



An Phoblacht

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REPUBLICAN NEWS

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1995 — Year

of decision

IN A new year message Sinn Féin Ard Chomhairle member Martin McGuinness said that 1995 can be the year of resolution of the conflict in Ireland. McGuinness said:

"As we enter the new year, the hopes and expectations for peace in Ireland have never been higher."

"We have to ensure the peace process stays firmly on course, and indeed, is accelerated. The British government must embrace the new opportunities being created and move speedily towards all-party negotiations, without preconditions."

"I salute the commitment and tenacity of all our activists who, despite years of harassment, demonisation and marginalisation, have played a part in advancing the struggle and have brought us

to this potentially decisive moment in history.

"Without the determination and courage of our people, the dawn of the coming year would not have held such high hopes for

peace and a resolution to this age-old conflict."

McGuinness concluded by calling on all parties to the conflict to build on the progress which has been made in 1994.

"With vision and commitment from all sides we can move towards a lasting peace in Ireland and make 1995 the year of the resolution of conflict between Britain and Ireland."

STORMONT IN FLAMES



● Fire swept through the west wing of the Stormont parliament building outside Belfast on the morning of 2 January. Mystery still surrounds the cause of the blaze which completely gutted the debating chamber where the sectarian Six-County parliament sat until it was prorogued in March 1972. Nationalists have always regarded the building as a symbol of unionist and British misrule. DUP leader Ian Paisley claimed the fire was started deliberately, but British government and RUC spokespersons said the cause was as yet unknown

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News



Two days before the release of prisoners in the 26 Counties for Christmas, Saoirse supporters held a vigil at the GPO in Dublin

GROWING SUPPORT FOR SAOIRSE AT SEASONAL VIGILS

OVER THE FESTIVE SEASON, the nationalist population of the Six Counties took to the streets in a series of protests and demonstrations to show their support for the present peace process and to support calls for the British government to demilitarise the Six Counties. The immediate release of all political prisoners was also demanded as protests organised by Saoirse took place throughout the North.

In Belfast, a series of protests began with a white-line picket at the junction of Duncairn Gardens and the Antrim Road at tea time on Wednesday, 21 December. Organised by Newington Sinn

Féin, the picket called for the immediate release of all Irish political prisoners.

On Friday, 23 December, Saoirse organised a 40-car cavalcade from Belfast to Long Kesh

and Maghaberry prisons. Although the RUC attempted to ban the cavalcade, telling the organisers that since they had not given one-week's notice of the cavalcade it would be deemed illegal. However, the organisers ignored these RUC threats. At the prisons, Máiréad Ní hAdhmaill, Saoirse spokesperson, called on British Direct Ruler Patrick Mayhew, to release all political prisoners immediately.

On the same day, protestors

picketed Coalisland RUC Barracks, County Tyrone and repeated the call for the release of Irish political prisoners. Later that night the names of all Tyrone political prisoners were attached to a Christmas tree in the town.

The Saoirse group kicked off the new year with a series of protests across Belfast in demonstrations of support for republican POWs. In North Belfast, protestors from the New Lodge Road area assembled at Lepper Street on

Monday, 2 January and marched to nearby Artillery flats where the British army continue to occupy the tower blocks and spy on the local population despite the cease-fire.

Also, in West Belfast, protestors assembled at the junction of the Whiterock and Falls Roads before marching to the high-rise nurses flats in the Royal Victoria Hospital complex on the Broadway Road that are also occupied by the British army. Spokesperson Mary Quinn commented:

"Local people are angry that after two cease-fires the British are still occupying our areas. There can be no justification for the continuing use of civilians as human shields by the British crown forces."

Protestors also gathered at Nansen Street and at Sinn Féin's Falls Road offices before marching to the Divis Tower flats where Sinn Féin Councillor Fra McCann addressed the crowd. He criticised the continued occupation of the tower and questioned the British government's commitment to peace given the increased militarisation of the tower with the installation of new camera equipment on the spy post.

Despite being a particularly busy evening for many preparing for Christmas, a large crowd took part in the first public protest organised by Saoirse Fear Manach in Lisnaskea at 6pm on Friday, 23 December. Up to 200 people congregated on the main street in front of the Christmas tree. Candles were lit and placards displaying the names of Fermanagh's political prisoners were tied to the railings. A local musician played music throughout the vigil to the gathering of families, relatives and friends and supporter of the political prisoners. Local Sinn Féin Councillor Gerry McHugh called for the unconditional and immediate release of all political prisoners.

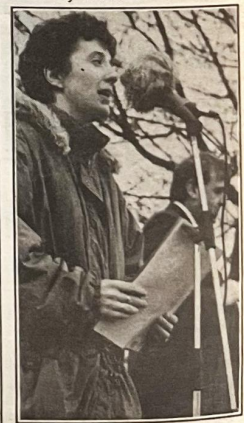
The names of the ten Fermanagh republican political prisoners were individually called to be released. The protest ended with *Amhrán na bhFiann*.

In Dublin on 21 December over 50 people took part in a candlelight vigil at the GPA. Among those in attendance were relatives of prisoners in Portlaoise and English prisons.

A torchlight vigil in Monaghan town on Christmas Eve attracted much attention and support from shoppers as did a vigil on the same day in Clones.



● A young republican who took part in the car cavalcade to Maghaberry on 23 December gets his message across



● Fiona Meenan of Saoirse addresses a rally in Greencastle on 18 December

News

BRITISH BEGRUDGERY CONTRASTS WITH RELEASES IN 26 COUNTIES

■ By MEADBH GALLAGHER

THE TEMPORARY RELEASE of 39 republican POWs in the 26 Counties over Christmas has been welcomed by Sinn Féin, as a hopeful sign in the road to their full unconditional release. Vice President Pat Doherty contrasted the gesture of the Dublin government with "the rigidly attitude of the British government" who cut back on the traditional Christmas parole releases.

On 22 December, Dublin Justice Minister Nora Owen announced the temporary release of 30 POWs for up to seven days and the extended release of nine more. The nine POWs granted extended release were all due for release within the next six months — two of them this month. However, their early release was to be conditional, under the terms of the 1960 Criminal Justice Act.

Following representations, the

new government is now considering whether to use the terms of Section 33 of the 1939 Offences Against the State Act, which gives it "absolute discretion" in such releases. In 1948, a number of republican prisoners were released under the 1939 act, and in Easter 1962, 30 republicans were similarly released from Mountjoy without preconditions.

This Christmas, the nine men subject to the government decision

were granted extended parole for four weeks pending clarification on their full release.

Announcing the paroles, Nora Owen stated that the primary consideration in the putting together of the present government was consolidation of the peace process. "Obviously, with the Christmas release programme, we are showing our commitment to the peace process," she said.

Thirty-nine out of 56 republican POWs in the 26 Counties benefited from the Dublin government's decision, including the only female POW held south of the border, Pamela Kane. In contrast, only 47 out of over 500 republican POWs in the Six Counties were released for

Christmas, two of them women. Sinn Féin attacked the Northern Ireland Office (NIO) for attempting to conceal this fact by falsely claiming in various sections of the media that hundreds of republican and loyalist prisoners had been let out on Christmas parole.

"Only 47 republicans and 26 loyalists are being let out for a few days. The rest are nonpolitical prisoners. Someone needs to tell the NIO that now is the time of goodwill and generosity and not for duplicity, lies and deceit," said Pat McGeown, the party's prison spokesperson.

Sinn Féin also pointed out that five republican prisoners, Rab Kerr, Robert Murphy, Brendan McClenaghan, Michael Gorman

and Harry Murphy were refused Christmas parole for spurious reasons. Last minute pleas by the men's families were ignored as the NIO continued to punish the men for returning late to the working-out scheme in Maghaberry Jail. (See AP/RN 14 December 1994).

In a separate incident involving Andersonstown parolee Rab Jackson, an RUC patrol stopped him and members of his family in the Springhill area of West Belfast. After hearing verbal abuse on Jackson, one RUC officer attempted to strike him. Pat McGeown, who is also a West Belfast councillor, said the incident was part and parcel of the attitude towards political prisoners coming from the British government. "For the RUC and the British army, this means that parolees and their families are 'open season'."

Commenting on the "scrooge mentality" displayed by the Northern Ireland Office towards political prisoners, Pat Doherty said: "It is sadly obvious that the British government have not acted in the spirit of the peace process."

Intent on turning the screw

In this article first published in the *Morning Star* newspaper in Britain, Dr FEILIM O HADHMAILL, a republican POW in Full Sutton Prison, describes the regime there and the treatment of prisoners in the context of the peace process.

YOUR READERS might be forgiven for wondering whether the British government is really serious about peace in Ireland or simply playing with the lives of Irish and British people.

Movement by the British on any substantive issues has been virtually nonexistent and very little has been offered even in the way of symbolic change. In fact, on many levels, the actions of that government actually appear to many nationalists to have been designed to damage the peace process rather than strengthen it. This is no more clearly seen than in the British government's treatment of Irish political prisoners in jails in England over the past few months of the cease-fire.

You will no doubt have heard in the media about the escape attempt made by five Irish political prisoners and an English prisoner from Whitemoor Jail in Cambridgeshire at the beginning of September.

However, how many people have heard about the treatment meted out to those prisoners after their recapture?

After their capture, the escapees were severely and systematically beaten. These beatings were not simply the result of hot-blooded emotion immediately after the event and cannot simply be explained away in terms of indiscipline on the part of the prison staff.

The beatings were, in fact, systematic and continued over a period of several hours. The fact that these prisoners continue to be held nearly four months after the event in atrocious living conditions, locked up 23 hours a day in solitary confinement in dirty cells and denied access to their clothing, shows a deliberate policy, from on high, of cruel and degrading treatment.

This treatment is akin to that meted out to the blanket men in the H-Blocks of Long Kesh in the 1970s and early 1980s. It would also be deemed illegal if it was to occur today in a jail in the North of Ireland.

On top of this, in the aftermath of the escape, most of the personal property of these prisoners was destroyed and in the four months since the escape, access to families and solicitors has been severely restricted, making communication with the outside world, concerning their plight, extremely difficult.

At the same time that such treatment has been meted out to the Whitemoor prisoners, another Irish prisoner, Brendan Dowd, who has spent some 20

years in jail in England, was denied compassionate parole to 'bury his mother.

The fact that most Irish prisoners in England were not surprised at this decision shows how much these prisoners have become accustomed to such inhumanity on the part of the British.

The British government has, of course, also long pursued a policy of inflicting hardship on the families of Irish political prisoners in England through their continuing

policy of refusing to locate such prisoners in jails in the North of Ireland, nearer their families.

And this is despite the government's acceptance of the Ferrers Report which advocated a change in that policy.

At a time when the whole of Ireland is expecting movement from the British government in response to the four-month-old IRA cease-fire, the treatment of Irish prisoners in England suggests that rather than attempting to build on the cease-fire, the British appear to be intent on further turning the screw.

People in Britain, of course,

could play a part in putting pressure on the British government to mend its ways. For example, letters could be written to the British Home Secretary Michael Howard, 50 Queen Anne's Gate, London SW1, registering a protest at the treatment of the Whitemoor prisoners.

Alternatively, you could contact your local MP or MEP and ask them to raise the matter.

For years, republicans were told by those opposed to armed struggle that there were other nonviolent ways to change British policy toward Irish people.

Now is the chance for advocates of unarmed struggle to show that it can work.



● Friends and supporters of the Irish republican prisoners in Whitemoor made a Christmas week visit to 10 Downing Street to hand in a letter of protest to John Major about the conditions in which the prisoners are held

POWs call for end of SSUs in England

IN A STATEMENT issued on 15 December the republican POWs in Full Sutton formally withdrew cooperation from the running of Special Secure Units (SSU).

"We the republican prisoners in Full Sutton demand the end to the use of Special Security Units (SSU). The SSUs are not, as some of the newspapers would have their readers believe, five-star hotels. They are modern-day dungeons of the British prison system, where no more than seven or eight prisoners (mostly republican pris-

oners) are incarcerated in very claustrophobic conditions at any one time.

"The physical and psychological effects that these conditions have on those incarcerated in an SSU are well known and documented by the Home Office and government committees, as the quote by Lord Mountbatten in the

latter half of the 1960s shows. 'SSUs are totally unsuitable for long-term imprisonment... but once the planned dispersal system comes on stream, the SSUs should be phased out.'

"Every aspect of our existence is analysed and every word written or spoken is censored and reported. All prisoners have developed long-term medical problems due to being held in SSUs.

"Throughout the years that

republican prisoners have been held in SSUs, they have, along with non-political prisoners, fought and won concessions to try and humanise their incarceration. But we the republican prisoners now held in Full Sutton's SSU know that the SSUs are inhuman and damaging to our physical and psychological health and have informed the prison administration that we are no longer prepared to tolerate being held in SSUs.

"As from 15 December 1994 we

have withdrawn all cooperation in running the SSU, and we are demanding to be taken out of the SSU and transferred to prisons in Ireland pending our eventual release through amnesty.

"We ask all those who support the Irish peace process to make their voices heard in demanding the end to the SSUs, transfers to Ireland, and amnesty for all political prisoners.

On behalf of republican prisoners,

Full Sutton SSU, England, Michael O'Brien; Patrick Kelly; Feilim O'Adhmail; Damian McComb"



An Phoblacht

REPUBLICAN NEWS

5 JANUARY 1995

■ Is Britain saying process is over?

A CHRISTMAS without armed conflict in the Six Counties has given us all a glimpse of what a truly lasting peace, in which the Irish people have worked out their destiny together, could be like. The end of December marked the fourth month of the IRA cessation and the third month of the cessation by loyalist death squads. But British troops and armed RUC remain on the streets and their barracks, checkpoints and spy posts still impose their unwanted presence in nationalist areas.

While public goodwill nationally and internationally for a lasting settlement in Ireland was never greater, the British government remains intransigent and unyielding, apparently determined to stall the process.

On demilitarisation, on prisoners and on the issue of Sinn Féin's place at full-scale talks, the British government has been demonstrating its desire to slow things down. Apparently rudderless, Major's government seems always to be playing for time. Its actions seem designed more to please its Official Unionist supporters in the House of Commons and its own right-wing backbenchers, than to contribute constructively to the peace process.

Patrick Mayhew's remarks in Cork in which he reiterated the British preconditions about the "decommissioning" of weapons again emphasise this British negativity. Sinn Féin described Mayhew's remarks as "disturbing" and asked if he was saying that the peace process was over and if the British government was deliberately turning its back on the best opportunity for peace in 75 years. The party called for a move towards substantial talks involving both governments and all parties.

If the British government thinks that nationalists will allow it to duck out of its responsibilities it is sadly mistaken. It is equally mistaken if it thinks it can return political life in the Six Counties to some kind of spurious "normality" based on the failed partitionist structures of the past. Anything less than fundamental political and constitutional change can only prolong the Anglo-Irish conflict.

Republicans enter 1995 strong in their determination to struggle for the achievement of national self-determination. A British military and political withdrawal, a national democracy in 32 Counties and an agreed Ireland based on principles of equality remain the central aims of Irish republicans.

■ Attacks on Travellers

The end of 1994 saw increasing numbers of attacks on members of the Travelling community. In Counties Cork, Wicklow and Wexford and in other places, there was conflict between Travellers and residents. In most cases this took the form of residents attempting to remove the Travellers from their areas or opposing proposed halting sites for Travellers.

It is a scandal that such bigotry and intolerance towards Irish citizens can still be shown today. We must ask ourselves if attitudes have really changed. At the recent march in Wexford on a Travellers' encampment one woman was quoted as saying:

"This has nothing to do with race, colour or creed, it's about people standing up for their human rights and their property. No one wants Travellers. Why don't they put them in Spike Island or Timbuktu?"

Central government and local authorities must face up to their responsibilities to provide accommodation and halting sites. There needs to be an integrated, state-wide approach, not a piecemeal effort which sees this community hunted from pillar to post. After many years of treatment as third-class citizens Travellers have their own voice and are demanding their own rights. That is their best guarantee of their future as equal citizens.

In the meantime we should reflect on the words of James Connolly and what they say about our society:

"The freedom of a nation is measured by the freedom of its lowest class..."

News



Seán Donlon (left) with former US President Ronald Reagan.

Donlon appointment — a cause for concern

■ BY ART Mac EOIN

THE NEWS THAT Seán Donlon has been offered the post of special advisor to the Dublin government on matters relating to the Six Counties should be a cause of serious concern.

Throughout his career, both in the 26-County Department of Foreign Affairs and in the business world, Donlon has followed a line of thinking which sees Irish interests as being best served by prostrating Irish foreign policy before the interests of British imperialism.

Donlon was the Dublin government's ambassador to the United States from 1978 to 1981 and is regarded as one of the main architects of the 1985 Hillsborough Agreement, the aim of which was to stabilise British rule in Ireland and undermine republicanism by endorsing Britain's claim to sovereignty over the Six Counties.

As ambassador, Donlon was responsible for initiating a new phase of Irish diplomatic activity in the US. This was a departure from decades in which the Irish government displayed an extraordinary lack of interest, lack of policy and plain inaction on the partition of Ireland and the fate suffered by nationalists in the occupied Six Counties.

However, the increased activity under Donlon had nothing to do with a new concern for northern nationalists or a decision to seek international support for an end to partition. It was initiated by a worry that Dublin's lack of action meant that Irish-Americans looked to those who were defending nationalists and fighting for British withdrawal — "the IRA and its fellow travellers" as Donlon labelled them.

In an interview with the *Irish Times* in January 1993, Donlon made it clear that the main motivation for the increased diplomatic activity in the US was to stem the tide of support for Irish republicans. During his term as ambassador, Don-

lon went so far as to lobby in the late 1970s against Fy Denis Faul and Raymond Murray, who were then campaigning for the Birmingham Six in the USA.

In January 1978, while head of the Anglo-Irish Section at Foreign Affairs in Dublin, Donlon came into conflict with the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Irish Affairs in the US Congress. He supported a recommendation that the then Taoiseach Jack Lynch send a letter to Congressman Mario Biaggi, head of the ad hoc committee, complaining about what was described as his public identification with "supporters of violence" when in Ireland. The letter caused outrage among Irish Americans and friends of Ireland in the USA. On one occasion Donlon had to be escorted from an Irish-American meeting in Westchester when he incurred the wrath of those present.

Donlon also used his diplomatic contacts to lobby against the MacBride Principles campaign in the United States. The MacBride Principles for fair employment in the Six Counties are aimed at breaking down religious discrimination in the workplace and have received massive support right across America.

Former Taoiseach Charles Haughey regarded Donlon as too pro-British in approach to have a constructive role and in 1980 sought to remove him from the post of US ambassador. This was prevented, however, by the intervention of Donlon's behalf of some Irish-American politicians with whom he had links during his term in Washington.

In 1987 Donlon left the Department of Foreign Affairs for a career in the business world after being offered the post of Execu-

tive Vice President for Corporate Affairs at Guinness Peat Aviation (GPA).

While at GPA Donlon told the Irish-US Chamber of Commerce that so-called anti-Americanism in Ireland was "led by Catholic clergy". He also said that Ireland could contribute to "Western interests" but only if it asserted a commitment to what was termed as "Western values", by which he meant subservience to the interests of US foreign policy.

The Minister for the Arts, Culture and the Gaeltacht Michael D Higgins said at the time it was "worrying" that a person who held such views should have been in charge of Irish foreign policy while former Workers' Party and current Democratic Left leader and Minister for Social Welfare Proinsias De Rossa said Donlon had adopted a "shamefully craven" attitude to the US government.

Donlon has been one of a number of people in political circles who over the years have sniped away at the whole concept of Irish neutrality. In 1991 Donlon said that neutrality had not been a principle of Irish foreign policy since the end of the Second World War and said the development of the EU would be "utterly meaningless" without a military commitment.

Donlon's record as US ambassador will not inspire confidence regarding his new post in the context of the unfolding peace process. It was the actions of people such as Donlon, and the governments which directed them, which for so long prevented the positive, proactive engagement of the US in relation to the resolution of conflict in Ireland.

One wonders about the type of advice Donlon will provide the new Dublin government when the sole aim of his policy in the US was to bolster the British view on the conflict and to defeat Irish republicanism.

News

OLD YEAR MESSAGE FROM THE BRITISH

"AS WE APPROACH the New Year, the hopes and expectations for peace in Ireland have never been higher. We have to ensure the peace process stays firmly on course and indeed is accelerated. The British government must embrace the new opportunities being created and move speedily towards all-party negotiations, without preconditions."

Hardly had the ink dried on these words of Martin McGuinness than the British government was setting preconditions on future talks between Sinn Féin and all other parties to the British/Irish conflict.

Patrick Mayhew and John Major both pronounced, in 'old year' messages, that, "substantial progress on the decommissioning of IRA arms", would have to be made before Sinn Féin could take part in full discussions on a political settlement.

Not only is this a British precondition coming at the end of a long line of blocking mechanisms — for example, the red herring over whether the IRA cessation was 'permanent' or complete — it is also a move that turns the Six-County problem on its head. What we have in the North is a political problem requiring a political solution. The arms, all the arms including the British and unionist arms, are symptoms of that problem.

Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams held a 20-minute meeting with Taoiseach John Bruton at Dublin Airport on Wednesday, 21 December. Bruton had just arrived from meetings in London with British Prime Minister John Major and Labour leader Tony Blair. The Sinn Féin president was en route to Paris for a book launch. The two men held a joint press conference afterwards at which Adams said he was reassured about Bruton's commitment to the peace process.

On the decommissioning of arms, John Bruton said: "It's obviously an important matter, but it's not the only item on the agenda."

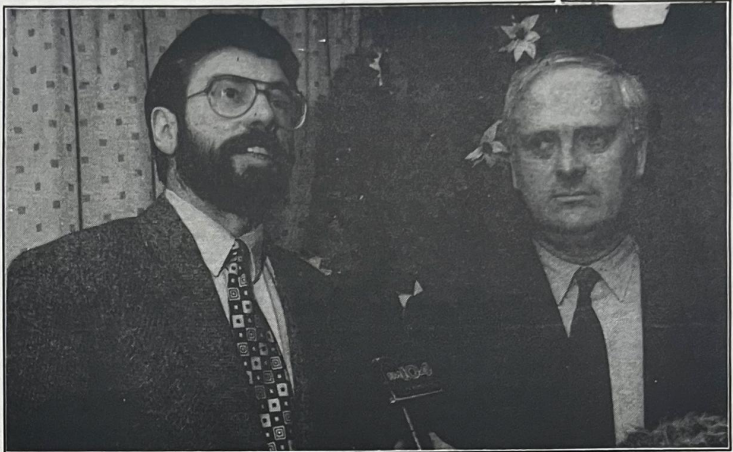
Bruton also informed Gerry Adams that he had raised the refusal of grant aid to Meáncoil Feirste, Belfast's only all-Irish secondary school, with John Major. Both men will meet again in the New Year.

Fianna Fáil leader Bertie Ahern met Gerry Adams at his office in Leinster House on 21 December to review the development of the peace process and to exchange views on how continued forward momentum and real political progress could be achieved.

Ahern expressed the view that early completion of the framework document by the two governments on a sound basis that properly addresses all the issues is an urgent priority.

They both agreed that there must be inclusive negotiations, involving all democratic parties, if a just and lasting settlement is to be achieved. No party or set of parties has the right to veto the participation of any other democratic party, when these negotiations commence.

They agreed that this was vital to pursue in parallel the full agenda of demilitarisation and to build confidence in peace. Gerry Adams added that he was confident that the commitment, attention and



● Gerry Adams and John Bruton after their meeting at Dublin Airport on 21 December

priority given by Fianna Fáil to the peace process would be fully maintained.

Before Christmas, Sinn Féin met British Labour Party delegation consisting of Paul Murphy, the party's number two to their spokesperson on the North, Nigel Warner parliamentary researcher to Labour spokesperson Majoree Mowlam and Clive Soley MP.

The talks took place on Monday, 19 December, and lasted 90 minutes. Sinn Féin has said that Labour's spokesperson on the North, Mowlam would herself meet party representatives in the New Year. Sinn Féin was represented by Councillor Francie Mol-

loy, Danny Power and Gerry Mac Lochlainn of the party's British Desk. Ironically, the degree to which Britain is pinning itself into a corner on the peace process is indicated by Garret Fitzgerald in his column in the *Irish Times* of Saturday, 31 December.

Fitzgerald maintains that the British government by its current policy of, "continued militarisation of security in conditions of peace", is endangering the peace process.

The former taoiseach further expresses his surprise that the British are, "withholding early releases", because in the closing stages of negotiations on the 1985 Hillsborough Agreement

this is something the British agreed to.

A review of the release of prisoners was on the British agenda then (former Stormont prison's minister Nicholas Scott gave public expression to this private promise in the British parliament a year later, according to Fitzgerald) and Fitzgerald insists in his article that the British start to release prisoners. He also writes that both John Bruton and Dick Spring should insist that the British fulfill their "private and public commitments".

Fitzgerald urges Bruton and Spring to "press most urgently for the complete removal of armed soldiers" from the streets of the North and to do so publicly.

used to lower the PAYE burden substantially.

Also crucial is the need to drop the tax on pay-related benefit, it is patently unfair, and introduce a wealth/property tax with a sting.

EMPLOYMENT

The programme for renewal asserts that "we need new ideas and imagination" for tackling unemployment.

Well the most obvious new idea must be wholesale reform of the IDA and Forbairt with the executive mandarins put out to grass and replaced by a regionalised democratic and community-run organisation with access to the same funding as the current development agencies.

BANKING

The rainbow programme kicked for touch on the state bank promises, saying only that "the government is committed to the promotion of a vigorous third force in banking". No commitment is given as to whether this will be a state or private-sector bank.

If the rainbow is really interested in "the reform of our institutions at national and local level", then reform of the banking system must be on the agenda as they constitute the most dominant economic institutions in Irish society.

A nationalised banking system that serves rather than profits must be on any real agenda of reform in Irish society.

EUROPEAN UNION

Government appetites are chafing at the bit for 1996 when the 26 Counties hold the EU presidency

again. Elaborate preparations are being made to make the six months memorable with a top-level government committee on the job.

The government must forget preparing grandiose bashes for winning and dining foreign dignitaries and heads of state and put their energy into setting out a programme for democratisation of the EU's institutions.

FOREIGN POLICY

Full participation in NATO's European wing, the Western European Union seems inevitable given the stance of Dick Spring as minister for Foreign Affairs. He is to bring forward a white paper on foreign policy this year. The programme maintains that we will "play a full part in the debate on foreign and security policy".

However, in principle this has meant silence on crucial issues such as the changing role of the UN, the US blockade of Cuba, and on Yeltsin's bloody denial of self-determination for Chechnya.

WELFARE ISSUES

Education, health and social welfare are crucial spending departments in the new government. Despite the years of cut-backs and withdrawal of services, billions are still spent yearly by these departments. The problems of underfunding and inequity are numerous.

One clear direction for government policy in these areas is to guarantee that services are accessible, equitable and accountable. Even this would be a start.

Rainbow resolutions

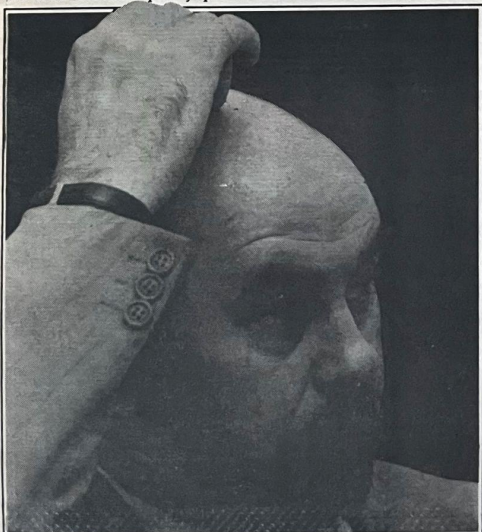
THERE WAS no honeymoon for the rainbow coalition as the so-called 'government of renewal' moves into its fourth week in power.

The Christmas break has been spent trying not to be blamed for the problems at Packard Electric while maintaining the now obligatory get-tough-with-the-unions stance.

Meanwhile, as the fine print on the new rainbow policy pro-

gramme dries, Ruairí Quinn prepares for his first budget, while a range of other policy hurdles await the new government.

AP/RN offers a range of New Year resolutions for the rainbow ministers.



● RUAIRÍ QUINN

■ BY NEIL FORDE

NUMERACY

The most basic piece of advice to the new coalition is learn to count. A bit of honesty in the unemployment figures would be a refreshing start and a public sign that the new government was going to tackle the state's endemic employment-creation problems.

In the 26 Counties, the Dublin government figure of unemployment stands at 277,700 while the Irish National Organisation of the Unemployed has a figure of 311,527.

A range of people have been excluded from the figures, including those on schemes, those approaching retirement, lone parents, spouses, etc. Action on the problem rather than manipulation of the figures is urgently needed.

TAXATION

First up is the now perennial call for a fair and equitable taxation system that can differentiate between the rich whose unearned wealth gets them more income and those who struggle to work, to make ends meet, who produce goods and services and are taxed mercilessly for it.

However, an equally pressing taxation issue is the need to actually collect it. Unpaid tax at the end of a 12-month period to May 1994 stood at £2.293 billion. The Revenue Commissioners estimate that only £527 million of this will be collected. It's time to act — such funds could be

Review of 1994

JANUARY

The year began with Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams criticising John Major's refusal to clarify the Downing Street Declaration as "childish". Adams called for immediate and unconditional dialogue with both British and Dublin governments as the only effective method of clarifying key issues central to the progress of the peace process.

The loyalist campaign of terror against the nationalist community continued with a series of gun, bomb and rocket attacks. Two men were injured when a loyalist death squad fired an RPG7 rocket into a crowded Falls Road bar. A Catholic family in South Armagh escaped injury in a loyalist bomb attack at their home.

Days after the NIO refused funds for Sinn Féin councillors to secure their homes against loyalist attacks, the home of Belfast Sinn Féin Councillor Alex Maskey was raked by gunfire by a loyalist death squad. Meanwhile, in a scenario reminiscent of the murderous attack on the Falls Road Sinn Féin centre by RUC officer Allan Moore, a plot by a British soldier to assassinate Sinn Féin leaders Gerry Adams and Martin McGuinness was exposed. The soldier had taken a rocket launcher from his Tyrone base, hijacked a car and was on his way to Belfast when he was arrested.

In a victory for those who had campaigned for over two decades against censorship, the Dublin government announced its decision to lift the Section 31 broadcasting ban on Sinn Féin. January also marked the 75th anniversary of the First Dáil Éireann.

The Dublin government's Extradition Amendment Bill, announced on 19 January, was condemned by the Irish Anti-Extradition Committee as an abuse of human rights. In another affront to human rights, RUC officer Timothy Hanley, who admitted shooting dead Tyrone student Kevin McGovern, was acquitted of murder by Belfast Crown Court.

On 27 January, loyalist killer gangs struck in both Belfast and Ballymena, shooting dead Catholics John Doherty and Cornac McDermott. McDermott's wife Cecilia was shot and seriously injured in the UVF gun attack on their home in Ballymena.

FEBRUARY

February saw the historic visit of Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams to New York following the granting of a 48-hour visa by the Clinton administration. Meanwhile, Sinn Féin's Peace Commission got underway with the first in a series of public meetings held throughout Ireland.

In the 26 Counties, the relatives of those who were killed in the pro-British death squad bombings in Dublin and Monaghan announced they were to organise an independent public inquiry into the 1974 massacre which claimed 33 lives. In the Six Counties, attacks by loyalist death squads continued against the nationalist community.

A Catholic taxi driver Mark McSweeney was shot dead by loyalists in the County Antrim town of Carrickfergus. The UVF gang hired the taxi before killing McSweeney. A 55-year-old nationalist in North Belfast was shot and seriously injured when a loyalist

A look back at the year 1994



● Gerry Adams with Conor Lenihan of 98 FM. On 20 January, the Dublin radio station broadcast the first interview with a Sinn Féin member on 26-County radio or TV in 23 years

death squad sledgehammered their way into his home. In Craigavon, a Catholic woman and the son of a member of the SDLP were both seriously injured in two separate loyalist bomb attacks.

Meanwhile, there were three separate attacks within eleven days in Belfast on Sinn Féin's Connolly House. Three workers were seriously injured in a loyalist gun attack on Connolly House on 18 February. Six days earlier, advice workers planning the forthcoming West Belfast festival, narrowly escaped death and injury during a loyalist rocket attack on the centre. A Sinn Féin advice worker also had a narrow escape when she spotted a trip wire attached to a grenade in an attack on Monday, 7 February.



● Gerry Adams on Larry King's show on CNN on 1 February. Because of British censorship laws, the European broadcast of the interview had Adams' voice dubbed by an American actor

MARCH

The end of February saw the first Sinn Féin Ard Fheis in 23 years not to be censored by Section 31. People in the 26 Counties were able to hear the voices of Sinn Féin representatives on RTÉ.

Martin McGuinness addressed the unionist community in his Ard Fheis speech: "We want to live in peace with you. We want an end to injustice, coercion and fear. We know what coercion, injustice and fear is all about. We have an interest in removing these hate-filled words from the political vocabulary of this country. We are more than willing to open further our minds to the plight of our unionist brothers and sisters."

The anti-extradition campaign in the 26 Counties received a boost with the release from Dublin High Court of Armagh man Joe Magee. Magee had been wanted by the British for the killing of a British soldier in England. Justice Fergus Finlay ruled that Magee would not have received a fair hearing had he been extradited to England.

March also saw a continuation of the IRA's successful campaign against targets in Britain. A series of mortar attacks at Heathrow Airport on 9, 10 and 13 March demonstrated Heathrow's vulnerability. The world's busiest airport was brought to a standstill.

On 11 March, the UVF killed Catholic Francis Brown with a bomb explosion in Portadown. This was part of the ongoing campaign of gun and bomb attacks throughout the month carried out by the loyalist death squads, the UVF and UDA.

At the same time, the communities of Crossmaglen, Coalisland and Omagh were being subjected to increasing harassment and assaults at the hands of the crown forces. Plastic bullets were fired at local people in the three towns.

In Crossmaglen, the IRA fired at, and hit, a British helicopter after it had landed in the town's British military base. The blast, which was contained within the base by the reinforced walls, resulted in considerable damage. The extent of the damage and injuries was initially played down

by the British, but was later used as an excuse for the "siege of Crossmaglen".

The month ended with two contrasting events. While the IRA was announcing a three-day suspension of operations over the Easter period, the UDA was launching a gun and rocket attack on the Sinn Féin centre in the Falls Road in Belfast.

APRIL

Midnight, Tuesday, 5 April marked the start of the IRA's 72-hour cease-fire. But the courageous move was met with typical negativity by Downing Street.

Sinn Féin welcomed the cease-fire as another brick laid in the foundation of peace. "But the question now was who was going to build on it?" commented Martin McGuinness.

Meanwhile, loyalists continued their campaign against the nationalist community. On Thursday, 31 May, a loyalist death squad targeted three Catholic workers as they sat in their van on the loyalist Braniel estate. On the same day, the UVF shot a Catholic man as he slept in a house on the Steeples Estate in Antrim.

The Easter weekend saw thousands of republicans take to the streets in remembrance of those that died in the Rising of 1916. Marchers showed their solidarity through the length and breadth of the 32 Counties with those that gave their lives fighting for their country.

The brutal killing of 31-year-old Protestant Margaret Wright on 5 April by a loyalist mob in a Donegal Road bandhall horrified people. Loyalist death squads targeted Catholics both in their workplaces and at home, with six children narrowly escaping with their lives in various gun and bomb attacks. Workers in a Turf Lodge taxi depot also came under attack just several minutes after a crown forces patrol had left the area.

The siege of Crossmaglen was raised to a new level when the British crown forces put the village under virtual martial law on 11 April. Checkpoints on all of the routes into the border village wrecked the already depressed economic life of the town.

The Lower Ormeau Road suffered yet another loss when a UDA death squad smashed the window of Theresa Clinton's Balfour Avenue home and shot her dead at point-blank range.

The IRA responded to the increasing drugs epidemic in Belfast and ordered out many of the dealers. It also executed Francis Rice, a drug dealer from the Andersonstown area. A British soldier was also charged with colluding with loyalist death squads.

The population of Crossmaglen mobilised in opposition to the siege of their town. But the increased security did not deter members of the IRA who breached the cordon around the village and blasted the local crown forces barracks yet again with another 'Barrack Buster' mortar.

April ended with the UDA killing of Paul Thompson in the Springfield Park area of West Belfast. The killing highlighted the collusion between the crown forces and the killers, who had cut

Review of 1994



● Fuair sé bás ar son na héireann — Martin Doherty, IRA Volunteer, shot dead preventing a UVF massacre on a Dublin pub on 21 May

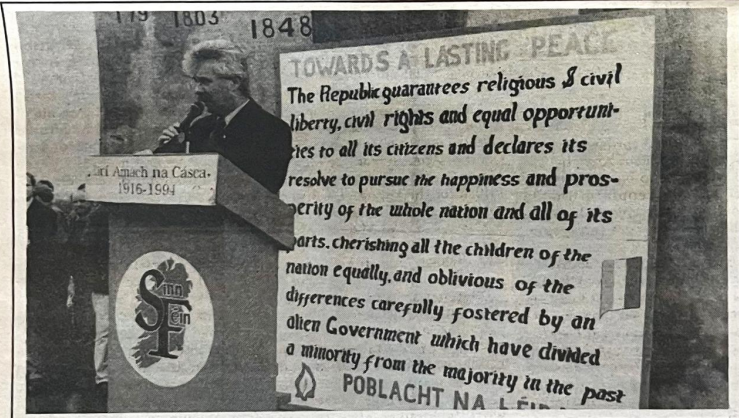
their way through the 'peace line' in full view of a crown forces' base prior to attack.

Thompson's killing was preceded and followed by the killings of two North Belfast nationalists. Joe McCloskey was shot dead on 26 April as he watched TV in his New Lodge Road home while 47-year-old Jim Brown was found shot in the head in his newsagents' shop on Thursday 28 April.

IRA operations against the British war machine in the last week of April 1994 left one soldier dead and a Special Branch agent, Michael Martin Brown from Downpatrick was executed by the IRA on Friday, 29 April.

MAY

During May the onslaught being carried out by pro-British death



● Larry O'Toole, Sinn Féin's candidate for Dublin in the June European elections, chairing the Easter 1916 commemoration in Glasnevin, Dublin



● Summer of discontent: 1300 Team Aer Lingus workers were laid off as a result of management failures and intransigence. The Dublin government refused to act even though there was work there for all those locked out

It was a bloody reminder to nationalists of the nature of the Orange state and how the death squads were being used as its cutting edge. The RUC continued to set nationalists up for assassination with four eyewitnesses to the killing of Teresa Clinton being identified to a UDA death squad commander in Donegall Pass RUC Barracks.

Crown forces' files containing information on 200 nationalists were discovered lying on a Belfast Street and the RUC continued to trawl for informers, trying to pressurise a young Tyrone mother into becoming an informer.

That the RUC is a bigoted police force was amply demonstrated when they banned the 13th annual parade to commemorate the hunger strikers from proceeding to Belfast City Hall.

However, under the threat of continued attempts and protests demanding parity of esteem and the right to march into the city centre, the RUC and its political masters caved in and granted the march organisers permission to march to the City Hall the following Sunday.

Nationalists marched during May to demand the demilitarisation of the South Armagh village of Crossmaglen. The British army sealed the village off as they attempted to fortify their base against IRA attack. This failed as numerous IRA operations during the siege caused severe injuries to crown forces personnel.

One British soldier was killed



● As ever, in 1994, all the attempts to restore the facade of the union in the Six Counties failed. As Sinn Féin activism continued in April, the inevitability of talks was increasingly being acknowledged in the media and by politicians

in a bomb blast on his sangaar in the town of Keady on Saturday, 14 May. In other operations, the IRA executed two RIR soldiers in Armagh and Belfast.

Threats by loyalist death squads to bomb Dublin were finally carried out on 21 May when a UVF squad planted a device intended to kill hundreds attending a Sinn Féin function in the Widow Scallan's Pub in Pearse Street on that night. Only the bravery of IRA Volunteer Martin Doherty who confronted the bombers before they had time to prime the device saved many lives. Martin Doherty was shot dead by the bombers. As thousands paid tribute to him at his funeral, questions were raised about the involvement of British intelligence and about the ease with which the bombers carried out their planning, the operation itself and their escape.

JUNE

Three events stand out during June. These were the Loughinisland slaughter, the Chinook helicopter crash, and the European elections.

The UVF death squad who gunned down six County Down nationalists on Saturday, 18 June, as they watched a World Cup soccer match used two automatic rifles supplied by British intelligence from South Africa by their agent Brian Nelson.

Five other men were seriously wounded in the hail of gunfire, another two men were killed shortly after in further loyalist gun attacks. A total of eight people lost their lives in a 72-hour period, several others were seriously injured as the death squads stalked taxi drivers, butchers, Catholic families and building workers in Lisburn, Belfast, Carrickfergus, Lurgan and Armagh. Loyalists also used their South African weaponry when

they launched a RFG 7 missile into Monaghan's Bar in Belfast's dockland area on 7 June.

During one loyalist attack, crown forces' involvement was highlighted yet again after a bomb attack at the Armagh home of Teresa Carroll, mother of murdered sons Roddy and Aidan. Two British soldiers, one a senior NCO, from the Royal Irish Regiment were later charged with involvement in sectarian gun and bomb attacks in the Armagh area. Earlier, on 9 June, a Catholic welder was found shot dead in the hold of a ship at Harland and Wolff shipyard.

The Chinook helicopter crash in Scotland on 2 June effectively wiped out Britain's senior counterinsurgency staff, leaving gaps right across every region of the Six Counties. Twenty-nine top British intelligence operatives were killed when the helicopter crashed in the Mull of Kintyre as they flew to a high-powered 'security' conference. Six of the dead were MI5 agents, four were British army colonels, five were majors, four RAF crew, the rest were senior RUC officers from Special Branch. "A devastating blow," was how most commentators viewed the crash.

IRA operations during June saw British barracks' being targeted in mortar and rocket attacks in Fermanagh, South Armagh, Belfast and Tyrone. IRA snipers continued their attacks in Crossmaglen, forcing enemy patrols to be drastically scaled down. Rail lines in England were targeted on numerous occasions, resulting in transportation chaos in the south east of England.

The European and urban council elections saw Sinn Féin's vote in all 32 counties hold up and in some areas increase. Significant gains were made on town councils in Monaghan, Cork, Meath and Sligo.

Review of 1994



● Nationalist youths hoist the Tricolour at Belfast's City Hall during the rally on 14 August 1994. It was a day when nationalists reclaimed Belfast city centre after decades of bigotry and discrimination had kept them out

During the campaign, Sinn Féin election offices in Newry and Coalisland were targeted in bomb and firebomb attacks. British troops were observed by local people at the Coalisland office minutes before a firebomb exploded. In Belfast, Sinn Féin's Connolly House headquarters was attacked by loyalists using a 10lb bomb. At the Sevastopol Street building a 5lb bomb was discovered by alert party workers.

The European Commission of Human Rights referred the 1998 Gibraltar slayings of three unarmed IRA Volunteers to the European Court of Human Rights. The major breakthrough was especially welcomed by the families of the deceased as only 2% of cases get past the commission. However, as this breakthrough was being welcomed, British agents were arresting the 14-year-old daughter of incarcerated Dunganong republican POW Peter Sherry at Heathrow Airport outside London. At the close of the month, the 24th, another first was made when British soldiers fired their recently-

issued new 'improved' plastic bullet gun in North Belfast, seriously injuring and hospitalising chronic asthmatic Ann Allsopp.

Sinn Féin published the findings of its Peace Commission. The development of the Irish peace process was the main theme of Sinn Féin General Secretary Lucilita Bhreatnach during her oration at Bodensstown.

JULY

"I am absolutely satisfied that collusion is neither widespread nor institutionalised. From time to time, however, there will be some bad apples in every barrel."

RUC boss Hugh Annesley speaking in the week when a serving member of the British army's Royal Irish Regiment (RIR) again appeared in court charged with involvement in the UVF murder of a Catholic man in Armagh earlier in the year. The statement came almost exactly 25 years after the deaths of the first two people to die in the current phase of the con-

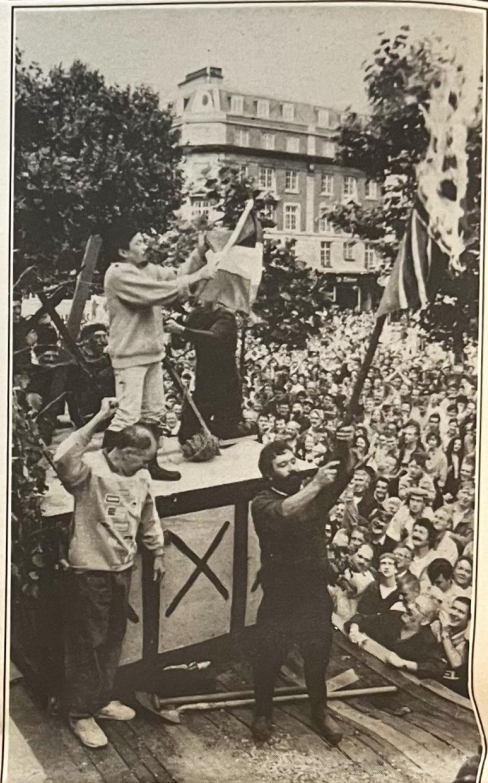
flict, Francis McCloskey and Sammy Devenny — both killed by the RUC.

Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams accused Annesley of "trying to distract attention from the reality of conflict in the Six Counties and the role the RUC plays in sustaining it through repression and collusion with the loyalist death squads".

Launching another series of indiscriminate gun attacks on the nationalist community in Belfast, the UDA shot and killed Catholic bar owner Bobby Monaghan in his home on 22 July.

Derry people were outraged as Britain's Prince Charles, Colonel in Chief of the British army's Parachute Regiment visited the city where the same regiment murdered 14 people on Bloody Sunday 1972. The two-day propaganda tour by the British prince to the Six Counties led to many nationalist areas being put under siege.

On 2 July, the IRA mortar-bombed the Belfast headquarters of the Royal Irish Regiment. Leading UFF leader Ray Smallwoods



● A mock-up of a British border post is dismantled during the national Time for Peace — Time to Go rally in the centre of Dublin on 20 August. The huge march and rally was ignored by the establishment media

was executed in Lisburn on 11 July, as were two leading members of a Belfast UFF death squad, Joe Bratty and Raymond Elder on 31 July.

A British Puma helicopter was forced out of the sky by mortar fire and its crew scurried for cover in an IRA attack in South Armagh on 12 July. Three British soldiers and two RUC members were injured in an IRA mortar attack on Newry's Edward Street Barracks on 29 July.

Clones Sinn Féin Councillor Pat Treanor, arrested by the RUC on the Fermanagh/Monaghan border, lost a finger when his RUC captors came under gun attack from the IRA as he was being ferried to Castlereagh Interrogation Centre on 15 July. Treanor was then subjected to a frenzied attack by the RUC.

Cinemas throughout the country showing the film about the Guildford Four, *In the Name of the Father*, were packed to capacity in 1994. In July the report of Sir John May's inquiry into how the four's 15 years in prison put it down to 'human error'. The report found the British legal system blameless. "Trivial, shallow and pointless," was the verdict of Guildford Four lawyer Gareth Peirce on the inquiry's conclusions.

On 24 July, Sinn Féin delegates from throughout the country met in Letterkenny, County Donegal passed a motion stating that the Downing Street Declaration was a stage in the peace process, but not a solution.

AUGUST

In the first week of August, the IRA confirmed that it had

received an assessment of the peace process from Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams and Ard Chomhairle member Martin McGuinness. Media coverage of Beef Tribunal Inquiry concentrated on Albert Reynolds' role in export credit insurance, tax avoidance at Goodman companies, abuse of EU guidelines, government interference with the IDA and not on the failure of successive Dublin governments in their duty to successfully develop a national resource.

The entire country was sickened when in early August a loyalist death squad gunned down pregnant mother of five, Kathleen O'Hagan, in front of her children, the youngest of whom was just four months old. The killing near Greencastle, County Tyrone, was carried out some time between Saturday night, 6 August and Sunday morning, 7 August.

The joint RUC/British army base at Newtownhamilton, County Armagh was mortar-bombed on 3 August, injuring three British soldiers. Belfast's law courts were damaged in an IRA attack on 6 August and a British soldier was killed by the IRA in Crossgar two days later.

In Dublin, leading crime boss Martin Cahill was executed on 18 August by the IRA in a clamp-down against the developing connections between Dublin crime gangs and loyalist death squads.

In Belfast on 10 August Sinn Féin's Gerry Adams said that "for the first time since the heyday of the Civil Rights Movement, there has emerged tangible evidence of increasing self-confidence and awareness within nationalist

Review of 1994



● "All of us have a heavy responsibility to respond with imagination, generosity and flexibility." Gerry Adams speaking at a Sinn Féin rally at Connolly House on 1 September

Ireland". He said the task now was to harness this confidence and hope for the future in a way which could assist the resolution of the conflict.

Protest marches throughout Ireland and abroad marked the 25th anniversary of the redeployment of British troops on Irish streets. Events marking the anniversary took place throughout Ireland, in the United States, Australia, New Zealand, England, Scotland, Wales, France, Norway, Germany, Belgium, Italy, Denmark, Holland, Finland, Catalonia and Euskadi. The demonstrations took place under the banner of Time for Peace — Time to Go and called for British military withdrawal from Ireland. The largest mobilisations were in Belfast and Dublin.

The month of August was dominated by media speculation on a possible IRA suspension of military operations. Unsurprisingly, they endorsed London's view that a solution to the conflict was dependant solely on an end to the IRA's campaign.

SEPTEMBER

The eyes of the world focused on Ireland during September



● "We are at the beginning of a new era" said the joint statement by Adams, Hume and Reynolds on 6 September 1994. The three leaders reiterated their objective of an equitable and lasting agreement that can command the allegiance of all"

as the significance of the IRA's complete cessation reverberated around the world. The IRA initiative made the front pages and headed news bulletins around the world. Within minutes of the September cessation crowds gath-

ered on the Falls Road to welcome the IRA statement.

In the days and weeks after a range of meetings, rallies, border openings and other street protests showed the huge underlying support and goodwill for

the Irish peace initiative.

Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams addressed a 1,000-strong crowd outside the Sinn Féin Falls Road office on 4 September telling them that nationalists "must have confidence in themselves to win the peace".

At a rally for peace at the Coshquin checkpoint on the Done-

gal/Derry border the same day, Martin McGuinness said that the IRA cessation had "moved the debate surrounding demilitarisation along significantly. The British government should act accordingly".

However, the IRA cessation was barely 24 hours old when the UDA killed 33-year-old John O'Hanlon as he worked on a friend's car in Skigioniel Avenue. A no-warning UVF bomb left outside Sinn Féin offices on 4 September caused severe damage to surrounding houses and the local library.

However, these actions could not deter the peace process. On 6 September Albert Reynolds welcomed Gerry Adams into Dublin government buildings for a milestone meeting between Reynolds, Adams and John Hume. In a joint statement the three leaders said: "We are at the beginning of a new era in which we are totally committed to democratic and peaceful methods of resolving our political problems."

The meeting also dealt with paving the way for starting the Forum for Peace and Reconciliation to which all parties had been invited.

The whole month was filled with a range of street protests, focusing on the British presence as crowds held rallies outside British army barracks, while border busters took to work opening roads all along the border.

In mid-September two of the Ballymurphy Seven were released after being held for three years on remand. Three others of the seven were sent for trial solely on the basis of forced confessional evidence.

A break out by four republicans from Whitemoor prison in England, narrowly failed on 8 September after they daringly scaled the 35-foot high prison walls topped with razor wire and scanned by closed circuit cameras.

Under pressure from the international community John Major lifted the British Broadcasting Ban on 16 September and announced the reopening of ten border roads.

In the United States H-Block escaper Jimmy Smyth won his District Court battle in San Francisco against being sent back to the Six Counties.

September ended with the historic visit by Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams to the United States where he spread the demand for peace, unity and freedom in Ireland.



● The historic IRA cessation gave fresh impetus to the border busters' campaign as a wave of protests, openings and rallies were held along the border during September. The opening above took place on Sunday, 4 September at Derryvullen on the Fermanagh/Monaghan border.



● A climber attaches a Tricolour ribbon to a barbed-wire entanglement surrounding a British army spy post on Faughill Mountain in South Armagh on 24 September

Review of 1994

OCTOBER

One month into the IRA cease-fire and the momentum for lasting peace was still growing despite the ongoing harassment and oppression by the British army and the RUC of the nationalist population in the Six Counties.

In a statement marking the first four weeks of the cessation, Sinn Féin's Martin McGuinness said that the British army and the RUC were "trying to oppress and provoke". He said that "an historic opportunity existed which should not be squandered by those with a vested interest in maintaining a conflict situation".

Sinn Féin established a Peace Action Monitor to document the raids, arrests, abuse and death threats suffered by nationalists in the Six Counties at the hands of British crown forces.

In the USA, Gerry Adams met representatives of the US government and had a phone conversation with US Vice President Al Gore. The meeting signalled the end of the US government's policy of noncontact with Sinn Féin.

Sinn Féin made its preliminary submission to the Forum for Peace and Reconciliation on 7 October. The document dealt with the basic aims, terms of reference and the mechanics of the forum.

Adams addressed the inaugural meeting of the forum at Dublin Castle on 29 October. He told the representatives of over 80% of the Irish people that "we have reached a time of great opportunity in the peace process and there is now a huge opportunity to respond".

His address came exactly a week after John Major announced that his government would have talks with Sinn Féin and lifted the exclusion order on Gerry Adams and Martin McGuinness and was rescinding all orders closing border roads.

Welcoming the British decision, Sinn Féin Vice President Pat Doherty said: "Britain's willingness to finally engage in the peace



● Republicans reclaim Crossmaglen barracks on 16 October. Across the Six Counties similar protests were held at some of the 348 crown forces' installations in the ongoing 'Demilitarise Now' campaign

process is to be welcomed. We need immediate inclusive dialogue. We need the British government playing a proactive role which does not predetermine the outcome of negotiations."

The other most positive event of the month was the announcement of a loyalist cease-fire on 13 October. This left the largest armed force in the Six Counties, the British army and the militarised state police force, the RUC, fully mobilised and on a war foot-

ing, with no move being made to withdraw and dismantle its huge network of bases and installations.

NOVEMBER

Dublin's Justice Minister Máire Geoghegan Quinn announced plans to release a number of political prisoners held in the 26 Counties. However, this decision was reversed after the shooting dead of a postal worker in Newry. It later emerged that

IRA Volunteers had carried out the raid, but that the army leadership had not sanctioned the operation. The IRA stressed that the cessation of military operations remained in force.

In Belfast and Derry two community conferences called for the disbanding of the RUC. The Forum for Peace and Reconciliation met a number of times during the month. Each of the parties produced documents detailing their analysis of the nature of the prob-

lem in Ireland and were questioned by other forum members.

The middle of the month saw crisis strike the Fianna Fáil/Labour coalition government. The government collapsed because of the Attorney General's office's seven-month delay in dealing with extradition warrants for a child-abusing priest. Despite this, Reynolds persisted in appointing the attorney general as President of the High Court. The Labour Party pulled out of government and Albert Reynolds had to resign as leader of Fianna Fáil. His resignation was closely followed by the High Court president. Bertie Ahern was subsequently elected Fianna Fáil leader.

Gerry Adams visited London following the lifting of the British government's exclusion order against him, while a delegation from the US Congressional Committee on Foreign Affairs visited Ireland to assess the peace process. Dodie McGuinness met with the deputy Australian prime minister while visiting that country to promote the peace process.

The British Home Office refused republican prisoner Brendan Dowd compassionate parole to attend his mother's funeral. Throughout the month Sinn Féin's Peace Action Monitor recorded high levels of crown forces' harassment throughout the Six Counties. The British government again denied funding to Belfast Irish language secondary school Meáncoil Feirste.

The British announced plans for an international economic conference, to be held in Belfast and hosted by John Major, from which Sinn Féin would be excluded. Patrick Mayhew described Sinn Féin participation as "premature". At the end of the month a new campaign, Saorise, was set up by prisoners' relatives to secure the release of all political prisoners.



● Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams addressing the inaugural meeting of the Forum for Peace and Reconciliation on 28 October

Review of 1994

Gerry Adams and John Hume issued a joint statement calling on the British government to react positively by accelerating the process of demilitarisation and commencing inclusive negotiations without delay.

DECEMBER

Acting Taoiseach Albert Reynolds announced that legislation was imminent to ratify the European Convention on the Transfer of Sentenced Prisoners. On Friday, 9 December, the Sinn Féin delegation headed by Martin McGuinness travelled to Stormont to meet with British officials. The delegation reiterated the republican aim of ending British rule in Ireland while the British carpentered about the handing over of IRA weapons.

Miscarriage of justice victims, the Derry Three, were finally released. On his third visit to the US during the year, Gerry Adams had talks with the US President's National Security Advisor Anthony Lake at the White House in Washington.

The Saoirse campaign held its first major rally in Belfast.

Talks between Fianna Fáil and Labour to reform a coalition government broke down amidst new cover-up allegations regarding the extradition delay of the child-sex abuse priest. Negotiations then began between Labour and the former opposition parties to form a rainbow coalition. By mid-month, Fine Gael, Labour and Democratic Left had cobbled together a new coalition government with John Bruton as the new taoiseach.

Sinn Féin called for equality of treatment for its voters when party members and representatives protested against British discrimination outside Major's economic investment conference in Belfast. The British government had refused to accord the party full representation at the conference. There were no such problems of exclusion at the Forum for Peace and Reconciliation when it held a special session to discuss the economic benefits of the peace process for Ireland. Prominent US and EU representatives attended, along with Irish business and trade union leaders.

There was tension in English jails. The unacceptable treatment accorded to republican prisoners in the wake of the Whitemoor



● The Sinn Féin delegation which met with British government officials in December pose for photographs outside Stormont

escape continued. Saoirse demonstrations were held throughout the country calling for the release of political prisoners.

In Dublin, Gerry Adams held his first meeting with Taoiseach

John Bruton and with Bertie Ahern, the new Fianna Fáil leader. Nine republican prisoners were released by the Minister for Justice in the 26 Counties. They were

joined by 30 other republican

POWs who were given Christmas parole. But typically ending its 1994 on a negative note the British government released less prisoners on Christmas parole than in previous years.

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TALKING TO THE BRITISH —
Freedom is our aim



The year 1995 is sure to be one in which we will see many exciting political developments in Ireland. In the past year and a half events have accelerated as republican initiatives speed the peace process and create the potential for lasting political and constitutional change

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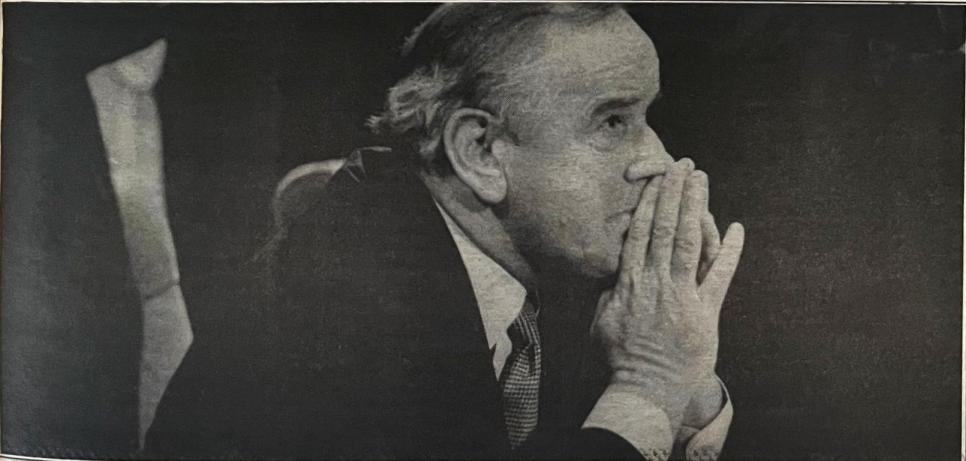
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● Former Taoiseach Albert Reynolds — his problems over the office of the Attorney General led to the loss of his own in November

SCAIRT GUTHAN CIME STOPHTHA



● MAIRÉAD NÍ HADHMAILL

DUIRT Máiréad Ní hAdhmaill gur "chíníochas den sórt is measa" an cinneadh ag údarás phríosúin i Sasain cosc a chur ar labhairt na Gaeilge le linn scairteanna gutháin idir cimit Éireannacha agus a gclanna agus gur "séanadh é de cheann de na cearta daonna is bunúsaí". Bhí Máiréad ag caint tar éis d'údarás phríosúin stop a chur le comhrá ar an guthán idir a céile Feilim leis an chlann maidin Nollag toisc gur labhairt siad as Gaeilge.

Throid Máiréad anuraidh chun an ceart a bhaint amach dá chlann Gaeilge a labhairt lena fear céile Feilim, cime poblachtach i Sasain, ar chuairteanna agus le linn scairteanna gutháin idir Feilim agus an chlann. Is í an Ghaeilge chéad theanga Clann Uí hAdhmaill ach d'ainneoin sin

chlann Uí hAdhmaill gealltanais ó na húdaráis phríosúin go mbeadh cead acu an Ghaeilge a úsáid i litreacha, i scairteanna gutháin agus le linn cuairteanna.

Ach seachtain roimh Nollag chuaigh na húdaráis phríosúin i bpríosún Full Sutton siar ar an ngealltanais sin, ag diúltú cead don chlann Gaeilge a labhairt le linn scairteanna gutháin.

"Cuireadh an polasaí seo i bhfeidhm arís d'ainneon go bhfuil cead ag cimit i bpríosúin i Sasain labhairt lena gclann ina dteangacha dúchais is cuma cén tré arís as dóibh. Ní hé go bhfuil na húdaráis phríosúin ag séanadh cearta Fheilim amháin sa chás seo,

tá leanaí s'againne thíos leis an réiteach fosta.

"Chuir Feilim scairt ar an bhaile maidin Nollag. Ní dhearn sé ach ceist a chur ar cheann dá mic cad é fuair sé don Nollaig nuair a cuireadh stop láithreach ar an comhrá.

"Tá an sórt seo cur isteach go dona in am ar bith, ach ba mheasa ar fad é maidin Nollag. Tá sé soiléir go bhfuil na húdaráis phríosúin i Sasain ag iarraidh an oiread croibhuairimh agus ar féidir leo a ghearradh ar chlanna cimit Éireannacha."

Tá Máiréad anois i dteagmháil le dlíodóirí na clainne le dúshlán a thabhairt don chosc agus tá sí ag éileamh míniú don pholasaí ó na húdaráis phríosúin.

Brú ag méadú ar rialtas na Breataine

TA MEANSCOIL FEIRSTE le cur lena feachtas chun maoiniú a fháil don scoil le sraith agóidithe beartaithe do mhíonna luatha na bliana seo.

Chuaigh lucht na Meánscoile, an chéad mhéanscoil Ghaeilge sna Sé chontae, i mbun agóidíochta ag deireadh na bliana seo caite. Cuireadh tús leis an fheachtas i ndiaidh de Roinn Oideachais na Sé

Chontae cinneadh maoiniú a dhíltú don scoil don cheathrú bliain as a chéile.

Rinne tacadóirí na Meánscoile agóid ag ceanncheathrú Roinn an Oideachais i mBeannchar, picéad ar

Anne Windsor agus í ar chuairt i mBéal Feirste an mhí seo caite agus reachtáil siad toscadh lae ag an Nollaig le haire a tharraingt ar claonpháirteachas leanúnach rialtas na Breataine in aghaidh na Gaeilge san Sé Chontae.

Anois tá 'Gaeltrain' ó Bhéal Feirste go Baile Atha Cliath beartaithe ag an fheachtas chomh maith le toscadh na mbeirte de Halla Cathrach Bhéal Feirste agus ceol-

choirm le hairgead a thógáil don scoil.

Oscáloadh an scoil i 1991 le naonúr dalta agus d'fhás sí go seasmach ó shin. Tá beagnach 100 dalta ag an scoil anois. Meastar go mbeifidh an scoil an tairgid de 300 dalta amach i gceann trí nó ceithre de mblianta leis an fhás atá tagtha ar líon na leanaí atá ag fáil oideachais bunscóile trí mheán na Gaeilge i mBéal Feirste.

Tá an brú polaitiúil ar rialtas na Breataine chun an scoil a mhaoiniú ag dul i méad an t-am ar fad. Thóg uachtarán Shinn Féin Gearóid Mac Adhaimh ceist na Meánscoile i gcrúinníú le hoigheigh de chuid rialtas na SAM nuair a thug sé cuairt ar an Teach Bán i mí na Nollag.

Dúirt Taoiseach nua na 26 Chontae John Bruton gur thóg sé féin an cheist le príomhaire na Breataine John Major ag a chéad chruinniú roimh an Nollaig. Chuir ceannaire an SDLP, John Hume, tacaíocht s'aigse don scoil in iúl fosta ag an Nollaig. D'airr sé cothromaíocht don scoil i líne le dlíthe Eorpacha ar mhionteangacha.



● Daltai ag freastal ar rang san Meánscoil in ainneoin an diúltú maoiniú ó Roinn Oideachais na Sasanaigh

Is e grúpa ban ó Bhóthar na Sean-Íochille i mBéal Feirste an grúpa in a leanas lena cuid tacaíochta a chur in iúl. Tá roinnt ban ó Lárionad na mBan ar an tSeanchull ag foghlaim na Gaeilge le breis is bliain anuas agus thug siad cuairt ar chathair Chorcaigh agus ar an Ghaeilcht i mí na Samhna.

D'iar Heather Floyd ón Lárionad ar Aire Oideachais na Sé Chontae Michael Ancram athbhreithniú a dhéanamh ar an réiteach chun an maoiniú a shéanadh ar an scoil.

Tá cuid mhór daoine in Iarthar Bhéal Feirste ag amharc ar réiteach roinn an oideachais chun an maoiniú a dhíltú mar thrial de thoilteanas rialtas na Breataine chomh mheas cultúrtha a chur i gcrích.

Arsa príomhoide na meánscoile Fearghus O hÍr: "Mura bhfuil an rialtas sásta rud chomh beag le scoil amháin a thabhairt dúinn mar sin ní siad sásta a dhath ar bith a thabhairt dúinn."

Fág biogóideacht inár ndiaidh — Maskey

DEILIGH Comhairleoir Shinn Féin i mBéal Feirste, Alex Maskey, ar an Ard Mhéara Hugh Smyth deireadh a chur le na nósanna agus na taispeántais san Comhairle Cathrach a chuireann ethos Briotanach amháin chun cinn.

Dúirt Maskey go dtiocfadh leis an chomhairle sampla Ollscoil na Ríona. "Dún eile den bhíogóideacht", a leanúint. I litir chuig Smyth dúirt sé: "Iarraim ort timpeallacht neodrach agus chairdiúil a chur chun tosaigh i Halla na Cathrach a chuirfeadh athmhuintearas roimh eitilt bratach." Mhol Maskey mar chéad chéim:

- Deireadh le heitilt laethúil bhraitheach na Breataine;
- Deireadh le canadh Amhrán

Náisiúnta na Breataine ag ócáidí nuair a bhronntar saoirse na cathrach;

- Deireadh le 'toast' don bhanríon ag dinnéir na cathrach;
- Deireadh leis an chosc ar an Ghaeilge sa chomhairle.

Lean Maskey: "Agus sinn ag dul i isteach i ré úr do Bhéal Feirste, tá sé in am an bhíogóideacht a fhágáil inár ndiaidh. Ní féidir áit a bheith i saol ár gcathrach do shiombail agus do nósanna ó an chultúr agus aon idéalach amháin i gcathair roinnte mar Bhéal Feirste."



● Alex Maskey ag argóint le biogóidí an CRU, an Ceannaire Hugh Annesley ina measc

Reviews

THE MORE THINGS CHANGE...

World View review of '94

ON NEW YEAR'S DAY 1994 the smug complacency of Mexico's ruling elite is shattered when the Zapatista National Liberation Army rise in revolt, in the southern state of Chiapas. The ruling PRI carefully-nurtured image of Mexico as a haven of social equality and stability is dispatched to the slag-heap of history. Millions are wiped off shares as bomb scares close the Mexican stock exchange, while hundreds of thousands take to the streets in support of the Zapatistas.

In the same year, the terribly-traumatised PRI lose a presidential candidate and two other top officials to the assassin's bullet as the authors of the world's most brilliant dictatorship threaten to self-destruct. More recently, the Zapatistas, who are observing a cease-fire, threatened to take up arms if the fraudulently-elected governor of the state of Chiapas insists on taking office. What the Zapatista revolt also killed off was the spurious theory promoted by US academics, claiming that we had reached the end of history. In other words, the ideological conflicts of the past were dead and buried. As they say in Mexico, que viva Zapata!

Three months later, in April, Armando Calderon Sol wins the presidential elections in El Salvador. Sol had been named by human rights groups and the CIA (and you'd expect them to know their own people) as both a financial and intellectual author of the country's death squads. Despite the fact that some 15% of the population were denied the right to vote, the UN moves with indecent haste to proclaim the El Salvador mission a success. During the election campaign, 37 opposition figures are gunned down by death squads, supposedly disbanded after the signing of the 1992 peace accords.

Although some progress was reported in peace talks between rebels and the Guatemalan government, recently-released figures

show the military harbour no sense of dread about an impending outbreak of peace. In the first six months of 1994, the military carried out more extrajudicial executions than in the first half of 1993.

In Africa, the same month, Nelson Mandela is elected as the country's first Black president. That the country is faced with serious problems, chiefly in terms of redistributing the vast wealth concentrated in Afrikaner hands, was never in doubt. But the day millions of people exercised their right to vote for the first time was a day of victory for freedom on a world scale. And let it not be forgotten that it was achieved by struggle in every form — including armed struggle.

In Rwanda, almost one million people die in one of the largest massacres ever witnessed. Those doing the killing were trained and armed by France, while their victims were identified as opponents of the defunct, French-supported Kigali regime. This probably helped ensure that for the duration of the killing, the international community sat on its hands and made concerned noises about 'tribal warfare' and other such patent nonsense.

In June, a UN report revealed that 86% of arms sales to global 'trouble-spots' (Somalia, Iraq, Sudan, Rwanda etc) are made by either Russia, the US, France, China or Britain — the five permanent members of the



● As 1994 ended, the world witnessed the Russian invasion of Chechnya. However, the onslaught met with fierce resistance as the bodies of these Russian soldiers testify.

UN Security Council. The report also pointed out, confirming a trend witnessed in the Pergau Dam Scandal, that while industrialised countries supplied almost \$60 billion in aid to developing countries, they earned over \$125 billion from arms deals with these same countries. Meanwhile, Britain

moves into second place in the global arms dealer league as the country tears itself apart over allegations that various high-born individuals are possessed of some very basic instincts. Mark Thatcher shows himself to be in possession of the basest instinct of all when news leaks of his acquisition of \$12 million

for having helped broker the largest arms deal of all time, between Britain and Saudi Arabia. Chief dealer was the elder Thatcher, the same one who voiced such principled opposition to talking to "men of violence." That would effectively rule out most of her friends, allies and part of her family.

In September, Cuba's Fidel Castro offers "his head" in return for the preservation of the revolution. Earlier the same year, the 26-Country government displayed its utter respect for international law and contempt for international bullying when it abstained in a vote calling for an end to the 30-year-old US blockade of Cuba. This was despite an earlier decision by the Dáil Committee on Foreign Affairs to support the motion.

The year also saw Jimmy Carter make a desperate, last gasp lunge for beatification, or at least a Nobel Peace Prize nomination. Carter flew into troubled Haiti, was impressed by the ruling junta's chief-thug-in-residence Raoul Cedras, and promptly arranged for the author of 3,000 murders to fly into cosy exile in Panama: Carter was hailed as a peace-maker and his role in establishing death squads in El Salvador and keeping the Indonesian military in arms is conveniently ignored. Finally, in September, after three years in exile, Jean Bertrand Aristide is restored to power in Haiti. Whether his reliance on US power to regain his position will hamstring his next few years in power, remains to be seen.

The year ends with Boris Yeltsin, hero of the West, pounding the small nation of Chechnya with tanks and artillery. The US and Britain and their allies stay silent as the Chechnyan capital Grozny is bombed into submission. There are no echoes of Kuwait or Afghanistan or Czechoslovakia '68 because the invading troops are now sent by the West's newest friend, Boris Yeltsin. Plus ça change...

REMEMBERING THE PAST

Emergency powers imposed

■ BY PETER O'ROURKE



● GEORGE PLANT

DE VALERA'S Fianna Fáil government, which had come to power in March 1932 with the help of the IRA, not only introduced oppressive legislation which was designed to smash the IRA, but also during the following years, imprisoned, interned and executed republicans.

In May 1939, five months after the start of the IRA's bombing campaign in English cities, the Fianna Fáil government introduced the Treason Act, which provided the death penalty for acts of treason. The following month, they were to introduce an even more draconian piece of legislation which was to be used almost exclusively against republicans during the following decades and which remains in use to this day.

Enacted in June 1939, the Offences Against the State Act allowed for imprisonment and internment without trial under Part Two of the act and gave the government the power to set up Special Military Courts. Over 50 republicans were quickly interned. The following August, the military courts were established and were to remain in operation until the end of the European war in 1945.

In early September 1939, following the outbreak of the war in

to justify the introduction of even more draconian legislation. In early January, Leinster House rushed through the Emergency Powers (Amendment) Act 1940, giving the government the power to intern without trial. Because of the state of emergency which existed, the new legislation could not be challenged in the courts.

Following the reintroduction of internment in January 1940, hundreds of republicans were arrested and interned in a new internment camp, Tin Town, at the Curragh in County Kildare. Once sentenced prisoners, who were held in various prisons, had completed their sentences, they were interned in the Curragh.

In August 1940, following the wounding of three detectives in Dublin, two fatally, the Emergency Powers (Amendment) Act was altered, and the right to appeal against the findings of the military tribunals was deleted. Within a month, Paddy McGrath and Thomas Harte, who had been arrested in the raid in which the two detectives were killed, had been convicted and executed in

Mountjoy Jail. Between the years 1940 and 1944, a further four prisoners were to meet the same fate.

The following year, the law was again changed to facilitate the execution of republicans. When a witness, who had been beaten by the police into making incriminating statements, refused to give evidence against a republican, George Plant, and another man who were charged following the execution of an informer by the IRA, the 'trial' before the Special Court collapsed.

Plant was immediately rearrested and the Fianna Fáil Justice Minister, Boland, transferred the case from the Special Court to the Special Military Court, where the only sentence was death and the verdict could not be appealed. To ensure a conviction against Plant, De Valera in an unprecedented manipulation of the legal system, issued an Emergency Powers Order in December 1941, which was retrospective and provided for the acceptance of such statements in evidence even if they had been withdrawn and even though the people who had originally made them were not present in court. Plant, put on trial for a second

time, was found guilty, sentenced to death and executed the following March.

With the IRA formally ending its northern campaign in March 1945, internment on both sides of the border was ended and large numbers of sentenced prisoners were released.

The Fianna Fáil government passed the Emergency Powers (Amendment) Act and reintroduced internment without trial on 5 January, 1940, 55 years ago this week.

Notices

Volunteer Pearse Jordan inquest opens

■ BY LAURA FRIEL

JORDAN WAS SHOT THREE TIMES IN THE BACK

THE INQUEST into the RUC shooting of 21-year-old IRA Volunteer Pearse Jordan opened this week in Belfast's Coroner's Court. More than 40 witnesses are expected to give evidence in one of the most controversial RUC shootings in recent years.

Pearse Jordan was shot three times in the back by the RUC in an undercover operation in West Belfast on 25 November 1992. According to eyewitness accounts at the time, Jordan was driving a red Ford Orion past St John's Chapel on the Falls Road towards the city centre around 5.15pm, when the vehicle was rammed from the right by a red Ford Sapphire and a green car from the rear. The Orion was forced onto

the pavement and all three vehicles came to a halt.

An RUC officer, a passenger in one of the vehicles involved in the ramming, immediately jumped from the car and within seconds and without warning, opened fire with a Heckler and Kock as his unarmed victim staggered from the rammed Orion.

Eyewitness accounts discredit the RUC claim that Jordan was shot because he attempted to run

away. Public outcry followed the decision by the Director of Public Prosecutions not to bring the RUC officer who fired the fatal rounds to court.

The inquest opened with evidence from three unidentified British soldiers, who gave their evidence screened from view. Admitting that they were part of an undercover surveillance operation at the time of the incident, one of the soldiers directly contradicted eyewitness accounts given at the time and claimed that Pearse Jordan was shot after he attempted to run away.

A pathologist's report confirmed that Jordan had been shot three times in the back, the fatal bullet entering his chest. The inquest continues.



● VOLUNTEER PEARSE JORDAN

British army officers appeal for convicted Para

■ BY LAURA FRIEL

THE ATTITUDE of the British army to the murder of unarmed Irish civilians was again exposed with a pre-Christmas appeal by former senior British army chiefs for the release of convicted murderer Lee Clegg.

Clegg, a private in the Parachute Regiment, shot dead 18-year-old Karen Reilly in September 1990. The paratrooper was part of a joint British army/RUC patrol which fired on a vehicle carrying three teenager joyriders along West Belfast's Glen Road.

The driver, 17-year-old Martin Peake was also shot dead by the patrol and a second passenger, 16-year-old Markievicz Gorman, was seriously injured.

Just 18 months after Clegg was given a life sentence for murder, senior British army officers called on the British government to grant the paratrooper leave to spend Christmas with his family. Involved in the appeal was Major General James Majury (retired), Colonel Peter

Field, former commander of 1st Battalion Parachute Regiment and Lieutenant General Sir Napier Crookenden, who commanded 9 Para immediately after D Day and retired as commander in chief of the British army's Western Command.

Lt Gen Crookenden described Clegg as "a splendid young man". He continued: "I think the very least the authorities should do is give him parole for Christmas." Interviewed shortly after the shooting, the lone survivor Markievicz Gorman said that the British soldiers kicked and punched her as she was dragged seriously wounded from the vehicle. She also claimed that Karen Reilly was assaulted by soldiers as she lay dying.

After the shooting, a mock up of the car in which the two teenagers were killed carrying the slogan 'Vauxhall Astra, Built by robots, Driven by joyriders, Stopped A COY' was photographed in the paras' officers mess in Holywood, County Down.

Private Barry Aindow, who was convicted with Clegg for his part in an attempted cover-up plot, was released in August last year, within a year of his conviction. An appeal by Clegg failed last year, but the case has since been considered by the British Law Lords, whose judgment is expected early this year.

There have been over 150 killings by the British army in disputed circumstances, yet apart from Clegg there has only been one other conviction of a British soldier for murder while on duty in the Six Counties. Private Ian Thain was convicted in 1984 and give a life sentence for shooting dead a man in West Belfast. Thain was released after two and a half years and immediately reinstated into the British army.



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

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.....

CARAHER, Fearghal; DEVLIN, Eugene; DONNELLY, Frankie; McCABE, Jack; McDAID, James; MONTGOMERY, Laurence; O'NEILL, Danny; SHEEHY, Patrick. In proud and loving memory of Volunteers Eugene Devlin (died 27 December 1972), Frankie Donnelly (died 5 January 1979), Jack McCabe (died 27 December 1971), James McDavid (died 29 December 1972), Laurence

Montgomery (died 5 January 1979), Danny O'Neill (died 7 January 1972), Patrick Sheehy (died 2 January 1991) and Sinn Féin member Fearghal Caraher (died 30 December 1990). "The price of freedom is a terrible price and tragically it is so often paid by great sacrifice. Many suffer so that some day all Irishmen may know justice and peace. Many die fighting oppression so that future genera-

InDíl Chuimhne

tions may live in freedom and prosperity. All of us must pay the price of freedom in some way." — Bobby Sands. Proudly remembered by their friends and comrades in the Republican Movement. CAREY, Malachy (2nd Ann). In proud and loving memory

of Malachy Carey, who died on 12 December 1992. Always remembered by the Carvey family, Ballinasloe. DONNELLY, Frankie; MONTGOMERY, Laurence (16th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Volunteers Frankie Donnelly and Lau-

rence Montgomery, who died on 5 January 1979. From Frankie and Eleanor. DONNELLY, Frankie; MONTGOMERY, Laurence (16th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Volunteers Frankie Donnelly and Laurence Montgomery, who died on 5 January 1979. From Seán, Kate and family. MONTGOMERY, Laurence; DONNELLY, Frankie (16

Ann). In memory of Volunteer Laurence Montgomery and his comrade Frankie Donnelly, who died on active service on 5 January 1979. From Seán, Kathleen and family in Dublin. SHEEHY, Patrick (3rd Ann). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Patrick Sheehy, who died on 2 January 1991. Always remembered by a friend in Cork.

Beannachtaí na hAthbhlíana

AVERELL, Liam (Long Kesh). Happy New Year from your wife Jacqui and daughter Shauneen and Ciara; New Year greetings from your mother; From your brother Paddy, Geraldine, Lurach and Aine; From your brother Terry, Eilish and Dominic; From your sister Tina, Gabriel and family; From your sister Anne, Declan and family; From your sister Donna, Michaela and sister Dymna and Mickey.

CONNOLLY, Tarlach (Long Kesh). New Year greetings to Tarlach and all republican POWs. Tá súil againn go mbeidh tú linn go luath arís. O Pat, Máire agus na trúir cailín, Cluáin Eois, Contae Muineacháin. DOHERTY, Hugh (Full Sutton). Hope the Christmas was good. Blessings of the New Year on you. From Rosaleen and Caitlín-Anne. FOX, Paddy (Long Kesh). Christmas and New Year greet-

ings Paddy. From Anthony and Bernie; From Claire, Teresa and Bernie. HAMILL, Patrick (H5, Long Kesh). Happy New Year from Joanna and family; From Kieran, Bernie and family. Mac FHLOINN, Páirc (Frankland). Best wishes to Pat from the Brennan family. Mac GIOLLA GUNNA, Mícheál (Ceis Fada). Beannachtaí an bhliain úr ort. Adh mór ó Seán agus Maria. McGILLOWAY, Patrick (Long Kesh). Thinking of you this Christmas and New Year. From Martin and Seán McKilenny. McGRATH, Johnny (H6, Long Kesh). Happy New Year from Mairia, Caoimhe and Níamh.

Thinking of you always; Happy New Year Johnny and to Bill, Niall, Tuso and Kevin and all in H6 from Una, Carla, Jenny and Paul. MURPHY, Declan (Long Kesh). Christmas and New Year greetings to Declan Murphy and all POWs at home and abroad. From Paul Smith and Brendan Quinn Cumann, Bessbrook. O DOCHARTAIGH, Aodh (Full Sutton). Beannachtaí an bhliain úr ort. O do nia Maria agus Seán. TENNYSON, Francis (Long Kesh). Happy New Year from your wife and children Ciarán, Kelly and Terri; From your mother and father; From

your brother Kieran, Bernie and kids; From the Kelly family. NEW YEAR greetings to all POWs. From Eileen Collins, Derry. NEW YEAR greetings to all republican prisoners. Good wishes, Tomás.

NEW YEAR greetings to all POWs. From Monaghan Comhairle Ceantair Sinn Féin; From Cavan Comhairle Ceantair Sinn Féin; From the O'Hanlon/Mac Mahon/Lynagh Cumann, Monaghan; Long Kesh Republican Flute Band, Glasgow.

Comhbhrón

COYLE. Deepest sympathy to my sister-in-law Marion and brother Séamus on the sudden death of her father and his father-in-law Johnny, on 1 January. May he rest in peace. From Marion and Peter. HAYES. Sincere sympathy is

extended to Clement Hayes on the death of his son. From Dano Frahill, Limerick Sinn Féin. KIRBY. Limerick Sinn Féin extends sincere sympathy to Gerry Kirby on the death of his mother.

Imeachtaí

COMMEMORATION: Volunteer John Francis Green 20th Anniversary Mass. 10am, Satur-

day, 7 January, St Mary's Chapel, CASTLEBLANEY

COMMEMORATION: Volunteer Patrick Sheehy Commemoration. Assemble 12.30pm, Sun-

day, 8 January, Ballysteen Church, ASKEATON, County Limerick. Speaker: Martin Ferris

MARCH AND RALLY: Assemble 2.30pm, Sunday, 8 January,

Glen Crossroads on main Derry to Belfast road. March to MAGHERA. Organised by Derry and Antrim Saoirse Committee

COMMEMORATION: Annual

Volunteer Seán Sabhat Commemoration. Assemble 2.45pm, Sunday, 8 January, Bedford Row, LIMERICK. Speaker: Mitchel McLaughlin

Dúirt Siad '94

We'd be delighted if [Section 31] went, particularly now so we can take part in the debate. We are the target of speculation and a mixture of intimidation and wooing and yet nobody can hear what our real views are. — Sinn Féin Director of Publicity Rita O'Hare in January.

The process of peace is assisted by maximum information. — Labour's Michael D Higgins after lifting the ministerial order under Section 31, January.

Undemocratic. — John Bruton on the decision.

Over 20 years of political censorship has served to stunt any hopes of a resolution of the conflict... Good riddance! — Gerry Adams.

I very much doubt if that was the case. We are not in that business, at least, I don't think we are in that business. — British Foreign Office spokesperson reacting to fresh revelations about MIS's role in the Polish 'loyalist' arms sting.

... the Mary Harney of Russian politics. — Proinsias MacAonghusa on the controversial Russian politician, Vladimir Zhirinovskiy in February.

The [British] government insists that the RUC is a civilian force. But there is not a civil conflict in Northern Ireland; there is a war situation. — Sam Malcolmson, chairperson of the RUC's Disabled Officers' Association in February.

The Northern Ireland Select Committee will not make any meaningful contribution to the settlement or resolution of the turmoil or conflict in Ireland. — SDLP MP Eddie McGrady in March.

We are prepared to be flexible in exploring the potential for peace. All concerned should leave no stone unturned. — IRA statement following March's triple mortar attack on Heathrow Airport.

We could round up three quarters of the IRA before breakfast tomorrow with internment. — Tory MP Andrew Hunter in March.

Sure, England and the US have a special relationship. Just like Abbot and Costello. I leave you to decide which country is the sad, fat little loser everybody laughs at. — White House aide in March.

Our statement of 13 March reiterates our continued willingness to be positive and flexible in exploring the potential for moving the situation forward. As further evidence of that we will unilaterally suspend offensive military actions for 72 hours from midnight Tuesday, 5 April until midnight Friday, 8 April. — IRA Easter message in March.

It would be a tragedy if it were disregarded or rebuffed. — Cardinal Cahal Daly in response.

In relation to Bruton's approach to the unionists he has displayed over-enthusiasm. He has not addressed himself to the fact that this is a delicate balancing act. There are two traditions in the North. And the nationalist tradition, as reflected in the SDLP and Sinn Féin, clearly views Fine Gael's stance with deep suspicion. — Fine Gael's Henry Mountcharles in April.

I stand before you filled with deep pride and joy, joy you can loudly proclaim from the rooftops. — Nelson Mandela proclaiming ANC victory in April.

Pub hero gives life to stop loyalist slaughter. — Irish News headline after the UVF attack on the Widow Scallan's pub in Dublin, in which Volunteer Martin Doherty was killed.

The intention of the attack was to terrorise people in Dublin and the Dublin government and what was John Bruton's reaction? He blamed Sinn Féin and tried to get Albert Reynolds to drop the peace process. — Gerry Adams in May.

No amount of solemn tributes can disguise the fact that the crash of the Chinook helicopter last Thursday was a spectacular own goal — perhaps the most spectacular in our 20-year-long struggle to defeat the IRA. — Richard Ingrams in the Observer in June.

Well done boys, good job. — The UVF's getaway driver after the Loughinisland massacre in June.

The people committing these crimes were being defensive. They are retaliatory actions. These fellows are people who have suffered themselves... They are the defenders of the Protestant community and their job is to defend Ulster. — DUP Councillor Cecil Moore after Loughinisland in July.

I see they're well travelled. They've got a few coloureds in the team now, too. — DUP deputy leader Peter Robinson on Jack Charlton's Irish soccer team in July.

Mr Reynolds should not have buried so much of his limited political capital in a dialogue with an organisation as irrational, devious and unrepresentative as Sinn Féin. — John Bruton in July.

Recognising the potential of the current situation and in order to enhance the democratic peace process and underline our definitive commitment to the exercise the leadership of Oglaiagh na hÉireann have decided that as of midnight, Wednesday, 31 August, there will be a complete cessation of military operations. All our units have been instructed accordingly. — The historic IRA statement of 31 August.

We are Irish people. We are no better or worse than anyone else. But we are going to have our freedom and that freedom is going to embrace unionists and nationalists, Catholics and Protestants, in a free and united Irish Republic. — Gerry Adams.

...this gigantic step towards peace — Albert Reynolds.

Everything will be considered step by step, in the light of prevailing circumstances. — Direct Ruler Patrick Mayhew.

The opportunity exists for all sides to demilitarise the conflict, and to work resolutely towards a lasting solution as to how we share this beautiful country. We unionists have missed too many opportunities in the past. We must not miss this — our best chance. — Open letter from 50 mainly Protestant business people to James Molyneux.

Lá stairiúil, cruinniú stairiúil. — Gerry Adams on his meeting with Reynolds and Hume at government buildings in Dublin in September.

We have never insisted on the affirmation of the word permanent. — British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd in September.

My gut reaction is that this cease-fire is for real. — OUP MP John Taylor, September.

There is something almost poignant in the spectacle of Mr Michael Mates MP, lately of the middle ranks of Her Majesty's government, trailing the Sinn Féin leader, Mr Gerry Adams, around the chat shows of America. — Daily Telegraph editorial in September.

Observe the oppressed of Ulster marching bravely towards the talks. — Martin McGuinness entering Dublin government buildings in October.

If we are not satisfied at the moment, we do not know for sure that we will ever be. — Patrick Mayhew in October.

I'm still optimistic about the peace process, but it appears the British government is engaging in a lot of foot-dragging these days. They do not appear to be as committed to the peace process as the Irish government. Our government, the US government and the European leaders must put the British prime minister under strong political pressure to push the process forward. — Labour TD Declan Bree in October.

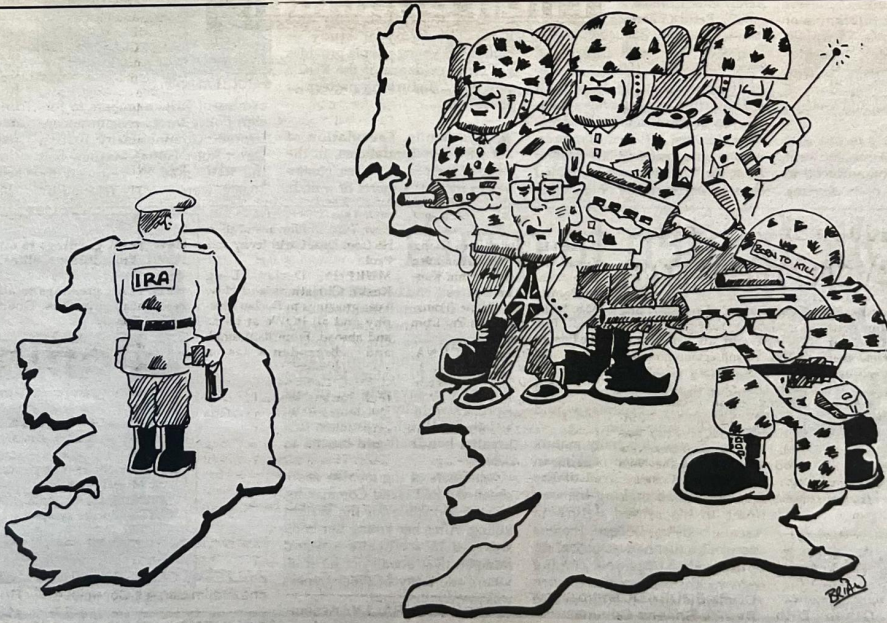
Let's hope we will come to a day when there is not a gun on the streets of Northern Ireland. — UDP spokesperson Gary McMichael following the announcement of the loyalist cease-fire in October.

If it is to be part of the solution, senior officers have to accept that the RUC is part of the problem. — Irish News editorial, November.

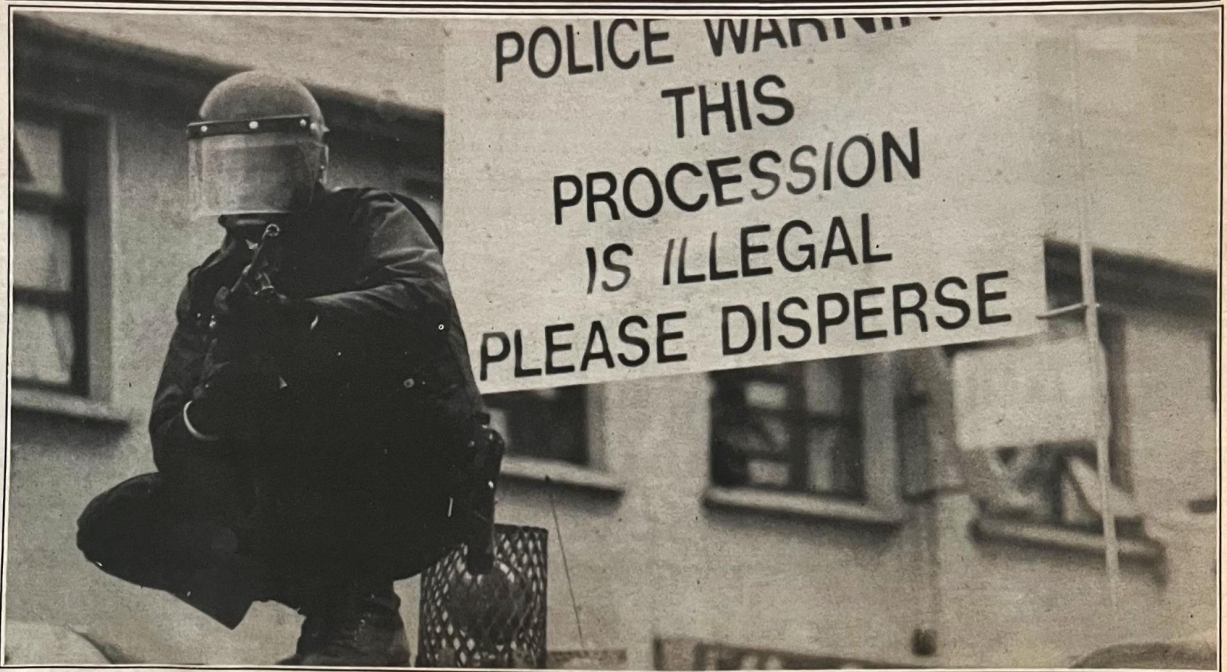
Doctor O'Brien is without doubt the finest mind of the 17th Century still living today. — John Hume on the Cruiser in November.

Unless the British government is willing to demonstrate its commitment to peace, it's going to fail. — Tory MP and co-chair of the London/Dublin interparliamentary body, Peter Temple-Morris, in December.

We have told the British government that it is now time to liberate both the oppressed and the oppressor. — Martin McGuinness after Sinn Féin's meeting with British government officials at Stormont in December.



SURRENDER YOUR ARMS, PADDY, IT'S TIME TO TAKE THE GUN OUT OF IRISH POLITICS



According to the report's findings, young Catholics were four times more likely than Protestant youths to suffer harassment by the British army and RUC

Increasing crisis within the RUC

BY LAURA FRIEL

WRANGLES between the RUC and the Police Authority of Northern Ireland (PANI) continued into the new year as authority spokesperson Chris Ryder accused RUC Chief Hugh Annesley of attempting to pre-empt the authority's consultation plans for the future of policing in the Six Counties.

Days before the scheduled launching of a Police Authority initiative, in an interview in London's *Sunday Times*, Chief Constable Hugh Annesley called for the setting up of a British government commission to examine the future role of the RUC. The commission would, according to Annesley, "consider and evaluate the views of the people and make recommendations on policing structures and systems of accountability".

Praising the RUC's record over the past 25 years, Annesley went on to outline his 'commitment' to "fair, effective and open policing

based upon the rule of law and respect of human rights" as the "bedrock" of any democratic society.

However, any notion that the RUC Chief Constable had undergone a Road to Damascus conversion was quickly dispelled. Within hours of the *Times* interview, PANI hit back, accusing Annesley of attempting to pre-empt their consultative programme scheduled to be launched on Wednesday. Unionist MP Ken Maginnis, who is on a yearly £4,000 retainer from the RUC Federation, joined in, accusing Annesley of engaging

in an "arrogant PR exercise".

Public wrangling between the RUC and the Police Authority, to which technically the RUC are accountable, continues against the backdrop of mounting public support for the disbandment of the RUC. Fuelling that call, a report published just before Christmas by the Six-County based Human Rights group, the Committee for the Administration of Justice, provided documented evidence of widespread sectarian harassment by the RUC against young people.

Almost half of all Catholic 18 year olds reported being harassed by crown forces. According to the report's findings, young Catholics were four times more likely than Protestant youths to suffer harassment by the British army and RUC. The two-year study of almost 600 young people provides yet more evidence of the RUC's role in a "disturbing pattern of abuse".

Meanwhile, speculation of RUC redundancies, in the wake of the peace process, continues to mount. Reports of a mass



HUGH ANNESLEY

exodus of RUC members to foreign police forces remain unconfirmed. Comments by British Direct Ruler Patrick Mayhew that the RUC may be reduced by 10,000, were quickly rejected by

NIO Minister for Political Development Michael Ancram. The RUC Chief Constable is "under no pressure to reduce the force".

In 1976 the Dublin government initiated an intergovernmental commission against the British government about the actions of the RUC and British army. The European Commission of Human Rights found that the British government, through the RUC and British army, was involved in inhuman and degrading treatment. In 1991 Amnesty International published a special report alleging ill-treatment of detainees by RUC officers in Castlereagh.

The most recent report comes from the European Committee for the Prevention of Torture who concluded in 1993 that there was significant risk of psychological ill-treatment under the PTA. The RUC has been involved in shoot-to-kill, torture during interrogation and collusion with loyalist death squads. The simple truth remains that speculation on reductions and promises of reforms, will never render the RUC acceptable to the nationalist community.

Catholic beaten to death

THE HORRIFIC and callous murder of 47-year-old Catholic Noel Lyness on the December 22 was largely overshadowed by the media hype created in the run up to the North's first "peaceful" Christmas in 25 years.

The RUC attempted to play down any sectarian dimension to the savage killing by initially saying they did not suspect a sectarian motive. It was only later when it emerged that Lyness was, indeed, a Catholic did the RUC say that, "a sectarian motive was not ruled out".

For the Lyness family from Balymena it was anything but a peaceful Christmas. The knowledge that Noel, one of nine children, was brutally bludgeoned to

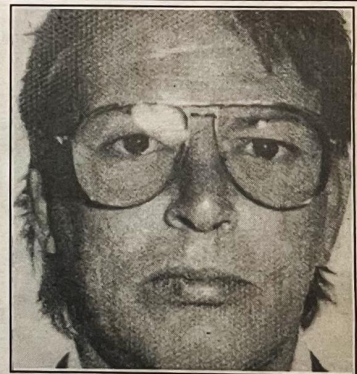
death by a loyalist gang using a concrete breeze block meant that for this family Christmas would never be the same again.

The Queens University mature student was last seen walking in the Tate's Avenue area of the Donegall Road making his way home to his rented Belgraviva Avenue bedsit at 2.30am. There is speculation that he was picked up by a number of people coming from a Christmas party and taken to an entry between Kilburn and

Ebor Streets and battered to death.

His badly-mutilated body was found three hours later in the entry. The area where Lyness's body was found is only yards from where Protestant Margaret Wright was savagely killed last April. Thought by her killers to be a Catholic, Wright was taken to a loyalist bandhall and beaten to death.

Members of the loyalist death squad the Red Hand Commandos were responsible for the Wright killing. After her killing her body was put in a wheelie bin and dumped over a wall not far from where the body of Noel Lyness was eventually found.



NOEL LYNES