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An Phoblacht

REPUBLICAN NEWS

Déardaoin, 28 Iúil
Thursday, 28 July 1994

British cameras found at murder scene

HIGH-POWERED surveillance cameras were discovered dug into the earth just 400 yards from the house near Dungannon where UVF sectarian murder victim Rose Anne Mallon was shot dead, it was revealed on Wednesday, 27 July.

A local man stumbled over the equipment, which consisted of two cameras, the larger equipped with a high-powered telephoto lens, the smaller sporting a wide-angle lens. Also discovered with the cameras was a transmitter, which would have sent the pictures back to a crown forces' monitoring station.

The discovery took place three weeks ago, but was only revealed on Wednesday. Shortly after the cameras had been removed by local people, a large number of troops and RUC personnel saturated the area. Locals were fed a story that a bomb had been found. It is widely believed, however, that the purpose of the operation was to remove other surveillance equipment in the area.

Rose Anne Mallon (76) was shot in the back by a hail of bullets,

aimed directly at her as she sat in the living room of her sister-in-law's home at Cullenrammer Road, six miles outside Dungannon on 8 May this year. The UVF later claimed that her nephew was their intended target.

Even before the discovery of the camera equipment, there was evidence of collusion in her killing. AP/RN reported at the time sightings of arms and three suspicious men in the area the day before Rose Anne Mallon's murder. On 7 May, two boys discovered guns in a derelict house in a lane close to the scene of the killing. A number of men in combat dress then arrived and threatened the boys. The RUC were informed of this incident that day and on Sunday, just hours before Rose Anne Mallon's murder, the pair made statements in the company of their parents at the local barracks.

A nephew of Rose Anne Mallon's, Martin Mallon, told BBC Radio Ulster after the brutal killing that the RUC had informed him the three armed men were part of a crown forces' patrol, but they would not reveal which force they were part of. Martin Mallon told journalists and the RUC after the killing that the family was convinced that the events of Sunday night had been captured on tape. The discovery of the cameras vindicated this educated guess.

Martin Mallon, speaking to AP/RN on Wednesday, 27 July, said that he was convinced that the local RUC was unaware of the presence of the cameras and that they pointed to an MI5 or SAS-style operation. He said that the family was determined to get to the bottom of the circumstances surrounding his aunt's death.

Speaking to AP/RN, local Sinn Féin Councillor Raymond McMahon said that sinister movements of off-duty and plain-clothed RUC officers had been noted in the area in recent times. "The entire incident is reminiscent of Belfast in the 1920s when police, Specials, and British auxiliaries not only colluded, but carried out sectarian killings themselves," he said.



● The scene of the murder by a pro-British death squad and (inset) Rose Anne Mallon

Sinn Féin Advances Peace Process

— CONFERENCE REPORT PAGES 6 TO 9 AND PAGE 16

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Brit shot by sniper in Crossmaglen

FOLLOWING THE IRA mortar-bomb attack on a British army watchtower outside Crossmaglen on Wednesday, 20 July, the South Armagh Brigade shot and seriously wounded a British soldier in the centre of the town on Monday, 25 July.

An IRA statement said:

"At 5.20pm on Monday 25 July, as a British army footpatrol moved along Carron Road, one of our snipers, who had earlier taken up a firing position overlooking a petrol station, sighted on one member of the patrol and fired a single shot.

"The soldier was seen to fall to the ground clutching his side as other members of the enemy patrol ran for cover. The heavy-calibre bullet had penetrated the soldier's body armour, causing serious injury."

■ MASSIVE LANDMINE DESTROYS ARMoured CAR

The IRA's South Down Command, in a supplied statement, claimed responsibility for an attack on an RUC armoured car on Sunday, 24 July. Four RUC personnel were injured in the massive blast which totally wrecked the heavy armour-plated vehicle. In their statement, the South Down Command said:

"Volunteers from our command placed a 500lb landmine on the Castlewellan-Newcastle road.

"At 7am, an armoured RUC patrol car came into view and with the road clear of civilian traffic, our Volunteers, in a position overlooking the road, detonated the device.

"The blast wrecked the RUC vehicle which free wheeled, out of control, for half a mile before coming to a stop."

■ DARING ATTACK INJURES THREE RUC MEMBERS

Launching an attack against the crown forces in the Cookstown area, Oglagh na hÉireann's East Tyrone Brigade revealed that their Volunteers had to bypass a permanent British army checkpoint to place the bomb at a spot in view of a fortified sanger 60 metres away.

In their statement, the IRA said: "Shortly before 7pm last Wednesday, 20 July, an engineering unit assembled a device containing 1lb of Semtex high explosive and one and a half pounds of shrapnel.

"The mine was then positioned in a roadside hedge in Loy Street at head height, with a command wire leading to a derelict house. At 7.50pm as an armoured RUC car drove slowly past the mine, our Volunteers detonated it. Three of the most notorious members of an RUC DMSU unit based in Cookstown were injured, one of them seriously."

The statement concluded by adding that despite the rapid deployment of ten RUC armoured



cars after the explosion, all Volunteers returned safely to base.

■ CITY BROUGHT TO A STANDSTILL

Last weekend the IRA's Belfast Brigade brought most of the road and rail networks around Belfast to a halt. Three hoax bombs were left at three railway stations, Botanic, York Street and the main Central station, while another left on the railtrack at Dunmurry closed the lines.

The IRA also launched a series of fire and blast incendiary bomb attacks on commercial targets at different locations throughout the city and its suburbs. According to the IRA's statement:

"The wave of hoax bomb alerts last Friday morning virtually brought the city to a standstill and stretched the crown forces to the limits as they attempted to deal with over 30 alerts. Commandeered vehicles were also left at RUC and British army bases.

"In the early hours of Friday, a number of fire and blast incendiary bombs detonated in the city centre causing hundreds of thousands of pounds of damage.

"Commercial targets included the Wilfit motor accessory and Nova shops in High Street, Fairbanks furniture store in Boucher Crescent, South Belfast, Glenfields Pine Collection store and the Roost Bar in Church Lane."



HISTORIC COURT RULING IN LONDON

Adams exclusion case puts Britain in Euro dock

THE HIGH COURT in London has this week referred the British government order which excludes Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams from Britain, to the European Court of Justice.

The British government was accused in the High Court of dealing a "professional foul" when it banned Adams from Britain, and, on Thursday, 21 July, the court heard Adams' representative describe this as a breach of both European and British law.

Giving their ruling on Tuesday, 26 July, Lord Justice Steyn and Judge Kay said that there were "seriously arguable questions of European law which should be considered by the European Court".

Steyn went on to say: "This case is of supreme importance for the correct explanation of European Union law in the post-Maastricht era."

Adams is being supported in his attempt to overturn the exclusion order by the influential British legal pressure group, Liberty. He welcomed the court's decision. John Wadham, spokesperson for Liberty, said:

"We welcome the judgment of the court. It is clearly a right decision. It is for the European Court

of Justice to balance issues of freedom of expression and national security."

Wadham said he believed the European Court could only arrive at one conclusion and that the British government would have to quash the exclusion order on Adams.

The order was made in October 1993 under the Prevention of Terrorism Act, and was designed to prevent Adams from attending a meeting with Westminster MPs in the British House of Commons. The Sinn Féin president had been invited by the British Labour MP Tony Benn to discuss the political situation in the Six Counties.

At the time of the ban, the British government was under severe political pressure following the disclosure of the Hume/Adams discussions and was anxious to prevent Adams from further raising the profile of this Irish-led peace process, and thereby causing them greater embarrassment.

In court, counsel for Adams, Robin Allen, pointed out that by banning Adams from Britain, the British government had prevented him disclosing to MPs the exact nature of these talks. The Tory Party, already politically hard-pressed "could have been, or could be, brought down if it were to lose the support of unionist MPs". He said they were guilty of "political censorship" in order to prevent further political fall-out.

Allen stated that, as a citizen of the European Union, the Sinn Féin president had the right to move freely between and within the states of the EU. This right had been denied him. He said that

there has been, "in the language of football, a foul, and possibly a professional foul, in the way Mr Adams has been dealt with". Describing Adams as "a man of peace", Allen said, "Sinn Féin is not a violent organisation" and "Mr Adams has eschewed violence".

On Friday, 22 July, the court conceded the strength of these arguments when it made the decision to refer the exclusion order to Europe. This was described by Liberty as an "historic" decision as it is the first time a PTA has been referred to the Luxembourg court.

Liberty General Secretary, Andrew Puddhephatt, said that exclusion orders "violate the right to freedom of movement and breach the right to a fair trial by denying the person the right to know the case against them".

"As the leader of a lawful political party, Gerry Adams should be free to travel and to speak and be questioned as much as any other politician."

International action on Ballymurphy Seven

THE PRELIMINARY TRIAL of the Ballymurphy Seven which began in November 1993, 28 months after the youths' original arrest, has now been concluded for summer recess and the court will not sit again until 22 August, when Hugh McLoughlin will take the stand. When the court returns, the boys will be entering their fourth year on remand in Crumlin Road Jail.

The last few months have seen the release of two of the boys, Ciaran McAllister and Brendan McCrory, when the prosecution agreed to drop the case against them "to avoid unfairness and in

the interests of justice". They said that they no longer accepted the alleged confessions as evidence. The five still facing charges are all charged on the same basis of uncorroborated

'confessions' which all five are contesting.

Dick Spring has raised the case with the British authorities through the intergovernmental conference and he has repeatedly said "In relation to this and all such cases, we have stressed to the British authorities the importance of ensuring that the rights of those in custody are fully protected and that those charged with offences are brought to trial

with the minimum delay possible."

Commenting on the case in the light of Spring's remarks, a spokesperson for the Ballymurphy Seven campaign said:

"Clearly, neither of these requests have been upheld by the British and it is time that the government became more active in protecting the rights of these young nationalists who have been effectively interned for the past

three years, and call for their immediate release."

Next Tuesday, 2 August, will see an International Day of Action to highlight the case of the Ballymurphy Seven and in Dublin there will be a picket on the British Embassy from 12 to 2pm.

The campaign can be contacted at PO Box 107, Dublin 1. 01-8367497 or in Belfast at 27 Ballymurphy Road BT12 7JL. 0232-232234.

Catholic bar owner slain by UDA

LAUNCHING another series of indiscriminate gun attacks on the nationalist community in Belfast, the UDA shot and killed a Catholic bar owner, narrowly missed killing two other men and almost succeeded in killing a mother and her three daughters as they sat watching television in their North Belfast home.

All the gun and bomb attacks in Belfast were either carried out within loyalist death squad strongholds or on their fringes where the death squads act with impunity.

The fatal shooting of 44-year-old Bobby Monaghan in Camross Park in the loyalist Rathcoole Estate in North Belfast took place in the early hours of Friday morning, 22 July, around 3am. He had just returned home after locking up his dockside bar with his Protestant girlfriend June.

Early last month the bar was hit by a rocket propelled grenade fired by the UDA. No one was injured. The bar had just reopened following the blast.

Last week's killing carried out by a UDA death squad operating

his girlfriend as a quiet friendly couple.

An elderly neighbour, who said that the couple had been kind neighbours to her for several years said she would never forget the cries of the young woman nor the groans of Bobby Monaghan as he died.

Still visibly upset she said: 'I heard the gunmen breaking in and at first thought they were coming in here. I heard them go upstairs and then I heard June screaming: 'Please don't. Please no. Please don't shoot.'

'Then I heard June crying and calling: 'Don't die Bobby, the ambulance is coming. Don't die Bobby.'

Sinn Féin North Belfast Councillor Joe Austin said that loyalist death squads are "increasing their efforts to kill Catholics". He added that the murder of Bobby Monaghan follows a recent pattern of attacks in which loyalists are clearly seeking to force Catholics from areas of total loyalist control.



● Bobby Monaghan, who was shot dead by the pro-British death squad, the UDA, at his North Belfast home

UDA multiple murder bids Teacher and shoppers shot at, family bombed

SHORTLY BEFORE the latest North Belfast slaying on Friday, 22 July, another UDA death squad tried to kill a Catholic schoolteacher in the south of the city. This attack was in Priory Park, Finaghy, a largely middle-class area stretching from the Upper Malone Road to the Lisburn Road.

It was just after midnight that the man, who teaches at a primary school in West Belfast, heard what he thought was a bomb going off outside his home. He had been sitting in his living room and on going to the front door saw two men trying to kick it in. Seeing their target through the opaque half-glass door, both loyalists opened fire. One shotgun blast narrowly missed the man and ripped through the living-room door beside him. The second shotgun blast was closely followed by a single shot from a handgun. Again fortunately, both shots missed.

Diving behind an interior wall, the badly-shocked teacher then heard his attackers run off. It is thought they made off towards the nearby loyalist Taughmonagh Estate.

'I think I'm very lucky to be standing here today,' the victim told journalists. He also revealed that he had just come home from a holiday in Donegal with his wife and three children who, fortunately, were not at home during the attack.

'We have no connections with anybody,' he added. 'The only thing I can think of is that they may have identified us from the kids' [school] uniforms. I don't know if I want to bring my family back here now,' he concluded.

A no-warning UDA bomb was used in an attack, late on Monday night, 25 July, on the Lansdowne Road home of a nationalist family. The bomb exploded in the living room where a woman and her three daughters were watching television. Her husband, a businessman, was not at home. An elderly relative and three other children were also in the house at the time of the attack.

Shortly before 11pm, the loyalist death squad crept close to the front of the house and threw a 'pipe' bomb through a front window. It landed beside the young girls, who managed to escape before the device exploded, wrecking the room.

Remarkably, none of the girls or their mother were injured in

the explosion, which caused substantial damage to the room and set the curtains on fire. All later received medical treatment for shock.

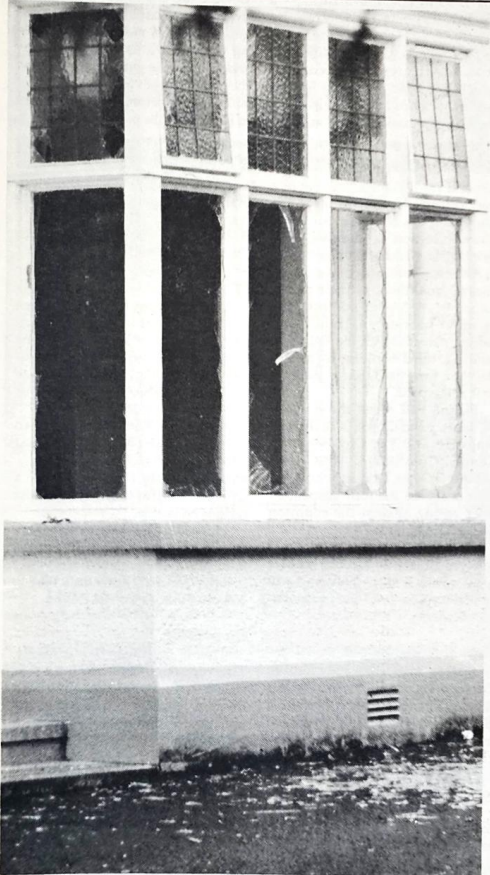
The loyalist bombers would have been aware of the large number of children inside the house as they have targeted the family before. Two years ago the father, an insurance agent, was fired on a number of times at his Antrim Road insurance offices. That attack, carried out just before lunchtime on a busy street, took place yards from a main RUC barracks on Antrim Road.

Just 16 hours after the UDA attempted to massacre this Lansdowne Road family, the loyalist terror group tried to turn the shopping area at the bottom of the Antrim Road into the scene of yet another multiple murder. As shopkeepers began to open their shops at 7am near Carlisle Circus, which links the Crumlin and Antrim Roads, a loyalist assassin approached from nearby Denmark Street and opened fire with a number of shots.

One nationalist shopkeeper, who was approaching his shop, was confronted by two loyalists, one of whom was armed. Fleeing for his life as the loyalist opened fire, the man took refuge in a shop doorway.

At this point the assailant fired another three shots, indiscriminately, at another group of shopkeepers further up the Antrim Road. Fortunately, none of these were hit as they scrambled for cover.

Speaking about this attack on vulnerable nationalist businesses, local Sinn Féin Councillor Paddy McManus said the death squads were operating under order to target nationalist business people in the North Belfast area.



● Scene of the loyalist bomb attack on the house off the Antrim Road where several children were lucky to escape with their lives

Dublin/Monaghan relatives angry at minister

RELATIVES of the victims of the Dublin and Monaghan bombings have expressed their anger at the failure of the Minister for Justice Máire Geoghegan Quinn to meet with them as promised or to report on the new garda investigation which she ordered into the 1974 atrocity.

Twenty relatives and supporters picketed the Department of Justice

on St Stephen's Green, on Wednesday, 27 July. Spokesperson for the

relatives Alice O'Brien said:

'The picket is being held to express our anger at the fact that it is one year exactly since we met with the Minister for Justice. At that meeting she informed us that she would be in contact with us within months. One year on we

still haven't heard from her, or received a copy of her report on her investigation into the Dublin/Monaghan bombings.'

The bombings in Dublin and Monaghan in May 1974 led to the deaths of 33 people, the biggest single loss of life in one incident since

1969. From the outset the involvement of British intelligence was suspected and last year a Yorkshire Television documentary brought together the evidence and concluded that this was the case. Relatives of the victims have been campaigning for the truth to be exposed.

News

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

Silent death of Pay Related Benefit

■ BY NEIL FORDE

AMID the ongoing hype of increased tax receipts and the booming 26-County economy the Departments of Finance and Social Welfare continued their undermining of the state's social insurance system with the abolition last week of Pay Related Benefit (PRB).

PRB, introduced in April 1974, was a scheme designed to give unemployed workers additional payments to unemployment benefit. The payment which is not large, depends upon the recipient's former pay and PRSI contributions he/she made while in work.

The cut means that a married man with two children who loses his job, will receive £14.80 less in benefit than he would have received before the change.

The Irish National Organisation of the Unemployed (INOUE) marked the occasion with a symbolic funeral outside the Department of Finance in Kildare Street, Dublin, last week. The protest was led by INOUE General Secretary Mike Allen, who told the "mourners" that the abolition of Pay Related Benefit is "just one more in a series of cuts which have undermined the social-insurance

scheme".

"Workers facing redundancy at TEAM, Irish Steel, Guinness and elsewhere around the country face not just the loss of their jobs, but an immediate drop to poverty incomes without the support of a scheme which they have paid into to cushion the impact of job losses."

Allen contrasted the hype over the Residential Property Tax, whose effects were diluted, to the concerns of the unemployed, which he says are ignored in favour of the worries of the well off.

He called on the coalition to stop undermining the social-welfare system and to "raise welfare payments above the poverty line".

Trinity College shut down

The gates of Dublin's Trinity College closed this week in a one-

day strike by 500 SIPTU members. The stoppage was held to fight against redundancies at the college and to win pensions for part-time women workers.

The strikers said that: "Despite our peaceful efforts since 1991 we have failed to win simple justice for 200 women workers in the college, who suffer crude discrimination and inequality."

The workers are part-time employees working in cleaning, catering or as secretaries, some for more than 30 years at the college.

Despite years of service, being continually at the bottom of the college's wage scale and working in often difficult conditions the 200 workers get no pension benefits from the college.

SIPTU maintains that the cost of a proper scheme would only be £200,000 a year, less than 1% of Trinity's yearly £60 million budget.

The other issue in the one-day strike is Trinity's breaking of a written agreement to retain 21 full-time pensionable jobs for cleaners. The college authorities want to reduce this number to eight by

October to cut their wage bill.

As AP/RN went to press SIPTU are considering escalating the dispute after three years of attempts to resolve the dispute with Trinity.

Figures fiasco

A 3.7% growth rate in 1993, booming exports, booming tax receipts and £3.35 billion in exported profit and even higher forecasts for 1994, yes it's economic forecast time again.

The Department of Finance, the ESRI and Goodbody stockbrokers all produced glowing forecasts of the 26-County economy in the last two weeks. However, last week it was also the turn of the Central Statistics Office to report not a forecast, but actual results for economic performance last year.

The CSO figures are impressive. They show national wealth for 1993 at £32,290 billion — a record. Exports alone grew by nearly 10%. However, there are two problems. One, the CSO are reporting figures on an economy which has little relevance for the vast majority of Irish people. Two, the CSO themselves have actually

admitted that their own figures may be just a little skewed.

The £3.35 billion black hole in profits taken out of our economy by multinationals shows that a huge section of our economy is dominated by multinationals who avail of low tax rates and whose activities are distorting the Irish economy.

Meanwhile those who work and live in the real economy will have to wait for a realistic reporting of their economic situation.

Irish Steel rebounds

The on/off shutdown of Irish Steel took a farcical turn in the last week when the management of the company announced mass layoffs after just 12% of the workforce voted on the Labour Court proposals. The bulk of workers were still organising their ballots when the management decision was announced.

This prompted a wave of media speculation and orchestrated vilification of the Irish Steel workers. Yet over the weekend both the Cabinet and Irish Steel management faced up to the obvious truth that they had jumped the gun yet again. Now they have to wait for the workers to actually vote before the next attempt to shut down the plant.

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



● Who's laughing now? Will Dick Spring act on Beef Tribunal findings?

A tricky time for Dick

■ BY NEIL FORDE

THE DAYS are counting down to the long-awaited publication of the Tribunal of Inquiry into the Beef Processing Industry. Apart from being one of the largest legal gravy trains in the history of the 26-County state, it was also one the key foils for Dick Spring's undermining of the 1989-92 Fianna Fáil/Progressive Democrat coalition.

Now Spring is mid-term in government with his former opponents and speculation is mounting as to how Labour will react when Judge Hamilton publishes his long-awaited report.

The tribunal arose from allegations made in a *World in Action* TV programme on the Irish beef industry. The programme followed the spectacular £500 million collapse of Goodman International. Spring, among others, harried the Fianna Fáil-led administration into conceding to hold the tribunal in 1991.

Costing almost £7 million, the tribunal heard, over two years, allegations of widespread fraud in the weighing and slaughtering

procedures of cattle, where extra weight was added to ensure the maximum possible grant aid from the EU. There were allegations of false accounting, forging of documentation and official government stamps, tax-free payments to workers and farmers and years of political donations to Leinster House political parties.

Allegations abounded on illegal practices in Irish meat packaging plants. Witnesses told the tribunal of the orchestrated repackaging of inferior meat in EU stores as better-quality meat, with that meat then being sold for a higher intervention price. We even heard allegations of a Fianna Fáil TD wandering around Baghdad

claiming he was a government minister.

There was also lengthy analysis of the Dublin government's export credit insurance scheme where the Department of Agriculture paid beef exporters in advance of them receiving the money from their customers. Over £100 million of this money is still outstanding and the Dublin government has carried the cost.

It was alleged during the tribunal that the export credit insurance scheme was only ever available to two particular companies, Goodman International and Hibernia Meats.

Now as Dick Spring awaits the tribunal report into these allegations, AP/RN ponders what the likely scenarios are for Spring and the 32 other Labour TDs.

Leinster House elections

Acting on the tribunal report Spring pulls out of government in

a moral huff. Fianna Fáil left in a minority take the mercs up to the Phoenix Park and prevail upon Mary Robinson to dissolve Leinster House, which she does.

Labour campaign on their 'moral' qualities but their recent record of high-paid advisers, the bungled Labour programme on halting privatisation, the failure to secure a third banking force and the Aer Lingus debacle mean a rout at the polls.

Fianna Fáil reach the magical 84 seats needed for a technical majority and Pat Cox becomes Ceann Comhairle. The only Labour TDs in Dublin who hold their seats are the four suspended over voting against the coalition on the TEAM issue.

On the whole, this scenario is fairly unlikely as Labour knows what awaits it at the polls and will not face voters until the last possible moment.

and Harney agree a rotating leadership and Spring becomes first encumbered.

Pat Cox becomes Ceann Comhairle.

FF minority

Labour return to back benches in a last attempt to regain the poll success of 1992. Spring again arms up to harass and attack government policy, hoping the electorate won't remember that he was in fact co-author of it all.

It falls to *World in Action* to blow his cover and prove that Labour had in fact been in government for nearly 19 months. RTE's Current Affairs Department resigns en masse.

However, no one in Leinster House wants an election except John Bruton, who moves a no-confidence motion but can't find a second except for Pat Cox.

Do nothing

This is the most likely result. The report covers hundreds of pages. Any report that runs into the double figures is too long for the media to analyse (excepting AP/RN) and instead they take the well-trodden path of reporting only other people's reactions to the tribunal.

These reactions are given by politicians who will also have not read the tribunal report and so it all hinges on Spring's reaction, as he was the leading critic in his first place. Any weakness on his part will be seen as another Labour capitulation.

Spring tells the media he will consult Labour TDs. He does nothing except sit home in his favourite leather jacket, thinking of the last days of glowing interviews and sycophantic opinion-writers.

He sits alone and can't choose which Bob Dylan record to play. It's Alright Ma, I'm Only Bleeding or It's All Over Now Baby Blue. He wishes he could swap it all for Pat Cox's Munster Euro seat.

Reynolds singled out

Spring takes the Progressive Democrat route and demands that Reynolds resign over the tribunal findings. Reynolds is then forced to take the Haughey road to political obscurity and retirement of horse racing and summer festival appearances.

Bertie Aherne becomes Taoiseach, Spring goes to finance in a vain attempt to wrest the political initiative from Fianna Fáil. He demands more ministerial positions for Labour but can't find a Labour TD willing to leave the backbenches for the Cabinet and risk his or her seat by being associated with a now lame duck Labour/Fianna Fáil government.

Rainbow coalition

Here, Spring studies the recent Euro election results. Fearing an election rout but unable to continue in government, Spring pulls Labour out of government and joins the combined opposition in a rainbow coalition. Spring, Bruton



● Kathleen McVicker from Poleglass, whose family have become victims of the Six-County paramilitary police force

RUC 'vendetta' against Poleglass family

A WEST BELFAST FAMILY say they are victims of an RUC vendetta after the latest in a long line of incidents involving harassment by this force and by the British army. This campaign has lasted for several years.

Nearly every member of the McVicker family, young and old, has been targeted in the crown forces' campaign. In one serious incident in June, the RUC raided the family home looking for 27-year-old Mark after an IRA rocket attack on the crown forces. When they entered the house, they pushed their way past his mother Kathleen, who answered the door. An RUC officer pressed his hand against Mark's chest and claimed he was checking his

heart to see if he had been running. The RUC went on to ransack the house, abusing family members.

Mark McVicker had spent some time in the H-Blocks on petrol-bombing charges, his sister, Donna told AP/RN. "But he was released early because he had a life-threatening tumour which ran from the back of his neck to his heart. He went through a massive operation to have it removed. His chest bone

was cut open during the operation and is now held together by wires.

"This has left him unable to do any sort of physically-strenuous work. But his illness has been abused in a sickening way by the crown forces.

"My brother has been constantly targeted for harassment by RUC and British army since his release four years ago, and now he is afraid to leave the house unless he is accompanied by someone."

In the latest incident several weeks ago, the house was again raided. The RUC had found a shrapnel bomb on the outskirts of the estate and said that they wanted to question Mark about the attack. The RUC

surrounded the family home at about 2.30am and then raided it. Contrary to their own laws on house raids, they did not even show a search warrant.

Kathleen McVicker's 64-year-old sister Brigid who lives with the family, has a heart complaint and is disabled. Kathleen told AP/RN the RUC burst into her sister's room and searched it "leaving her very distressed".

Several days later Mark was then stopped on a nearby road. Members of the crown forces again pressed their hands hard against his chest. A member of the British army threatened him, saying that he would end up "serving 20 years or you'll get one in your back".

Donna McVicker told AP/RN that two particular RUC men were carrying out a vendetta against the family. In an incident in May 1992, 20-year-old Donna and her partner 21-year-old Aiden Taylor were assaulted and verbally abused by

a patrol as they came home from a local pub one night.

Aiden Taylor was beaten and was refused medical treatment. He was only taken to hospital when he went unconscious. He was kept in hospital for nearly two days. The family states that one of the RUC men still patrols the area and is involved in the campaign of harassment.

Other members of the McVicker family have also been targeted. Nell, another sister, has also had her house raided. When seriously ill and bedridden, Nell was due to go into the hospital for a major operation just days after the raid. "The RUC ignored the plight of my sister and ransacked the house," said Nell.

"All of the incidents have been documented by our solicitor, who has made several formal complaints to the RUC about the harassment," said Kathleen McVicker. "All we want is to be left alone. We want to live our lives in peace."

Sinn Féin councillor for the area, Michael Ferguson, who accompanied AP/RN to the McVicker home, accused the crown forces of conducting a campaign of terrorism against the communities in Twinbrook and Poleglass.

"They have carried out up to 400 house raids in this area since Christmas. They show absolutely no regard for the privacy, dignity, and rights of the nationalist community here and it put the claims of the British to be democrats and concerned about peace into perspective."

The RUC carried out a series of punitive raids on the nationalist Greenvale Estate in Cookstown last Thursday, 21 July. Residents criticised British forces, saying that people from the estate going to work were stopped, searched and forced to remove their shoes while several homes were damaged during house searches.

Local Sinn Féin representative, Martin Conlan, was himself stopped but he refused to remove his shoes. Mid-Ulster's Sinn Féin spokesperson Barry McEllduff also condemned the actions of the British forces as "community punishment".

Death threat to Derry man

A YOUNG DERRY MAN fears for his life after the RUC threatened to murder him when he refused to become an informer. The young man, Neil Fielding (21) who has suffered serious harassment at the hands of the RUC, says he has been stopped and searched by the crown forces over 450 times. He was also arrested on several occasions.

The latest incident took place when the young man was arrested during an RUC raid on his

family home in the Carnhill area of Derry on Monday, 18 July. The house was "turned upside

down" during the raid, said the man's mother Patricia Fielding. She also accused the RUC of behaving "like bulls let loose in a field".

She also claimed that RUC personnel were extremely abusive, both verbally and physically. "They threw Neil over an armchair and every time an officer

went past him they hit him with their elbows or their knees. My youngest son who was watching this was slapped on the head."

When arrested, Fielding was taken to the RUC interrogation centre at Castlereagh where he was told that he would be murdered if he refused to become an informer.

During interrogation, Fielding was told by members of the RUC that he would be dead within a year after he refused to become an RUC informer. RUC officers

seized Fielding's arms and squeezed his testicles while he was being interrogated.

"He is a prisoner in his own home as he can't leave it without another person. He needs witnesses when he is stopped by police and a few times he has been charged with disorderly behaviour because he protested over the harassment he received," said Patricia Fielding.

The young man and his mother are seeking legal advice about last Monday's incident.

JAIL REVIEW WELCOMED

SINN FÉIN'S POW Department has welcomed plans for a wide-ranging review of the prison system in the Six Counties. The rethink by the Northern Ireland Prison Service comes after recent disturbances at Crumlin Road Jail in which loyalist prisoners rampaged through the prison on two separate occasions.

The latest incident, on Saturday, 16 July, led to the transfer of 200 republican and loyalist remand prisoners from Crumlin Road to the H-Blocks at Long Kesh.

However, Francie Molloy, Sinn Féin's spokesperson on prison issues, warned that any review of prison conditions must take account of the prisoners' rights

and not just the needs of the administrators.

"Any review would be welcomed, provided that it is going to deal with the outstanding issues that have been ongoing for years. Forced integration is the outstanding issue that needs to be sorted out," said Molloy.

"At the moment, the remand

prisoners are segregated in the H-Blocks and the review, to have any meaning, should recommend segregation to be implemented throughout the North's prisons," stated Molloy.

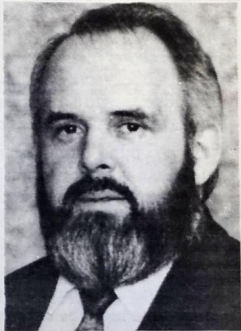
"Also, is the review going to deal with the issue of sexual discrimination against women prisoners with regard to education, medical care, recreation and prison visits?" asked Molloy.

Molloy also asked if this latest prison review would deal with the transfer of those Irish prisoners left behind in English jails under

the limited terms of the Ferrer's Report.

Regarding the future of Crumlin Road, Molloy called for the prison to be closed down: "It is a Victorian building and any refurbishment is merely papering over the cracks. It is infested with mice and cockroaches and there are no proper sanitation facilities to cater for the amount of remand prisoners.

"The situation that pertains in the H-Blocks, where loyalists and republicans have been segregated, is the type of system that we would like to see. Any review which does not deal with the fundamental issues would be a waste," concluded Molloy.



● FRANCIE MOLLOY



An Phoblacht

REPUBLICAN NEWS

28 JULY 1994

Peace process will continue

DESPITE the media reaction, the discussions and deliberations at Sinn Féin's special delegate conference in Letterkenny will prove a positive force in advancing the peace process.

Sinn Féin gave an honest, detailed and balanced assessment of the Downing Street Declaration and is now seeking to move the situation forward in a constructive manner. The party has put the declaration in its proper context in the overall search for a peaceful settlement to a centuries-old conflict.

Sinn Féin welcomed the positive aspects of the declaration and seeks to build on these. In pointing out the negative aspects, the party seeks discussion on how to resolve the difficulties which exist.

Those shortsighted commentators and mischievous politicians who have sought to use the Sinn Féin response as an excuse to say that the peace process is dead are wrong. Peace in Ireland is required this week as surely as it was before Sinn Féin delegates assembled in Letterkenny. There is more hope now than at any other time in the past 20-odd years that peace can be found. It has been the Irish Peace Initiative, bringing the causes of the conflict and a framework for its resolution centre-stage, which has created this optimism.

Let no one be fooled. Measurable progress in the search for peace has been made. A consensus among the leaders of Irish nationalist opinion, including the Dublin government, the SDLP and Sinn Féin, on how the conflict can be resolved was achieved. The IRA agreed that the Irish Peace Initiative could be the basis for peace. This development coupled with the glare of unprecedented international attention forced the British government to apply itself to the issue. The result was the Downing Street Declaration.

The declaration is a stage in the search for a peaceful settlement. Let's build on it and move to the next stage. Particular issues which must now be dealt with and addressed by the British government are its failure to renounce any political interest in this country and its guarantee to the unionists of a veto over constitutional change. The British government cannot dictate how the Irish people exercise their right to self-determination. That is an issue for ourselves alone.

With Sinn Féin's response now in the public domain, the process can begin to move forward again. There is now massive public interest in the issue of the conflict in the Six Counties and its resolution. People who were for many years 'switched off' by the monotony of the conflict and the horror of its consequences are now 'switched on' by the beacon of hope that has been created. There is a hope and a demand for change.

That goodwill was seen in the *Sunday Independent* poll published on the day of the conference. It showed that the largest proportion of those polled (42%) answered 'Should not' to the question: "Do you think the unionist community should have the effective right to veto any future constitutional change in Northern Ireland or not?" An even higher proportion (44%) answered "should not withdraw" to the question: "If the Sinn Féin response does not include a commitment to a permanent cessation of violence by the IRA, do you think that John Hume should then withdraw from dialogue with Sinn Féin or not?"

The interest in debate on the real issues which Sinn Féin identified in its response was also clear from the packed Mansion House meeting the day after the conference. (See page 10).

Republicans must utilise the climate for change which now exists to mobilise as wide a section of people as possible behind the demand for a democratic resolution of the conflict.

The coming month marks the 25th anniversary of the deployment of British soldiers in the Six Counties. This provides an important opportunity to demonstrate the support that exists for the Irish Peace Initiative. Every republican should involve themselves now in campaigns such as Time for Peace—Time to Go.

In the period ahead, let us apply ourselves to using the accumulated experience gained through 25 years of political struggle to raise to an all-time high the demand for peace with justice in Ireland.

News

CLOSING ADDRESS BY GERRY ADAMS



Gerry Adams said at last Sunday's conference that the unionist leadership must develop the ability to look to the future, to stand on its own feet independent of the British government veto

BRIDGING THE GAP

THARLA CUID MHAITH ó tháinig muid le chéile anruaidh. Bliain suntasach a bhí ann ó thaobh dul chun chinn polaitiúil de. Bhí Sinn Féin i gcroílár na forbairte seo.

We have come a long way together since we last met at the Ard Fheis in February. Indeed, the last year has seen many new political developments which have advanced the peace process. This party has played, and continues to play a significant role in sustaining this momentum for democratic change and peace.

The enthusiasm with which this conference has extensively discussed the peace process has been both positive and a source of encouragement. This has been an important conference. The debate today was comprehensive and constructive and is evidence of the strength of commitment and political maturity of our membership. We discussed the emergence in the past year of the Irish Peace Initiative and we have in a proper and democratic manner agreed our position on the Downing Street Declaration.

The declaration was the response by the two governments to the developing Irish Peace Initiative. From their perspective the declaration was an important development. From our perspective it marked a stage in

the evolving peace process. In its positive elements it suggests a potentially significant change in the approach of the governments to resolving the conflict in Ireland and we welcome this. But it does not deal adequately with some of the core issues and this is crucial.

The success of other peace accords shows that the necessary dynamic to move out of conflict must be found in the framework, the timescale, the processes and the objectives of a peace process, and all of these essential elements must be based upon principles which are founded firmly in democracy and justice.

Sinn Féin has recommitted itself today to constructing this foundation, by building on the positive elements of the Downing Street Declaration and by seeking to overcome the difficulties; in short by bridging the gaps between what has so far been developed and what is necessary to secure a just and lasting peace in our country.

When SDLP leader John Hume and I agreed that an internal settlement is not a

solution and that the "Irish people as a whole have the right to national self-determination", we went on to say that "not all the people of Ireland share that view or agree on how to give meaningful expression to this". Mr Hume and I accepted that "the task of reaching agreement on a peaceful and democratic accord for all on this island" is "our primary challenge". This remains the challenge facing both governments and all the political parties.

But the one fundamental element to this question is that the British government has no right to dictate to the people of this island how we should do this.

Both now and in the future, just as in the past, the attitude of the British government is crucial. British government policy has failed in Ireland. It has failed to defeat the desire for freedom. It has failed to satisfy the unionists. It has failed even to meet Britain's own requirements. More importantly, it has failed to bring peace.

British interference has never been a benign influence in Irish affairs. It has brought misery and division. It has fomented conflict and suffering. This must change.

We need to put all of it behind us. The London government must accept its responsibility to proactively create the conditions which will make this possible. It has the authority and it has the real power to change

this situation. To make the nightmare a dream. To make the dream a reality.

At this important juncture in the evolving peace process I call upon the British government and the British people to seize this opportunity for peace and not to squander it.

I call upon the British government to adopt a democratic approach which tilts the balance away from the negative power of veto towards the positive power of consent.

I call upon the British government to join with us in making a new future, to forge a new relationship between the peoples of these islands based on mutual respect for each other. With the United Irishmen we assert:

"As to any union between the two islands, believe us when we assert that our union rests upon mutual independence. We shall love each other if we are left to ourselves. It is the union of mind which ought to bind these nations together."

I want to also appeal to the unionists. The unionist leadership must develop the ability to look to the future, to stand on its own feet, to lead its people forward, independent of the veto which can be, at any time, taken from them by the British government.

On behalf of those represented by Sinn Féin, and also, I believe, the wider nationalist family, I acknowledge the need to reach out to our political opponents in the ranks of unionism. Despite the

wrongs that have been inflicted by unionists upon us or indeed that we have inflicted upon the unionists, there is a need to heal the wounds. This can only be done by a new beginning; with everyone as equals freed from the patronage of a government whose intentions you distrust, even more than we do.

I am mindful that this conference has reaffirmed its commitment to our peace strategy and unanimously endorsed the measures taken by this leadership to advance it.

Your confidence places an onerous responsibility on us. We have been in a high risk phase of our struggle. A culture of resistance has developed in the quarter of a century that this struggle has endured. A few years ago I urged all involved to develop that culture of resistance into a culture of change, to engage our opponents politically and intellectually and to seize the political initiative. This has been a new and still developing area of struggle in which all of us must play our part.

Tá ról ag gach duine ins an ghné seo den streachailt. Tá muid láidir, tá muid aontaithe agus tá a fhios againn uilig cad é atá le déanamh againn. Tá síocháin os ár gcomhair. Gabhaig amach agus bigig ag obair.

We are totally committed to winning peace and I can assure you that we will endeavour with your help and guidance to achieve the political objectives which we have set ourselves. Our



● Sinn Féin Ard Chomhairle member Martin McGuinness, party president Gerry Adams and vice president Pat Doherty listening to the views of delegates during the national conference

struggle is united, confident and strong.

The Downing Street Declaration is a step in the peace process. We must look forward to the next steps. These must deal in a fundamental way with the core constitutional issue as well as the secondary issues. Our views on these are a matter of public record. The urgent need to resolve the core issues which create and sustain the conflict demands that the

situation is moved beyond the Downing Street Declaration, and that it is addressed in a more thorough going way. It is our earnest intention to do just that.

In this we and the two governments are at one. We are all agreed that the declaration is a step not a solution.

Indeed, it could be said that even in the short time since the declaration was launched the political situation has moved on beyond it. We are in a new and evolving situation and no one can turn the clock back.

That is why all republicans and nationalists need now to consider how best to advance the basic national demands in the new conditions and possibilities opening up before us. There is a climate for change which we collectively here today have played a crucial role in creating. It is our task as political activists to translate a situation in which change is possible into a situation in which change, meaningful and necessary change, occurs.

The Freedom Charter for Justice and Peace in Ireland, which I suggested in my Ard Fheis speech, can provide one focus for this and around which the broadest sections of the Irish people can rally and unite. This would consist of the most fundamental national demands and aspirations, relating to Irish politics, the Irish economy and our society as a whole, which the widest range of nationally minded Irish people can support and which can provide not only a focusing point, but a rallying point as well.

I am always mindful of the terrible tragedy of this conflict and of the heavy price paid by all of our people, in lives lost and

scarred, in justice denied and in families separated.

Pace demands change. Fundamental change. An end to conflict will require a process of demilitarisation. This is not solely the responsibility of republicans. Indeed, the British government, representing the political wing of the largest armed faction in our country has the central responsibility.

I have pointed out many times Sinn Féin's willingness to play a constructive role in this matter. But this cannot be a one way street. Sinn Féin has a duty to our electorate North and South and we are committed to upholding their rights.

As Irish republicans, we remain totally committed also to our objective of ending British rule in our country.

In the course of my Ard Fheis speech earlier this year, I pointed out that we have a clear view of what is required to achieve a lasting peace founded on democratic principles. It has been clearly demonstrated that we have a viable peace strategy capable of moving the situation in that direction.

I pointed out that Sinn Féin should attempt to advance the peace process by "bringing into play, in a very direct way, what we have to offer. Theoretically, what we have to offer is our electoral mandate, our total commitment to establishing a lasting peace in our country and whatever political influence we have to secure a political package so that the IRA can make judgements in relation to the future conduct of its armed campaign."

The reality is, however, that the IRA will take its own counsel on this. We are

not the IRA, but we have helped to formulate proposals which have been enough to move the IRA publicly to say that "if the political will exists or can be created, it could provide the basis for peace".

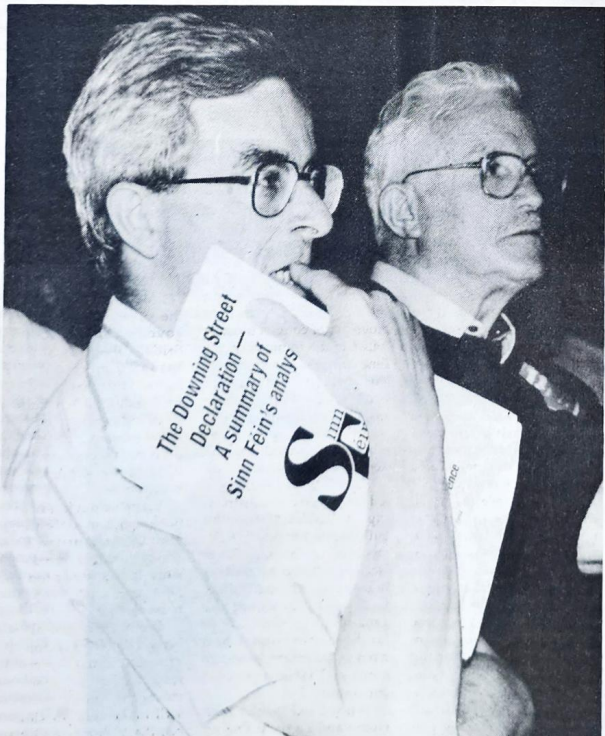
I welcome Thursday's statement by the IRA leadership. The begrudgers and kneejerkers have chosen to dismiss it as rhetoric. However, I interpret it as a clear commitment that if the proper conditions can be created, the IRA will be flexible.

That is the challenge facing all of us, and particularly those who have invested time and energy in the search for a peace settlement.

The public interest now will be whether or not the situation can be further developed. The answer is yes. So where do we go from here? There is only one way for this process to go and that is forward. This is particularly a challenge for the leadership of Sinn Féin. It is one we will not shrink from. That is to create the conditions in which the IRA can act upon its clearly stated commitments and others will act upon their responsibilities so that a negotiated settlement can be agreed, and the people of Ireland can leave conflict behind us and build a lasting peace.

I personally am optimistic about all this.

This is our firm intention as we leave this conference. We are determined to build upon the progress that has been made and to bridge the gaps which still clearly exist. We are determined to move the peace process steadily forward towards a democratic, negotiated settlement and towards a just and lasting peace in our country.



● Delegates at the conference heard that the declaration was a step towards lasting peace in our country — not a solution

DECLARATION WAS ST

NOW TIME

These are the motions passed by Sinn Féin's national internal conference in Letterkenny on Sunday, 24 July 1994.

Motion 1

That Sinn Féin recommit itself to our objectives as contained in our constitution. In summary, these are the establishment of a democratic, socialist republic based on the Proclamation of 1916.

It is our view that no part of Ireland should be governed on the basis of a religious headcount.

Advancing the Irish Peace Initiative

That Sinn Féin believes that the next phase of our peace strategy should be based on advancing the Irish Peace Initiative. The basic principles of this initiative are:

- That the Irish people as a whole have the right to national self-determination;
- That the exercise of national self-determination is a matter for agreement between the people of Ireland;
- That both governments should commit themselves, in consultation with all other parties, to a process to achieve this, within an agreed timeframe;
- That an internal Six-County settlement is not a solution.
- That the consent and allegiance of unionists are essential ingredients if a lasting peace is to be established;

- That the unionists cannot have a veto over British policy or over political progress in Ireland;
- That the British government must join the persuaders;
- That the London and Dublin governments have a major responsibility to secure political progress;

We recognise the delicate stage the peace process has now reached. We restate our commitment to building the conditions for demilitarisation as part of the search for a lasting peace settlement.

Sinn Féin commits itself to building a sustainable Irish republican/nationalist platform of political demands, with popular support in Ireland and internationally, particularly in the USA and EU, based on the dynamic contained in the Irish Peace Initiative.

Motion 2

Assessing the Downing Street Declaration

That Sinn Féin recognises and welcomes the progress that has been made to date in the evolving peace process.

The Downing Street Declaration marks a further stage in the development of the peace process.

The dialogue between Sinn

Féin President Gerry Adams and SDLP leader John Hume was followed by the Irish Peace Initiative. It was against this background that the Downing Street Declaration was constructed.

Since then there have been a number of important developments:

- A consensus between nationalists in the Six Counties, supported by the Dublin government, emerged;
- The IRA was moved to say that this could be the basis for peace;
- The attention of both governments has been focussed on this conflict in an unprecedented manner. It is at the top of their political agenda;
- The conflict has received unparalleled international attention;
- The core political issues necessary for the resolution of the conflict are at the top of the political agenda;
- A framework has been identified in the Irish Peace Initiative for a resolution of the conflict which involves both governments, in consultation with all the parties and with the support of the international community;
- There was protracted

dialogue between Sinn Féin and the British government;

- The IRA temporarily suspended operations to encourage the development of the peace process.

It is, therefore, in the context of the Irish Peace Initiative and of the principles and political dynamic contained within this initiative, that we have carried out a detailed examination of the Downing Street Declaration to assess its contribution to the creation of the conditions for a sustainable peace.

Progress and political implications

The Downing Street Declaration is not, nor do its authors claim it to be, a peace settlement and it clearly does not contain all of the elements which made up the Irish Peace Initiative. It does mark a further stage in the peace process.

The Downing Street Declaration also reflects a development in political analysis. It contains many important political implications.

In the context of our commitment to creating a democratic settlement, Sinn Féin willingly acknowledges these. For example:

- The statement in Paragraph 1 that "the most urgent and

important issue is to remove the causes of conflict";

- The British government for the first time in such direct terms addresses in Paragraph 4 the right of the people of the island of Ireland alone to exercise our right to self-determination;
- The clear recognition that present structures and policies have failed and, implicitly, a recognition that change — political and constitutional — is necessary if a satisfactory and permanent settlement is to be achieved;
- The significance of the British government's decision on six occasions in Paragraph 4, as well as Paragraph 9, to define any permanent agreement in the context of the island of Ireland;
- The support expressed by both governments for "healing divisions" and their statement that this can only come about "through agreement" and "cooperation at all levels";
- The acknowledgement (Paragraph 1) that the Downing Street Declaration is not in itself a peace process but the "starting point of a peace process designed to culminate in a political settlement";
- The positive role envisaged for Europe;

■ The formal inclusion of Brooke's assertion that Britain has no self-interest in Northern Ireland

Negative and contradictory elements

But, the Downing Street Declaration also contains negative and contradictory elements. Some of these are:

- In asserting that it has a selfish strategic or interest in Northern Ireland, it must be noted that no mention of British political interest, or otherwise;
- In addition, Britain's constitutional guarantee of the union is a statement of disavowal of the right of the people of Ireland to self-determination, the exercise of that right qualified by the same paragraph right must be exercised in agreement between the parts [of Ireland] respectively... on the consent freely and concurrently given to the reaffirmation in Paragraph 2 of "Northern Ireland's statutory guarantee";
- The British have no right to national self-determination — a matter for the Irish people alone to decide;
- Time and time again, the declaration, the veil is reiterated;
- The Downing Street Declaration is also with reassurances to unionists, which are nowhere matched by recognition of the nationalist position;
- When questioned by Sinn Féin about the co-operation of the British government said "based on assumptions which foundation in reality";
- The declaration contains implicit commitment to amend Articles 2 and 3 of the Irish Constitution; the British government has no matching commitment to constitutional change embodied in the Government of Ireland Bill;
- The denial of national rights is not addressed in the Downing Street Declaration;
- Nationalists are lo



● Having listened to and considered the various motions and views expressed, Sinn Féin delegates gave unanimous support to the motions put to them



Feature STAGE IN THE PROCESS ME TO ADVANCE

■ The formal inclusion of Peter Brooke's assertion that Britain has "no selfish strategic or economic interest in Northern Ireland".

Negative and contradictory elements

But, the Downing Street Declaration also contains negative and contradictory elements. Some of these are:

■ In asserting that it has "no selfish strategic or economic interest in Northern Ireland" it must be noted that there is no mention of Britain's political interest, selfish or otherwise;

■ In addition, Britain's constitutional guarantee to the union is at variance with its statement of disinterest;

■ Having directly addressed the right of the people of the island of Ireland to self-determination, the free exercise of that right is qualified by the assertion in the same paragraph that the right must be exercised "by agreement between the two parts [of Ireland] respectively... on the basis of consent freely and concurrently given..." and by the reaffirmation in Paragraph 2 of "Northern Ireland's statutory guarantee";

■ The British have no right to determine how we exercise the right to national self-determination — this is a matter for the Irish people;

■ Time and time again in the declaration, the veto is reiterated;

■ The Downing Street Declaration is also replete with reassurances to the unionists, which are nowhere matched by any recognition of the rights of nationalists;

■ When questioned by Sinn Féin about the coercion of nationalists, the British government said that the question "is based on assumptions which have no foundation in reality";

■ The declaration contains an implicit commitment to amend Articles 2 and 3 of the Irish Constitution. There is no matching reference by the British government to its constitutional claim as embodied in the Government of Ireland Act;

the British state against their wishes — their consent was never sought. The right to give or withhold consent was not and is not extended to nationalists.

Bridging the gap

We have identified these negative elements in the Downing Street Declaration in the hope that these difficulties can be overcome.

Sinn Féin is convinced that, despite the inadequacies of the declaration, the potential to build upon a real peace process still exists.

The necessary dynamic to move us all out of conflict must be found in the principles, framework, time-scale, procedures and objectives of a peace process and particularly in negotiation.

Sinn Féin therefore commits itself to advancing the peace process and to creating the foundation for a lasting peace by building on the positive elements contained in the Downing Street Declaration, by attempting to overcome the difficulties which still exist — in short, by bridging the gaps between what is contained in the Irish Peace Initiative and the Downing Street Declaration.

Motion 3

Advancing the peace process

That Sinn Féin restates our commitment to the need for an inclusive society in our country which would reflect the diversity of all our people. Consent on the part of all the Irish people is necessary for the shaping of new structures in Ireland.

This is entirely different from the perpetuation of a unionist veto over constitutional change as a precondition of the exercise of the right to Irish self-determination. The veto is a barrier to the consideration or achievement of democratic options for all the Irish people. It has no legal, constitutional or democratic basis. The right of the Irish people to determine our own future free from external impediment is absolute, inalienable and cannot be qualified in any way by the British government.

The consent and agreement of unionists is of course necessary to build a stable and peaceful Ireland. We reiterate

our view that the British government should join the persuaders, that is, that they should fulfil their responsibilities by persuading the unionists that their future lies with the rest of the Irish people.

New constitution

Sinn Féin reaffirms its commitment to the civil and religious rights to all of the Irish people. We recognise that unionists have democratic rights which not only can be upheld but must be upheld in an independent Ireland. We believe that those democratic rights would be greatly strengthened in an independent Ireland.

Sinn Féin has long accepted that northern Protestants have fears about their civil and religious liberties and we have consistently asserted that these liberties must be guaranteed and protected.

We seek to be part of the building of a society which can reflect and uphold the diversity of all our people. Our vision is of a free Ireland, a peaceful Ireland, a unity of Catholic, Protestant and Dissenter, with all citizens guaranteeing the civil and religious rights of all other citizens. We hold to the words of the 1916 Proclamation which said:

"The Republic guarantees religious and civil liberty, equal rights and equal opportunities to all its citizens, and declares its resolve to pursue the happiness and prosperity of the whole nation and of all its parts, cherishing all the children of the nation equally, and oblivious of the differences, carefully fostered by an alien government, which have divided a minority from the majority in the past."

Sinn Féin seeks a new constitution of Ireland with a charter of rights.

Issues of immediate concern

Sinn Féin is determined to build on the positive achievements of the past 18 months by pressing ahead with the peace process. In addition, we will also look at more specific short-term and intermediate-term objectives to develop the potential which the peace process has already provided for addressing issues of immediate concern. This means winning and maintaining support for the neglected nationalist people at every level, ensuring parity of esteem and equality of

treatment and cooperating with others to secure international support for the following objectives:

- That there is no return to unionist domination;
 - That Sinn Féin activists must be able to represent our electorate in conditions of peace, free from harassment and the threat by loyalist death squads;
 - That the rights of women and of Gaelgeoirí must be fully recognised;
 - That an equality of status for the Irish language, including funding, must be secured.
- There must be an end to:
- Censorship laws;
 - Job discrimination;
 - The underlying sectarian bias in the allocation of economic investment;
 - Repressive legislation;
 - Collusion between Britain's state forces and loyalist death squads at all levels.

Building a solid foundation

These objectives are all achievable. There is a need for more popular action and consistent and frequent mobilisations in this phase of our struggle.

We must do this by building alliances and campaigns.

Sinn Féin will continue to build on the gains already made to increase the momentum for change and to move the peace process forward.

We recognise the need for effective communications with our membership and base. We must strengthen our unity and cohesion and improve our political and organisational capacity and our resources so that the party is politically primed to initiate and respond in an appropriate and comprehensive way to this developing and hopeful situation.

Motions from the floor

Apart from the resolutions from the Ard Chomhairle, the conference adopted two motions proposed from the floor. Motion four called for members of the party to make "the exposure and combatting of collusion between British forces and loyalist death squads" their campaigning



● Derry Ard Chomhairle member Dodie McGuinness, Sinn Féin National Treasurer Joe Cahill, and Councillor Jim Allister from Crossmaglen give their views on the various motions

priority for the rest of 1994. Several speakers emphasised the importance of the 25th anniversary events throughout the month of August, including the Belfast and Derry marches on 14 August, and culminating in Dublin on 20 August, and it is envisaged that in the period following this, the collusion issue should be taken up in a

campaigning way by party members.

The fifth and final motion passed was for the conference to "endorse and congratulate the Ard Chomhairle and to reiterate the membership's confidence that the Ard Chomhairle will bring the national peace project to a successful conclusion".

Overflowing Mansion House backs British withdrawal

■ BY ART Mac EOIN

"THE VAST majority of people in Ireland, with the very notable exceptions of the unionists — either the unionists who live in the North or those on the opposition benches of Leinster House — would support the proposition of peace through a British withdrawal," Gerry Adams told a packed public debate in Dublin on Monday, 25 July.

Up to 1,500 people crowded the Mansion House to capacity while hundreds more outside had to be turned away from the debate on the motion "That British Withdrawal is Essential to Peace", organised by the Time for Peace — Time to Go campaign. There were long queues outside the building until after 10pm as people came to hear Gerry Adams and Bernadette McAliskey speak in support of the motion and TDs Michael McDowell and Paddy Harte speak against. The meeting was reckoned to have been the biggest public meeting on the national question in Dublin since 1981.

"You don't have armed conflict in this state and you have not had armed conflict in this state from the time that the British withdrew militarily from this part of our country. Before the partition of this country what is happening in the Six Counties today happened all over Ireland," Gerry Adams told the huge audience.

Adams said that he had heard Peter Barry declare that the people he represented in Cork wished for peace after 25 years of conflict and while this was a proper and welcome sentiment, the fact was that those who wanted peace more than anyone else were "those of us who live in a military zone in the Six Counties who have had to endure and continue to endure it".

"One thing is for certain," Adams said, "the only thing that has to be worked out is the nuts and bolts of British withdrawal — the time, the sequence, the process."

After Letterkenny to suggest that the peace process was finished was rubbish, Adams said. "The surprise would have been if John Bruton, Mary Harney, Ian Paisley or James Molyneux said that they agreed with Sinn Féin."

He criticised Patrick Mayhew's remarks that he was disappointed at Sinn Féin's response and said that Sinn Féin didn't have to go to Letterkenny to "surrender".

"In unravelling this deep-rooted conflict we have to deal with issues and build a solid foundation and I think that there wouldn't even be talk of a peace process if it hadn't been kick-started by people living in the Six Counties and if that had not been supported by the Dublin government. Out of that arose the Downing Street Declaration. The declaration is not the end of it. The peace process as far as I am concerned is still on track because peace in Ireland is required today as much as it was before the Sinn Féin conference convened in Letterkenny."

The Sinn Féin president reiterated opposition to the loyalist veto over political or constitutional change and said that no group in Ireland deserved to have an unfair advantage over any other section of the people. What was needed was a British government which stopped hiding behind the unionists and for the unionists to stand on their own feet, adding that their consent was needed and that the oldest adage in republican parlance was the unity of Catholic, Protestant and Dissenter.

Adams said that he had been waiting for the unionists for all his life and that he recognised reality. "Why should Ian Paisley or James Molyneux move when a British government says to them 'you don't have to move boys'?"

Sinn Féin wanted the British government to join with the Dublin government, and with others in moving the situation forward, with everyone's consent being sought. It was up to the Irish people to agree on how to exercise

their right to self-determination and it was nothing to do with John Major. "I happen to believe that we can sort it out, us and the unionists, North and South." While this needed to be worked at, it was important to have a sense that measurable progress had been made.

The British army was deployed in the Six Counties 25 years ago, he said, not to defend the Catholics but to bolster the state which had collapsed. "They have been the life support unit which has kept that state alive since. If the British government had then, 25 years ago, started the process of withdrawal, of bringing the unionists on board, of seeking their consent, of arguing for their consent, of negotiating their consent, where would we be now 25 years later? We certainly would not have conflict and as sure as I am standing here when we get British withdrawal we will get the right which is denied us — to shape our own destiny, Catholic, Protestant and Dissenter, men and women, free, in a country and society of our choice."

Progressive Democrats spokesperson on the Six Counties Michael McDowell TD, said that Gerry Adams and Bernadette McAliskey supported and sustained "political terror in Northern Ireland" and as such were "exponents of evil and depravity". He said that the Irish peace process was "a joke of a term".

Concentrating on the issue of republican violence McDowell said that the "entire Provisional movement, I have to say, is deprived from top to bottom, from its secret centre where Gerry Adams lurks to its more public fringe where McAliskey deceptively loiters". To laughter among the audience Gerry Adams moved his chair further away from Bernadette McAliskey in reaction to McDowell's comments and McAliskey responded by following him.

McDowell criticised Albert Reynolds for his comment that



● A massive crowd attended last Monday night's debate in Dublin's Mansion House

there were positive aspects to the Sinn Féin conference in Letterkenny. "Letterkenny was a new low in the gullibility and abasement of some southern politicians who saw in it anything positive and of some in the southern media who cleave to Provisional propaganda in the wretched hope that some of it may turn out to be true." He called on Eddie McGrady, Séamus Mallon and Joe Hendron of the SDLP "to end the dalliance with the politics of death" and he called on "the Dublin government and in particular the Taoiseach" to "face down the Provisionals decisively" by "their categorical exclusion from the entire political process at any level and in any part of this island".

Bernadette McAliskey, seconding the motion, said that on the few occasions that she had debated with Michael McDowell "I have found that he has a need to be personally and gratuitously offensive". She noted that in the list of people Michael McDowell had declared in his speech as not being "legitimate targets" he had not mentioned republicans and asked whether this meant that her own attempted assassination was acceptable to him.

That British withdrawal was essential for peace was "self-evident to the student of history, the student of politics, the student of social movements, the student of human rights", McAliskey said. The difference between the Six and 26 Counties was that the right of those in power to govern was an issue in the Six Counties. On the issue of consent McAliskey pointed out that she lives in County Tyrone and that neither Tyrone or Fermanagh ever gave their consent to partition. "Both of whom swore their allegiance to the First

Dáil Éireann. That is our democratic position and we have maintained it whatever Mr McDowell may think. And if it is right and democratic and agreeable that the minority of the nation should have been allowed to secede in the manner they did and create the state that they did in the North, then do we not have the same right, west of the Bann, to secede from that state?"

"So the question of consent and majorities and minorities is something that we work out amongst ourselves when we are free to do it. But we are not free and equal people until that which has kept us unfree has been removed."

She said that British withdrawal is not and cannot be dependant upon unionist consent. "British withdrawal is a unilateral decision based on Britain never having had any right to govern, not having any right to govern and never having in the future any right to govern." If this was to be ignored as merely past history it must be negated by present history and the British must be able to show that since partition it treated people in the Six Counties with equality. This was not the case over the past 70 years. Nationalists could not get "daylight" in the Six Counties if it could be kept from them.

In regard to the process of British withdrawal McAliskey said: "Anybody in a broken marriage knows that once the painful decision to separate is taken there can be a civility about the packing, the arrangements, the finances, the custody..."

Fine Gael TD Paddy Harte said that he agreed with the aims of Time for Peace — Time to Go, but he felt that he could not support the motion because he believed that what was needed was peace before the British could withdraw.

He said that he saw the veto, not as a guarantee to unionists but as a statement that "until a majority of people north of the border want to join a united Ireland we will not make Irish unity an issue. That doesn't mean that we have to convert every person on the unionist/Protestant side to our way of thinking but it does mean that we have to convert a number of them, sufficiently large enough to get a majority in the North of Ireland, to our way of thinking".

It was Harte's belief that the British would go if the Irish people could sort out their differences. If and when they did go he said the British should go on their knees and apologise for what they had done in Ireland.

Following questions from the floor and a summing up by the four speakers a vote on the motion was taken. It was passed by an overwhelming majority of the Mansion House audience.



● Bernadette McAliskey, speaking in favour of the motion, said that British withdrawal is not and cannot be dependant upon unionist consent

Reviews

Haunted by a border childhood

■ BY MICHAEL TOVEY

BORDERLAND is Patrick Quigley's first novel. According to the flyleaf notes of this book he has had short stories and poems published in a number of journals and newspapers. It is as a poet that he commands most attention in his novel.

Set in a Monaghan contemporary with his youth and early adulthood, Quigley alludes strongly to actual historical events — the death of Feargal O'Hanlon in the '50s border campaign and the bombing of the town in 1974. The problem with the book though is that the author seems caught between two stools — the recounting of an early life spent in what was obviously for him great hardship, emotionally and physically and the somewhat lenient licence taken

with the description of characters and events that did appear and occur in the town of his youth.

The novel starts brutally with the death of the protagonist's mother in a house fire inadvertently begun by his father carelessly discarding a cigarette butt. This event, the earliest in the child's memory, dominates everything else in the novel. His attitude particularly to women has been permanently scorched by this trauma and we are left to experience his morbid and

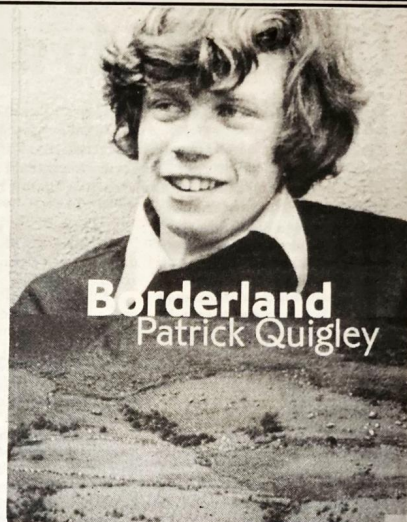
self-absorbed personality for rather too long a read.

Quigley does possess a poet's facility with words. He is at his best describing his childhood experiences in the care of his father and a number of aunts in Monaghan. The author has read Kavanagh and has obviously been influenced. There are shades of Tarry Flynn and many of Quigley's better descriptive passages are reminiscent of both the prose and poetry of his more renowned countyman. However, while paying homage to the master, Quigley merely manages to confirm Kavanagh's genius and his own fare, while worthy in many respects, is a poor substitute. Better, like Pat McCabe, to throw off the

yoke of Kavanagh altogether and strike out on his own.

Frustratingly for the reader, at least that is for one with a geographical knowledge of Monaghan, Quigley's town as described differs too much from the actual to allow for easy recognition and I was reduced to filling in spaces and stretching boundaries on a mental map to accommodate his descriptions. Allied to his somewhat idiosyncratic view of events as they unfolded in his home town over the period, it amounted to an unsatisfactory and ultimately unrewarding read. As a first novel it does not encourage, but I will look out for the poetry.

● *Borderland* by Patrick Quigley. Published by Brandon. Price £6.95.



Glory time for Leitrim

■ BY SEAMUS O CAOMHANAIGH

THE SPIRIT of John Joe McGirl must have been smiling last Sunday as Leitrim footballers finally came in from the cold after a lifetime of defeats and bitter disappointments and lifted aloft the JJ Nestor Cup.

I must confess, I wasn't aware that any of the 1927 winning team were still alive, but there was Tom Gannon, the Leitrim captain of that long lost championship, looking remarkably fit for his years and celebrating with the best of them in Dr Hyde Park. Those celebrations will have been echoed wherever the Leitrim diaspora have found a home and I'm sure nobody grudges them a second of their day in the sun. Ironically the Connacht champions got the short straw in terms of the open draw, having to contend with Roscommon, Galway

and finally Mayo so what initially was intended to help the weaker counties worked against them, but no doubt that made the eventual victory all the sweeter.

Now that the froth of celebration has died down a little, in the cold light of day it must be stated that the Connacht Football Final was a poor game and that's being quite charitable, particularly as regards Mayo. To be blunt, Mayo were pathetic. Gifted a goal on a silver platter courtesy of Séamus Quinn in the opening minute, any team worth their salt should have torn

into the opposition and built on the huge advantage handed to them. But Mayo looked a side rather than a team and one very much at odds with itself.

Leitrim were very vulnerable after the goal and two or three points for Mayo would have rocked their morale, but as it was Declan Darcy's men responded in committed if not always accurate fashion. Indeed, seven wides in the first half, most of which were from scoreable positions, will not be good enough against the Leinster champions on Sunday, 21 August. But as Mickey Quinn nailed down midfield for Leitrim and the Mayo forwards were stumbling from ineptitude to complete inability the scores had to come eventually, if painfully slowly.

It was not until three minutes before the break that Leitrim edged in front with a fine point from Mickey Quinn, followed swiftly by points from Liam Conlon and Aidan Rooney to put some daylight between the teams, 0-6 to 1-0 at half time. A damning scoreline in itself for Mayo, yet still the game was there for them if they had the spirit for the fight. The sad fact for the Mayo supporters is that their team was almost totally lacking in fire or motivation for virtually the entirety of the game.

Leitrim started the second half like a team certain that their hour had come. Points by Declan Darcy and Aidan Rooney boosted their confidence, while a pointed free from Mayo's Kevin O'Neill in reply meant that a full 40 minutes had elapsed before Mayo got their first score — the goal from Pat Fallon's lob must be regarded as an own goal. Leitrim continued on their merry way and two points from frees and two from play increased the score to 0-12 and piled on the agony for Jack O'Shea's charges, eight points adrift some 20 minutes into the second half.

In fairness to Jack O'Shea his substitutions were successful and Kieran McDonald and Ronan Golding, besides scoring three points between them, added much needed punch to the Mayo attack. Leitrim fell back into a defensive mode for the last 15 minutes of the match and during this time failed to score. They nearly paid dearly for this as the inevitable pressure from their opponents yielded a penalty which

eventually was punched to the net.

With six minutes remaining the Leitrim rearguard dug in and no forward in greed and red was going to get through for another goal. As the seconds ticked away in injury time any pacemakers in the crowd were put under severe strain, but finally the whistle went and the Leitrim team and their supporters must have felt they'd reached the promised land. The narrow winning margin, the missed chances, the overall poor quality of football on view, all were irrelevant. The victory was theirs and it was party time. One young Leitrim fan remarked in the heat of the moment that the win "was like getting the Brits out for good". No son, it wasn't, but we know how you feel.

The Galway minors achieved a workmanlike win over their Mayo counterparts to make it a miserable day all round for those sporting the green and red colours on a scoreline of 2-11 to 0-9. They now meet Wexford or Dublin in the semifinal.

The Munster Football Final in Páirc Uí Chaoimh was played in bright sunshine before a very meagre crowd in contrast to the packed terraces and drizzle in Dr Hyde Park. Cork found it difficult enough to shake off a determined Tipperary side but they always seemed capable of stepping up a gear whenever real danger threatened. Cork scored 2-19 to Tipp's 3-9 and while an impressive total they owed a large debt to Colin Corkery, who scored nine points from frees and open play. I suspect that if Corkery and John O'Driscoll can be contained, Cork would struggle badly.

As Billy Morgan had visited Clones, Peter McGrath was in Cork and he will have noted the frailties in the Cork defensive set up. There is a tendency of key players in

midfield and attack to drift in and out of a game and the over dependence on two or three players to really power the Cork challenge. Admittedly much of the complacency in the Corkonians will have long evaporated by the time the Down hordes descend on Croke Park for the semifinal. Cork simply didn't believe they could lose against Tipperary and it showed. And while the better team won, anything less than 100% application and commitment will be disastrous against DJ Kane's men on 14 August.

Billy Morgan has his work cut out and his mistake, Tipperary can take heart from their display. They showed admirable team spirit and dedication to the cause. Derry Foley being a case in point — a man who certainly wanted to get his game! Where they fell down was a lack of a coordinated, sustained effort; playing in fits and starts, however brilliant, doesn't usually do the business and failing to take vital chances never does. But if this Tipperary squad can stay together and profit from their two Munster final appearances there could be interesting times ahead in the deep south. Meanwhile, for the next few weeks, Billy Morgan will be having some restless nights.

As expected, the Kerry minors beat a lively Clare outfit in the curtain-raiser, but they were relieved in the end to emerge the victors on a 2-11 to 3-5 scoreline. Overall though they deserved their win and now face Armagh in what promises to be a cracker of a semifinal.

Next Sunday sees the GAA equivalent of High Noon take place when Meath and Dublin battle it out once again for supremacy in Leinster — 'battle' definitely being the operative word. Football isn't a matter of life or death, it will just seem that way in Croke Park on 31 July.



● Leitrim captain Declan Darcy lifts the Connacht trophy, with Tom Gannon, who captained the last Leitrim side to capture the title in 1927

Nuacht

Cumhacht do na cathaoirligh

MAIDIN DÉ DOMHNAIGH seo caite caithfidh mé admháil gur chuma liom ann nó as do Chomhfhógra Shráid Downing. Bhí mé ar an mhótarbhealach ag tarraingt ar Thír Eoghain ar leath i ndiaidh a sé ar mo bhealach ar chomhdháil Shinn Féin i dTír Chonaill ach bhí mé róthuiseach le bheith buartha faoi imeachtaí stairiúla an lae.

Chonacthas go raibh fórsaí na coróine róthuiseach fosta mar cé go ndeachaigh muid thart leis an iliomad beairic sular bhain muid Tír Chonaill amach ní shaca muid duine ar bith acu ar an talamh. Ní shílím go dtiocfaid siad amach fiú dá mbeadh Che Guevara féin ar a bhealach go dtí an chomhdháil.

Ach má bhí fórsaí na himpireachta ina gcodladh níorbh amhlaidh do na gardaí. Caithfidh gur chuala siad an seanfhocal faoin éan luath mar bhí siad ag stopadh achan duine.

Ach ní na gardaí amháin a bhí ag stopadh achan duine. Ar mo bhealach isteach sa chomhdháil stop fear le suasitheantas buí 'slándála' mé.



● "Dúirt bean liom go ndúirt..."

"Cé thusa?" arsa sé liom. "Is mise do dheartháir! Tá muid sa teach céanna le 30 bliana anuas," a dúirt mé.

"Níl mé ach ag déanamh cinnte de," a d'fhreagair sé agus thug sé cárta dearg cuairteora dom.

Shiúl mé isteach sa halla agus bhí mé dallta láithreach ag soilse móra lucht na teilifíse. Bhí an áit mar a bheadh seit Hollywood ann. Bhí Anne Speed ina cathaoirligh ar an chéad sheisiún den lá. Tá súil agam go mbíonn sí chomh crua ar shóisí Bhaile Átha Cliath ina hobair mar oifigeach ceardchumann agus a bhí sí linn.

Chuir an réalt teilifíse Mheiriceá agus uachtarán Shinn Féin Gerry Adams tús le hóráidí

an lae. Rith sé liom go raibh sé aisteach guth Gerry féin a chluinsint in ionad guth aisteora.

Nuair a d'fhógair Anne Speed i ndiaidh na hóráide go raibh ar na meán imeacht tháinig mo dheartháir as an roinn slándála ag amharc go géar orm. Ba soiléir go raibh sé ag smaoineamh ar chóir dó lucht AP/RN a chur amach leis na meán eile. Sa deireadh shocraigh sé nach raibh muid ag déanamh dochair don streachailt d'aonturas agus níor iarr sé orainn imeacht.

Bhí fáilte mhór roimh an sos don lón tar éis an chéad seisiún mar gheall ar an teas milleannach sa halla. Shocraigh na cártaí buí aer úr a ligean isteach agus d'oscail siad doras amháin don seisiún tráthnóna.

Bhí Seán MacManus sa chathaoir don seisiún seo. Seisiún ceithre uair a chloig a bhí ann a phléigh leis na trí phríomhrún ar dhearcadh Shinn Féin maidir leis an chomhfhógra damánta.

Mar a tharlaíonn ar ócáidí mar seo bhí daoine ann a bhí daingníthe de go raibh siad chun a seoda féin a chur os ár gcomhairle is cuma má bhain siad leis an ábhar a bhí idir camánaibh. Amanna ba mhian liom go mbeadh na cumhachtaí céanna ag cathaoirligh s'againne agus a bhíonn ag láithreoirí seochluichí i Meiriceá chun trapdhóras a oscailt faoi na cainteoirí má tá siad ag dul thar fóir.

Tá barraíocht cainteoirí le lua anseo ach tá moladh tuille ag cuid acu: Jim McAllister a thug roinnt grinn isteach san imeacht; Barry



● GEARÓID MAC LOCHLAINN

McElduff a rinne cion fir le faoiseamh a thabhairt don lucht éisteacha; Mícheál Mac Donncha, is ea eagarthóir s'againne ach tá mé ag iarraidh bheith macánta anseo, as a iarrachtaí chun an chomhdháil a chur ina chomhthéacs stairiúil i mbeagán focal; Joe Austin as bréaga a insint, ach bhí an insint maith i gcónaí; Denis Donaldson as na mothuithe a chur sé in óráid s'aige ar na haontachtoirí; Mary Nelis as an halla a mhúscailt arís.

Tá cúpla duine eile agus tá obair de dhíth orthu ar a stíl óráidíochta: Gerry McLochlainn, tús maith ach b'fhearr gan dul thar an chéad uair a chloig, tá todhchaí aige; Martin McGovern, níl an seál 'cad é mar a bhain mé an streachailt i gearrchumann gan chuidiú ó phoblachtóirí na hÉireann' snasta go leor go fóill; Jim Gibney, is soiléir go bhfuil Jim ag streachailt chun uasphointe Bodensdown '92 a bhaint amach arís.

Ar ndóigh rinne Joe Cahill iarracht s'aige chun an cruinniú a hijeacáil ar fad ar mhaith le hairgead. Rogha aisteach ar fad é chun bronnadh a dhéanamh.

Nuair a labhair Pat Treanor a goineadh in ionsaí de chuid an IRA ar na péis coicís ó shin rinne mé nóta gan dul abhaile trí Thír Eoghain ar eagla go gcuirfeadh carr lán le Sinn Féinithe barraíocht cathú ar na hOglaigh ansin.

Nuair a glacadh leis na rúin ar fad bhí butóchas ar chách nuair a d'fhógair Seán MacManus go raibh na meán ag teacht ar ais agus go mbeadh Gerry Adams, Lucilíta Breathnach agus Martin McGuinness ag druידim na comhdhála.

Chríochnaigh an chomhdháil le bualadh bos don uachtarán agus cé go raibh díospóireacht stairiúil i ndiaidh críochnú creidim go raibh iarracht mhór den fhaoiseamh go raibh obair an lae fhada críochnaithe.

GRUPAI IN AMHRAS FAOI ATHBHREITHNIU COTHROMAIOCHTA

TA GRUPAI cearta sibhialta sna Sé Chontae in amhras gur féidir leis an Lárionad do Chaidreamh Comhphobal (LCC) dul i mbun an athbhreithniú neamhspleách ar reachtaíocht ar chothromaíocht san fhostaíocht atá geallta ag rialtas na Breataine D'fhógair rialóir díreach na Sé Chontae Patrick Mayhew an tseachtain seo caite go raibh an rialtas Briotanach leis an Acht do Chothromaíocht san Fhostaíocht 1989 a mhéas.

Gheall sé fosta go mbeadh an

rialtas ag amharc ar mhíosiúir eile a bhain le cothromaíocht — oideachas, traenáil agus cruthú postanna.

Dúirt urlabhraí ón Choiste do Riarachán na Córa (CRC) gur chuir siad fáilte roimh an fhail "le

teip na reachtaíochta agus polasaí reatha a leigheasadh".

Dúirt Maggie Beirne gur aontaigh an CRC gur chóir go mbeadh an t-athbhreithniú leitheadach agus go mbeadh an CRC ag cur tuairisce faoi bhráid an LCC.

Dúirt Beirne áfach go raibh an CRC buartha faoi lárthócas an athbhreithniú agus faoi cé chomh neamhspleách agus a bheidh sé.

"Caithfidh an lárthócas cinntiú an bhfuil laghdú mór san éaghothromaíocht idir an dá phobal.

"Le seo a dhéanamh caithfidh cibé aithriithe a tharla a scrúdú, cad iad na hathruithe atá de dhíth go fóill, cad iad na rúin atá ag an rialtas leis na hathruithe a dhéanamh, agus cad é an clár ama atá acu."

den airgeadú a séantar dó faoi láthair.

Tá réimse leathan d'imeachtaí beartaithe d'fhéile na bliana seo. Beidh ceol, drámaí, craic, siúlóidí, coisirí agus imeachtaí spóirt de gach sórt agus críochnóidh achan oíche leis an "Mhasla Deireanach" i gCnoc na Foinse.

I mbliana beidh cuid mhór imeachtaí ag díriú ar na 25 bliana deireanacha ó tháinig saighdiúirí na Breataine ar shráideanna na Sé Chontae. Ní ag amharc siar amháin a bheidh na himeachtaí seo mar beidh neart cainte faoin todhchaí.

Ach is ceiliúradh Féile an Phobail thar rud ar bith eile agus beidh rud éigin ann do chách. Go raibh craic mhaith agat.

Féile an Phobail ag teannadh linn

SEOLADH AN CLAR d'Fhéile an Phobail Iarthar Bhéal Feirste '94 i gCultúrlann Mhac Adaim/O Fiaich, Déardaoin seo caite, 21 Iúil.

D'fhógair urlabhraí choiste na féile Deirdre Mac Manas go bhfuil iarracht mhór déanta ag an choiste le clár na bliana seo a fheabhsú. Tá an coiste ag scaipeadh 20,000 cóip de na clár saor in aisce ar fad iarthar Bhéal Feirste agus níos faide anonn.

Seo an seachtú bliain d'Fhéile

an Phobail agus anois tá sé ar an fhéile comhphobail is mó in Éirinn. Tá an eacht seo déanta d'ainneoin go bhfuil an fhéile eagraithe ar bhonn deonach. Dúirt Mac Manas go bhfuil súil ag an choiste go n-aithneofar a iarrachtaí agus gníomhacha amach anseo agus go bhfaighfidh an féile cuid



● Ag súil leis an chraic - buachaillí ag láinseáil clár na Féile

News/Letters

The threat of good example

■ BY DARA Mac NEILL

LATE LAST YEAR, officials of Cuba's education system were forced to launch a Telethon-type appeal in order to acquire certain badly-needed items — pens, pencils and notebooks. The country's children were returning to school and even those most basic implements of learning were in short supply on the island. Things are that bad.

Between 1989 and 1992, Cuba's national income dropped by an astonishing 45%. Obviously, that had much to do with the collapse of the Soviet Union and the consequent loss of aid from (and trade with) the Eastern Bloc. Since 1960, Soviet aid had acted not so much as a prop for a fundamentally flawed economy, but as a cushion against the US-imposed economic blockade.

Under the terms of the blockade — the US politely refers to it as an embargo — no US companies or their subsidiaries can do business in or with Cuba. In addition, all exports and imports to and from the island are prohibited. So rigorous are its terms that, during the Bush administration, a US citizen who ran chartered fishing trips into Cuban waters was successfully prosecuted.

No such sanctions were ever imposed on, for example, the Apartheid regime in South Africa. In fact the US opposed the imposition of sanctions on South Africa right up to the mid 1980s. The difference between the two is simple. US corporations made a lot of money out of Apartheid. Equally, for several decades, South Africa acted as the West's "anti-communist" bulwark in southern Africa. And a very effective bulwark they proved too. Just ask the people of Angola, Namibia or Mozambique.

In Cuba meanwhile, US business was prevented from sending forth its dollars to multiply after 1960, when they were unceremo-

niously ejected from the island and their companies nationalised. Equally, for three decades Cuba provided aid to a number of national liberation movements around the world. In the mid '80s, the intervention of Cuban forces helped repulse a South African invasion of Angola — the first time the Boer Army had been defeated in battle.

And of course, in 1961, Cuba itself repulsed a US invasion of the island — via a CIA-trained proxy army — which landed, appropriately enough, at the Bay of Pigs. The much-planned invasion was defeated in a humiliating 72 hours. The invasion plan had been set up in early 1959, shortly after the triumph of the revolution. The initial proposal was made by then Vice President, Tricky Dick Nixon. He lived to see his dream made nightmarish in the hands of the Great White Liberal, John F Kennedy.

Right from the outset, Cuba has faced an uphill battle. In 1959, needing money to finance its ambitious programmes, it app-roached the International Monetary Fund. The US-dominated organisation attached strict conditions to any loan

approved. The Cubans refused. Enter the Soviet Union.

When Soviet oil began to arrive in Havana, US oil installations were ordered not to touch it. They acceded to the State Department request and Castro responded by nationalising them. By September, 1959, some \$1 billion worth of US owned companies had been nationalised. That included approximately one million acres of land which had been owned by three major US fruit companies. Much of that land was redistributed. Prior to the revolution, US companies had owned 80% of Cuba's mines, refineries and ranches; 40% of the sugar industry

and 50% of the public railways.

Following the ignominious failure of the Bay of Pigs, the US resorted to more subtle methods to oust Castro. By late 1962 the economic blockade was fully in place. This strategy was complemented by the use of covert, military and economic terrorism. Arms and mercenaries were dispatched almost weekly to Cuba. Crops ready for harvest were burnt, while harvested crops ready for export were poisoned. Factories and machinery were sabotaged and bombs planted in Havana. In 1971 a CIA operative introduced the African swine fever virus to the island, with the result that 500,000 pigs had to be slaughtered.

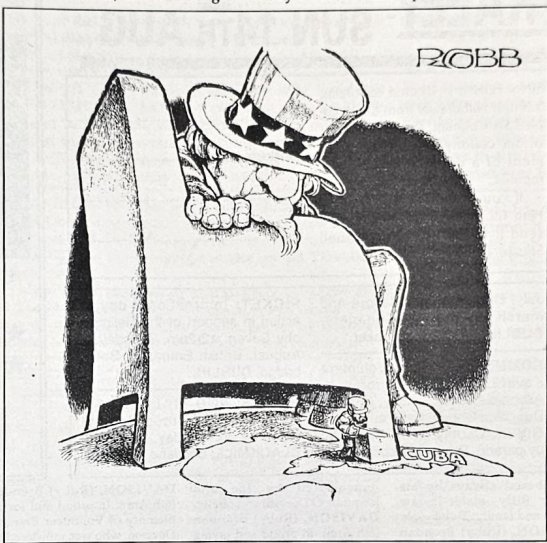
Under the auspices of Operation Mongoose, as it was known, several attempts were made on

Castro's life. The methods employed ranged from the absurd to the outwardly ludicrous. One plot involved the use of a pen loaded with poison ink. Another, sensing that Castro's popularity lay with his macho image, involved the dispatch of a chemical which would have caused his beard to fall out. Perhaps the most slapstick of all was an attempt to kill Castro through the use of an exploding cigar.

No other country in the world had been subject to the same sort of unremitting assault. And yet, throughout Latin America, large numbers of people have disregarded the black propaganda. In August 1993, for example, Castro visited Bolivia, a desperately poor society. He was greeted much as the Brazilian soccer team of 1994 were greeted upon their return home. Literally, hundreds of thousands of Latin America's poorest turned out to cheer. No doubt some of that number would have disagreed with some of Castro's policies, others with all of them. That misses the point. What Cuba and Castro represent throughout Latin America is a gigantic two-fingered salute to US desires of hegemony in the region.

Today, in 1994, the US is still debating the issue of universal health care. Cuba had it 30 years ago. In fact, it offers better medical care to its citizens than any other country in Latin America. Statistics like that remind people all over the region that the two-fingered salute to rule by multinationals and the US State Department which Cuba represents, is more real than metaphorical.

The threat posed by Cuba is the most fundamental threat of all. It is simply the threat of good example. It is a miracle they have survived so far. It is necessary that they continue to do so.



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

Predatory British state

A Chairde,

It's amazing how British ministers cannot hide their crooked natures, even when its critical for them to do so. Paddy Mayhew's remarks/demands, published on 18 July, are a good illustration (if yet another were needed) of the basically predatory and parasitic nature of the British state. Instead of working towards parity of esteem and recognition of the fact that the Six-County statelet cannot maintain its present form without nationalist consent and that in reality the present 100% loyalist ethos of that statelet disqualifies the total humiliation of the nationalist people by stripping them of their Irish citizenship. It will be said, of course, that even without Article 2 claiming jurisdiction over the whole island the Dáil could still legislate to extend citizenship to those already in possession of it, but without the territorial claim their descendants have no such right or guarantee.

It amazes me when I hear the audacity of the British to

ask for decontamination periods before talks can take place. Since it would be impossible to wash away the blood of the millions of murders the British state has committed all over the globe, and of the countless millions of lives stifled under their evil Empire I assume that it's Sinn Féin they would like to see decontaminated. No doubt the Irish people have picked up some of the filth of the British Empire, but whatever happens when real talks eventually do begin I have no doubt that the inevitability of the historical process will be the overriding factor and all Britain's threats and death squads will be swept aside like some ancient rubbish. Padraig O Choill, Baile Átha Cliath 15.

Molyneux right on Kuwait

A Chairde,

Mr Molyneux is perfectly right to compare Northern Ireland to Kuwait.

Kuwait was an invention by imperial powers which could not hold all the Middle East territory they wanted and therefore receded into corners

and set up unchangeable regimes favourable to their interests. Such newly created states, drawn across natural ethnic and religious territories, were undemocratic and could not be made democratic by any normal evolutionary process. The parallel with Northern Ireland, as Mr Molyneux points out, is too close to miss. Des Wilson.

Mayhew misinformed A Chairde,

During Parliamentary Question Time at Westminster on 14 July, the Northern Ireland Secretary of State declared "we have the toughest Fair Employment Legislation in Europe".

Sir Patrick Mayhew is seriously misinformed. On 22 April 1994, the European Parliament (with only Ian Paisley dissenting) adopted a Resolution on Discrimination in employment in Northern Ireland, which was unsupported by virtually all sections of the media in Ireland.

Whilst acknowledging that current Fair Employment legislation is, technically, of a very

high order, the European Parliament noted that:

1. In 20 years it has not produced any substantial improvement in the employment of Northern Irish Catholics;

2. Regretted the failure to set goals and timetables for the reduction of the unemployment differentials which exist;

3. Recommended that existing legislation be assessed by independent and international research units;

4. Expressed the opinion that effective implementation of anti-discrimination legislation would contribute to the achievement of a peaceful settlement to the conflict;

The case for independent review of the legislation is unanswerable, and has most recently been endorsed by the Hon Alan G Hevesi, Comptroller of New York City; Sean Farren, the SDLP Fair Employment spokesperson; and Kevin McNamara, Labour Party spokesperson on Northern Ireland.

Sir Patrick Mayhew should now request the European Parliament to urgently undertake an independent review, and make recommendations for amendment and operation of

the legislation, in order to support the claim that it is, indeed, "the toughest fair employment legislation in Europe".

Oliver Kearney, Hon Secretary to Equality.

Dublin & Monaghan Bombings

A Chairde,

The right to truth must be recognised as a basic human right alongside the right to life. Central to this right is the acknowledgement by the State of its responsibility in instances of the use of harassment and lethal force. Once the right to truth is acknowledged there can be debate around the use of amnesty for state forces guilty of murder, torture and harassment, but the right to truth itself is inviolable. British forces have been guilty on a continuous basis in the Six Counties. Instances which spring to mind are Derry, the shoot-to-kill policy investigated by Stalker, Gibraltar and the Caraher brothers amongst the many.

Peoples' reaction to state

lethal force is to close their eyes. They don't want to contemplate the unpleasantness. After that they tend to blame the victims, they said; "they must have been up to something". It is only by the State's admission of the truth that fear can be removed and justice done.

In the case of the Dublin and Monaghan bombings, the truth has been known for twenty years to both the authorities in Dublin and London. The deaths of these victims brought an end to their lives but not an end to their identity. The dead have a right to a dignified identity which will be remembered. The conspiracy of silence remains and is shared by our national Broadcasting Authority, RTE, which has refused to rebroadcast the Yorkshire TV documentary "Hidden Hand — The Forgotten Massacre" which clearly and unequivocally implicates the British authorities in this mass murder. To whom then do the relatives turn in their search for justice? Hugo V Flinn, Newtownmountkenedy, County Wicklow.

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

PLEASE KEEP LETTERS SHORT



JOIN SINN FEIN

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

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

Name.....

Address.....

Tel:Age.....

Imeachtaí

BALLYMURPHY SEVEN PICK-ET: Every Saturday, 2-4pm, O'Connell Bridge, DUBLIN

COMMEMORATION: Volunteer Pat Cannon Commemoration. Assemble 2.30pm, Saturday, 30

July, Darndale Roundabout and march to Balgriffin Cemetery, DUBLIN. Prominent speaker.

COMMEMORATION: Volunteer Kevin Lynch Commemoration. Assemble 2.30, Sunday, 31 July, Dungiven Chapel Car Park, DUNGIVEN, County Derry. Followed by parade. Prominent speaker

PICKET: International day of action in support of the Ballmurphy Seven. 12-2pm, Tuesday, 2 August, British Embassy, Ballsbridge, DUBLIN.

MARCH AND RALLY: 25th Anniversary of Troop Deployment. 11.30, Sunday, 7 August, BLACKMILL, Scotland

I nDil Chuimhne

BRADLEY, Séamus; **CASSIDY, Séamus;** **DAVISON, Brendan;** **TOLAN, Tommy.** In proud and loving memory of Volunteers Séamus Bradley (died 31 July 1972), Séamus Cassidy (died 28 July 1972), Brendan Davison (died 25 July 1988) and Tommy Tolan (died 27 July 1977). "They may kill the revolution but never the revolution."

— Che Guevara. Always remembered by their friends and comrades in the Republican Movement.

CASSIDY, Séamus (22nd Ann).

In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Séamus Cassidy, who died on 28 July 1972. Always remembered by the Cassidy family and entire family circle.

DAVISON, Brendan (6th Ann).

In loving memory of my son Brendan, who was murdered at his home by British agents wearing RUC uniforms on 25 July 1988. A loving son cut down by those who know nothing about the great love and determination we hold for a peaceful united country once again. Always in my thoughts, never far away. Always remembered by his loving father Harold.

DAVISON, (Ruby) Brendan (6th Ann).

In loving memory of my brother Brendan, who was murdered on 25 July 1988. You left us quietly without goodbye but memories of you will never die. Go dtuga dia suaimhneas síoraí d'a anam. Missed and

remembered always by his brother Billy, sister-in-law Theresa and family, Twinbrook.

DAVISON, (Ruby) Brendan (6th Ann).

In loving memory of my dear brother, Volunteer Brendan Davidson. RIP. Never more than a thought away, loved and remembered every day, still sadly missed by his brother Jimmy, Katrina and family.

DAVISON, (Ruby) Brendan (6th Ann).

In proud and loving memory of my brother, who died on 25 July 1988. He held you close within our hearts and there you will remain, to walk with us throughout our lives until we meet again, so rest in peace dear Brendan and thanks for all you done, we pray that God has given you the crown you've truly won. Our lady of Knock pray for him. Always remembered by his loving brother Brian, wife Rita and Brian 6g.

DAVISON, (Ruby) Brendan (6th Ann).

In proud and loving memory of Big Ruby, who was murdered by UDA/RUC on 25 July 1988. Mary Queen of the Gael pray for him always. Remembered by Tucker, Janet and family.

DAVISON, (Ruby) Brendan (6th Ann).

In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Brendan Davison who, was murdered on 25 July 1988 for resisting British rule in Ireland. Mary Queen of the Gael look over him. Always remembered by Kieran, Claire and family.

DAVISON, (Ruby) Brendan (6th Ann).

In proud memory of our friend and comrade Volunteer Brendan Davidson, Belfast Brigade, Oglagh Na hÉireann, who was murdered by loyalists on 25 July 1988. Mary Queen of the Gael pray for him. Always

remembered by Joe and Jacqueline O'Donnell and family.

DAVISON, (Ruby) Brendan (6th Ann).

In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Brendan Davidson, Belfast Brigade, Oglagh Na hÉireann, who was murdered on 25 July 1988 by loyalists. Always remembered by Séamus and Josie and family.

DAVISON, (Ruby) Brendan (6th Ann).

In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Brendan Davidson. Remembered with pride by Pat and Angie.

DAVISON, (Ruby) Brendan (6th Ann).

In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Brendan Davidson. Remembered with pride by Jock and Connie.

DAVISON, (Ruby) Brendan (6th Ann).

In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Brendan Davidson. Remembered with pride by John and Bernie.

DAVISON, (Ruby) Brendan (6th Ann).

In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Brendan Davidson. Remembered with pride by Sam, Terry and Katrina.

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In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Brendan Davidson. Remembered with pride by Alec and Ann Marie.

DAVISON, (Ruby) Brendan (6th Ann).

In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Brendan Davidson. Remembered with pride by Frankie Brogan and family.

DAVISON, (Ruby) Brendan (6th Ann).

In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Brendan Davidson. Remembered with pride by Sinéad and Danny.

DAVISON, (Ruby) Brendan (6th Ann).

In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Brendan Davidson, who was murdered on 25 July 1988. Your commitment to the struggle is an inspiration for us all. Always remembered by republican POWs Markets, Lower Ormeau Road and Short Strand.

DAVISON, (Ruby) Brendan (6th Ann).

In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Brendan Davidson. Always remembered by the Republican Movement, Markets, Lower Ormeau, and Short Strand Belfast.

H-BLOCK MARTYRS (13th Ann).

In proud and loving memory of the ten brave Irishmen who gave their lives in the fight for Irish freedom. Our day will come. Always remembered by the Volunteer Jim Lynagh RFB, Glasgow, Scotland

TOLAN, Tommy (17th Ann).

In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Tommy Tolan, who was murdered by the Workers' Party on 27 July 1977. Always remembered by Hilary, Jean and family.

WOODS, Séamus (6th Ann).

In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Séamus Woods, East Tyrone Brigade, Oglagh Na hÉireann, who died on active service on 7 July 1988 at Pomeroy Barracks. From your friends Oliver, Siobhán and family.

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From your friends and comrades. Kevin and Niall, Magilligan Jail, Derry.

WOODS, Séamus (6th Ann).

In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Séamus Woods, East Tyrone Brigade, Oglagh Na hÉireann, who died on active service on the 7 July 1988 at Pomeroy Barracks. From your friends and comrades Anthony and Dominic Murphy, YDC and Crumlin Road.

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John McBride, Portlaoise Prison.

HEANEY. Deepest sympathy is extended to Tony Heaney and family on the death of his brother Denis. From his friends and comrades in Portlaoise Prison.

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Beannachtaí

KANE. Belated birthday greetings to Pamela (Limerick Jail).

From her father, mother, brothers and sisters; From uncle Austin and family.

MURPHY. Happy 21st birthday Dominic (Crumlin Road Jail) from Conor and the girls from the top country. Keep your head up.

HAPPY BIRTHDAY Liam (Long Kesh). From Eugene, Donegal; From Patsy Castlederg, Aghayron.

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Buíochas

MANY THANKS to everyone who contributed to our summer rally draw, also Shannon's. Tíocfaidh Ar Lá. From the Volunteer Jim Lynagh RFB, Glasgow, Scotland.

THE TYRONE POW department would like to take this opportunity to thank all those who helped organise and all those who took part in the sponsored walk on 13 July. A special thanks to the women who made tea and sandwiches for the walkers on their arrival to Galbally. Now begins the gruelling task of gathering in sponsor sheets. Filled in or not could they please return it with money as soon as possible to Tyrone POW Department, 60 Irish Street, Dunganong. Tel: 753311. See you all next year. Go raibh maith aigibh, Paula McEllduff (Runa).

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THE TYRONE POW department would like to take this opportunity to thank all those who helped organise and all those who took part in the sponsored walk on 13 July. A special

CRIME FIGURES in the 26 Counties have jumped by 4% according to the 1993 annual report from the gardai.

After Dublin and Cork East in the list of high crime rates comes Limerick.

Imagine my surprise when I turned the page of my morning paper after reading about this increase in criminal behaviour and found a prime example of the sort of hooliganism which gives Limerick such a bad name. A woman had been awarded the princely sum of £5,000 plus costs and expenses in Limerick District Court after she brought a civil action against a Shannon-based garda for assault.

Garda Gerard Bowen of Cahirdavin Heights, Limerick, grabbed 74-year-old Delia Kennedy so hard that her arm turned black and blue, the court heard, in an unprovoked assault when she refused to allow him into her home to speak to her daughter, his separated ex-wife.

Delia Kennedy took the civil action after the Garda Complaints Board and the DPP decided to take no action against the guilty party. There are few republicans who don't have a similar Pontius Pilate letter from the less than zealous Garda Complaints Board.

SUSPECT DEVICES wishes the Special Branch well in their new Garda Federation, formed in a sulk after not getting their own way in the Garda Representative Association.

Hopefully the new organisation will not have to be as

closely monitored by undercover cops as are the activities of other representative bodies, like trade unions.

At least if there was a need to spy on themselves, the infiltrators would not need to worry about standing out as cops.

SUSPECT DEVICES was very interested in former Six-County 'Security' Minister Michael Mates' call on Gerry Adams to resign as president of Sinn Féin following the Letterkenny conference.

I suppose it's comforting to know that Mates is concerned that Sinn Féin should have a capable hand on the tiller, but I just have one question. Who does Mates think should replace Adams?

● Defender of law and order Garda Gerard Bowen does his bit to boost crime figures, by carrying out an unprovoked assault on a 74-year-old woman



We hope that whoever Michael decides to back is more successful than his last leadership candidate. Michael Heseltine couldn't even beat John Major!

GUN-TOTING BRITISH MPs have succeeded in their struggle to extend their rifle range in the cellars at Westminster. Low-calibre, trendy,

liberal and lefty types had wanted the space for a children's day-care centre, but they were comfortably out-gunned by the shooting club lobby.

SPEAKING of so-called peace campaigners, Democratic Left Councillor Christy Gorman, prominent in New Consensus and Peace Train groups in Navan, is also a leading light in the campaign to remove all Travellers from the town.

This will not particularly please party colleague and TD Liz McManus, who is the chairperson of the Task Force on the Travelling Community, set up by Dublin's Minister for Equality and Law Reform, Mervyn Taylor.

THE UDA STILL remains legal in Britain and the British government's decision not to proscribe the loyalist terror group has allowed the organisation to strengthen its support by recruiting a network of supporters in England, Scotland and Wales.

The UDA is also said to have increased its activity in Britain, which includes drug

dealing, robberies and gun-running in order to raise cash for its campaign of sectarian murder in the Six Counties.

An English court jailed three men recently who were gun-running for the UVF from a Manchester housing estate. This death squad also remains legal in Britain. The fact that both these groups remain legal in

Britain shows clearly just how tolerant the British government is of the death squads and their activities.

AN OFFICIAL UNIONIST councillor and member of Ards Council for the past 15 years who is accused of trying to burn down a pensioner's house has been granted bail by Belfast High Court.

Stanley McCoy (43) from Fresham Road, Newtownards, together with 30-year-old Brian Cecil Patterson, of Broomfield Court, Newtownards, are accused of setting fire to the home of an elderly town resident in the early hours of 11 July.

A crown lawyer said firefighters were discovered lighting against the door of the man's house in Church Street, but they were dealt with before any serious damage was done. The 77-year-old male occupant was found asleep in bed. Counsel added that an attendant at a local all-night garage had identified the accused as having bought firefighters about half-an-hour before the fire was discovered.

When the RUC went to Councillor McCoy's house, they found some similar firefighters had been burnt in the grate. The court was also told that when arrested, both men denied setting fire to the door and said they had been intoxicated. Patterson admitted being at the garage with McCoy, but McCoy denied being out of the house.

The lawyer said that Patterson alleged to the RUC that he had been assaulted the previous day by a man who lived next door to the pensioner. It is believed that this may have given him a motive, and in his drunken condition, he went to the wrong house.

The judge released each man on bail totalling £1,500 on condition that they did not enter licensed premises and reported weekly to the RUC.

AND FINALLY, Kerryman columnist Mick McConnell had a bit of fun last week at the threats, real or perceived, which have resulted in cancellations of Six-County gigs by the likes of Daniel O'Donnell and Dickie Rock.

Being something of a music-lover, McConnell is not a fan of either singer, but if loyalist murder gangs are seriously against these performers, he has a wonderful idea in sensory deprivation tactics for the crown forces to experiment with on the Orange hordes.

"If it's true that Daniel O'Donnell's singing is so painful to loyalist ears that they are threatening to kill him," he wrote, "it could

prove to be a two-edged sword and yet another weapon" for the crown forces.

He continued: "Loyalist suspects could be chained to Walkman cassette players and played an unending diet of Daniel O'Donnell. Before long, the sweat would start to pop out on their foreheads and they would start to twitch. By the end of a few hours they would be prepared to sign their own death warrant, that is if the Court of Human Rights did not step in first."

Call me a wimp if you like, but just one dirge in honour of Daniel's mammy and I'd condemn mine. Sorry ma.



Dúirt Siad

Updates were given occasionally by Sinn Féin's press officer, Rita O'Hare, who tried to calm the impatient journalists who came from as far away as Japan, among them Nasu Shoichi, a correspondent for Tokyo's largest newspaper, The Yomiuri Shimbun. Even in Tokyo people were monitoring Sinn Féin's response to the Downing Street Declaration. — Tim Ryan in the Irish Press, Monday, 25 July.

Do you see that Fenian bastard. We had a piece of evidence, a fingerprint, and the bastard destroyed it. — Tongue-in-cheek account of his RUC interrogation by wounded Sinn Féin Councillor Pat Treanor, who addressed the Sinn Féin conference in Letterkenny.

If it's war he [Gerry Adams] wants then let's take it to him. It wouldn't take long for the SAS to wipe that smirk off his face. — Daily Star (British and Six-County edition) editorial on the Sinn Féin conference.

And the tears flowed. Some Leitrim players had tears in their eyes at the long whistle. It was almost too good to be true. More important even than politics. There were men at the game, notably from the football (and republican) stronghold of Ballinamore who would otherwise have been at the vital Sinn Féin conference. But not yesterday. — Cormac McConnell in the Irish Press following Leitrim's first Connacht Football Championship in 67 years, Monday, 25 July.

Emphasising the negatives

■ BY LIAM O COILEAIN

MANY MEDIA and political commentators in their reaction to the Sinn Féin conference last weekend were either suffering from short memories themselves or operated on the principle that the public have short memories.

They forgot, or hoped the public had forgotten, what republicans and nationalists have been saying since December. They forgot the Sinn Féin Peace Commission Report. Sinn Féin has been saying for months that Britain must change its policy, that the unionist veto is a barrier to progress and does not equate with the principle of consent. Both governments also said that no party had to accept the declaration to be part of talks.

Whatever the reason, and it is known that British civil servants were painting a particularly pessimistic picture in briefings leading up to the conference, most of the media's immediate reaction to Sinn Féin's definitive response to the Downing Street Declaration was negative.

Those delegates and visitors who attended the conference felt that the response was measured and positive. But although the motions passed praised some aspects of the declaration and identified weaknesses elsewhere, most of the media which had come to the Donegal town chose to interpret the result as an outright rejection of the declaration and as a 'No' to the peace process.

While this mirrored the reaction of British, unionist and pronounist politicians, the more restrained, hopeful and studied

comments of Albert Reynolds, who saw "positive signals" and the SDLP's Mark Durcan, who spoke of the need "to keep narrowing the gap between what is, and what ought to be", were hopeful signs for future developments.

The *Irish Press* on Monday ran with the headline "In the Cold", leading off its front-page story with the verdict that: "Sinn Féin was facing political isolation last night after rejecting the Downing Street Declaration. The decision of the party's special convention also dealt a major blow to the peace process launched almost eight months ago by the two governments."

The *Irish Times'* Northern Editor, Dick Grogan, wrote that Gerry Adams had taken over 2,000 words "to deliver the verdict summed up on the walls of West Belfast months ago: 'Promising work, shows an improving grasp of the subject — but must try harder.'" Choosing to ignore the gains made by nationalist Ireland in the past year, Grogan described the conference as "pointless" and the attitudes of republicans as "fundamentalist". This was how he interpreted Sinn Féin's rejection of the unionist power of veto over British policy and ultimately over any change in the status quo. He

was dismissive of Sinn Féin's commitment to the Irish Peace Initiative, describing it as "a power play which has long ceased to mean anything, but suffering and revolution to the broad mass of people on this island".

This attitude was not echoed in the *Irish News*, the main nationalist daily in the Six Counties, which offered a more studied response. Its editorial stated that the easy conclusion would be that the declaration had failed. Commenting on the upbeat tone of Gerry Adams' speech, it felt that this was "not the language of a political leader intent on torpedoing the declaration".

The paper concluded that "the peace process continues" and expressed the hope of nationalists that this process remains "the best chance of peace in 25 years".

But in the 26 Counties the downbeat reaction gave other columnists the chance to indulge in vitriolic abuse. Fintan O'Toole in the *Irish Times* on Tuesday even equated republicans with rapists in a sick analogy on the consent/veto issue. "It is clear from Sunday's conference, however," he wrote, "that Sinn Féin does not in fact accept the principle of consent at all. To extend the analogy with sex, its understanding of consent is that of a rapist who insists that cowed nonresistance can be taken for agreement." The key point made by Sinn Féin at the conference that nationalists were never asked to consent, never gave

their consent, and have always resisted, inclusion in the Six-County state, was ignored by O'Toole.

By Tuesday, the *Irish Times* was also concentrating, not on the substance of the Sinn Féin response, but on the party's relationship with the media. The front-page headline read: "Sinn Féin reassessing handling of Donegal conference", the analysis being that Sinn Féin leaders were somehow caught unawares by the negative reaction and were engaged in "damage limitation exercises".

On Tuesday morning's news bulletins and *Morning Ireland* on RTE this negative spin reached its nadir, the station reporting that Gerry Adams had been "accosted" by Peace Train protestors as he entered the Mansion House for the Time for Peace — Time to Go debate on British withdrawal the previous evening.

The facts were somewhat different. No more than a dozen protestors gathered outside the front of the Mansion House, whereas hundreds of people had to be turned away from the meeting, which was packed out. Adams entered from the car park, unmolested by friend or foe.

The report of the meeting itself led with an interview with one of the handful of protestors.

By 8.30am on Tuesday, following complaints from immediately after the 6am news, RTE dropped its assertion that the Sinn Féin president had been "accosted", but did not issue a correction until Wednesday. No paper or other media outlet thought it worthwhile to record the outcome of the debate, an overwhelming vote for

a British withdrawal as being necessary for peace.

British newspapers almost universally chose to interpret the decision as an outright rejection of the peace process by Sinn Féin. The British edition of the *Star* was its usual subtle self, calling for the SAS "to wipe that smirk" off Adams' face. "If its war he wants then let's take it to him."

The *Financial Times* was scathing of the Sinn Féin response, but felt that the British government could assist the process by presenting a draft amendment of the Government of Ireland Act.

In general most media and politicians missed the big picture, choosing to concentrate on what they interpreted as the receding possibility of an IRA cease-fire rather than on Sinn Féin's broader canvass of building a situation where there could be a complete demilitarisation of the situation. Much was also made by commentators of what they chose to interpret as the intransigent position of the party in denying the unionists a veto over change. By Wednesday John Bruton was opining in the *Irish Times* that Sinn Féin's part in the Irish Peace Initiative is "phony", and such "phony" initiatives "have been part of the armoury of aggressors down through history, and Adolf Hitler was one of the most adept practitioners of the art".

Much of this reaction was very much a case of *deja vu*, a brief return to the days when the stock response to events relating to the Six Counties was a good bash at the republicans. But those days are gone and commentators better realise that serious analysis is what is needed now.

RUC release injured councillor

■ BY LIAM O COILEAIN

SINN FÉIN Councillor Pat Treanor, who was arrested, injured in a gun attack and then seriously assaulted by the RUC before being taken to hospital and then Castlereagh Interrogation Centre, was finally released on Thursday, 21 July.

Treanor was brought back to the scene of his arrest, the closed border crossing at Lackey Bridge, where he was served with an exclusion order. Speaking after his release, on behalf of Sinn Féin's councillors in Monaghan, Caoimhghín O Caoiláin expressed their "anger and outrage at the original arrest and the subsequent brutal treatment he received at the hands of his RUC captors".

O Caoiláin added that "the serving of the exclusion order is clearly an exercise in saving face and an attempt to create a smoke screen surrounding the arrest and brutality inflicted on Councillor Treanor by British forces".

Treanor was originally arrested as he showed two Swedish jour-

nalists the crossing at Lackey Bridge which, despite the wishes of local people on both sides of the border, has been persistently vandalised and closed to traffic by the crown forces. As he was being driven to Castlereagh, the car came under attack by an IRA ASU, injuring Councillor Treanor and the RUC officers in the car. Treanor subsequently had to have his left index finger amputated.

The following is his account of the RUC assault on him following the attack, as dictated to his solicitor from his hospital bed in Dundonald on Sunday, 17 July:

"I would like to make a separate statement concerning the behaviour of certain RUC officers in the immediate aftermath of the shooting.

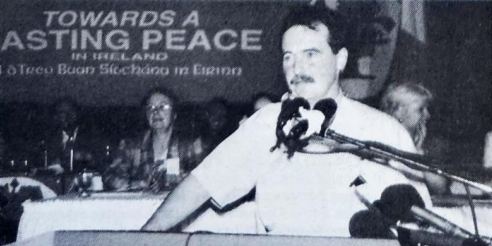
"I was travelling in the back of an unmarked police car with the officer who arrested me. There were two others in the front of the car. All of a sudden, gunfire broke out and the window shattered. The driver reversed into another car. The gunfire continued for about ten seconds and then the car doors opened and someone shouted 'Get out'.

"I got out and lay in the grass as the policemen returned fire. I could see that the gunfire

came from a lorry travelling immediately in front of the police car. It had earlier pulled out of a laneway in front of the car. Once the lorry driver had driven off, the three policemen pointed their guns towards me shouting 'terrorist bastard, move and we will kill you'. I was ordered to move towards them, which I did. I was then grabbed and put on the ground at their feet. One of them beat me around the head with his pistol and said 'You're one of

them bastards and I am going to shoot you'.

"A British soldier then arrived and said 'Cool it' as civilians were around. The others had also been kicking me but the worst was the arresting officer. New policemen were arriving and they obviously misunderstood that I was one of the gunmen. One of them stood on my injured hand with one foot and kicked me in the head. I couldn't see him as I was pinned to the ground. He kicked me hard enough to cause my head to bleed and I believe that three staples have been inserted. I was treated for the injuries caused during this assault at the Tyrone hospital."



● Sinn Féin Councillor Pat Treanor addresses the delegate conference in Donegal after receiving a warm welcome from all present



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