



An Phoblacht

REPUBLICAN NEWS

Dáirdean, 27 Eanáir
Thursday, 27 January 1994

Court sanctions murder by RUC

THE RUC OFFICER who admitted shooting dead Tyrone student, Kevin McGovern was acquitted of murder by Belfast Crown Court this week. Delivering judgment, presiding Judge Nicholson said that 28-year-old RUC officer Timothy Hanley had committed a "tragic error" but no crime. The judge said that the RUC officer had acted mistakenly and honestly acted in self-defence when he shot the unarmed teenager in the back.

The RUC confirmed that the suspension of Hanley was lifted within hours of his acquittal and he is back on the streets.

The 19-year-old agricultural student, who was studying at Loughry College, was shot dead when he unwittingly walked into an RUC 'shoot-to-kill' operation close to the nationalist Greenvale estate on the outskirts of Cookstown,

County Tyrone. Shortly after 11.30pm on 29 September, 1991, Kevin McGovern accompanied by two fellow students were on their way to a local disco when they were suddenly confronted by a gang of heavily-armed RUC officers.

In what appears to have been a moment of panic, Kevin ran. The teenager died, with gunshot wounds to his back, less than 100 yards from his companions on the brow of a hill on Westland South Road. From the beginning, RUC statements concerning the killing bore all the hallmarks of a well rehearsed cover-up.

In court, RUC officer Hanley trotted out the usual formula which has become the standard defence of members of the British crown forces charged with the murder of unarmed Irish civilians, in which an alleged movement of a hand or turn of the head of their

(continued on page three)



• KEVIN McGOVERN

**BLOODY
SUNDAY
1972 - 1994**



**March and Rally
Sunday 30 January
DERRY**



IRA refutes propaganda

DETAILS were given by the IRA in supplied statements this week of two incidents which were misrepresented by sections of the media. The first statement from the IRA's East Tyrone Brigade related to a bomb explosion near the village of Cappagh.

The IRA statement said:

"Earlier in the week beginning 17 January 1994, the British crown forces found IRA equipment in the Cappagh area and as a result began a major search operation.

"During this search the crown forces uncovered a bomb which was being stored by the IRA in a derelict building.

"On Sunday evening, 23 January, an explosion was heard in the vicinity and two civilians were injured in the blast. As no IRA Volunteers were present in the area at the time, it is our belief that crown forces' personnel were tampering with the device and exploded it.

"The IRA believes that the ensuing explosion, as well as injuring the two civilians, either injured or killed the members of the crown forces who set the device off."

The IRA statement went on to cite an incident where the crown forces had lied about casualties they sustained while engaged in a similar undercover operation in County Tyrone last year:

"Almost a year ago in the Drumcarr area of Stewartstown, the IRA detonated a bomb at a derelict building which the British army was using as an observation post.

"At the time of the explosion, the crown forces denied there were any injuries to their personnel. However, later that year, when the IRA shot and wounded Philip Martin, a member of the RIR, both Kerr Maginnis and an RUC spokesperson issued statements saying that Martin was recuperating from an injury he received in the IRA attack on the observation post at Drumcarr in Stewartstown."

■ INFORMER ORDERED OUT

In an additional statement that supplied last week concerning a woman informer who the IRA uncovered in the Tyrone town of Coalisland, the IRA said:

"A 45-year-old woman, Valerie Butler, and her accomplice Steven Quinn have been ordered to leave the Tyrone area and the rest of the nine counties."

"Butler, a former UDR woman, was passing on information to the RUC. Butler was also linked to Steven Quinn who is well known in the area

for his antisocial behaviour, including peddling drugs.

"Quinn was also a close associate of loyalist paramilitaries in the Moy/Armagh area and under questioning, Quinn admitted this to the IRA, giving details of his association with these people.

"These connections that Quinn had with loyalists and Butler's association with him is an added sinister development which quite clearly puts the lives of nationalists in danger. The IRA couldn't tolerate this and ordered both to leave the nine counties."

■ HOOD PUNISHED

Belfast Brigade, IRA, also issued an indepth statement in which they gave details about a punishment action carried out on Michael McManus in the Ormeau Road area of the city on Saturday night, 22 January.

The statement said:

"Belfast Brigade, IRA, carried out Saturday night's punishment shooting of Michael McManus in the Hatfield Bar, Ormeau Road.

"McManus has a long and extensive criminal record, as have three of his brothers.

"In the second half of last year, after a series of attacks on local people, burglaries, car thefts and numerous other crimes, McManus and one of his brothers, 'Dano' were ordered by us to leave the Lower Ormeau Road area. A leaflet cataloguing their crimes and giving notice to this effect was circulated in the area.

"Not only did he fail to leave but he and his brothers increased their criminal activities. They have continued to break into local people's homes and shops, steal cars and 'joyride', threaten and intimidate.

"Michael and his brother Jim robbed a postman on the Ormeau Road approximately six to eight weeks ago. During the course of the robbery the postman was stabbed with a knife.

"Around Christmas he, along with others including his brothers, beat up a seven months pregnant woman from the Markets area. This incident happened on the Ormeau Road.

"The IRA believes that the RUC are aware of this incident.

"Recently, McManus, along with a number of others, forced their way into a house in the area claiming to be

from the IRA. After ransacking the house, allegedly searching for drugs, the gang left.

"The IRA were forced to carry out Saturday night's action against McManus, because his ongoing criminal activities against the people of the Lower Ormeau area left us no alternative.

"We will take similar action against his brothers if they continue with these activities.

"The media reaction to McManus' punishment is being orchestrated by antirepublican elements, including the British financed Workers' Party front Families Against Intimidation and Terror (FAIT), as well as Fr Denis Faul.

"Let these people and the media consult the ordinary people of the Lower Ormeau area concerning the IRA action against McManus. We are confident that the victims of McManus' activities will be of the opinion that our action was long over-due."

■ BELFAST ATTACKS

Responsibility for three attacks on the crown forces in the past week in Belfast were claimed by the Belfast Brigade.

Their statement said:

"On Thursday, 20 January, one of our units threw an impact grenade at the crown forces as they were closing a barrier at the bottom of the Donegall Road. No members of the crown forces were injured in this attack.

"In an attack launched against a mobile crown forces' patrol in the Pogallass area of Belfast, our volunteers launched a horizontal mortar as a joint RUC/British army patrol moved round the Dunmurray roundabout. The crown forces escaped injury. The IRA refutes claims by SDLP Councillor Hugh Lewisley that civilian lives were put at risk during the operation."

In the third IRA attack in the Markets area of the city, Volunteers fired 20 rounds at civilian construction workers in Belfast law courts.

"The car used in the attack was then burned out a short distance away and used to lure the crown forces into the area where a 2lb antipersonnel mine was left to catch the crown forces as they carried out a follow-up operation.

"This bomb exploded a short time later and again the crown forces escaped injury."

IN BRIEF...

First Dáil recalled

Recalling the 75th anniversary of the First Dáil Éireann on 21 January, Sinn Féin Vice President Pat Doherty said:

"The First Dáil placed the issue of Irish national self-determination firmly on the international agenda. It placed before the British government and the international community the demand for sovereignty and independence. It declared the independence of Ireland as a 32-County Republic.

"Despite repeated assertions of goodwill and having no strategic or economic interest in Ireland, the British government's presence here is still based on the Government of Ireland Act, which was the British government's response to the Irish demand for freedom expressed through Dáil Éireann.

"The 1920 Government of Ireland Act was imposed through coercion and violence, and coercion and violence are still the basis of the British government's presence in the Six Counties today.

"When we compare the Ireland of today to the aspirations of the Democratic Programme which sought 'Liberty, Equality and Justice for all' we can see how far short our partitioned society falls."



• PAT DOHERTY

Sectarian discrimination

A Fair Employment Tribunal was adjourned when a Ballymena poultry factory agreed to pay compensation to a 22-year-old Catholic employee who had been subjected to sectarian abuse while working for the firm.

The tribunal hearing was adjourned after O'Kane Poultry Ltd agreed to pay £16,500 compensation to employee Caroline Phillips, from Glenshesk, County Antrim.

The hearing was told that Caroline Phillips, a Catholic, had been called a "Fenian bitch" and "Fenian bastard" while some fellow workers whistled "The Sash". It was also alleged that a former supervisor with the firm "manhandled" Phillips and seriously assaulted her boyfriend at a bowling alley in Ballymena.

Community worker in collusion controversy

A community worker was told by children playing in the street that his name and personal details were on a list discovered in a loyalist hide last week. It was later confirmed by Sinn Féin.

The list which included the personal details and car registration numbers of 200 nationalists was passed to Sinn Féin by a Catholic building worker working in a loyalist area who accidentally discovered the loyalist hide.

The Belfast community worker said that the RUC initially denied any knowledge of the document, which is believed to have been passed by British crown forces to a loyalist death squad.

The Belfast man, who is married with children, said that three months ago he had complained to the RUC of harassment after being stopped twice in two weeks in the Clonard area of West Belfast and ordered to present his driving documents at the RUC barracks.

"Does this mean that the name of every Catholic stopped at a checkpoint will end up on a hitlist?" he commented.

News

Fine-tuning failure

BERTIE AHERN stood up in Leinster House on Wednesday and promised a "coherent economic strategy" that he claimed would create "real and lasting social progress". Ahern boasted about the "fiscal performance" of the 26 Counties being the best in Europe and that the growth of the economy over the last year was the "best economic performance in the OECD". However, the actual measures announced show that for another year the Dublin government is to rely on small-scale tinkering with the system. The real state of the economy was shown by the massive job losses threatened at Kentz, whose workers picketed Leinster

House on budget day. (See page 4)

The increases in social welfare, 3% across the board, are only in line with inflation — the payments are still below an adequate income level. Total social welfare spending is, according to the Book of Estimates, due to be unchanged

for 1994. Many services are already critically underfunded, a fact which the budget glossed over. Ahern did promise small increases in funding for public housing, including refurbishments and sanitary services. However, the total funding in these measures is relatively small compared to what Ahern is offering the corporate sector.

By the end of the budget, Ahern had unveiled a range of concessions to the business community. These included a reduc-

tion in employers' PRSI for those workers earning less than £173 a week, no increases in corporate tax, special consideration for the financial services and rates on the empty office blocks built by the state's property speculators.

Ahern claimed that his budget was aimed at the unemployment problem and at the same time maintained that he had to "convince financial markets" of his commitment to budgetary discipline. Verbal assurances took the place of positive financial commitments on unemployment.

He announced that the failed social and voluntary employment schemes will be merged into a

new community employment scheme, where work for dole schemes will be introduced.

Ahern, throughout his address, made references to his concern for unemployment, especially among the young. He said there is no miracle cure. He made constant reference to the National Economic and Social Forum (NESF) and said he was awaiting the outcome of their deliberations.

What he did not mention is that there have been a variety of proposals made by local community organisations, independent economists and unemployment groups. This did not get mentioned, except for the proposals of the Conference of Major Religious Superiors (CMRS).

Instead, Ahern sought to focus on small-scale tax reform, including the abolition of the 1% levy, the changing of tax allowances and the widening of tax bands to help the lower paid. All these are welcome measures. But the 1% levy should never have been imposed — it was an easy option.

Ahern made no attempt to use the budget to create an equitable tax system. Instead he talked about the millions raised in the tax amnesty without mentioning that those people who benefited from the amnesty paid the lowest tax rates in the state, less than half of that levied on the lowest paid workers in the tax net. The proposed changes still leave the PAYE sector carrying an inequitable burden.

This budget is only a perpetuation of the failed policies of successive governments over the last decade. The profit centres of the banking community and the corporate sector remain untapped. The unemployed, the small farmers and the PAYE sector still carry the burden for this "best performing" economy. The budget does not have the necessary measures to create the claimed "commitment to social progress".



• Bertie Ahern's budget is only a perpetuation of the failed policies of successive governments over the last decade, relying on small-scale tinkering and making no attempt to create an equitable tax system

Court sanctions murder by RUC

(continued from front page)

victim is sufficient for the courts to endorse their summary execution.

Widespread public outrage has followed the McGovern ruling and once again raised the question of the British crown forces use of lethal force in the Six Counties. Speaking on behalf of the family, Dr Sean McGovern, brother of the victim, described his reaction as "disappointed but not surprised" by the RUC officer's acquittal.

"Our private tragedy has become a public travesty for all to behold," said Dr McGovern. He identified the court ruling as little more than an endorsement of the RUC's "Dirty Harry" policy where you can shoot first and think about why you did it later". He continued:

"The RUC and British soldiers have been responsible for killing 357 people since 1969. Out of all these killings only 33 prosecutions have been brought of which four have resulted in convictions. The feeling among families of the victims and people in the nationalist community is that the British crown forces receive institutional protection which is then rubber-stamped by judicial decisions."

Derry based human rights group The Pat Finucane

Centre expressed its deep dissatisfaction over yet another acquittal of a member of the crown forces. Speaking for the centre, Paul O'Connor said that an act of violence had been committed by the state's legal system against the family of Kevin McGovern. He continued:

"The acquittal of the RUC man accused of the murder of Kevin McGovern demonstrates a consistency in judicial policy over the last 25 years. From the killings of Desmond Beatty and Séamus Cusack to Bloody Sunday, the killing of Julie Livingstone, Nora McCabe, Stephen McConomy, Aiden McAnespie and of course in December 1990 of Fergal Caraher, a clear pattern has emerged in judicial decisions which amounts to a total amnesty for members of the crown forces where civilian deaths are involved."

Commenting on the verdict, local Cookstown Sinn Féin representative Martin Conlon said that the acquittal was a matter of grave concern:

"Coming just a month after the acquittal of the two marines who killed Fergal Caraher this verdict highlights the true role of the crown forces in this state. RUC, the courts and the Northern Ireland Office are part of one conspiracy which sanctions the killing of nationalists and excuses the killers. At the same time they claim the RUC is upholding the normal rule of law in a democratic society."

Youth injured in sectarian attack

A 13-YEAR-OLD BOY and his mother were injured in a loyalist bomb attack on their Craigavon home on Monday, 24 January. In what appears to have been intended as a sectarian attack, a booby-trapped video was left in the letter box of the Highfield Park house.

The video, which was not wrapped, exploded when the youngster opened it, showering the room with shrapnel. The boy was rushed to hospital where he is receiving treatment for a serious eye injury and lacerations to his face, hands and body. His mother was also

admitted into hospital with injuries to her hands, face and body.

The person named by the UVF as the intended victim is not a resident at the house. Highfield Park Estate is a mixed residential area. Both victims of the attack are Protestants.



News

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

KENTZ

DEVASTATION IN CLONMEL

■ BY ART
Mac Eoin

THIS WEEK'S budget will be overshadowed by the news that devastated the Tipperary town of Clonmel. Only two years after the loss of 300 Digital jobs there, almost a thousand more jobs are at risk since the company was put into receivership. The decision to appoint a receiver to Kentz came after lengthy arguments between banks and company executives.

Following initial pressure from Barclays Bank on the British arm of the Kentz operation, AIB and the Dublin branch of Banc Nationale de Paris (BNP) sought meetings with Kentz management.

The banks demanded the appointment of a receiver and said that to seek an examiner, as suggested by the company, would be a waste of time and money.

On Wednesday, 19 January, the receiver and his assistants were installed at Kentz's Clonmel headquarters. However, since then, an examiner has also been appointed to the company.

Up to 5,000 people marched through Clonmel on Saturday, 22 January, in protest at possible job losses. And Kentz workers met Taoiseach Albert Reynolds on Wednesday, 26 January, to call for action to save their jobs. Later the workers held a picket outside Leinster House to coincide with the budget speech. There was much anger at the hugely profitable AIB for sending in the receiver.

■ New PESP
not finalised

As job losses continued to mount, the leadership of the Irish

Trade Union Movement was still cosying up to the government which has presided over the devastation. A successor to the Programme for Social and Economic Progress, has, as yet not been finalised. The government has claimed that Bertie Ahern's budget would "complement and underpin" any new programme. The implication was that the trade union leadership and others would recommend acceptance.

A joint statement from the government and the so-called 'social partners' said that a pay agreement in the public and private sectors had not yet been reached, but indicated that both sides were confident agreement could be reached.

■ Building workers
warn of mass strike

A mass meeting of building workers has recommended a strike ballot of all members against compulsory contract working in the construction industry.

Unions representing all building workers are planning a campaign to confront the serious threat to construction jobs represented by the spread of contract work.

If you have a story at your workplace, let us know.
Contact AP/RN at phone 8733611 or Fax 8733074.

Minister's comments on returned emigrants slammed

SINN FÉIN'S Dublin EC candidate Larry O'Toole has criticised comments by 26-County Social Welfare Minister Michael Woods referring to the 37,000 emigrants who returned to Ireland last year only to face the dole queue. Woods claimed amazingly that their presence "in a way is a recognition of just how well the country is doing".

Reacting to Woods' comments, Larry O'Toole said: "We have 300,000 unemployed in the 26 Counties. In the '80s the real level of unemployment was disguised by the fact that up to 50,000 per year were forced to emigrate to find work. Now many jobs abroad have dried up and some emigrants are returning. But other indicators show that net emigration is on the rise again. The jobless going out are meeting the jobless coming back."

If this is the country 'doing well' I would not like to see it if it was 'doing badly'.

O'Toole went on: "One thing that leaves the country and will never come back is the untaxed exported wealth of multinationals. Equally untapped for national benefit is the massive profit of the financial institutions. Allied Irish Banks which sent the receiver into Kentz threatening 900 Irish jobs, made a whopping £139 million profit in the first half of 1993 alone — up 42% on 1992."

"I agree with Mr Woods that some people are 'doing well' in Ireland, as they always have done.



● LARRY O'TOOLE

But until their huge profits are harnessed to create jobs in a state-led campaign against unemployment, it will be the same old story for the unemployed and the emigrants," O'Toole said.

IN BRIEF...

Waste figures questioned

COMMUNITY ENVIRONMENTAL GROUPS have questioned the hazardous waste figures released by the Dublin government this week.

Compiled from returns supplied by the local authorities, the Department of the Environment stated that approximately 99,000 tonnes of hazardous waste was generated in 1992, a 36% increase on the 1988 figures, which were amended to include 6,000 tonnes previously unaccounted for.

Over a third (36,900 tonnes) of the 1992 waste was incinerated in five on-site incinerators in Ireland and in high temperature incinerators abroad. Some environmentalists argue that the figures for incineration are an attempt to justify the Dublin government's drive for a national incinerator.

David Cotter of the Waste Action Group has challenged the Dublin government to explain the figures and is waiting for the detailed breakdown of the waste by county and class promised by the DOE.

Arts and media call on visa

THE NEWLY-FORMED Irish Arts and Media Alliance in San Francisco has urged US President Bill Clinton to grant a visa to Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams. The alliance of writers, artists, journalists, editors and photographers of Irish descent or with Irish interests, wrote to Clinton on 24 January.

In their letter they say that the granting of a visa is "a vital free speech issue which must be resolved in favour of fairness and equality". The letter continues:

"By denying Mr Adams a visa to enter the US, the American public and the media are denied a real opportunity to hear from all sides of the conflict in Northern Ireland. With current peace initiatives at such a critical stage, it is all the more important for the State Department to end its policy of selectively barring Irish political representatives from entering the US."

(See also page 5)

Stormont face-lift

THE ANNOUNCEMENT of plans to refurbish Stormont has been criticised by Sinn Féin Councillor Fra McCann, who said that at a time when housing, health and welfare services continued to be cut, a multimillion pound Stormont face-lift hardly seemed a priority. The refurbishment is expected to begin next month at a projected cost of £2.5 million.

Lone parents targeted

SINN FÉIN Ard Chomhairle member Dodie McGuinness has attacked the decision by the British government to remove lone parents from the priority housing list. McGuinness, who is one of the party's candidates in the European election, slammed the announcement and accused the British government of "discriminating against women and making single mothers scapegoats for the failed policies of the government".

Ratepayers' money squandered

SINN FÉIN councillors for Newry & Mourne have slammed the council for squandering £3,500 on a free Christmas party for councillors, council officials and guests at Aylesford House in Warrenpoint last month. Councillor Davy Hyland said that Sinn Féin has consistently refused to attend this Christmas "freebie" which is an abuse of ratepayers' money. "This £3,500 could have been spent on hard-pressed community centres and other voluntary projects," Hyland concluded.

Crown force killings probe

THE Six County-based Human Rights group, the Committee for the Administration of Justice is to hold a conference in Derry next month to examine killings carried out by British crown forces in Ireland.

The CAJ said that there have been more than 350 deaths in the Six Counties since 1969 caused by members of the crown forces, many in disputed circumstances. The CAJ symposium, which is to be held at Magee College on 5 February, is to discuss the legal reform necessary to bring British government legislation on the use of lethal force up to international standards.



News

Extradition bill 'a criminal offence'

■ BY LIAM O COILEAIN

THE DUBLIN GOVERNMENT'S Extradition Amendment Bill, announced on 19 January, has been condemned by the Irish Anti-Extradition Committee as an abuse of human rights. "This bill," said spokesperson Nora Comiskey, "is designed to do what the Fianna Fáil government tried to do with the 1987 bill".

"It will leave a situation where the state brands all offences criminal, thus pretending that a political conflict no longer exists and that those facing political charges can receive justice from British courts."

"Denying the existence of the political offence," she continued, "may well please the British government, but adding one more injustice to the litany which already exists will certainly not aid the peace process."

The bill is designed to do away once and for all with the political offence exception in extradition cases, filling in the gaps which were not plugged by the 1987 act, ratifying the European Convention on the Suppression of 'Terrorism'. It provides for possession of explosives and firearms and use of nonautomatic firearms to be excluded from those offences which were previously classed as politically-motivated.

In 1991, the British were said to be angry and disappointed when the Supreme Court ruled that Tony Sloan and Michael 'Beaky' McKee could not be extradited because possession of an M60 machine gun was in fact a political offence. The Dublin government has now decided to go the final few yards in tying up political extradition once and for all.

But the new measures impinge even further on the civil rights of Irish citizens. Extradition proceedings will now all be centralised in the Dublin District Court. Currently, extradition proceedings can be held in any district court. The district court will no longer be allowed to grant bail in extradition cases. This will be restricted to the High Court. The court order for

the extradition of a person will no longer have to specify the point of handing over. This is presumably to avoid those embarrassing scenes at points of handover such as at Carrickarnon in 1988 and again in 1989 when thousands turned out to protest at the extraditions of Robert Russell and Paul Kane.

The new bill provides that a member of the gardaí will no longer need to have a copy of the extradition warrant in his or her possession when arresting somebody for extradition. In future, the warrant will have to be served within 24 hours. The court will also be able to remand a person held under a provisional British warrant for seven days as opposed to the present three.

In return for this piece of draconian legislation, the Dublin government is demanding that a rule of specialty be brought in by the British to prevent what happened to Dessie Ellis from recurring. The charges against him were changed as soon as he had been extradited. Reports indicate that the British have agreed to bring in the specialty rule.

The Irish Council for Civil Liberties has also spoken out against the bill. Spokesperson Michael Farrell said that given the controversy over the role of courts in Britain and the Six Counties in political cases, people facing extradition should be tried instead under the Criminal Law Jurisdiction Act of 1976.

He said that where extradition is sought, the real loophole is the lack of a provision for a prima facie case to be established before Irish citizens can be extradited. "Labour, Fianna Fáil and Progressive Democrat TDs



● A defendant Joseph Magee enters the High Court during his extradition hearing have in the past called for this," he said, "so there is no reason why it shouldn't form part of the new bill".

On Tuesday, 25 January the High Court appeal by Armagh man Joseph Magee against his extradition to England ended. Judge Fergus Flood reserved his judgement in the case and retired to consider the arguments presented. A decision is likely within two to three weeks. Anti-extradition supporters and relatives demonstrated outside the court as Magee was driven from the Four Courts back to Portlaoise Prison to await the verdict.

The defence barrister, John McMenamin, had argued in court

that Magee's constitutional rights had been abused during his hearing in Limerick District Court in January 1993. He further argued that the offence cited on the warrants, that of the killing of a British army recruiting sergeant in Derby in April 1992, fell into the category of a political offence, as defined by both the 1965 and 1987 Acts. He also cited the flood of prejudicial media coverage, both locally and nationally in Britain which followed the killing. Magee was named as one of those responsible, his photograph was published liberally and he was variously described as a "mad dog", "soldier's killer" and "gun psycho". McMenamin argued that such prejudicial coverage could

not be remedied by a lapse in time before any trial or by simply moving the trial to Sheffield or London as the crown had suggested. He argued that there was no way Magee could receive a fair trial in front of an unbiased jury given that coverage.

Should Magee lose his High Court appeal, he is expected to appeal to the Supreme Court. Belfast born Angelo Fusco, facing extradition to the Six Counties, is still waiting for a date for a Supreme Court judgment on his case regarding a motion requesting documents from the Six Counties which are relevant to his case. His High Court appeal against extradition will go ahead only after this point is ruled on.



● Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams — pressure is mounting on the Clinton administration to reconsider its position in relation to his visa application

British still blocking visa

SINN FÉIN PRESIDENT Gerry Adams, has called on the United States government to grant him a visa allowing him to attend a peace conference in New York.

The conference organised by the National Committee on American Foreign Policy (NCAFP) is to be held next week and as well as Adams, all the other leaders of the Six-County political parties have been invited to attend the conference.

However, it has been reported that the OUP and DUP leaders James Molyneaux and Ian Paisley respectively, have turned their invitations down after initially expressing "an interest in principle to attend".

"International opinion can play an important and constructive role in the development of a peace strategy," said Adams, before calling on the international community to, "exercise its goodwill and influence to assist in the resolution of the Anglo/Irish conflict".

Adams accused the British of attempting to block his visa application and, "stifle political debate, inhibit free speech and to

undermine the potential that exists for American involvement in a peace process".

"There is widespread interest in and concern about Ireland within American public opinion which stems from the historical links between the two countries and the large Irish-American community in the USA. The potential has, therefore, always existed for the USA to play a part in the construction of an effective peace process," continued the Sinn Féin president.

Stressing the need for open debate and dialogue, Adams said, "no situation is improved by misinformation and ignorance. The NCAFP can assist the peace process in Ireland and I am very pleased to be invited to address this forum. I commend the committee."

Concluding his statement Adams said:

"Sinn Féin is not engaged in

we seek an end to all armed actions and a demilitarisation of the conflict. The Sinn Féin leadership has been actively engaged in initiating and developing unarmed strategies for struggle. This should be encouraged, not discouraged."

Pressure is mounting on the Clinton administration to reassess its stand denying Adams a visa. Since Clinton reneged on his election promise to grant a visa, influential Irish-American politicians and public figures have been lobbying him to change his mind.

Full-page advertisements in the *New York Times* have also called for American support for the efforts to find peace in the Six Counties. This has included the granting of a visa to Adams.

A letter written by four of the most influential Irish-American politicians in the states — Ted Kennedy, Daniel Moynihan, John Carey and Christopher Dodd — calling on Clinton to change his mind, seems to have brought it home to Clinton that denying Adams a visa is dead-end policy.



An Phoblacht

REPUBLICAN NEWS

27 JANUARY 1994

BLATANT VIOLATION OF NEUTRALITY

IT IS NOW less than two years since the Fianna Fáil/PD coalition promised during the Maastricht Treaty referendum campaign that the 26 Counties would never participate in a military alliance without recourse to a referendum. Voters were told that these issues would not be on the EU agenda until 1996. This view was supported at the time by both Fine Gael and Labour.

Voters in the South were told that the articles within the Maastricht Treaty dealing with a common foreign and security policy would not mean participation in any military alliance. Decisions on these matters would only be decided unanimously by all EU member states. We were supposed to ignore the parts of the Maastricht Treaty which specifically mentioned the Western European Union (WEU). We were to ignore the fact that the Maastricht Treaty describes the WEU as "an integral part" of the European Union and gives them responsibility for carrying out the military directives of the EU.

The 26 Counties would not partake in the WEU, it would instead have 'observer status'. Within a day of the Maastricht Treaty being ratified in the 26 Counties, the WEU was asking the EU to explain to them what 'observer status' meant as they had no such membership position. No role except full membership is mentioned in the Maastricht Treaty.

Since June 1992, the WEU has been developing itself into the military arm of the EU. In the same month a planning group was set up by the 26 Counties' Defence Forces to examine "the developing relationship" with the WEU. In May 1992, Albert Reynolds had claimed that the 26 Counties "does not intend to become a member of the WEU" and that taking part in WEU meetings as observers would "not require us to become a member of the WEU or to take on obligations or defence commitments under the WEU treaty".

By November 1992, the 26 Counties was granted permanent observer status at the WEU, a move condemned by the Labour Party at the time. By this time the WEU was playing a significant military role in Europe in that it was coordinating the naval blockade of the former Yugoslavia.

Now over a year later, the Irish ambassador to Belgium, Pat Cradock, is the Dublin government's permanent representative at the WEU and last week it was revealed that the WEU had invited the Dublin government to allow 26-County troops participate in WEU military exercises in Spain later this year.

The Dublin government did not reject the WEU invitation. They claimed that it was not particularly significant and that they would probably reject the invite. However, this does not disguise the fact that the Dublin government has essentially conceded a military role for the 26 Counties in the WEU. In November 1993, Albert Reynolds admitted that the Dublin government would now contribute to the "security of Europe".

However, last week a WEU official maintained that "if you are serious about the European concept you should be a member of the WEU. If you signed Maastricht, you should do everything with the 12 member states and not like now when you have twelve minus two".

What we are seeing is not a unanimous decision but the more powerful EU members using economic and political pressure on the Dublin government. There will be a military alliance with or without Dublin government approval. That is the nature of the EU's undemocratic internal politics.

Come 1996 and we will be told that we will have to concede and accept the WEU. The Dublin government has already effectively conceded participation in a military alliance. The last people to know will be the 26-County voters. Irish neutrality has effectively exited by the back door.



• John Major — a pro-unionist and unimaginative prime minister, who does not have the courage to create the conditions for British withdrawal and a lasting peace in Ireland

Major chooses flawed talks against peace process

■ BY HILDA MAC THOMAS

THE MOMENTUM FOR CLARIFICATIONS grew at the weekend, when Cardinal Cahal Daly called on the British government to grant Sinn Féin the clarifications it has been demanding for the last two months. "Channels exist whereby clarification can be given, without the principle of negotiation being conceded," he said.

What the peace process needed was "time and space", not "threats and deadlines", he argued, and referring to the very aggressive and pro-unionist comments which have emanated from British government circles since the Downing Street Declaration, he added that "consistency in successive government statements is vital for clarity and credibility". The strong feeling among northern nationalists that the British government has bent over backwards to reassure unionists, with little consideration given to nationalist grievances and nationalist rights, must in the end have got through to the Cardinal, who advised London that "nationalist feelings and fears must be taken as seriously... as have unionist fears and suspicions".

Meanwhile the British government, having rejected the many calls to clarify, not just the wording of the declaration but its subsequent commentary of it, has decided to relaunch it twice failed, and increasingly flawed, inter-party talks.

British minister Michael Ancram has already met delegations of the OUP and the Alliance Party, and on Tuesday he received the SDLP. Ancram said his government hoped these talks would achieve "an acceptable settlement which will lead to lasting peace in Northern Ireland". The OUP has

whole idea. In October they rejected the Hume/Adams proposals. Now they are running with the Downing Street Declaration, an ambiguous text which subsequent comments from London have failed to clarify, and restarting a failed political initiative. The need to be seen to be doing something while offering nothing new, and to portray republicans as the unreasonable stumbling block, seems to be driving the British government once again.

Irish nationalists may well conclude that British Prime Minister John Major — an "emotional unionist" as a colleague described him — lacks the strength to break out from this mindset, the courage to take political risks and the vision to set up a genuine peace process. Having cobbled up an alliance with the nine Official Unionist MPs at Westminster to guard himself against desertion by some of his own backbenchers in tight votes, Major is now running with the OUP's agenda.

There seems to have been little consideration of the fact that however distrustful of British government intentions unionists may be, they are even more distrustful of current British Labour Party policy on Ireland, which advocates 'Irish unity by consent' and suggests that a Labour government would work to persuade unionists of the merits of that policy. Should Major take the necessary risks and move towards a final and just settlement in Ireland, he could reasonably expect some support from the Labour opposition, which would probably not want to be excluded from such a historic move.

People in Ireland, meanwhile, have to suffer on and bide their time while a weak, pro-unionist, unimaginative British prime minister blunders on.

News

British 'working to their own agenda' — Adams

SEVERAL HUNDRED PEOPLE GATHERED at a meeting of Belfast Sinn Féin in the Séan MacBride Education Centre on Thursday, 20 January, to hear Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams call for "intensified efforts to bring about a lasting political settlement".

Addressing the meeting, Adams said that Sinn Féin and the nationalist community at a wider level, are examining the Downing Street Declaration in the context of an overall search for a real and lasting peace. The declaration will be judged, Adams said, on whether it seeks to advance the peace process in a real way or is a cosmetic response to the Irish Peace Initiative.

Outlining Sinn Féin's search for a peace process which began seven years ago, Adams said that the party had committed itself to breaking the military and political deadlock by putting the key issues — the failure of partition and the denial of the right of the Irish people to national self-determination — at the centre of the political agenda. He continued:

"My talks with SDLP leader John Hume were the most significant element in this initiative. We reached the point of agreement on a set of proposals which, we

believed, could form the basis of a viable peace process. This was dependent on the adoption of these proposals by the two governments."

According to Adams, both the British and Dublin government were fully informed of what was involved at all stages of the development of these proposals and the Downing Street Declaration was a response to this. Adams continued:

"Republicans have to make fundamental assessments. Does the Downing Street Declaration represent a first step for the British government in the direction of a lasting peace or is it merely a political response by a British government under pressure from the Irish Peace Initiative, aimed at avoiding a political confrontation with the Dublin government, fragmenting nationalist concerns and bringing political pressure to bear on Sinn Féin so as to damage us?"

More importantly, Adams argued, even if our assessment is that it does not represent a first step for the British government, we should not allow this to unduly influence our considerations on taking risks. Moving on to consider the question of consent or veto, Adams pointed out that the northern state was designed to create a unionist majority in perpetuity. He continued:

"Peace, stability, justice and reconciliation in Ireland can only be achieved through agreement between an overwhelming majority of the people on this island. That agreement must be based on political maturity, mutual respect and a willingness to create new structures acceptable to all."

Adams argued that peace will not be achieved through the distortion of history, the perpetuation of partition and the manipulation of words, such as the substitution of the word consent for veto.

The word consent means voluntary and unanimous agreement. The principle of consent is the tenet of democracy. But in recent British/Irish history, consent has become an ugly shorthand for the continued coercion of nationalists

and unionists alike, trapped by partition into an ever escalating conflict situation. Consent is much more attractive from a British/unionist PR perspective than the veto word it seeks to replace."

are the victims of a campaign of sectarian slaughter.

To end the impasse so that "we can all move forward to a peaceful settlement", Adams said that the British government must join in a process of democratic persuasion. He said the first step for the British government was to accept its obligation to provide clarification for Sinn Féin on the Downing Street Declaration. He continued:

"Its refusal to provide clarification for Sinn Féin must be a matter of deep concern for everyone interested in peace. The only logical reason for the British refusing clarification can be that they are working to their own political agenda."

Acknowledging that the Dublin government was "for the first time" attempting to address the issue of peace and a political settlement to the conflict, Adams said Dublin should not be put off by pressure from Britain or from the neo-unionists in Leinster House. Identifying the Irish Peace Initiative as "containing the political dynamic to end the impasse and create the conditions for a lasting peace", Adams concluded:

"Sinn Féin will continue to press ahead for a negotiated settlement and for a lasting peace in our country. We will not allow the British government to squander the opportunity for peace which still exists despite all Major and Mayhew's efforts to subvert it."

No democracy in changes

■ BY NEIL FORDE

THE NEWS that the Westminster Boundary Commission for the Six Counties had concluded its report was bound to raise the suspicions of anybody with a passing interest in Six-County elections. The history of electoral democracy and boundary commissions in Ireland this century is a fraught and contentious one. We have witnessed from 1920 right up to the last Boundary Commission in 1979 a series of systematic attempts by both unionist and British rulers to control the electoral system in the Six Counties.

The 26-County state has also seen a series of attempts, some successful, to manipulate electoral law in favour of the encumbered governments. In Britain today, a series of changes both in local government and in Westminster are changing the face of parliamentary representation and the structures of local government.

The proposed changes in the Six Counties show widespread reorganisation of constituency boundaries. North Antrim alone

went unchanged while the 16 other constituencies show boundary movements from outright disappearance of constituencies to serious reorganisation.

Four new constituencies, Newtownards and Castlereagh, Mid Down, Newry and Mourne and Blackwater come in while it is proposed that South Belfast, South Down, Strangford and Newry/Armagh depart.

Media focus has been on the West Belfast seat, but in most cases it is still early days in establishing just who the new electorate arithmetic favours. What is obvious is that the electoral system itself is and has been patently unfair. The first past the post system has in Britain maintained governments

who do not enjoy the majority of votes cast, while discouraging local democracy and preventing the true electoral spectrum from being represented.

In the Six Counties it has in the present parliament presented the Official Unionist Party with nine seats out of 17, with only 34.5% of the vote. This undemocratic majority has in the last year held considerable sway over British policy in Ireland, culminating in the setting up of a Select Committee based upon the unrepresentative spread of MPs.

The actual changes proposed in the new boundaries throw up a range of new combinations. Orange Grand Master Martin Smyth will be looking for a new home after the splitting of his relatively comfortable South Belfast seat between West and East Belfast. Some 16,336 of the 33,584 total votes cast won him the South Belfast seat in 1992.

On the doorstep of East Belfast, a relative DUP stronghold, is the

new constituency of Newtownards and Castlereagh. This could be a tempting seat for either Robinson or the OUP's John Taylor as the constituency includes part of the now dismembered Strangford. The result would be in the balance; the DUP have nine seats compared to the OUP's six on Castlereagh.

However, in the Ards East and West boroughs the situation is reversed with the OUP in the driving seat.

Moving south we find that the electoral map of Counties Armagh and Down has been totally redrawn. Newry/Armagh and South Down make way for Mid Down, Newry and Mourne and to the west, Blackwater, which stretches from South Tyrone to Armagh.

Newry and Mourne must return a nationalist MP, the question will be who. SDLP MP's Eddie McGrady or Séamus Mallon could venture forth. Sinn Féin made a gain of one council seat from the SDLP here last year. Mid Down is made up mostly of the Boroughs of Down Council, including Downpatrick, Randalstown and Ballynahinch. The probable inclusion of the Newcastle Borough

in the Mourne constituency will diminish McGrady's hope of winning a seat here.

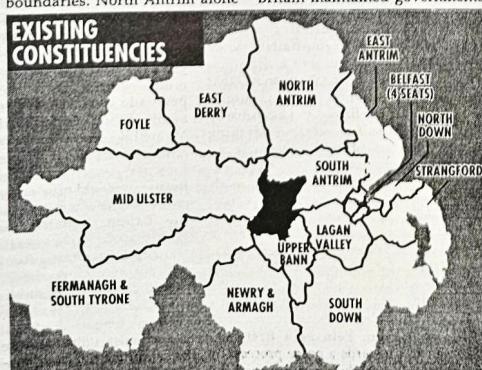
Blackwater seems tailor made for the OUP's Ken Maginnis, even though nationalists within the area will make up a very large minority.

It is impossible to predict what will happen in the new Fermanagh/South Tyrone constituency. It seems as though the boundaries have been shaped across the 'South' of the Six-County area to spread the possible unionist votes into the maximum number of seats. In Mid Ulster, which will include parts of the now smaller Foyle constituency, the electoral outcomes are difficult as yet to predict, but again the fear of a malign influence on the boundary changes is suspected.

James Killefitter in North Down could face renewed OUP opposition in the now revamped constituency which loses a slice of the 'Gold Coast', gaining instead the rural Ards peninsula. One wonders how a constituency of such contrasts will affect the electability of Killefitter, the MP of the Six Counties' professional elite.

Finally West Belfast. The failure to include Poleglass and Twinbrook and parts of Dunnottar into West Belfast in favour 24,000 voters from Balmoral, Malone Road, Finaghy and Shaftesbury Square does seem to threaten the historical make up of the constituency.

It is clear that the new boundaries do not remotely reflect any attempt to produce proper representation between the different political groups in the Six Counties. Sinn Féin's 23.5% of the total poll in Belfast is a mockery of the boundaries. The persistent reliance on the first past the post system to sustain unionist electoral hegemony has been reinforced by these new boundaries. The Six Counties still waits on democracy.



were met — basically administering the area as a politically independent unit.

A comrade and unity of purpose existed in Derry at this time which was unprecedented in the city's history.

This is not to say that there were not differences of opinion within the CDC. As with any broad-based group, there existed the political left and right. Differences of opinion were mainly based on the creation of democratic structures which would allow for the participation of the whole community in decision making and ensuring that the committee would not become yet another bureaucratic structure. The concept of organising street committees was attempted, but did not engender sufficient support in the community to become effective.

During the period of the no-go area, Derry was invaded by political animals of all possible 'isms'. Debate on the significance of a community establishing a state attracted 26-County Labour Party theologians, British Labour Party dissidents and French, Spanish, Italian reporters and revolutionaries.

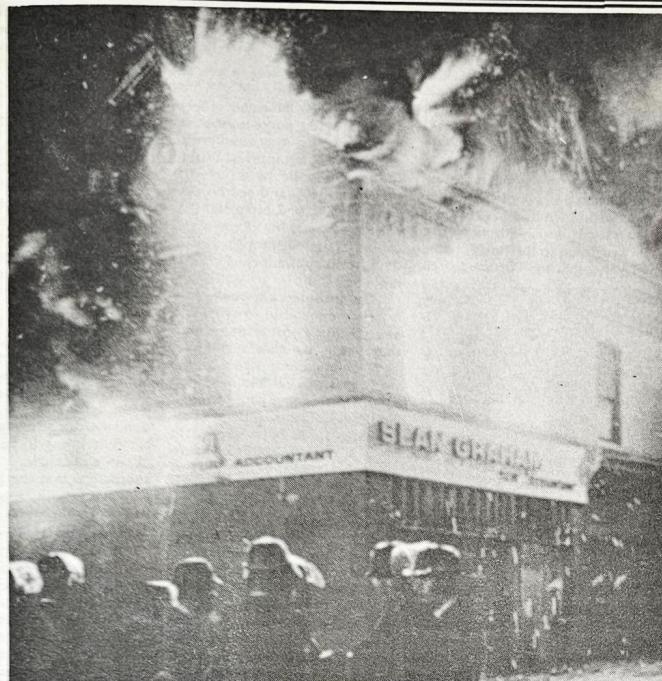
The debates were entertaining and sometimes even interesting to those people who attended them, but to the overwhelming number of people who created the situation, it was enough that they had taken on the establishment and won.

James Callaghan paid a visit, supposedly to see at first hand what and why things had developed to such a stage, as if he and successive British governments had been unaware of what was happening here for the previous 50 years. He toured the area and spoke to a number of locals, made the usual promises and left.

The British army made a number of requests to the CDC for a meeting to discuss how the situation could be maintained to everyone's satisfaction. At these meetings they gave undertakings that they would not enter the area unless invited, to deal with accidents or with any possible assistance.

These meetings were attended by approximately ten members of the committee and three British army officers. At one such meeting, Colonel Dybel, one of the British representatives, stated that for a 24-hour period, a road leading from Derry to the 26 Counties would be left open so as to allow anyone or any group within the area who had firearms to remove them. This was received with surprise and amusement by the committee representatives who pointed out that to their knowledge no guns existed in the area, but that they would extend the same courtesy to them.

It must be stated that when the British army did come on to the streets they were welcomed by some people in the area. This was because it resulted in a cessation of attacks by the regular RUC and 'B' Specials and their fellow-travellers. This must be understood in the context that for three days and nights the people of the area had been subjected to vicious and relentless attack. For those three days, the area had been



● After the erection of the barricades the sectarian RUC were no longer in control of the developing situation

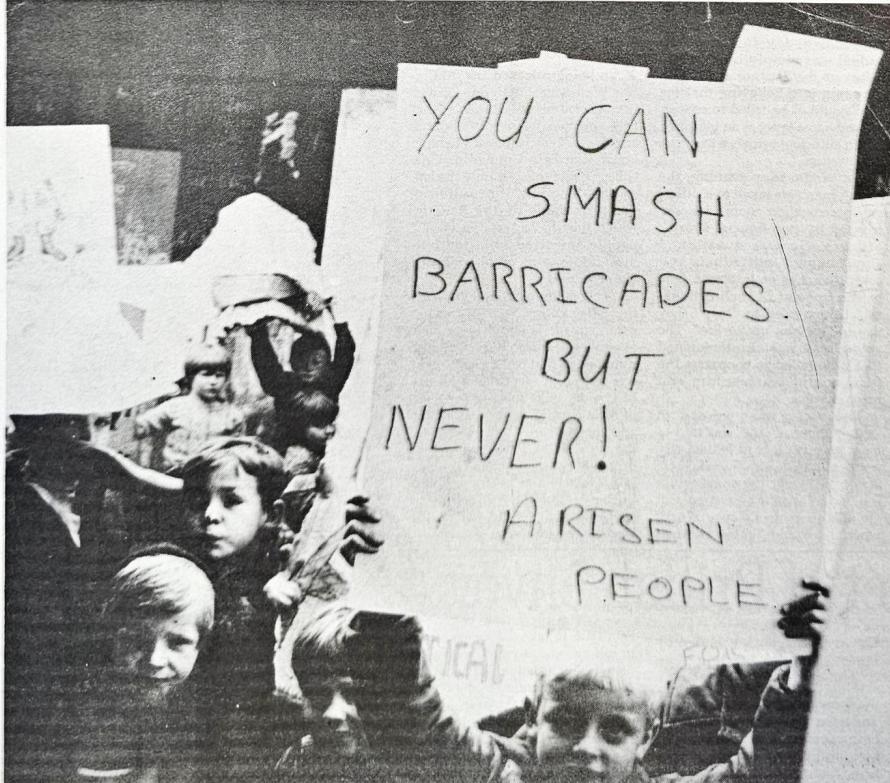
barricades became more of a symbol. There was a further meeting with the British army at which they undertook not to attempt entering the area should the barricades be removed.

The committee decided to remove them shortly after this meeting and lines were painted on the roads signifying where the British or RUC could not enter.

As time passed it appeared that the British had accepted the area as off-limits and the

During this period, political activity in the area was, in the main, led by the local Republican Movement and Derry Labour Party/Young Socialists. Newsletters were produced regularly and public meetings held.

The main emphasis of republican publicity was to highlight the plight of nationalists in Belfast, who were facing one of



the most murderous onslaughts by loyalist bigots. Hundreds of families had been burnt out of their homes and plans were being made to evacuate nationalist families from Belfast.

As news of what was happening in Belfast spread, sporadic rioting developed in Derry. At first this was restricted to the area surrounding the Bogside, but soon spread to attacks on the British army and RUC in the city centre.

Impatience with the British establishment was growing as it became clear that there was no intent by the British government to implement any real changes in the political set-up here.

The questions being raised within the Republican Movement at this time mainly concerned why the leadership of the IRA had not taken account of the militant direction in which the struggle had developed in the Six Counties. Debate centred on the point at which military action would be taken and whether this would undermine the mass movement of resistance developed through the civil rights struggle.

The attitude of the vast majority of members was that the point had been reached which demanded that military action be taken. The whole debate was a purely academic exercise by the leadership, however, as it became clear that no provisions had been made by them to engage in military conflict, regardless of what the opinion of the membership might be.

At the same time, approaches were made to individuals in the no-go area by a senior 26-County army officer, that arrangements had been made to

train people from the area in army barracks in Donegal. This offer was taken up by a large number of young people. This had obviously been an attempt by the Dublin government to give an impression of concern for what was happening in the Six Counties. This was certainly clear to the Republican Movement, as during the same period the gardaí raided an IRA training camp in Donegal, confiscating arms and arresting seven Volunteers.

Growing divisions led to a split in the IRA in December 1969 and Sinn Féin at the Ard Fheis in January 1970.

The majority of members remained with what became known as the 'Officials'. The conflict which developed between the two sides in other areas did not happen in Derry at this time. This was mainly due to mutual respect and the fact that the organisation was so small prior to the split, that members on both sides had a close personal relationship.

The beginning of 1970 saw an intensification of rioting in Derry. Resentment of the British army was growing, especially among young people who were being subjected to harassment and physical abuse.

On 29 March 1970, an estimated 9,000 people took part in the annual Easter commemoration. When the parade was passing the RUC station on the Strand Road, a large section of the crowd attacked the barracks. Twelve soldiers were injured and 17 people were arrested. Following intense rioting, the British army sealed off the Bogside area and rioting continued until early the following morning.

Attacks on British soldiers were a regular feature and for the first time, nail bombs were thrown.

On 26 June, Bernadette Devlin was arrested and taken to Armagh Prison. This sparked off intense rioting in Derry which lasted for several days. On 27 June three IRA Volunteers were killed in a premature explosion in a house in Creggan. Two daughters of one of the men were also killed.

The spirit of the people of Derry had proven to be undaunted and in August 1971 when internment was introduced barricades were again erected and a no-go area established. This lasted until 31 July 1972, when the British army, in the biggest operation since Suez, invaded the no-go areas of Derry and Belfast with 12,000 troops.

The most murderous attack by the British army took place in Derry on 30 January. On what is now known as Bloody Sunday, they attacked a civil rights march murdering 13 people and wounding 17 others.

This incident, more than anything else, demonstrated the attitude of the British towards the nationalist community.

Bloody Sunday demonstrated to the world what the people living in areas like the Bogside have always known — that the British will go to any lengths in an attempt to smash resistance. The response to Bloody Sunday by the people, then and since, is proof that they will never succeed.

News

Further repressive measures planned

ON THE TOP OF THE PRESENT 'catch-all emergency' legislation the right-wing British government are continuing to press for more ways to terrorise and suppress the Irish community in Britain with the conclusion of the second reading in changes in the Criminal Justice and Public Order Bill.

At present an average of 55,000 predominantly Irish people are held for up to an hour at British ports every year under the existing PTA. This

allows the British police to stop anyone without any 'reasonable suspicion' that they have committed a crime of any kind.

With the second reading of changes in the Criminal Justice and Public Order Bill at Westminster just completed it has emerged that one of its new clauses will widen the powers of the British Special Branch and MI5 in their harassment of Irish citizens.

According to the British based PTA Research and Welfare Association



• The British government is again looking for more repressive and racist powers to increase its harassment of the Irish community in Britain

Clause 62 of the new proposals allow for the police to effectively draw a cordon around entire regions or communities. Within these areas police will have the powers to stop and search persons, vehicles and premises. This cordon can last for 28 days and can be extended for a further 28 days by an assistant chief constable.

Also included are powers for a police constable to stop and search any vehicle or person they see fit, whether or not they have grounds for suspecting the person or the vehicle has been involved in any incident. This, along with further quite dramatic changes, has been likened to the police being able to declare areas of martial law.

The PTA group pointed out that detentions will be carried out purely on the personal whims and prejudices of police officers. Irish centres, clubs, pubs, Irish festivals and sportsgrounds will become venues where these new racist powers will be used. Failure by members of the Irish communities to cooperate with the new procedures could leave them open to a six month prison sentence and a substantial fine.

Like the changes recently witnessed in the 'Emergency Provi-

sions Act (EPA) in the Six Counties similar changes are included in the new Bill in England.

Clause 63 adds two new offences to the present PTA.

Liberty, the civil rights group, has pointed out that under Part 16a of the new legislation anyone having possession of standard household items like empty jam jars, rubber gloves or weighing scales could be subsequently accused of being on their way to make a bomb. Possession of similar items have resulted in people recently being charged in the Six Counties.

All these items have been used in English courts in the past in attempts to convict Irish prisoners. With the implementation of the new Bill no conclusive proof, backed up by corroboration by either witnesses or forensic evidence, will be needed to obtain a conviction. 'Reasonable suspicion' that the articles are connected with 'acts of terrorism' will suffice.

Similarly under Part 16b, detainees will have the onus of proof put on them to give a reasonable excuse for possession of any information, records or documents including photographs which the police might deem 'useful to terrorists planning or carrying out acts of terrorism'. In other words, if you are Irish you will be seen as guilty until you can prove your innocence.

RUC pressurise young father

A 24-YEAR-OLD West Belfast man held in Castlereagh Interrogation Centre was approached by RUC Special Branch officers who attempted to recruit him as an informer.

On Tuesday, 11 January, the RUC arrived at the young man's home at 5.45am. He was arrested and taken to Castlereagh Interrogation Centre where he was interrogated by four RUC officers working in teams of two from 10am until 11pm for two days.

The RUC attempted to intimidate the young nationalist (who does not wish to be named) into believing that they could, if so inclined, produce sufficient false evidence against him to secure a conviction. During one interrogation session one of the RUC officers produced a clip of bullets and threatened to plant them in the pocket of the detainee.

He was questioned about a grenade attack on a British army footpatrol which took place in April 1993. During another interrogation the RUC produced a statement which they claimed was from one of the soldiers on the footpatrol.

Despite the fact that the RUC had made no attempt to arrest the man in almost a year, the RUC claimed that the soldier had identified the young man at the time of the attack and had supplied the RUC with his name and address.

Given the subsequent recruitment attempt by the RUC Special Branch, it is clear that the young man's two day interrogation ordeal was simply intended to soften up the detainee and intimidate him into believing that the RUC could, if he failed to cooperate and agree to act as an informer, falsify sufficient evidence to secure a conviction.

On Wednesday evening, the young man was taken to a different interrogation room and confronted by two Special Branch officers. He was questioned about named individuals and asked to act as an informer. One of the Special Branch officers said if he agreed to 'help' they would 'set him up for life'. The young man was also threatened that if he failed to cooperate the RUC would rearrest him and press charges.

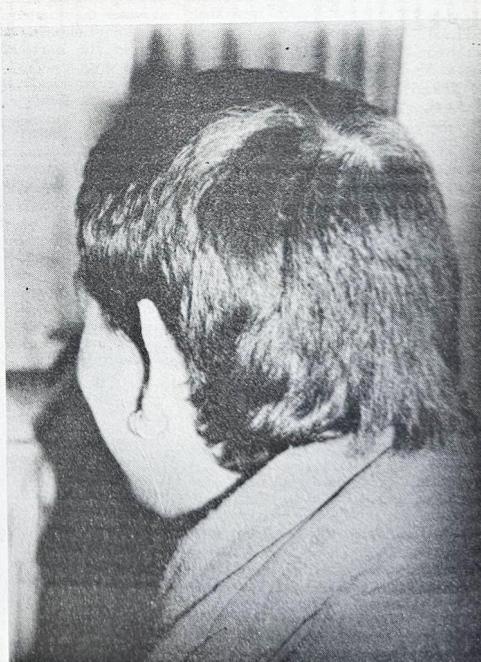
The young man agreed to 'think about it' and was told to meet his handlers in Belfast city centre the following Thursday. He was told 'wear the same white top' so he would be recognised. He was to go to Leisure World where he would 'know us when

you see us'. The Special Branch officer said they'd know when he was coming down because they'd be watching the house. The Special Branch officer continued:

"As soon as you ID one of us, he'll walk ahead, just follow until we pick you up."

On being released the young West Belfast man immediately contacted his solicitor and Sinn Féin and told them of his ordeal and the RUC recruitment attempt. Local Sinn Féin Councillor Una Gillespie said this was only the latest in a long line of recruitment attempts made by the RUC in which they have arrested young people and tried to intimidate them into passing on information. She continued:

"This manipulation along with the active collusion with loyalist death squads is obviously aimed at striking fear into the nationalist community. Maybe Dr Hendron at one of his PR meetings with the RUC would like to raise the issue of this young man and other attempts to recruit informers from the community. Perhaps Dr Hendron will have a problem with this given that he has been on record in the past calling on people to cooperate with the RUC. Is this the kind of cooperation he means?"



• The RUC are again guilty of another recruitment attempt in Belfast of a young nationalist

Sligo picket of British envoy

THE BRITISH AMBASSADOR David Blatherwick was met by a Sinn Féin picket when he went to address a lunch of Sligo Chamber of Commerce on Friday, 21 January.

On arrival in the Park Hotel Blatherwick declined the offer to meet with a Sinn Féin delegation, but did receive a letter from the party calling on his government to provide clarification for

the Downing Street Declaration. The letter was handed by Sinn Féin representatives Séan MacManus and Vincent Murray. The letter said:

"We, the members of Sligo Sinn

Féin wish to take this opportunity to call on you in your capacity as British ambassador to Ireland to bring to the attention of the British Prime Minister, Mr John Major, our dismay at his refusal to clarify for our party, the contents of his recent declaration with Mr. Albert Reynolds. . . . As your government has

been in protracted contact with talks with Sinn Féin over the past three years, we demand the current refusal by Mr Major to clarify this declaration, highly hypocritical. If, as your government alleges, this document is the basis for peace, then surely there is onus on them to clearly indicate what this document contains.

To demand that our party formally respond to the declaration in the absence of such clarification

and with the current belligerent, provocative and arrogant attitude of your government, is to expect too much.

Despite this prevarication by Britain, Sinn Féin remains committed to a lasting peace and to developing and promoting the peace process until peace is achieved.

The search for peace in Ireland is too serious an issue to be sidelined by your government in this manner."

Avoiding conspiracy theories

■ BY SUSINI

THE END OF 1993 was arguably an appropriate time for a book on the IRA and Sinn Féin to be published. There will, however, be some debate whether the *Long War* is the appropriate book.

Political turmoil, developments, interchanges, contradictions and ambiguities have so densely populated the past eight months that it was inevitable that someone would attempt an overview and tease out some order from the ever swelling deluge of occurrences. Indeed, there is material in abundance for quite a few books not to mention academic theses. In spite of this, Brendan O'Brien has opted to cover an eight-year period.

So it comes as something of a disappointment to find in 285 pages of 'narrative' photographs and maps counted as part of the text.

The 'padding' effect is accentuated by the inclusion of case studies which, while interesting in their own rights, are not entirely germane to the field of investigation. Moreover, RUC supplied statistics are used throughout for the

purpose of illustrating IRA operational activity. The danger of relying on such a discredited source is aptly amplified when we read that one of the 'IRA's operations' on 2 April 1987, was the killing of a civilian in Havana Gardens — that 'civilian' happened to be IRA Volunteer Larry Marley, killed by the UVF in collusion with the RUC.

To his credit the author makes no attempt to turn his work into a 'republican-bashing' exercise. He has endeavoured to explain how republicans over the past number of years have sought a solution with ever increasing flexibility. Yet, in seeking to convey the flexibility to his reader, O'Brien will fail to convince many, in particular republicans, that he has managed to avoid contributing to a conspiracy theory which holds

that republicans are busy becoming the unwitting architects of their own demise.

The organising principle employed throughout the book is that for some considerable time the republican leadership has gradually, but persistently, been nudging the republicans away from its original goal of securing a British declaration of intent to withdraw to a position of being but a mere whisker away from accepting "the realities of unionism", veto included. This is way off the mark.

Yet even here there is confusion, as the narrative tends to drift back and forth between republicans flirting with the veto and refusing to accommodate it at all. This serves to conjure up a mental image of the author as the cat watching ping-pong and holding the perspective of whatever table the play happens to be at, at any given moment.

But, to be fair, the complexities of the past eight months have been hard to fol-

low, and O'Brien has done his best to unravel them. The cut and thrust along with the constant manoeuvring for position in the turbulent political arena have made it difficult for any commentator to pin down groups to firm positions.

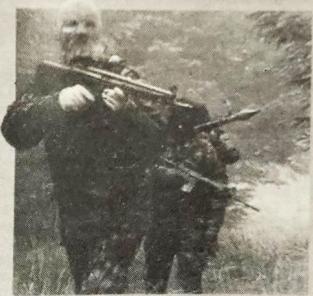
Elsewhere, the book has been unfavourably compared to Liam Clarke's *Broadening The Battlefield*, and O'Brien has been criticised for publishing too early and subsequently missing out on much of what has happened since the Shankill tragedy (around when the book was completed). Jim Cusack, in the *Irish Times*, likened it to *Hamlet* without the prince. But the British have done such a good job in dragging out their refusal to clarify the Downing Street Declaration, that to delay publication in the hope of something more juicy would have denied a curious audience a useful interpretation of important developments.

At any rate, *The Long*

War

The Long War

The IRA and SINN FÉIN 1985 to TODAY



BRENDAN O'BRIEN

War is a much better book than *Broadening The Battlefield* for no other reason than O'Brien has approached the task with journalistic competence and personal honesty even if his interpretations and

conclusions are not always beyond question.

● *The Long War. The IRA and Sinn Féin from 1985 to Today*. By Brendan O'Brien. Published by the O'Brien Press. Price £18.95 (Hb).

the Dublin state class have over the past decade attempted to replace the hierarchy of the Catholic Church as the Irish moral and political thought police.

Fennell blames the emergence of this west-British shoneen class on the failure of the Irish revolution. Put more accurately it is the result of an unfinished revolution. But the conclusion Desmond Fennell draws from this can only be described as disturbing. He apparently believes that the creation of a "nationally-minded" social elite who could have fulfilled the desire for social climbing within the national framework would have prevented the emerging Irish Catholic middle class from aping their former colonial masters. Surely as someone who

of the Six Counties. They would not dream that such persecution has occurred and continues to occur in the 26 Counties. And that makes such persecution all the more insidious.

With the lapsing of the Section 31 Ministerial Order last week, we witnessed the removal of one of the most overt aspects of political repression in the 26 Counties. That such a blunt tool of thought control could exist for so long merely indicates the depth of suppression of opinion and information here. And Fennell identifies the Dublin four set as being the foremost of those responsible for this suppression.

He points out, correctly, that what he calls the Dublin four 'state class': "Functions politically as a party, both inside and outside the Oireachtas, and has the national media as its 'party press'. During the past 20 years or so, the Dublin media have shed the political and ideological pluralism that once characterised them, and have developed a single Dublin media line on all major issues domestic and foreign."

Fennell identifies the priority political issues of this state class as the so-called liberal agenda. I believe, however, this would more accurately be described as pseudo-liberal given the authoritarian nature of this new class, their exercise of power and influence and their reactionary views on economic policy and national self-determination. In fact

Agree or disagree with Desmond Fennell's analyses, and on reading *Heresy* I found myself doing a large share of both, what cannot be denied is that the man is a truly independent thinker. In today's Irish public life, which is largely the creation of Dublin four, that's saying a lot.

● *Heresy. The Battle of Ideas in Modern Ireland*. By Desmond Fennell. Published by Blackstaff Press. Price £19.95.

Dublin Four — Ireland's thought police

■ BY ART MAC EOIN

HERESY by Desmond Fennell is a collection of essays on a variety of areas of Irish life which together represent the author's definitive view of Ireland in the world.

Fennell declares that his central concern is the "restoration of Irish humanity after its historical wounding" and identifies his guiding philosophy as being inspired by "the humanism of Douglas Hyde who 100 years ago, helped to found the Gaelic League and thereby, as Pearse said, start the Irish revolution".

Fennell claims to stand within this tradition and to have worked at developing it, restating it and applying it to present circumstances.

In seeing the problems and conflicts resulting from the failed political structures on this island, Fennell strives to develop new ways of looking at our people and goes on to propose new

political structures to give practical expression to this.

However, in looking at the national question he redefines the problem. In misreading the causes, the solutions he proposes are inevitably flawed. Fennell would agree that the Irish people, their diversity and their identity are not the root cause of conflict on this island and that it is the failure of the political structures which have resulted in conflict. Where I feel he goes astray is that he proposes new political struc-

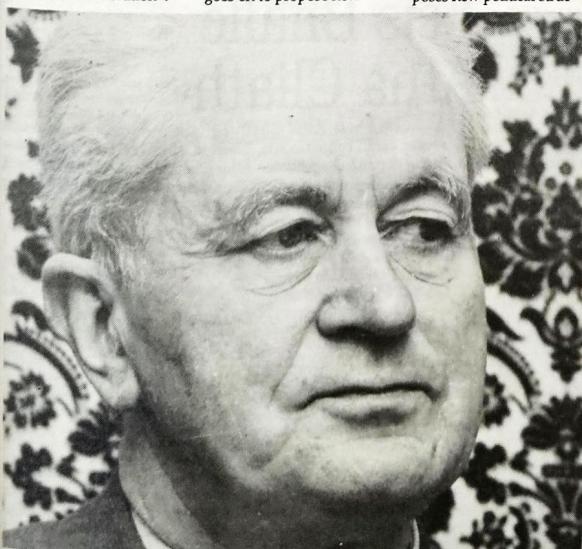
tures, the effect of which would merely entrench divisions created by the current ones. Thus in 'Peace in the North' we are treated to an exhausting and, in the end, pointless search for new terminology by which to identify northern unionists.

The book provides a powerful critique of what has popularly become known as the Dublin four set. The author describes this as:

"A powerful social group with a characteristic mentality and agenda, which is located in south Dublin, exists largely outside parliament and the government of the day, but includes varying proportions of both."

This socio-political class has over a number of years entrenched its power and hegemony in Irish life and exercised an authoritarian control over political and cultural thought and expression in the 26 Counties. It must be said that Desmond Fennell has been one of the few high-profile public voices raised against the Dublin four junta over the years and at the height of that group's grip on public life and thought. For this he deserves credit. Like others he probably suffered professionally as a result.

There are many people out there who think that this could not happen, that writers and intellectuals are only persecuted in South America or in the former Stalinist states or even in the context



Desmond Fennell — an independent thinker who has confronted the Dublin Four grip on public life and thought in the 26 Counties

Nuacht

Láidriú comhartha Theilifís na Gaeilge de dhíth

TÁ MOLADH CURTHA ag an Róinn Ealaíne, Cultúr agus Gaeltachta sna 26 Chontae chugóin Róinn Oidhreachtána chun tarchur RTÉ a neartú ionas go gcuirfear Teilifís na Gaeilge ar fáil do Ghaeilí na Sé Chontae.

Tá Teilifís na Gaeilge le teacht ar an saol i mí Eanáir na bliana seo chugainn. Beidh an stáisiún úr ag craoladh do thriú uair a chloig achan lá ó Ghaeltach Chonamara.

Tá cuid mhór fadhbanna teicníu le sárlí sula dtosóidh Teilifís na Gaeilge agus ag an tús ní bheidh an stáisiún ar fáil ach ag 60% de mhuintir na 26 Chontae. Ach ní bheidh an stáisiún ar fail sna Sé Chontae ar chor ar bith mura gcuirfear le neart an tarchur.

Ní bhaineann ceist neart an tarchur le fadhbanna teicníu ní le Teilifís na Gaeilge amháin. San Sé Chontae tá sé deacair teacht ar an dá stáisiún atá ag RTÉ faoi láthair. Constaí sna dílthe craolata a choscann ar láidriú na dtarchoir sin. Tá athruithe de dhíth ar na dílthe craolata sular fídeir na tarchuranna a láidriú.

Tá ríaltas Atha Cliath anois ag moladh gur chóir tarchuranna na stáisiún uilig de chuid RTÉ a láidriú le teacht thart ar na fad-

hbanna ar leith a mbaineann le craoladh Theilifís na Gaeilge sna Sé Chontae.

Tuigtear go bhfuil oifig an aird Micheál D O hUiginn, Dé Céadaoin, 26 Eanáir, go mbeidh údarás bunaídh sealadach ceaptha do Theilifís na Gaeilge laistigh de sheachtain ní dhó.

Dúirt 'O hUiginn go mbeadh

theipfeadh ar na Briotanaigh a dualgais don phobal Gaeilge ó thuaidh a chomhlíonadh.

Dúirt 'O hUiginn go mbeadh cainteanna aige le cathaoirleach Udarás RTÉ chun na ceapacháin don údarás nua a phlé.

Tuigtear go mbeidh naonúr ball ar údarás Theilifís na Gaeilge, beirt acu ceaptha ag RTÉ agus seachtar ball eile. Tá ainmeacha Bob Collins agus eagarthóir na gClár Gaeilge ar RTÉ, Cathal Goan, luité leis na haitéanna do RTÉ.

Creidtear go mbeidh an cathaoirleach de chioiste bhunaithe an stáisiún, Gearóid O Tuatháigh ceaptha mar cathaoirleach ar an údarás.

Ní fios go fóill an mbeidh áit ar an údarás do bhall ar bith den Fheachtas Náisiúnta Teilifíse, a throid le blianta ar son stáisiún teilifís Gaeilge.



● MICHEÁL D O hUIGINN

Dúirt sé nár thug na húdarás cuidiú ar bith don Ghaelscoilaoiach ach "ach nuair a tarraingiodh iad ag ciceáil agus ag screadáil".

Tá dhá chás díl tionscaithe ag coiste na Meánscoile in aghaidh na n-údarás oideachais. Tá cás amháin ag dul chun tosaigh tríd an Chúirt Eorpach de Chearta Daonna agus ceann eile curtha chugian ombudsman.

Tá suíl ag coiste na Meánscoile go n-athróidh seo dearcadh na n-údarás agus tá siad anois ag fanacht le torthaí an athbhreithnithe féachaint ar bhfuil an stát sásta faoi dheireadh thiar a sciar den mhaonú a ioc don oideachas Gaeilge.

Dearcadh na n-údarás scannalach

TÁ AN T-AON mhéánscoil Gaeilge sna Sé Chontae, Meánscoil Feirste, go fóill gan mhaoiniú ar bith ó Róinn Oideachais na Sé Chontae d'ainneoin go bhfuil an scoil oscailte beagnach trí bliana anois.

Freastalaíonn 63 dalta ar an Mheánscoil i gCultúrlann Mhac Adaim/O Fiach a n-oscailodh i 1991. Tá ceathair muinteoir lánaimseartha ag an scoil agus triúr eile páirt-aimseartha. Muinntear 13 ábhar sa scoil go dtí seo.

Meastar go bhfuil £80,000 sa bhliain de dhíth leis an scoil a reachtáil agus ní fhagheann an scoil tacailt ar bith ón stát.

Tá an figiúr sin le hardú arís nuair a ghlacann an scoil le daltaí na chéad bliana i Meán Fómhair seo chugainn. Go dtí seo tháinig na daltaí uilig chugóin amhánscoil na Bunscoil Phobal Feirste. Don chéadúair áfach beidh daltaí ag teacht isteach ó Ghaelscoil na bhfáil, an dara bunscoil Gaeilge a bunaíodh sa chathair.

Méadóidh lóna na ndaltaí go dtí

breis is 100 agus beidh ar laghad díáth muinnteoir eile de dhíth ar an scoil.

Is iad na tuismitheoirí agus carde na scioile a chaitheas an t-airgead a chruinníodh do na muinnteoirí sin, mar a dhéanamh siad do chostas uilig na scioile faoi láthair, mura n-úhráinn ríaltas na Breataine a bpolasáid maidir leis na Gaeilgscoiléanna.

Tá tuairisc nua á ullmhú ar an scoláocht Gaeilge ag an Róinn Oideachais sna Sé Chontae agus tá dóchas ar choiste na Meánscoile go

ndéanfar na hathruithé is cuf chun maoníú a thabhairt ar bhonn cothrom don oideachas trí mhéan na Gaeilge. An tseachtain seo caite

dúirt cathaoirleach Choiste Airgeadais na Meánscoile, Séamus Mac Seáin, go gcuirfí d'íachall ar an ríaltas maonú a thabhairt do scoil am éigin amach anseas mar a rinne siad le achan scéim Gaeilge le 25 bliana anuas d'ainneoin gur leas leo a dhéanamh ag an tús.

"Tá dearcadh na n-údarás oideachais sna Sé Chontae i leith an oideachais trí mhéan na teanga scannalach," arsa sé.

Feis Bhaile Átha Cliath

TÁ Coiste Fheis Átha Cliath ag fáiltíú roimh iontráil ó oidi scioile, ceoil, drámaíochta, Gaeilge, rince, srl faoi choimhne feisean na bliana seo. Tá Feis Bhaile Átha Cliath ar siúl ó bhí 1903 ann, deich mbliana i ndiaidh do Chonradh na Gaeilge toiseacht ar feiseanna a chur ar bun ar fud na tire.

Beidh feis na bliana seo ag dul ar aghaidh i bhFeabhrá agus i mí Márta. Beidh an fhéile scioile agus ceoil ag dul ar aghaidh i Halla an ATGWU, i Sráid na Mainistreach agus tionólfaí an fhéile rince i Halla Corpus Christi, Homefarm Road, Baile Átha Cliath 9.

Tá réimse leathan de chomhórtas san fheis. Beidh comórtas san aithriseoiréacht, scéalaíocht, scríbhneoiréacht, comhrá, agallamh beirte, scoraoíocht, drámaíocht, ceol de gach súil agus damhsa.

Tá suíl ag eagraitheoirí na Feise "go mbainfidh na hionmáthoirí uilig pléisiúr as an oícadáil, as an chomhlúdar agus as an chaidreamh, agus gur fearrde an tuigfheadh siad an pháirt atá acu i gcaomhnú ar gcuiltúr dhúchais".

Má tá tuilleadh eolais de dhíth

Feis Átha Cliath 1994



Feabhrá/Márta 1994

FÉILE SCÓILÉACHA & CEOL

SCÉALAÍOCHTA & SCRÍBHNEIRÉACHT

DRÁMAÍOCHTA

RINCE

Hallá Corpus Christi

Homefarm Road

Baile Átha Cliath 9

deán tagmháil le Máire Ni Choileáin, 40 Céide Bhaile Phámar, Bhaile Phámar, Bhaile Átha Cliath 20. Fón 628383. Caithfidh iontráilte a bheith ag an choiste roimh 15 Feabhrá.



Letters

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

Damaging Declaration A Chairde,

James Molyneaux agrees that the Joint Declaration gives nationalists nothing. The unionists, he said, have now a real guarantee from Dublin as well as from London. John Hume insists the document is not supposed to be a solution and that, "among the things the Joint Declaration was doing and which was totally central to it, was to address the Republican Movement".

An obvious factor emanating from the widely acknowledged ambiguity of this document is the constant rhetorical pandering to the proponents of the loyalist veto — that British guarantee to unionists which has been the prime obstacle to resolving the 70-year-old nightmare and the real stumbling block to political alternatives and progress.

Since the document is not purported to be a solution, its endorsement of traditional unionist demands, ahead of the proposed negotiations, is all the more remarkable. The "statutory constitutional guarantees", which copperfastened the unionist position in the past, are now reaffirmed thus consolidating the unionists and depriving them of motivation for change.

If the Joint Declaration was meant to woo the warring republicans, it is difficult to see why it was designed to be so partisan in its preparation and so belligerent in its policies and proposals. There is nothing in it to reassure nationalists. Not once are they mentioned by name. Despite the discrimination they endured for years, they don't even merit a footnote — nothing that would address their grievances, while the hopes and aspirations of the majority people of Ireland are flagrantly and heavily qualified.

A paramount example of this is the document's affirmation that it is for "the people of the island of Ireland" alone to decide the future of the country. This seems, at first, like a shift in the British position. But when we consider it in context, what in fact we are being told is that the right of self-determination may only be exercised subject to the agreement and consent of the minority community in Ireland, thus revealing the resolve of both governments to circumvent the right of Ireland as a whole to self-determination.

Both Mr Major and Mr Spring continue to insist that time is of the essence for all nationalists to take up the "challenge". In my opinion, time could not be more inauspicious while the ongoing alliance between Molyneaux and Major is reliant upon the unionist veto. Clearly Mr Major's vulnerability to parliamentary defeat will impede London from any meaningful arrangement for peace in the foreseeable future.

For good or for bad, the Joint Declaration is now seen

by republicans and others as a rehash of the old rules under which the new game of Irish politics will be played. This, of course, would be considerably enhanced if the Provos would deem to succumb. "Peace must have meaning beyond the cessation of violence" (Brian Keenan). Where then is the recipe for peace? Whence the sweeping media euphoria, the concerted political and church pretence that we were somehow on the verge of peace!

The editorial in a popular West Belfast newspaper has warned: "Let no person, no matter how exalted in either church or state, make you accept this agreement on the false premise that you are for violence if you reject it. Nothing could be further from the truth."

It should not have been a surprise to anyone when John Major, in his Commons speech following the Downing Street agreement, asserted that the declaration means no to the value of achieving a united Ireland, no to Britain joining the persuaders, no to any timetable for a united Ireland, no to joint authority, no to any change in the unionist veto and no to any Dublin say in the affairs of the North. Is this what the Taoiseach understands the Joint Declaration to mean?

An Táiréir,
Píarsas O Dúill,
Sráid na hEaglaise,
Baile Atha Cliath 7.

Clarification essential A Chairde,

The Downing Street Declaration would have read a whole lot different if the Tories were not in hock to the Ulster Unionists. A government whose very survival depends on a few votes from an offshore subsidiary should not be deemed as an honest broker.

Sinn Féin have good reason to ask for clarification from a Tory government. John Major's take it or leave it approach to Sinn Féin is reminiscent to Lloyd George's attitude to Michael Collins in 1921.

John Major like Lloyd George is threatening republicans with awful consequences if they reject the Downing Street Declaration.

Republicans of all shades will have no alternative but to reject the 'Peace Plan' if John Major refuses to address the unionist veto. The prospect of another 50 years of undemocratic unionist rule is unthinkable.

Tim Jones,
London.

Warnings A Chairde,

Joe Murphy (AP/RN 9 December) says the Republican Movement must avoid Enniskillen or Warrington type "mistakes" in the future. This description is not satisfactory as it will perpetuate British establishment propaganda. The complete account of the Enniskillen incident is yet

to be revealed. After the Warrington tragedy the IRA said that it gave two precise and adequate warnings to the divisional police headquarters at Merseyside and to the Samaritans. The police insisted that they did not receive their call and that the Samaritans warning of nearly 40 minutes was vague, uncoded, and gave an unspecified branch of Boots in Liverpool.

The police story is hard to believe. Why bother to give a vague warning and not use the coding system? Significantly, a spokesperson for the Samaritans refused to confirm or deny any details of the warning and said: "This is a matter for the police." So with the prolonged media hysteria following the bombing not one journalist was able to interview the persons who took the IRA warning at the Samaritans office.

On two occasions AP/RN have related the story of the IRA monitoring of a bomb near a railway line at Four Arches bridge in North London. Very precise warnings were given to ensure the police would act. After three calls the IRA had to ring Dublin to get the gardaí to warn Scotland Yard!

Even then there was no action taken by Scotland Yard and one hour later the bomb exploded under a passing train injuring several people. What a story for any editor! However, the media virtually ignored the story. Only *The Guardian*, I recall, gave it a few lines.

John Nolan,
London.

Ill-disguised surrender demand A Chairde,

The recent moves to bring peace are a welcome sign that the efforts of all nationalists in Ireland are beginning to induce a new mood of realism about political thought in Britain.

However, there are many aspects of the so-called peace offer which give cause for concern. Surely an invitation to the IRA to lay down their arms for ever is actually a demand for them to surrender, not a peace offer? What is being offered in return? Talks, they say, but about what? The price of biscuits in Strabane? The sales of Julio Iglesias records in Newry? Surely the agenda must be far better defined before the armed struggle can be ended.

If the IRA promises to end all military activity forever without knowing exactly where the political process will lead republicans may well find themselves involved in a futile and fruitless pseudo-debate, having given up the one trump card in their possession — namely the right to defend themselves against British government and loyalist murder gangs. Furthermore, if they are forced into resuming armed resistance this will be said to distract their treachery and dedication to violence.

Other questions remain — how can we turn our backs on

those now in prison who had the courage to stand up for their beliefs? How can a force as flawed and bigoted as the RUC (even according to the British government's own reports — Hunt, Cameron, Stalker etc) be expected to supervise a return to normality, particularly while they retain their arms? Finally, how can the present British government, known and despised everywhere for treachery, dishonesty and the most abject political opportunism, be trusted to ensure political progress?

No, it seems to me this ill-disguised demand to surrender won't do. You ask your opponent to surrender when he is on the verge of losing, not when he operates successfully all over the 'United Kingdom'. You ask your opponent to surrender when his will is sapped, not when your own incompetence and stubborn stupidity has created an untenable situation, and brought your own nation into the gutter.

They talk about the war they will make on republicans if this isn't accepted — well, 'immediate and most terrible war' was the threat last time, wasn't it? And that time we did accept, and we've all been stuck with the consequences ever since. Let's not be fooled again.

A Newlove,
Belgium.

Reynolds & self-determination A Chairde,

In his speech to the Irish Association, Albert Reynolds seemed to imply that self-determination for Ireland dates from the Downing Street Declaration and includes, or even equates with, the unionist veto.

However, as has often been pointed out, the Irish people as a whole enacted self-determination and determined on a 32-County democracy in 1918 and

have confirmed this by voting in their majority ever since for parties that claim to aspire to this. Furthermore, ever since the "Peers versus the People" British constitutional crisis of 1911 and the passing of the Home Rule Bill in 1912, an overwhelming majority of the people in these islands have endorsed self-determination for the island of Ireland and have been inclined to respect the Irish people's exercise of that right. This too is confirmed by innumerable opinion polls since then. In his speech, Albert Reynolds appears to accept uncritically unionist propaganda that the democratic requirement that they respect majority decisions whether made in Dublin or Westminster and not raise arms against them, even though they do not have to agree with them, is "coercion" rather than the proper rule of law in a democracy. He also appears to uncritically accept the spurious justification that loyalist violence is "reactive" out of fear. Even fear of an unattractive southern economy!

There is no way that the use of

the sectarian, racist and bigoted term "taig" (as in "spraying taigs") can be explained away as "reactive" and based on concern about the attractiveness of the South's economy (as if the Six-County economy was any stronger). It is based on racism, bigotry and prejudice. Many who pay lip-service to the struggle in South Africa evade this fundamental truth about the northern unionist attitude in Ireland.

Albert Reynolds also says that the declaration "for the very first time, contains explicit British acceptance of the right of self-determination of the people of Ireland as a whole North and South". But "as a whole" is not two separate units "North and South".

It is all very well for John Hume and Albert Reynolds to say "we cannot change history", but when the British government is making no serious attempt to right historical wrongs and in public at least is maintaining a Thatcherite posture as with Major's response at Question time in the House of Commons on 13 January that clarification was out, that is exactly what appears to be being attempted in this "revision" of the right of self-determination to concede to the unionist veto.

Dublin's decision not to renew the order for Section 31 is a small return to basic civil liberties. No doubt unionists will ask if John Major knew this was on the cards before the Downing Street Declaration and whether this is part of secret exchanges that go beyond the declaration.

Such conspiracy theories should not impede a similar lapsing of the British Broadcasting Ban. Although given Mr Major's evasiveness when asked to condemn the gerrymandering by Westminster Tory Council perhaps one ought to be retained just for the likes of him.

Joe Murphy,
Birmingham.

Lessons from Mexico A Chairde,

It was with interest that I read in the Mexican newspapers last week of Albert Reynolds recent visit to Mexico City.

The timing of the Taoiseach's visit was impeccable, coinciding with the aftermath of the new year rebellion which took place in Chiapas in the south of Mexico. The Mexican media inevitably attempt to make comparisons between the rebellion in Chiapas and "The Troubles" which they largely knew of from the impact of the 1981 Hunger Strikes.

Speaking to the press on the subject of the uprisings in Chiapas (organised by the EZLN, named after the revolutionary hero Emilio Zapata) Albert Reynolds compared the quick response of President Salinas de Gortari to engage in peace talks with the guerrillas with those of the peace talks initiated by the Irish and British governments. It was thought in my

opinion an absurd and arrogant comparison.

Within four days of the start of the new year rebellion in San Cristóbal de Las Casas, President Salinas appointed his Minister of the Interior, Camacho Solis, to go to the area and enter into direct talks with the guerrillas. Despite the initial military response, within a week the Mexican government acknowledged the grievances of the people of Chiapas, recognised the guerrillas, and took responsibility for many of the social and economic injustices suffered by the indigenous peoples in the state which had led to the uprisings. Two days ago all those who took part in the rebellion were also offered unconditional clemency.

Twenty five years ago the nationalist people in the North of Ireland were forced to take up arms as their only means of defending their basic human rights — no different to the plight of the Lacondón Indians of Chiapas. Yet still the southern Irish government pays lip service to the peace process, offering the nationalist people no real incentive that they mean business. Perhaps if Ireland is serious in strengthening its links with Mexico beyond lucrative beef agreements it might learn from the negotiating process undertaken by the ex-mayor of Mexico City, Manuel Camacho Solís.

It is ironic that while the First World criticises Mexico for its lack of democracy, that in an election year, the Mexican government is capable of such flexibility to respond in such a progressive manner to the situation in the south and take responsibility for the plight of its own indigenous people, a move which can only benefit the movement toward democracy in the long term.

That is not to say everything is suddenly better — the divide between north and south in Mexico will continue to increase as a result of NAFTA inevitably — but this rebellion has certainly created a situation here that the government in Mexico City cannot ignore the needs of all its peoples.

Meanwhile, the Irish government which claims to represent a democratic First World nation, clearly lacks the strength of character to stand up for her people in the partitioned North and acknowledge their own appalling history of ignoring the plight of those annexed in the North. Of course the situations are hugely different, Mexico after all is not occupied by a foreign government. Perhaps it is easy for Reynolds to be quoted in the Mexican press for talking heroically about "self-determination", a term he probably would be more hesitant to use closer to home, whatever his motive it will only remain rhetoric on his part until he seriously addresses the issues of his own people.

This is not a moment for smug comparisons. Nora Doherty-Mendez, Guadalajara, Mexico.

News/Notices

Derry relatives challenge London

RELATIVES of the 14 people shot dead by the British army on Bloody Sunday in January 1972 are to travel to Westminster on Thursday, 27 January to lobby MP's on their demands to have the case of Bloody Sunday reopened.

While in London the group of 14 Derry people will deliver a report and a petition to 10 Downing Street detailing their case, calling again on John Major to initiate a review of his government's attitude to Bloody Sunday.

Gerry Duddy of the campaign said that the visit to London is intended to highlight the need for a high-level review of the ongoing travesty of the *Widgery Report* and to refocus attention on the 22 year injustice of Bloody Sunday.

"The report, compiled jointly by the human rights' group British Irish Rights Watch and Belfast Solicitors' firm Madden & Finucane, details our case against the government. The campaign shall forward copies to the Irish government, and

the United Nations Special Rapporteur on the Right to Life."

Accompanied by the petition from the relatives group, the report will be formally handed into 10 Downing Street.

"Britain must be made to remember the enormity of the crime it committed in Derry in January 1972 and the legacy of violence which Bloody Sunday helped create. Britain must also be made aware that it has no right to lecture anyone about violence and the morality of violence while it maintains the absurdity of *Widgery* and aides the truth about Bloody Sunday.

"If we are to achieve peace in our time, Britain must come clean on Bloody Sunday," Mr Duddy concluded.



● Twenty two years after the murder of 14 people in Derry, Britain is still trying to evade responsibility for its crimes

Programme for Bloody Sunday Weekend

DERRY

FRIDAY, 28 JANUARY. Pilot's Row Community Centre (All day Friday and Saturday). The Women's Living History Circle presents its new exhibition 'Jukin Back'. Women from the Fountain and Bogside Communities talk for themselves Playhouse, Artillery Street 8pm. Derry Frontline production of a Chilean play *Death and the Maiden*. AOH Hall Foyle Street 9.30pm. Bloody Sunday Annual Memorial Lecture. Speaker: Bernadette McAliskey. Followed by a social evening. Admission by ticket only,

price £2.50. Organised by the Bloody Sunday Justice Campaign.

SATURDAY, 29 JANUARY. Pilots Row 10.30am. Human Rights Exhibitions. Human Rights Roadshow. Human Rights Networking meeting. Creche and lunch facilities available. Organised by the Pat Finucane Centre.

2pm-5pm Public Forum entitled "Just Peace?": An opportunity for the public to discuss recent developments

including the Hume/Adams Talks and the Downing Street Declaration. Details of speakers to be announced at a later date. Organised by the Pat Finucane Centre.

8.30pm-10.30pm. Pilots Row Community Centre. Celebration of the life of Gerry "The Bird" Doherty, the veteran republican who died last year. Followed by an evening in the Dungloe Bar.

SUNDAY, 30 JANUARY. Memorial

Service at Bloody Sunday Monument 11am. Organised by the Bloody Sunday Justice Campaign.

2.30pm. "A Just Peace": Annual Bloody Sunday March and Rally. Assemble at the Creggan Shops. Speakers: Margaret Caraher, Tom Hartley, John Kelly. Chair: Cecil Hutchison (Rosemount Anti-Watchtower Campaign). Organised by the Bloody Sunday March Committee.

LONDON

SATURDAY, 29 JANUARY 12 Noon Assemble Hyde Park. March to rally at Quex Road, Kilburn. Rally 4pm.

Imeachtaí

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

BLOODY SUNDAY DEMONSTRATION: Saturday, 29 January, LONDON. Birmingham coach leaves Cambridge Street at

8.15am. Tickets £7 waged, £3.50 unwaged

BLOODY SUNDAY BUS: Leaves Market Square Navan, COUNTY MEATH, 10am, Sunday, 30 January. Those wishing to travel contact Joe Reilly or Paddy Rittigan at the Sinn Féin Office in Market Square

BLOODY SUNDAY ANNUAL

MARCH & RALLY: 2.30pm, Sunday, 30 January, Assemble at the Creggan Shops, DERRY. Organised by the Bloody Sunday March Committee

INC AGM (DUBLIN BRANCH): 8pm, Wednesday, 2 February, Club na Muineoirí, DUBLIN. Please attend

ELECTION CONVENTION: Local

Urban Council election strategy. 8.30pm, Wednesday, 2 February, Sinn Féin Centre, Birr, COUNTY OFFALY. Organised by the Michael Larkin Sinn Féin Cumann, Birr

FUNCTION: Céili, ceol agus craic. 9pm, Saturday, 5 February, Old Moran's Hotel, DUBLIN. Táille £3

WELCOME HOME FUNCTION: For ex-POW Leonard Hardy

(Portlaoise), Saturday 12 February, Emerald Bar, DUNDALK. Adm £2. Bus from Dublin, contact POW Dept Ph: 8727096

NOTICE: On Monday 24 January a meeting of Wexford Sinn Féin Cumann was held in Wexford Town. Finbarr Gahan was elected Chairperson. Anyone wishing to join the cumann should contact Finbarr or Sinn Féin Head Office

InDil Chuimhne

DONAGHY, Gerry; McNULTY, Peter; TIMOTHY, Mick. In proud and loving memory of Volunteers Peter McNulty (26 January 1972), Mick Timothy (26 January 1985) and Fian Gerry Donaghy (30 January 1972). "They may kill the revolutionary, but never the revolution." — Che Guevara. Proudly remembered by their friends and comrades in the Republican Movement.

DELANEY, Kevin (14th Ann.). In memory of Volunteer Kevin 'Dee' Delaney, killed on active service on 17 January 1980. Always remembered by Danny, Deborah and Family.

HARKER, Tony (12th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985. Always remembered with love and pride by his mother-in-law Elizabeth Sillery.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985. Always remembered with love and pride by his brother-in-law Larry.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985. Always remembered with love and pride by his brother-in-law Noel and Theresa.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985. Always remembered with love and pride by his brother-in-law Elizabeth Sillery.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985. Ireland unfree shall never be at peace. Proudly remembered by his wife Alice and children Ciara, Fionnach and Fionán.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of our dear son and brother Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985. Our lady of Knock and mother of the Gael, pray for him. Always remembered with love and pride by his mum, dad and Joe.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985. Always remembered with love and pride by his mother-in-law Liz, Gerry and family.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985. Always remembered with love and pride by his brother-in-law Noel and Theresa.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985.

Always remembered with love and pride by his brother-in-law Larry.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985.

Always remembered with love and pride by his brother-in-law Noel.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985.

Always remembered with love and pride by his brother-in-law Larry.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985.

Always remembered with love and pride by his sister-in-law Brenda, Jim and Daragh.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985. Always remembered with love and pride by his sister-in-law Liz, Gerry and family.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985. Always remembered with love and pride by his sister Honoria, Tony and family.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985. Always remembered with love and pride by his brother-in-law Noel and Theresa.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985.

Always remembered with love and pride by his brother-in-law Larry.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985.

Always remembered with love and pride by his brother-in-law Larry.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985.

Always remembered with love and pride by his brother-in-law Larry.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985.

Always remembered with love and pride by his brother-in-law Larry.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985.

Always remembered with love and pride by his brother-in-law Larry.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985.

Always remembered with love and pride by his brother-in-law Larry.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985.

Always remembered with love and pride by his brother-in-law Larry.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985.

Always remembered with love and pride by his brother-in-law Larry.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985.

Always remembered with love and pride by his brother-in-law Larry.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985.

Always remembered with love and pride by his brother-in-law Larry.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985.

Always remembered with love and pride by his brother-in-law Larry.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985.

Always remembered with love and pride by his brother-in-law Larry.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985.

Always remembered with love and pride by his brother-in-law Larry.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985.

Always remembered with love and pride by his brother-in-law Larry.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985.

Always remembered with love and pride by his brother-in-law Larry.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985.

Always remembered with love and pride by his brother-in-law Larry.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985.

Always remembered with love and pride by his brother-in-law Larry.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985.

Always remembered with love and pride by his brother-in-law Larry.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985.

Always remembered with love and pride by his brother-in-law Larry.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985.

Always remembered with love and pride by his brother-in-law Larry.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985.

Always remembered with love and pride by his brother-in-law Larry.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985.

Always remembered with love and pride by his brother-in-law Larry.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985.

Always remembered with love and pride by his brother-in-law Larry.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985.

Always remembered with love and pride by his brother-in-law Larry.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985.

Always remembered with love and pride by his brother-in-law Larry.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985.

Always remembered with love and pride by his brother-in-law Larry.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985.

Always remembered with love and pride by his brother-in-law Larry.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985.

Always remembered with love and pride by his brother-in-law Larry.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985.

Always remembered with love and pride by his brother-in-law Larry.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985.

Always remembered with love and pride by his brother-in-law Larry.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985.

Always remembered with love and pride by his brother-in-law Larry.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985.

Always remembered with love and pride by his brother-in-law Larry.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985.

Always remembered with love and pride by his brother-in-law Larry.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985.

Always remembered with love and pride by his brother-in-law Larry.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985.

Always remembered with love and pride by his brother-in-law Larry.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985.

Always remembered with love and pride by his brother-in-law Larry.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985.

Always remembered with love and pride by his brother-in-law Larry.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985.

Always remembered with love and pride by his brother-in-law Larry.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985.

Always remembered with love and pride by his brother-in-law Larry.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985.

Always remembered with love and pride by his brother-in-law Larry.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985.

Always remembered with love and pride by his brother-in-law Larry.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985.

Always remembered with love and pride by his brother-in-law Larry.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985.

Always remembered with love and pride by his brother-in-law Larry.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985.

Always remembered with love and pride by his brother-in-law Larry.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985.

Always remembered with love and pride by his brother-in-law Larry.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985.

Always remembered with love and pride by his brother-in-law Larry.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985.

Always remembered with love and pride by his brother-in-law Larry.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985.

Always remembered with love and pride by his brother-in-law Larry.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985.

Always remembered with love and pride by his brother-in-law Larry.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985.

Always remembered with love and pride by his brother-in-law Larry.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985.

Always remembered with love and pride by his brother-in-law Larry.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985.

Always remembered with love and pride by his brother-in-law Larry.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985.

Always remembered with love and pride by his brother-in-law Larry.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985.

Always remembered with love and pride by his brother-in-law Larry.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985.

Always remembered with love and pride by his brother-in-law Larry.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985.

Always remembered with love and pride by his brother-in-law Larry.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985.

Always remembered with love and pride by his brother-in-law Larry.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985.

Always remembered with love and pride by his brother-in-law Larry.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985.

Always remembered with love and pride by his brother-in-law Larry.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985.

Always remembered with love and pride by his brother-in-law Larry.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985.

Always remembered with love and pride by his brother-in-law Larry.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985.

Always remembered with love and pride by his brother-in-law Larry.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985.

Always remembered with love and pride by his brother-in-law Larry.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985.

Always remembered with love and pride by his brother-in-law Larry.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985.

Always remembered with love and pride by his brother-in-law Larry.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985.

Always remembered with love and pride by his brother-in-law Larry.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985.

Always remembered with love and pride by his brother-in-law Larry.

TIMOTHY, Mick (9th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mick Timothy, who died on 26 January 1985.

Always remembered with love and pride by his brother-in-law Larry.

A RECENTLY RETIRED Colonel in the Black Watch Regiment sparked a radio rebellion in Scotland this week when he announced plans for a £6.25 million plan to commemorate the 250th anniversary of the Jacobite Rebellion. The rebellion, led by Bonnie Prince Charlie, effectively ended on the battlefield of Culloden in 1745 when the Scottish forces were defeated by an English army led by the Duke of Cumberland, known in Scottish folklore as Butcher Cumberland.

Among those who enthusiastically joined in the slaughter of Prince Charlie's tired, rain-soaked and ill-armed forces were the locally recruited Black Watch, the 18th Century equivalent of Inkatha. A Scottish comrade described Lieutenant Colonel Philip Halford-MacLeod's connection to the anniversary as the equivalent of the Waffen SS holding an open day in Tel Aviv.

But the Black Watch colonel, sporting a "plummy" English accent, was unapologetic when he fielded questions from outraged Highlanders on Moray Firth Radio in Inverness who objected to his tourist project, clumsily titled *Living History in Scotland*. When locals objected to his project he admitted that "Highlanders got a raw deal after the Battle of Culloden" and described the battle as "a turning point in the history of the area."

A slight understatement that. After the massacre at Culloden the Butcher Cumberland would not let any of his enemy wounded receive medical attention. Instead he cordoned off the battlefield and let them bleed to death over a period of days. The Black Watch rampaged around the northwest of Scotland in advance of a plantation of the area, similar to the Cromwellian plantation of Ireland, a record of rapine and pillage which they brought intact to the Six Counties in the 20th Century.

THE SECRETARY of the Save the Gordon Highlanders Campaign made front-page headlines in the *Glasgow Herald* earlier this month when he claimed that Britain was involved in secret negotiations with Sinn Féin last year largely because of embarrassment over troop shortages.

He said that he was "convinced" that government policy on the Six Counties "is aimed at getting rid of the military burden."



• A member of Scotland's version of Inkatha — the fascist Black Watch Regiment

Among those who enthusiastically joined in the slaughter of Prince Charlie's tired, rain-soaked and ill-armed forces were the locally recruited Black Watch, the 18th Century equivalent of Inkatha. A Scottish comrade described Lieutenant Colonel Philip Halford-MacLeod's connection to the anniversary as the equivalent of the Waffen SS holding an open day in Tel Aviv.

But the Black Watch colonel, sporting a "plummy" English accent, was unapologetic when he fielded questions from outraged Highlanders on Moray Firth Radio in Inverness who objected to his tourist project, clumsily titled *Living History in Scotland*. When locals objected to his project he admitted that "Highlanders got a raw deal after the Battle of Culloden" and described the battle as "a turning point in the history of the area."

A slight understatement that. After the massacre at Culloden the Butcher Cumberland would not let any of his enemy wounded receive medical attention. Instead he cordoned off the battlefield and let them bleed to death over a period of days. The Black Watch rampaged around the northwest of Scotland in advance of a plantation of the area, similar to the Cromwellian plantation of Ireland, a record of rapine and pillage which they brought intact to the Six Counties in the 20th Century.

THE SECRETARY of the Save the Gordon Highlanders Campaign made front-page headlines in the *Glasgow Herald* earlier this month when he claimed that Britain was involved in secret negotiations with Sinn Féin last year largely because of embarrassment over troop shortages.

He said that he was "convinced" that government policy on the Six Counties "is aimed at getting rid of the military burden."



AND OUR MURDEROUS acquaintances in the Royal Marines have also fallen victim to Ministry of Defence cutbacks.

Normally three battalions of commandos and their engineering support units depart for winter training in Norway during January and February. This year though, there is only enough money to send one battalion. The rest are training in Scotland.

But while Scottish publicans are putting shutters up, innkeepers in Trondheim will be celebrating. The marines have hit the headlines on more than one occasion in previous years after drunken rampages through pubs and streets.

A SAILOR who could not bear to leave his sweetheart, is suspected of pouring sugar into a generator aboard a British Navy Destroyer, causing damage estimated at £100,000.

HMS Birmingham was due to leave port eleven days ago

to sail to the Adriatic but it will be at least another two weeks before it is fit to put to sea. Should the offending crew member be caught, he could, in theory anyway, be hanged, as this particular crime of passion is still a treasonable offence under British law.

THREE BRITISH soldiers who went on "an orgy of serious crime" have each been jailed for six years.

Mark Ayers, Zenon Brown and Ian Tunks, members of the 1st Battalion of the Royal Green Jackets, had all served tours of occupation in the Six Counties.

In August the trio robbed a garage in Essex. The following day they ambushed an estate agent in her car in a country lane in Kent. They later hijacked a Vauxhall Chevette, leaving the driver at the side of the road with his mouth taped. The next day the gang robbed a North London post office. In court Leon Hubbard, a former acting platoon sergeant with the Royal Hampshire regiment, who had also done his Six County stint, described all three as "typical squaddies".

THE SOCIALIST WORKERS' PARTY has made the unexpected move, for a self-declared anti-clerical and socialist movement, of elevating Father Denis Faul to the status of cardinal.

Engineers and members of the 1st Battalion of the Irish Guards in Salisbury, Wiltshire. Regimental rivalry was blamed for the brawl.

A FRENCH man has been jailed for three months and fined 4,000 francs for wearing an SS uniform and carrying a dagger in Poitiers.

Laurent Jacquillard, 29, was arrested by police last August riding a moped while wearing a full SS uniform with a bayonet dagger attached to one of his boots. He was charged with "exhibiting the uniform of a criminal organisation" and carrying an offensive weapon.

MIRROR Group News papers, which has this week launched a bid to take over the ailing London *Independent* group, proved last Sunday that its papers do enjoy separate editorial freedom.

The *Sunday Mirror* and the *People*, both owned by MGN, reported an IRA rocket attack on crown forces in Belfast.

The *Mirror* referred to "terrorist thugs" who held a mother and her three children captive overnight before launching a rocket attack on an army patrol. The *People*, however, told how "suspected IRA guerrillas fired a rocket at a security patrol in Belfast yesterday after holding a woman and four children".

"IRA hardliners reject peace deal and plan more mainland bombs" ran the headline in last weekend's *Sunday Times*. Hacks James Adams and Liam Clarke wrote dramatically about "an internal split" and said they were told by "senior intelligence sources" that Gerry Adams had "already been isolated by opponents within the IRA leadership and among rank and file terrorists who control stockpiles of explosives and weapons". Then they reveal:

"Even in Dublin the possibility of a split emerged on Friday when an IRA statement was put out under a name other than P O'Neill, the pseudonym used in the past."

But the statement our ace investigative reporters are talking about is apparently the one issued by a group which claimed they fired shots over the grave of the late Commandant General Tom Maguire in Mayo last week. The statement was referred to at a meeting organised by the "Republican Sinn Féin" group in Dublin on Saturday.

Move over Arthur C, you are nothing compared to The Mysterious World of Liam Clarke.

THE SOCIALIST WORKERS' PARTY has made the unexpected move, for a self-declared anti-clerical and socialist movement, of elevating Father Denis Faul to the status of cardinal.

In its paper, *Socialist Worker*, of 15 January, Faul is quoted on the issue of an amnesty for prisoners. The comrades refer to him, however, as "Cardinal Paul".

Dúirt Siad

I know claiming Bob Marley as Irish may be a little difficult. We are both islands, we are both colonies. We share a fondness for procrastination. Don't put off until tomorrow what you can put off until the next day, unless of course it's freedom. — Rock singer Bono, who inducted Bob Marley into the Rock Hall of Fame, the *Irish Times*, Saturday, 22 January.

Is there not something rather odd in Gerry Adams giving his first interview to a radio station with the slogan "Better Music, Less Talk"? — Quibbling query from the Quidnunc column in the *Irish Times*, Saturday, 22 January.

It's easy to scoff at the idea of a self-styled classic-hits station being first in line to interrogate an erstwhile outlaw of the airwaves. "Mr Adams, what were your greatest hits of the '60s, '70s '80s and today? You can even imagine the jingle: 'Hi, I'm the president of Sinn Féin and I listen to Classic Hits, 98FM.' — Light-hearted look at the lifting of the broadcasting ban by Liam Mackey in the *Irish Press*, Wednesday, 26 January.

The only people who I never saw take drugs in prison were the real IRA people. It wasn't that they wanted to be hard men, it's just that they didn't believe in it. — Paddy Armstrong of the Guildford Four, in the latest issue of *In Dublin* magazine.

Inside they looked after us and they didn't have to. They could have told us 'It's a war. Sorry. You're just one of the innocent victims.' They could have left it at that, but they didn't. They went out of their way. They protested. They wrote letters to different people. — Paddy Armstrong on republican POWs in British jails.



News

RTÉ bosses crack the whip

Raidio na Gaeltachta censored

SINCE THE LAPSES of the Ministerial Order under Section 31 eight days ago, RTÉ management has shown itself to be even more pathetic and ineffective than when direct political censorship was imposed by the government. The station is looking increasingly like a lame duck in the current affairs area as independent radio stations steal a march in coverage of Sinn Féin at a vitally important period in regard to political debate on the conflict in the Six Counties.

At midnight on Wednesday, 19 January, Highland Radio in north Donegal broadcast an interview with Martin McGuinness. At the same time, Dublin station 98FM broadcast excerpts of an interview with Gerry Adams. These were the first stations to avail of the end

of the 23-year-old broadcasting ban.

On Thursday morning, a longer version of the interview with Adams was broadcast on 98FM. It was relayed through the Ireland Radio News network which serves independent stations throughout

the 26 Counties. Many other local stations broadcast interviews with Sinn Féin representatives on the same day.

RTÉ's Thursday morning news bulletin referred briefly to Adams' comments on 98FM but did not carry any clips of the interview. Not until 5.30pm that evening did the broadcasting service carry an interview with a Sinn Féin spokesperson, in this case Monaghan County Councillor and Ard Chomhairle member Caoimhghín Ó Caoláin.

On the day the order lapsed, RTÉ's *Prime Time* team arrived in Belfast to conduct an interview with Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams. However, an article

appeared in the same day's *Irish Times* where RTÉ management were reported as saying that there would not be any broadcasts of interviews with Sinn Féin spokespersons on RTÉ that day. Sinn Féin's Dublin press office contacted RTÉ where Peter Feeney confirmed the claims made in the *Irish Times* report and said that RTÉ journalists had been specifically instructed that they could only request interviews with a certain level of Sinn Féin leadership and that any interview with

party president, Gerry Adams was ruled out.

It was not until Sunday, 23 January, five days after the lapse of Section 31, that the first major RTÉ interview with Sinn Féin was broadcast.

The very day after the government's decision to let the Section 31 orders lapse, it was discovered that RTÉ would not permit Channel 4's *Right to Reply* programme to interview Larry O'Toole in relation to his Supreme Court victory over RTÉ. RTÉ co-produced the *Right to Reply* programme with Channel 4.

RTÉ claimed that they could not allow the interview with O'Toole as he will be a candidate in the European elections in five months time, and in their interpretation, O'Toole's every utterance would represent or be on behalf of Sinn Féin.

Right to Reply wanted to interview O'Toole about the Supreme Court case which struck down RTÉ's ban on interviewing him in his capacity as chairperson of the strike committee in Gateaux in 1990. O'Toole would have been representing himself on the programme as a successful litigant and in no other capacity. The *Right to Reply* team were satisfied with this.

Under the Section 31 regime — before the order lapsed on 19 January — there was no basis for RTÉ's ban. It was simply a case of self-censorship.

Using a piece of *Alice In Wonderland* logic, RTÉ's Head of Current Affairs, Peter Feeney, said that they had decided not to pre-record the interview and edit out any possible reference to Sinn Féin policy as then RTÉ would have been imposing its "own

censorship of the programme". Amazingly, they claim that it was censored in order not to censor.

Over the weekend, news of another piece of blatant self-censorship by RTÉ emerged when it was discovered that a planned transmission by Raidió na Gaeltachta on Thursday, 20 January, of a debate on the Downing Street Declaration which took place in West Belfast and was hosted by the Irish language newspaper *Lá*, was stopped because, according to Bob Collins, management had not been consulted before the recording was made. Again, the ridiculous nature of RTÉ's internal censorship rules was underlined when edited highlights of the debate were broadcast the following Sunday by the Dublin Irish language radio station *Raidió na Life*.

RTÉ journalists have complained about the internal guidelines and have sought a meeting with management to discuss them, and in particular the threatening nature of the concluding statement that "disregard of the legislation or carelessness in observing it could not be excused", which is taken to imply sacking.

RTÉ guidelines which are perpetuating the atmosphere of fear and paranoia which has pervaded RTÉ through two decades of political censorship are in stark contrast to those of the Independent Radio and Television Commission (IRTC). The difference between the two sets of guidelines are further impairing RTÉ's image in relation to current affairs coverage. The station is being left behind as the rest of the media opens the windows and lets in the light.



Since the lapsing of Section 31, the management of RTÉ has been shown to be cowardly and pathetic in attempting to impose self-censorship

Marchers banned from Trafalgar Square

ORGANISERS of next Saturday's march in London marking the Bloody Sunday anniversary and calling for all-party negotiations to end the war in Ireland are disappointed that the effective ban on all such marches entering Trafalgar Square has not been lifted. The organisers said:

"Earlier this year we sensed a change in climate, a new openness shared by journalists and

politicians alike, who were for the first time, prepared to listen to what Sinn Féin and the

SDLP really had to say about peace in Ireland. However, fundamental restrictions on the right to free expression, like the broadcasting ban and the refusal to allow 'Irish' demonstrations in Trafalgar Square, show that the voices of those who challenge the accepted wisdom that the conflict is a matter of 'beating the terrorists' are still to be muffled, if not silenced.

"We and the thousands who

will march with us on Saturday believe that the British government has the responsibility and the opportunity to bring a peaceful resolution to this conflict and that this resolution will come about only through all-party negotiations. We will be calling on Mr Major to grasp the opportunity offered by the Hume/Adams Initiative, to stop pandering to the unionists and to act honestly for peace.

"After 25 years of war, we

will be demanding that Mr Major acts now to secure a lasting peace. All he has to do is what the majority of people in both Britain and Ireland want him to do — talk to all parties, including Sinn Féin."

Belfast Sinn Féin Councillor Una Gillespie, Labour MP Ken Livingstone and a speaker from Campaign Against Racism and Fascism will address a rally, chaired by Jeremy Corbyn MP, following the march.



The ban on the Bloody Sunday march from entering Trafalgar Square looks likely to remain

An Phoblacht

REPUBLICAN NEWS

UNCENSORED NEWS

In subscribing weekly to *An Phoblacht/Republican News* you are not only keeping yourself informed of the truth of what's happening in Ireland today but playing an important part in spreading the uncensored news at home and abroad.

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION RATES

Ireland	£35
England, Scotland & Wales	Stg£35
Europe Surface	Stg£40
Europe Airmail	Stg£58
USA	US\$90
Canada	Can\$100
Australia	Aus\$105
Elsewhere	Stg£50/Ir£58

To: *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, 58 Parnell Square, Dublin 1, Ireland.

Name
Address
Town
Country
Tel.
Amount enclosed
27/01/94