road on 20 February.

## News

## German firm dumps Irish workers

■ BY ART MAC EOIN

A GERMAN multinational company which received £1 million in grants from the Industrial Development Authority (IDA) since it came to Ireland in 1979 is to close with the loss of 147 jobs.

With open contempt for their Irish workforce in their closure announcement last weekend the company made no bones about the fact that the move was due to cheaper labour costs in Eastern Europe and North Africa. Gardeur

intends to ship its entire Baldyole operation to Romania.

The workforce at the Gardeur plant at Baldyole in Dublin, which made women's slacks for the European market, was told at the weekend that the Irish plant was

being sold because it was no longer competitive. The Baldyole plant is to be run down and closed completely by 26 February.

Ben Kearney of the ATGWU said that the Gardeur workers were "devastated" by the closure announcement which was totally unexpected. The workers, who are mainly women, are not optimistic about future job prospects. "I can put my hand on my heart and say that these workers, mainly women

and highly skilled, would be an asset to any company which employed them but I have to say their prospects are not good."

Discussions between Gardeur management and IDA executives seeking to attain a 'stay of execution' in the closure began on Monday, 11 January.

The reasons given by Gardeur for the closure again highlight the fact that the IDA's chickens are rapidly coming home to roost.

Companies attracted here by the IDA with huge grants, no taxes and relatively cheap labour are leaving in droves as cheaper labour becomes available, especially in Eastern Europe and South East Asia. The dumping of the Gardeur workers also represents a blow to other, mainly women workers in the clothing trade whose pay and conditions are notoriously low, more joblessness in the trade reduces the workers' ability to fight for better conditions as management uses the threat of redundancies against them.

## BNFL lies delay death-plant

ENVIRONMENTAL and residents groups campaigning against the opening of a controversial new nuclear waste reprocessing plant at Britain's notorious Sellafield site secured a two week stay of execution when the British Inspectorate of Pollution announced an extension of the consultation period. The announcement came after it was revealed that figures on the level of discharge of radioactive gas into the atmosphere presented by the state-owned plant were incorrect.

To date the public consultation hearing has received over 27,000 objections, many from people in Ireland, and including detailed submissions by environmental groups, Greenpeace and Friends of the Earth. The Thermal Oxide Reprocessing Plant (THORP), which is estimated to have cost £8 billion to construct, will double reprocessing capacity at Sellafield. In line with the increase in capacity, British Nuclear Fuels is seeking a six-fold increase in the currently permitted level of discharge of radioactive waste into the Irish sea and an eight-fold increase in discharges into the atmosphere.

Sellafield is already one of the world's largest centres for the

reprocessing of nuclear waste. The existing Sellafield plant reprocesses spent fuel from the first generation of Magnox nuclear power plants. THORP will reprocess the even more toxic products of second generation power stations. It is estimated that THORP will reprocess up to 850 tonnes of nuclear waste annually, one of the main by-products of which will be the production of plutonium. More than half the world's stocks of plutonium are to be stockpiled at the site.

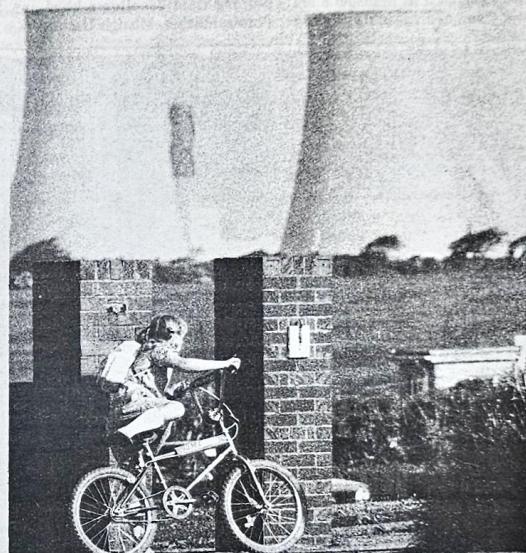
Plutonium is one of the most toxic of all substances; with a half life of 24,000 years it will remain dangerous for countless generations to come. A single speck, if ingested, can kill. The massive

increase in radioactive discharge to accompany reprocessing and the dangers of storing plutonium at the site will be compounded by the massive increase in the number of ships carrying radioactive cargoes up and down the Irish sea.

The announcement by BNFL that they had made a 'mistake' in figures supporting its application to operate the new plant came in the wake of a series of recent revelations involving similar 'errors' and miscalculations about radiation emissions from the Sellafield plant.

The 1984 Black Report commissioned by the British government in the wake of a controversial documentary linking cancer clusters with radioactive emissions from Sellafield, found that the excess of cancers was real. But according to figures submitted to the inquiry by BNFL, the level of radioactivity emanating from the Sellafield plant was too low to be the cause.

However, in a recent High Court case in London, brought on behalf of cancer victims, it was



● In order to hide the real threat of cancer to the public from their industry the BNFL lied about the levels of emissions from their plants during investigations

revealed that radiation emissions at the time of the Black inquiry had been far higher than BNFL admitted at the time. For example, in 1984 BNFL said that the total releases of plutonium discharges amounted to 67 giga Becquerels (GBq). Two years later the company

admitted the figure was 174 GBq. This year a report by Professor Steve Jones, a BNFL employee, put the figure at a staggering 3,400 GBq. Clearly the outcome of the Black inquiry might have been decidedly different had access to this information been available.

## Para trial adjourned again

FOR THE SECOND TIME the trial has been adjourned of six British soldiers from the Parachute Regiment facing a series of charges including murder, arising out of the fatal shooting and wounding of three teenage joy-riders in September 1990.

Seventeen-year-old Martin Peake from Lenadoon and 18-year-old Twinbrook teenager Karen Reilly died when a British army foot patrol opened fire on the stolen Vauxhall Astra in which they were travelling along the Glen Road in West Belfast. A third passenger, 16-year-old Markievicz Gorman from the mid Falls, was wounded but miraculously escaped death.

Six members of the Parachute Regiment were charged after independent eye-witness accounts and the testimony of the survivor, contradicted the British army's official version released by the RUC at the time.

The British army initially claimed that the soldiers opened fire when the Astra failed to stop

Court on 11 January was adjourned for a second time on 6 January, when the prosecution said they could not begin because one of their witnesses, a forensic scientist, was sick with backache.

Presiding Judge Campbell agreed to delay the trial for ten days but warned the court that he was determined that the case should start shortly. One of the six British soldiers awaiting trial, Private Lee Clegg (23) is charged with the murder of Karen Reilly. Clegg, along with two other soldiers, Lance Corporal Stephen Boustead (29) and Private Barry Aindow (24), is charged with the attempted murder of Martin Peake. All three soldiers with three others, Privates Andrew Tracey (21), Robert Wood (30) and Andrew Oliver (24) are charged with attempting to pervert the course of justice and obstructing RUC investigations.

## 'Opportunity' for Northern Bank

O LIVER KEARNEY, spokesperson for the anti-discrimination group Equality has described the announcement of a new voluntary redundancy scheme to replace outgoing staff with younger workers by the Northern Bank, as a "real opportunity" for addressing the religious imbalance in the workforce.

Only 18% of the Northern Bank's 2,300 strong workforce are Catholic. Up to 250 workers are expected to take up the offer of voluntary redundancy which is open to managers and clerical staff over 50 years of age with a minimum of eight years experience.

Commenting on the voluntary redundancy proposal, fair

employment campaigner, Oliver Kearney said that in the past the Northern Bank had claimed that it has been unable to make an impact on religious imbalances because of the low staff turnover. He continued "This now presents a major opportunity for the adoption of sensible and meaningful affirmative action measures."

## Nuacht

# Gaeilgeoirí i gcontúirt de bharr ráiteas Uí Chearnaigh

■ LE CIAN MAC AOIDH

DÉIR Uachtarán Chonradh na Gaeilge, Proinsias Mac Aonghusa, go bhfuil Gaeilgeoirí i gcontúirt a mbás a siocair ailt a foilsiothu s 'News Letter' i mbéal Feirste an tseachtain seo caite faoin teideal, "Irish Language used as weapon".

Ag caint ar Ráidí na Gaeilge, dírt Mac Aonghusa go raibh curtha in iúl go mioscásach san ailt gurb é Arm Poblachtach na hÉireann a bhí taobh thiar den fheachtas ar son

sráidainmeacha Gaeilge ó Thuaidh agus go mbainfeadh an t-arm úsáid as an láimh láidir leis na hainmhlátaí Gaeilge a bhrú ar Phrotastúnaigh. Mhaigh Uachtarán

an Chonartha go bhfeadfá úsáid a bhaint as an alt le Gaeilgeoirí a mharú — díreach mar dúnúnharfodh ball sinsearach den Chonradh, Pádraig O Cléirigh i mí Feabhra anuaidh.

O foilsiothu an t-alt ar 7 Eanáir, tá grúpaí Gaeilge sa Tuaisceart ag déanamh aithbhreithí ar chúrsai slándála ina gcuid oifigi.

Ba é Seán O Cearnaigh, ball den

Peace Train Movement agus gníomhach frith-phoblachtach, a scríobh an t-alt. Faoi ainn Seán Kearney, reachtáil sé féin agus roinnt comhghleacaithe feachtas in aghaidh Shinn Féin sa toghán deireanach ó Thuaidh.

Is iar-bhall den British and Irish Communist Organisation é agus duine a chreidteann go dionghbháilte a deoiric an dá náisiún. Binn alt rialta cuimhni cinn aige sa nuachtán laethíúil Gaeilge, Lá.

Aras an O Cearnaigh ina alt:

"Only a handful of people speak Irish well in Northern Ireland."

"It is this policy (Gaelú an stáitíocháis) the Irish language

revivalist movement wishes to extend to Northern Ireland and it will be the Provisional IRA who will enforce it."

"The government move (deireadh le cosc ar shráidainmeacha Gaeilge) isn't one that a democrat could support... street names in the language will be regarded by the whole community as a means of identifying IRA strongholds."

"The introduction of a version of Irish on the corners of Catholic streets places it in the precarious position of a sectarian weapon such as the painting of an Armalite."

"These name changes will take place by force."



● Paistí agus tuismitheoirí Scoil Christ Rí, Dún Dealgan ag déanamh agóid taobh amuigh den Roinn Oideachais

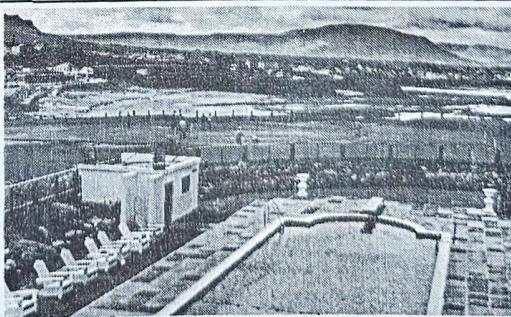
## Bearna baoil

TAR ÉIS don Bearna Golf and County Club Ltd iarratas a pleánaí a chur isteach le Comhairle Chondae na Gaillimhe ag long cead faiche gáilf a thíos i mBearna, tá an tlointaobhas Portaigh an Bhearna ag reachtáil feachtas chun freasúra a eagrú in eadán na forbartha.

De réir stiúrthóirí an Iontaobhas, tá Gaillimh ar fí bheith in easpa fearainn ghlais agus spásanna oscailte, agus go mbeidh baol i bhforas chumann gáilf ins an ceannatar timpeall Bearna, sráidbhaile arimeall na cathrach féin. Deir siad go sínfeadh sé an teorann den chathair níos leithne fós agus go mbeidh 'wall to wall development' ann dá ligíf don phlean.

"Tuigmid go bhfuil an fhobairt seo thar a bheith tabhachtach do Ghailimh Mhór" arsa Tony Thomas, "agus tá tabhacht ann dá todhcháit mar atá

turasóireachta. Ach níor chóir go ndéanfaí neamháid ar an oideacháit dúnachas lauchmhar atá anseo mar gheall ar bhunaití aigid — fad nó gearrthármacha". Creideann Thomas go bhfuil dualgas thar leith ar an chomhairle aonais chun 'suim poiblí' a choineáid, agus aontaonn Hans van Lente, stiúrthóir eile san Iontaobhas, le seo. Deir sé go bhfuil damaiste déanta cheana féin do lústra agus ainmhithe beaga ar an láthair atá i gceist. Dá ligíf don club ghaillf leanúint ar aghaidh bheadh aithrú bunusach ar úsáid an phortaigh



● Tá damaiste déanta cheana féin do lústra agus ainmhithe beaga sa dúiche do mhuintir na hAit.

"Bheadh cuma faiche gáilf air, d'óbireadh sé mar faiche gáilf, agus mar sin bheadh cosc ar gháthá dhaoine ón áit — díreach a mór aibhinn cumaínn gáilf ar fud na tire" arsa sé.

Is ionann sin agus cosc a chur ar taisce náisiúnta agus ceann de

chathair seo" arsa Mike Egan. "Tá sé thar a bheith am gur cuireadh stád ar pholasaithe a chuireann brabús roimh suimeanna an phobail — suimeanna a mhairfidh i bhfad níos faide na Comhairle Chontae na Gaillimhe. Ba chóir dóibh cuimhne nach linne an dúla agus an dícháis: níl ionann ach coimeádaíte lauch na tire seo do na glúnta atá le teacht inár ndiaidh." Tá lontaobhas Phortaigh an Bhearna ag iarráidh ar dhaoinne scriobh le Bainisteoir an Chontae, S Keating, Comhairle Chontae na Gaillimhe, Cnoc an Radhairc, Gaillimh, ag iarráidh ar an chomhairle gan ligint don fhobairt dul ar aghaidh go dtí go ndéanáit scríúdú ceart ar na h-impleachtaí go léir ar an dúlra agus ainmhithe beaga sa dúiche agus a chearta mhuintir na Gaillimhe don láthair. Is féidir tuilleadh eolais a fháil ach litir a scriobh le Hans van Lente, 10 Sráid an Mhuileann, Gaillimh.

# Letters/News

Thursday, 14 January 1993 — LEATHANACH 13

## Mála Poist... Mála Poist... Mála Poist... Mála Poist... Mála Poist... Mála Poist...

### People's Democracy

A Chairde,

The report by Hilda Mac Thomas on the Irish National Congress meeting in Toome (AP/RN December 17) surely deserves a commendation from the Stalin school of impartial reporting. She managed to report everything about the conference except the only political debate that took place — that between People's Democracy members and the organisers. This despite the high drama that surrounded it, with violent hostility towards socialism in general and People's Democracy in particular being expressed and with the chair, Bernadette McAliskey, misusing her position to launch personal rebuttals of our position and unilaterally and undemocratically restricting our right to speak.

Of course any dispute between ourselves and the conference organisers can be dismissed as a 'storm in a teacup',

unworthy of the reporting skills of the AP/RN staff. However the issues that were being addressed cannot be so dismissed. People's Democracy questioned the whole concept of 'nationalist unity' underpinning the conference and the orientation towards Fianna Fáil and the SDLP. The fact that this strategy flies in the face of class divisions in Ireland, that it has consistently failed over many years and has in fact helped to isolate the Republican Movement are not issues that can be overlooked. Neither can a present republican policy that shifts the whole movement far to the right in seeking an accommodation with imperialism and cuts the ground from under any consistent anti-imperialist strategy.

The organisers held to a concept of a "working conference" which excluded these political questions. This strange idea of practice without policy had the effect of killing the conference stone dead and reduced the participants to either murmurs of support or the most humdrum of proposals — the

suggestion that we build a new mass movement by all writing to the papers had the momentum of a long-dead duck. The only imagination was shown by right-wing eccentrics riding their own individual hobby horses — unlike the left these were greeted with a respectful silence. The fact that a critical general election had taken place in the South never became an issue — even though the outcome throws into question the whole orientation of the organisers and throws into relief their unwillingness to deal with the specific needs of working people in the 26 Counties.

In her attack on our position Bernadette McAliskey claimed that the political discussion had been completed — pointing to an INC national conference — and that we were being obstructive through ignorance. We can only repeat that we had observers at the national conference and saw no sign of a completed debate. Rather, we saw a movement that had lost its way move further

into the wastelands. We make no apology for calling on comrades to turn back and we stand ready to organise a public debate with Bernadette, with the organisers or with the members of the Republican Movement.

The issues really are too important to be considered closed.

Is mise,  
John McAnulty.

### Derry March

A chairde,

The Bloody Sunday Initiative is presently in the process of organising the annual series of events to mark the 21st anniversary of Bloody Sunday in Derry. Among these events is of course the march through Derry along the route of the original Bloody Sunday march. Like last year we would like to extend specific invitations to a number of marching bands to participate. For various reasons there shall not be an open invite to bands and we would very much appreciate if those

interested in playing at the march would contact the office either by letter or by phone.

Is mise,  
Tony Doherty,  
Bloody Sunday Initiative,  
1 Westend Park,  
Derry BT48  
Phone (0504) 268846.

### Mobilise for Bloody Sunday

A chairde,

Last year, at the 20th anniversary of the Bloody Sunday massacre, many of the groups involved in promoting human rights issues in the North of Ireland came to Derry and put up their stalls in Pilot's Row and displayed literature, badges etc for good effect. For us this was an important part of the 20th commemoration.

We are inviting those groups to Derry this year on Saturday, 30 January to repeat the exercise because we believe it is an important way by which such

groups can keep in touch with one another. Stalls should be in place in Pilot's Row at 10am.

However this year we want to go a step further. We are proposing to hold a workshop, beginning at 12 noon in Pilot's Row, Rossville Street in order to discuss ways that we can help each other and work together over the year to come. In particular we want to be able to explore the proposal for a human rights 'roadshow' that could go to various parts of Ireland, and perhaps further afield, to draw attention to our individual campaigns and by so doing build awareness.

We are very happy to announce that the Birmingham Six will be in attendance and so will at least one member of the Guildford Four. We believe this will prove to be a major step forward for groups like yours in drawing attention to injustice.

Is mise,

Martin Finucane,  
Bloody Sunday Initiative,  
1 Westend Park,  
Derry BT48 9JF.

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

PLEASE KEEP LETTERS SHORT

## VOLUNTEER HONOURED 20 YEARS ON

SEVERAL HUNDRED people marched from the Ballycolman Estate through the centre of Strabane, on 27 December 1992, to mark the 20th anniversary of the killing of IRA Volunteer Eugene Devlin by British crown forces. Eugene Devlin was a young married man and had one child when he was killed in 1972.

The ceremony at Volunteer Devlin's graveside was presided over by Ivan Barr, Sinn Féin councillor from Strabane. Councillor Barr told the crowd:

"Eugene Devlin was a young man who gave his total support to the non-violent Civil Rights campaign, but having witnessed the brutality of the state's reaction to peaceful demands for civil rights realised that the Six-County statelet could not be reformed and that the British presence would have to be removed before there could be peace, justice and equality in Ireland."

Eugene and a comrade, Raymond McGowan, were on active service in the Head of the Town area of Strabane and were on their way to an arms dump when they were spotted making their way through fields at the rear of the Drumallagh Estate. A British army patrol was dug into an observation post overlooking the fields and when the Volunteers returned from the dump the crown forces opened fire on them without warning. Both were hit.

The British, in their follow-up search, found seriously wounded McGowan and after a long delay

took him to hospital in Derry in an armoured car. Eugene Devlin was found an hour later. He had died from his wounds.

The Republican Movement in Strabane lost a brave soldier in Eugene, one who was sorely missed but never forgotten.

He was survived by his wife Carmel and young daughter, Julie, as well as a large family circle.

A year after that fatal night Raymond McGowan was brought before a British judge, but refused to recognise the court. He paid tribute to Eugene saying that his sacrifice would some day bring peace to Ireland. Continuing his speech, Barr said:

"Those of us who believe that statement have a duty to strive for that goal in respect for the memory of men and women like Eugene who fought and died for a lasting peace in our country. This will only be brought about by a complete and utter withdrawal of British troops and administration from this country."

Barr then called on Raymond McGowan to give the main oration.

He spoke of how proud and



● IVAN BARR  
honoured he was to be asked to speak on the 20th anniversary of Eugene's death asked those present to remember Eugene with pride.

"Let us not forget that the brave sacrifice that Eugene made was not for himself but for us and all the people of Ireland," said McGowan.

McGowan then read a letter from Liam McElhinney, a native of the town, exiled in the 26 Counties because of the British occupation.

McElhinney repeated the message he delivered in his oration at Eugene's funeral 20 years ago:

"Until the British government declares its intention to withdraw from our country then young men like Eugene Devlin will continue to come forward into the ranks of the Republican Movement to oppose British rule and fight for freedom. Let us now, 20 years after Eugene's death, repledge ourselves to the cause for which he died — a 32-County Irish Republic."

"We desire nothing more — we will accept nothing less."

# 1993 Republican Resistance Calendar

is now available from  
Republican Publications

This year various aspects of the freedom struggle are featured, using a selection of provocative black and white photographs ranging from the earliest days of the Civil Rights struggle through the last 23 years.

These pictures capture some of the most memorable moments in our recent history in a way that words never could.

**GET YOUR ORDER IN AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.**

● The calendar, priced £2 (excluding postage and packaging) is available from Republican Publications, 44 Parnell Square, Dublin 1. Tel: (01) 722609.

## Notices

## REMEMBERING THE PAST

## Katie O'Connor

■ BY PETER O'ROURKE

**K**ATIE O'CONNOR, a life-long republican, trade union activist and member of Clann na nGael for over 60 years was born into a staunch republican family in Henrietta Street, Dublin in 1900.

Katie's first involvement with the Republican Movement was in August 1915, when she attended the funeral in Glasnevin Cemetery of the Fenian Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa. The following year, as a 16-year-old, she was involved in the Easter Rising carrying messages between the different garrisons.

In 1917 she joined Clann na nGael, the Irish republican girl scout organisation. This was founded in 1910 by the Kelly sisters, which had played a major role in the 1916 Rising.

Katie O'Connor was a dispatch carrier during the Tan War 1919-21, often undertaking many dangerous missions at great personal risk to herself. Like all other members of Clann na nGael, she opposed the Treaty of December 1921 and took the republican side in the Civil War. There was no split in Clann na nGael.

Arrested in the autumn of 1922, at the height of the Civil War, Katie O'Connor was subjected to vile mental torture on her arrival at Kilmainham Jail. She was stripped naked and jeered at by Free State troops. In the spring of 1923, Katie, the youngest of the women political prisoners, was transferred along with other women to the Free State internment camp at the North Dublin Union Workhouse.

**O**n her release in 1924 she became leader of the republi-

can girl scouts, Clann na nGael, a position she held for almost 50 years until the 1970s. During the 1920s, '30s and '40s she travelled throughout Ireland and England setting up branches of the Clann.

During the late 1920s, she established the Countess Markievicz branch of Clann na nGael in the republican hall in Gay Street, Liverpool in England. As commander of the girl scout organisation, Katie O'Connor along with her assistants Cissie Cunningham and Kathleen McLaughlin paid many visits to the Liverpool branch of Clann whose O/C was Kathleen Walsh and whose members included Rita McSweeney (who was later imprisoned in England for her part in the IRA's 1939 bombing campaign) and her sister Kathleen, to drill and train the young girls.

Katie O'Connor worked in the Fodhla Printing Company since its foundation in the mid '20s. She was later an active member of the Irish Women Workers' Union (IWWU), a position she held for many years.

Katie O'Connor continued as leader of Clann na nGael during the 1950s and '60s. Following the pogroms in Belfast and other parts of the North in August 1969, the first van load of supplies for the beleaguered nationalist population was organised by Katie O'Connor and was delivered to Belfast by Clann na nGael officers.

During the 1970s, although Katie



• Katie O'Connor (right) on a deputation to Seán Lemass then Minister for Industry and Commerce, to discuss the Conditions of Employment Bill on 22 May 1935

O'Connor stepped down as leader of Clann na nGael and was replaced as Commander by Maura Lyons, she continued to assist the organisation.

In addition to her Clann activities, she assisted all branches of the Republican Movement, particularly the IRA and An Cumann Cabhrach

right up until her death.

Katie O'Connor, died on 11 January 1983, ten years ago this week.

## Imeachtaí

ANTI-EXTRADITION MEETING: meets 6.30pm every Tuesday, USI, 18 North Great George's Street, DUBLIN

CORK UNEMPLOYED ACTION GROUP: Meets every Wednesday, 3.30pm, Exchange Buildings, Oliver Plunkett Street, CORK

BEECHMOUNT FIVE PICKET: 2.30-4pm, every Saturday, O'Connell Bridge, DUBLIN

SOCIAL: Bloody Sunday Commemoration Social. 8pm, Saturday, 16 January. North Star, Finchley Road, LONDON NW3. Raffle, Auction, Snacks. Organised by West London Troops Out Movement

WOMEN'S CONFERENCE: Southward Irish Women's Conference Day. 10am-4.30pm, Saturday, 23 January. North Peckham Civic Centre, Old Kent Road, LONDON SE15.

Free refreshments, free cheche, lunch only £1. For more information contact: Rita Stallard/Sevia

John/Veronica Hill on 071 5257323/7321/7320

UNVEILING CEREMONY: Ceremony to unveil memorial to Sinn Féin activist Tommy Donaghy. 2.30pm, Sunday, 24 January. Drumagagh Cemetery, KILREA

FUNCTION: Featuring The Irish Brigade. Saturday, 30 January, Mulhuddart Inn, MULHUDDART, County Dublin. Táille £2.50

LONDON MARCH: Bloody Sunday demonstration. 12 noon, Saturday, 30

January, Hyde Park, LONDON. Marching to a rally in Kilburn. For details contact 6091743

BAND DONATIONS: Cork Sinn Féin are setting up a fife and drum band in memory of Volunteers Tony Ahern and Dermot Crowley, both killed on active service in 1973. Donations are badly needed to organise this band. Please send what you can to: Sinn Féin Office, 136 Barrack Street, CORK.

VOLUNTEER CHRISTY HARFORD MEMORIAL FIFE AND DRUM BAND:

Are looking for a person to teach young members the drum. Get in contact with Pat Bell, c/o No 5 Blessington Street. Tel 30783. New members welcome

## DRAW RESULTS

The winner of Shannon Sinn Féin Christmas Hamper was Séamus "The Pipe" McLaughlin, Cronan Gardens, Shannon. We would like to thank the donor of the hamper for all his help.

## In Díl Chuimhne

BLEAKLEY, Rosemary; DALTON, Colm; DELANEY, Kevin; HARVEY, Séamus; McCORMICK, Eamon; McDONAGH, Martin; MOYNE, James. In proud and loving memory of Volunteers Rosemary Bleakley (died 13 January 1976), Colm Dalton (died 15 January 1983), Kevin Delaney (died 17 January 1980), Séamus Harvey (died 16 January 1977), Martin McDonagh (died 13 January 1976), James Moyne (died 13 January 1975) and Fian Eamón McCormick (died 16 January 1972). DELANEY, Kevin (13th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of my dear husband and our dear father Volunteer Kevin Delaney who died on active service on 17 January 1980 RIP. Mary Queen of the Gael pray for him. When thoughts go back as they often do I treasure the memo-

ries I have of you. Always remembered by his loving wife Edie, son Sean-Paul and daughter Ceire.

DELANEY, Kevin (13th Ann.). Remembered always by Dan, Debo and family.

McMAHON, Jackie (14th Ann.). Sadly missed and never forgotten. From his loving sister, Lillian, Kieran and kids.

Mac AIRT, Proinsias (1st Ann.). In memory of our dear friend Volunteer Proinsias MacAirt whose first anniversary occurs on 8 January 1992. Your memory continues to inspire us. Remembered with pride by the Murray family.

MOYNE, Jim (18th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Jim Moyne, Derry Brigade who died in Long Kesh on 13 January 1975.

"You may kill the revolutionary but never the revolution." Always remembered by John Derry.

SLOAN, Michael (21st Ann.). In

proud and loving memory of my brother Fian Michael Sloan who died accidentally on 11 January 1972. He is gone but never forgotten and always in our memory. From his brother, Eugene, Una, Eugene Og and Conor.

SLOAN, Michael (21st Ann.). In

proud and loving memory of my brother Fian Michael Sloan who died accidentally on 11 January 1972.

Ar láith dheas Dé go raibh a anam uasal. From his brother Tony, Marion and family.

Comhbhrón

DAWSON. Deepest sympathy to the Dawson family on the death of their father Tony. From the Lynch family, Limerick.

DAWSON. Deepest sympathy to the wife and family of Tony Dawson. From Mick Hanley and family, Limerick.

HIGGINS. Deepest sympathy is paid to Willie and the entire Higgins family circle on the death of Misny. From the staff of AP/RN Belfast and Dublin.

HURL. Deepest sympathy to John and family on the death of Madge. Will always be remembered with deep affection by Margaret.

HURL. Always remembered by the Fergal O'Hanlon/John Davey Sinn Féin Cumann, Lavey.

Always remembered by the Francis Hughes/Thomas McElwee Sinn Féin Cumann, Bellaghy.

McGREGORY. Deepest sympathy to Deirdre Byrne, Shannon and the McGreevy family, Belfast on their sad loss. From the Terence McSweeney Sinn Féin Cumann, Shannon.

O'CONNELL. Deepest sympathy to sisters and friends of Séamus O' Connell. From Mick Hanley and family, Limerick.

ly, Limerick. RYAN. Deepest sympathy to the Ryan family on the death of their mother Mary. From the Lynch family, Limerick.

BULLOCK, Martin (H3 Long Kesh).

Birthday greetings to my darling husband from your loving wife Anne Marie.

OD'WYER. Happy birthday to Ciaran O'Dwyer from wife Marion and Ciara, John and Bronagh.

From mom, dad, brothers and sisters.

MORRISON. Happy birthday to Danny Morrison from staff AP/RN, Belfast and Dublin.

McCREADY. To Bosco McCready, A

Wing, Crumlin Road. Congratulations on your engagement. Wishing you and Paula every happiness. Your comrade, Nig.

## Beannachtaí na hAthbhliana

DOHERTY, David (H Blocks). Best wishes for the new year Dee. We still haven't seen the other fellow! No doubt he has things to do!

Love from Kieran, Anna and children.

KANE, Pamela (Limerick). Best wishes for the new year from mom, dad, brothers and sisters. We think of you all the time; from the Martin McKenna Sinn Féin Cumann.

O'NEILL, Marty (H Block 8). Beannachtaí na hAthbhliana le grá mórt ó

Pam.



# News

(continued from Front Page)

account that McElwain died instantly and accepted the evidence of Séan Lynch who despite being seriously injured managed to escape the immediate ambush site.

As he lay hidden in bushes Lynch said he heard talking consistent with someone being questioned, but didn't hear any responses. Then, after a period of some five minutes, he heard three single shots.

The coroner said:

"If what you say is correct that would have to be cold-blooded murder?"

"Yes that is correct", said Lynch.

These findings show that, as with similar shoot-to-kill operations carried out by British forces, the official British army version was fabricated and exposes as lies the story that the two IRA Volunteers opened fire first. British army press releases, immediately after the shooting, said that both men opened fire on the undercover British squad. However, a forensic scientist, Brian Thompson, told the inquest that neither of the weapons carried by Lynch and McElwain had been fired. Thompson, a senior forensic scientist, stated that all the firing had come from the British soldiers during the ambush.

Furthermore, forensic evidence presented during Séan Lynch's trial (after which he was sentenced to 25 years imprisonment) showed that neither man could have fired. Lynch, having been shot, dropped his Ruger rifle into a hedge and McElwain's FNC rifle, hit in that initial burst of fire, had its firing mechanism jammed.

The British ambush was set in train after the crown forces had become aware that the IRA placed a landmine on the Lisnaskea Road near Roslea, County Fermanagh. In the early hours of Thursday, 24 April, the British sent in a four-strong team to find the firing point. They were then to "arrest anyone acting suspiciously in that

area", according to statements submitted by the anonymous soldiers B,C and D to the inquest.

Soldier B, who was positioned at the firing point with soldier C, said in his statement that he shouted a warning to McElwain and Lynch of "halt, hands up, army", and claimed that they took up firing positions and were about to fire, "so I fired a considerable burst".

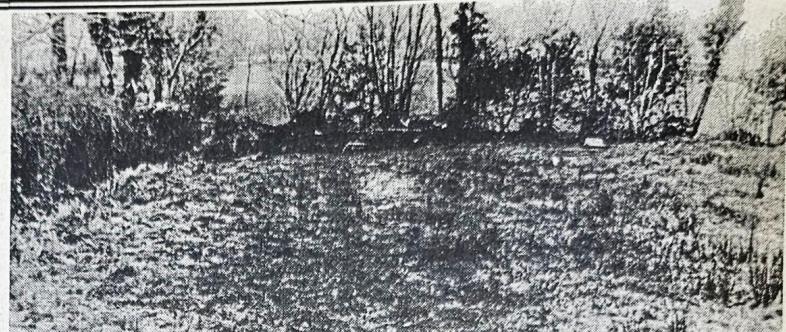
The British army story claimed that they moved forward under the light of a flare fired by soldier C when, according to soldier B's statement he "thought" he heard a shot from the direction of where the two men were. Soldier C also "thought" he heard a shot and "saw a person on the ground crouching and facing soldier A". Soldiers A and D were in a position further from the firing point, according to their statements.

"I believed A's life was in danger and fired one or two aimed shots at this man who slumped to the ground." Soldier C said this despite having already admitted, in statements at Séan Lynch's trial, that he and B opened fire on the men, whom he had heard screaming.

The finding by the jury that the undercover soldiers could have arrested the two men instead of shooting them was deleted after the coroner accepted legal submissions from the British Minister of Defence and the RUC who said that this was a matter of opinion and therefore beyond the powers of the coroner's court.

A coroner's court in the Six Counties can only arrive at findings based on the facts of the case, it cannot give verdicts or direct that legal proceedings be brought against someone responsible for a killing.

Nevertheless, the fact that soldier A, commander of the British ambush unit, gave evidence in person to the inquest and said that he did not hear a warning being given must mean that the British may well have to answer for the killing of Séamus McElwain and the wounding of Séan Lynch.



● The scene in County Fermanagh where Séamus McElwain was shot dead in cold blood by British soldiers

The inquest's findings pave the way for the family to press for murder charges to be brought against their son's killers. But the

decision as to whether or not the soldiers responsible for the murder will be charged is left with the Director of Public Prosecu-

tions. Previous cases of this nature have shown a determination on the part of the DPP not to bring charges.

## An outstanding Volunteer

**S**ÉAMUS McELWAIN had just turned 26 three weeks before his death in 1986. He was a veteran member of the Irish Republican Army, already having served for a decade as a Volunteer. Séamus was only 19 when he became O/C of the IRA in County Fermanagh.

As a Volunteer, he won personal loyalty and the respect of all his comrades. He undoubtedly possessed the qualities of leadership and yet he was unassuming to the point of being shy.

In 1981, Séamus and a group of Volunteers were captured by British soldiers in a house in County Fermanagh. One RUC member remarked at the time that he hoped Séamus would "rot in jail for 20 years at least".

Even though Séamus was sentenced to a 30-year term, he had no intention of satisfying the RUC. On 25 September 1983, he escaped from the H-Blocks of

Long Kesh with 37 of his comrades.

Séamus was part of the six-strong group which featured in the account of that escape published in AP/RN the following week. It was his innate sense of direction and knowledge of the countryside which made the escape of these six a reality.

In an Easter message to Fermanagh republicans in 1985, Séamus McElwain showed his grasp of the importance of popular support for revolutionaries; "We ask for solid support for our struggle. The war cannot be fought or won by the IRA in isolation."

Séamus was very aware of and greatly encouraged by the political development and success of Sinn Féin. He called on people "not to be misled by smooth talking politicians who claim to be republicans and make loud noises when it suits, but who resist organised republicanism and pursue an independent course in furthering their own careers".

While a prisoner in Long Kesh, he stood as a candidate in the Cavan/Monaghan constituency in February 1982, securing nearly 4,000 votes.

In his oration at McElwain's funeral, Sinn Féin Ard Chomhairle member Martin McGuinness told the crowd:

"We will miss him. In prison yards all over Ireland and in Britain they remember him. He was a brave intelligent soldier, a young man who willingly gave up his youth to fight for the freedom of his country."

"He will be remembered in the towns and villages of Fermanagh and Monaghan: his name will live forever."

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