



'Framework' of a new Stormont

KILLER PARAS RELEASED
— see page 3



ACCORDING to unnamed sources quoted by a Dublin newspaper, the Framework document under discussion by the Dublin and London governments will include proposals for a new Stormont assembly for the Six Occupied Counties while not proposing any changes in the policing arrangements there, currently undertaken by the paramilitary RUC with British army back-up.

However, British director Patrick Mayhew said on November 7 that "the name or the structure" of the RUC would not be changed.

The *Irish Times* of November 24 claims the Framework document, which will provide the agenda for future talks between the Six-County unionist parties, the SDLP and Provisional Sinn Féin, proposes the formation of four cross-Border authorities, dealing with tourism, trade, agriculture and investment and "exercising executive functions only under the supervision of separate

management boards".

British minister Michael Ancram told unionists in Armagh three days later that he expected a political settlement to include a new Stormont and cross-Border boards.

The composition of these boards is not yet clear, the *Irish Times* reported, but the unionists could accept them if they were controlled by a new Stormont. Publication of the Framework document will be delayed due to the collapse of the Fianna Fáil/Labour administration in Dublin.

On November 26 Gerry Adams said at a conference in

west Belfast that the Provisionals would boycott a new Stormont if it was part of an internal settlement. Republicans are reminded of his first speech on becoming Sinn Féin President in 1983 when he said "I will not lead you into Leinster House". He then, of course, proceeded to lay the ground for his move to drop abstentionism in 1986.

In his *Walden* interview (UTV, October 30) he said he was prepared to compromise and "talked about 'transitional modes' to a united Ireland that would be put in place in the near future.

At the Belfast conference Gerry Adams also called for the Framework document to be published. What about publishing the still secret Hume/Adams document?

Republican Sinn Féin believes that the British government has no intention

of leaving Ireland. The "transitional modes" or "interim solution" of the Provisionals has to be Stormont Mark 5 with cross-Border boards as mere trappings. They can also say the result is not PURELY an internal settlement.

Bernadette McAliskey opposed the current process at that conference for the same reason Republican Sinn Féin opposes it — we are not "against peace", we believe it will not work because it does not provide for British disengagement (see report, page 3). It is therefore a false peace that cannot last.

As Republican Sinn Féin President Ruairi Ó Bradaigh said in his 1994 Ard-Fheis address "what lasting peace has ever been made by the oppressed making concessions to the oppressor?"

• *Ard Fheis reports on pages 7-10 inside.*



Dáithí Ó Conaill
4th Anniversary
Commemoration
GLASNEVIN CEMETERY
DUBLIN
SUNDAY, JANUARY 1
Speaker: **Tommy McKearney**
(Tyrone)
Assemble at main gates, 1pm



SEÁN SABHAT
COMMEMORATION

LIMERICK
SUNDAY, JANUARY 1
Assemble 1pm
Bedford Row

Euro concern over conditions at holding centres

THE European Committee for the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment (CPT) has recommended a range of changes in the conditions in which prisoners are held at prisons and holding centres in the Occupied Six Counties and have expressed concern over allegations of assault and ill-treatment of detainees.

The CPT has also called for the video-taping of RUC interrogation of suspects, a reduction of over-crowding at Belfast's Crumlin Road jail and immediate and substantial improvement in conditions at Castlereagh holding centre.

The committee published its report in Strasbourg on Wednesday, November 16 on a nine-day visit to the Six Counties in July 1993. While there the committee visited the two main holding centres — Gough Barracks and Castlereagh — as well as four RUC barracks and Crumlin Road and Maghabery prisons.

It reported that "a substantial proportion of the persons detained for offences related to terrorism, with whom the delegation spoke, alleged that they had been ill-treated by the security forces at the time of their arrest and/or during their transport to a police station".

The most common allegations were of blows and kicks received by persons while being arrested. Two detainees, seen by the

holding centres

treatment of persons detained" and went on to note that the fact that compensation had been paid between 1989 and 1992 in 18 extended periods". The human rights group, the Committee on the Administration of Justice, called for the report's



● The notorious Castlereagh interrogation centre on the outskirts of Belfast.

delegation at Castlereagh, had physical marks which were recorded as being sustained at the time of arrest.

The committee says that the allegations of ill-treatment at holding centres were "sufficient to give rise to legitimate concern about the

cases of alleged assault "can only serve further to heighten that concern".

The committee criticised the lack of exercise at Castlereagh and the absence of natural light in cells, which "renders it inappropriate as a place to detain persons for

recommendations to be put into operation immediately. Spokesperson Michael Ritchie said: "This must represent the final nail in the coffin of the Castlereagh regime". He went on to call for the closure of Castlereagh and other holding centres.

Call for War Crimes Tribunal

A CO-FOUNDER of the Six Counties civil rights movement in 1967 delivered a lengthy paper on the subject "The Continuing Struggle for Civil Rights in Ireland" at a public lecture in Trinity College Dublin on November 30, organised by the Dublin University Socialist Society.

His paper detailed a list of incidents, which include Bloody Sunday, the 1972 and 1974 bombings in the 26 Counties, the shoot-to-kill strategy adopted by the British Army and RUC, and collusion with, and arming of loyalist death-squads by British Intelligence through agents such as Brian Nelson, a former member of a British army regiment.

Fionnbarra Ó Dochartaigh, who is an historian and published author, presented figures showing that upwards of 1,500 Irish people have been killed as a result of policies adopted at the highest level within the British Establishment. The Derry writer linked these incidents to the need for an international human rights

tribunal, that would be totally independent of either the Dublin or London administrations, and argued that the UN and European Human Rights' Codes should form the basis of such a "war crimes" tribunal.

In addition, many other civil rights issues were outlined, and a call was made for greater co-operation and joint action between all human rights groupings throughout Ireland and abroad so that such an international tribunal can be set in place, "so that the world will at last know what the horrific effects of state-sponsored terrorism have meant for literally thousands of Irish families, and hundreds of its victims".

26-County state to pay for repairing Border roads

IT was revealed on Wednesday, November 9 that the Dublin administration is to pay £1.5 million towards the cost of repairing Border roads, blown up by British Crown Forces over the last 25 years. The British government has said that it will take three years to re-open all the blocked roads. Many people find it difficult to accept that such a large sum of money is to be spent on roads closed by the British and feel that those who blew them up in the first place should replace them.

Easter Lily jailings

EARLY on the morning of the Ard-Fheis, November 12, Pádraic Cryan, junior, of Cortober, Carrick-on-Shannon, Co Roscommon was arrested and taken to Carrick barracks.

There he was held for several hours and cajoled by police that he should pay a £30 fine for selling Easter Lilies at Drumlin Church last Easter. He refused and was taken to Mountjoy Jail.

At the reception area the police were asked were they serious, told they could get £30 from the St Vincent de Paul and that there was no room in Mountjoy, as they (the warders) had to look after "criminals".

Pádraic Cryan was admitted, given a meal and released with a voucher for a train journey home to Carrick that evening. An uncle of Pádraic Cryan, junior, Sam Cryan, Carrowreagh, Croghan, Co Roscommon was likewise taken to Mountjoy Jail on November 24.

He had refused to pay a similar fine for selling Easter Lilies last Easter. "You will be out of here quicker than your nephew," commented one warder.

Sam was admitted to the prison, given a voucher for the rail journey, released and was home that evening.

SDLP take part in British army ceremonies

SDLP members in both Belfast and Derry city took part for the first time ever in Remembrance Day ceremonies for the British army on Sunday, November 13.

Two Derry city councillors, Margaret McCartney, whose father was a sergeant in the British army and former British army serviceman Wilf Whyte attended the ceremony at the Diamond in Derry, wearing their official council robes.

In Belfast five SDLP councillors — Alex Attwood, Jonathan Stevenson, Dorita Field, Patricia Lewsley and Martin Morgan — attended the ceremony at the cenotaph on behalf of the party. The

Belfast ceremony was also attended by British direct-ruler in the Six Counties Patrick Mayhew and the Duchess of Kent, a member of the British royal family.

In a statement Derry Republican Sinn Féin said: "The attendance by two SDLP councillors at yesterday's British army Remembrance Day ceremony in Derry was the action of the 'Stoop Down Low Party' at its lowest. They were honouring the occupying

force that killed 14 nationalist civilians in Derry on Bloody Sunday, 1972. The British army continues to harass and intimidate nationalist civilians on a daily basis — the very people who elected Councillors McCartney and Whyte.

"When Omagh District Council chairperson Paddy McGowan of the SDLP attended a Remembrance Day ceremony in Co Tyrone in 1992 Republican Sinn Féin called on him to stand for the Unionist Party at the next

election — if they would have him. The same applies to the Derry and Belfast city councillors this year who attended this glorification of imperialism, organised by the British military."

The McKelvey/Steele Cumann of Republican Sinn Féin in Belfast also condemned the SDLP for taking part in ceremonies to honour British soldiers who have been responsible for many murders and the ongoing repression of nationalists in the last 25 years.

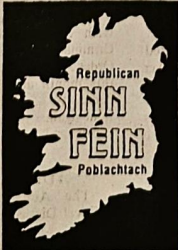


● SDLP's Lewsley, Morgan, Stephenson and Attwood (with poppy).

I would like to join Republican Sinn Féin
Ba mhaith liom bheith i mo bhall de
Sinn Féin Poblachtach

Ainm

Seoladh



OUR AIMS

For a full British withdrawal from Ireland... The establishment of a true 32-County FEDERAL DEMOCRATIC SOCIALIST REPUBLIC... The establishment of a new all-Ireland parliament, completely outside the present partitionist set-up, to oversee the running of the new neutral non-aligned Ireland...

OUR HISTORY

Formed in 1905... We are the oldest political organisation in the country... Organised throughout the 32 Counties... We have continuously rejected the failed political entities of the Six and 26 Counties in existence since the British partitioned our country...

For a full British withdrawal from Ireland

Send to: Oifig ÉIRE NUA
41 Cé Arrán, BÁC 7
Teil: 01-872 9747; Facs: 01-872 9757
or contact your local paper seller for details

Irish Action Coalition protest

THE Irish Action Coalition, which is based in New Jersey, USA asked its members in mid-November to protest to Congressional representatives at the close co-operation between the FBI and the RUC, ten of whose members it says graduated from the FBI National Academy in Quantico, Virginia in 1994.

DÍLSEACHT

THE publicity department of Republican Sinn Féin plans to publish a booklet in the very near future provisionally entitled *Dílseacht, The Story of Tom Maguire and the Second All-Ireland Dáil* in memory of Tom Maguire and to explain how the 32-County Republic was suppressed, betrayed and abandoned.

Donations towards the cost of publishing this worthwhile commemorative booklet would be greatly appreciated. All contributions should be sent to Ard Oifig, 41 Arran Quay, Dublin 7. Donations will be gratefully acknowledged.

Paras assault Belfast man

The British army parachute regiment, which has been deployed in west Belfast in recent weeks, has been accused of waiting outside the home of a 31-year-old Belfast man and attacking him as he went to work on Wednesday, November 16 last.

The man, who is married with three children and whose wife is soon to have a fourth child, was rushed to hospital after his face was smashed with the barrel of a gun. The incident took place on the Monagh Bypass in west Belfast at around 9.20am.

The man, who did not want to be named, told the *Irish News* (Belfast) that he had been harassed by paratroopers on the previous Monday night. He said: "They were out to get me. Two nights ago I was stopped by them outside my door. I gave them my name and address and then walked on by and thought nothing of it."

"Then I was going to work this morning and they were sitting there looking into my house. When I was walking to work they had disappeared but then they came running down behind me. One of them grabbed my arm and dragged me across the zebra crossing. The next thing was the guy behind the

railings was pointing his gun at me and then he banged it into my face — the next thing I knew I was out."

The man, an ACE worker, sustained bruising and injuries to his cheekbone. "They just started laughing at me," he said. "There was a scuffle between a couple of people who saw what happened and the Brits. I've never had any trouble like this before, I'm just trying to live normally with my life and kids. There was blood everywhere, my clothes were saturated."

COLLAPSED LATER

He was then taken to the Royal Victoria Hospital but walked out before being treated. He later collapsed in the street and was again rushed to the RVH. "My nerves were shattered. I'm swollen, bruised, light-headed and get dizzy spells". Local people said that the man had been kicked and punched as he lay on the ground.

The soldier involved has been taken off patrol duties pending "a vigorous investigation by a senior police officer," the RUC said. The 1st Battalion of the Parachute Regiment was involved in the killings on Bloody Sunday in Derry, January 30, 1972, of 14 innocent civilians. More recently they have been involved in the shooting dead of two teenage joyriders in west Belfast and in a series of unprovoked assaults on residents in Coalisland, Co Tyrone.

The two paratroopers who were jailed for the shooting dead of the joyriders — Karen Reilly (18) and Martin Peake (17) are in the process of appealing to the House of Lords to quash their convictions. Private Lee Clegg was found guilty at Belfast Crown Court of killing Karen Reilly and Private Barry Aindow was found guilty of the attempted murder of Martin Peake. Aindow was freed this summer shortly after the Belfast Court of Appeal reduced his seven-year sentence to four years and is believed to be back with his regiment.

Clegg has recently been moved out of Maghaberry



• Paras attack youth in Coalisland, Co Tyrone.

as Paratroop child-killers are released from jail

jail in the Six Counties and it is thought that he is about to be released. He was removed to an unknown location from the prison late on the night of November 4 while the other prisoners slept.

If Clegg is released after less than 18 months imprisonment and rejoins the paras he will follow in the footsteps of Private Ian Thain who in December 1984 became the first British soldier to be convicted of murdering a civilian in the Six Counties. He was released after two years of his life sentence to rejoin the British army.

Training value of Six-Co. war

FORMER British army officer Alan Judd who now writes under that pen name said in an article in the right-wing London-based *Spectator* magazine said that an end of the Troubles in the Six Counties would present the British army with severe difficulties and may lead to a decline in the quality of troops.

Judd, who did several tours of duty in the Six Counties with the British army in the 1970s claimed that the British army had benefited hugely since taking to the streets there in 1969.

He described British deaths in the Troubles as "insignificant" in operational terms and argued that "a little war is good for armies". He

also said that the troops sent to fight in the Malvinas war were better soldiers because many had served in Ireland.

Drawing on personal experience he maintained that many soldiers preferred serving in the Six Counties to "the boredom of barracks and peacetime training on the mainland or in Germany" and he went on to say that the threat

of being shot on patrol "matures people and at the same time makes them feel more vividly alive".

Alan Judd suggested in the article that the casualties suffered by the British army have been, in one sense, "beneficial" and his views are bound to embarrass the British army, which has always denied that it has anything to gain from its involvement in the Six Counties. Republicans have always pointed to the British troops' combat experience as one reason for the continuance of their occupation of part of Ireland.

McAliskey calls for British pledge to withdraw

SPEAKING at a conference in West Belfast on November 26 attended by over 200 people, Bernadette McAliskey former Mid-Ulster MP, said that the crucial question of Britain's intentions regarding the Six Occupied Counties was not being addressed in the current process. She told the Eigse an Phobail winter school that she was in favour of peace but opposed to the current "peace process".

Bernadette McAliskey was speaking from the floor and received loud applause from the audience when she called for a British declaration of intent to withdraw. Her appeal came during the debate "Visions of a New Ireland" held in Whitecock College of Further Education. Expanding on her point, she said that unionism and nationalism were incompatible ideologies. She could not understand how the vision of a pluralistic, non-sectarian, non-sexist, secular Ireland — supported by some, including

Provisional Sinn Féin — could be achieved through the forthcoming framework document or the Downing Street Declaration. The parties to the current process were opposed to these ideals, she said.

The issue was simple surrounding the current process — Britain had to make a declaration of intent on whether it was planning to leave or remain in the Six Counties. Any discussions about the future would depend on Britain's answer to this question. If Britain



• Bernadette McAliskey

was staying debate would centre on "parity of esteem, equality of citizenship and equal employment opportunities for nationalists within the Northern State". Bernadette McAliskey, however, called on the British to go so that a new Ireland could truly emerge.

The panellists at the debate were all opposed to this view, endorsing the current process. One of them, Provisional Sinn Féin's Gerry Adams, said that his organisation would not participate in a new Stormont in the context of a "purely internal settlement".

This begs the question: Is a new Stormont with cross-Border bodies concerned with tourism, agricultural diseases and the Foyle Fisheries a "purely internal solution"? If it is not "purely internal" would Provisional Sinn Féin then enter Stormont, take part in its workings and accept responsibility for its actions?

In response to Bernadette McAliskey's comments, Adams was equally equivocal: he was prepared to compromise on how long

it would take "for the British to leave our country" without saying just how long he was prepared to wait for it.

In an *Irish Times* interview on November 21, Gerry Adams had a similar answer when he was asked if separate referenda within the Six Counties and the 26 Counties would copperfasten partition. "It would not constitute self-determination by the Irish people. But it could constitute a very worthwhile way of measuring agreement, on whatever had been agreed", he said.

Meanwhile, Michael Ancram, a British minister in the Six Occupied Counties, told a unionist meeting in Armagh on the same weekend that no "slippery slope to a United Ireland" would emerge from the current process. He referred

to the cross-Border bodies idea by saying that any political settlement "will need to take account of the north-south diversion in some institutional form" but the unionist veto was safe. He expected a settlement to include a new Stormont.

Speaking at the organisation's 90th Ard-Fheis on November 13 last in Co Dublin, Republican Sinn Féin President Ruairi Ó Brádaigh said that talks between the Provisionals and the British Government will be firmly based on the Joint Declaration.

The outcome of this, he said, can only be an "interim solution" of Stormont Mark 5 with cross-Border boards and other trappings. The Provisionals can then say the result is not purely an internal solution, he predicted.

Challenge on repression at Galway meeting

IN A speech given to the Political Discussion Society of University College, Galway, on Tuesday, November 22, 1994 (8pm), Ruairi Ó Brádaigh, President, Republican Sinn Féin, said that the current process will not work because it does not address the basic cause of conflict in the Six Occupied Counties — British rule itself.

He went on to say: "A totally New Ireland with the complete separation of church and state and the building of a pluralist society is the only alternative. The sectarian, colonial Six-County statelet and the confessional, neo-colonial 26-County state will both have to yield to such a New Ireland."

"Republican Sinn Féin's proposals for such a New Ireland provide for a

federation of the four provinces including a nine-county Ulster. Those who are now Unionist would have a working majority there but the Nationalists would be within reach of power.

"Every power of government would be exercised within the provinces except Foreign Affairs, National Defence and over-all financing. Maximum devolution of power and decision-making

to strong regional and district councils would give power-sharing according to local majority.

"Policing would be at district council level and the independent Irish Protestant tradition would have control of its own position and defence and protection of its own situation. These are noble and generous proposals.

"Unless the underlying causes of conflict are faced up to, current efforts will at best only postpone resolution of them to another generation — and maybe not even then."

"History did not begin 25 years ago nor did it end on August 31 last. It will continue to unfold. We have had 825 years of invasion,

colonisation and continued resistance — not just 25.

"Mr Major has stated that he will not preside over the unbinding of the United Kingdom. He sees the letting-go of the Six Counties as merely a prelude to Scotland and Wales asserting their independence, hence his opposition to getting out of Ireland.

"Meanwhile, Republican Sinn Féin challenges all left, liberal and civil libertarian groupings to speak out and oppose recent repression under the Offences Against the State Act and the new Public Order Act. Irish language bodies and Gaeilgeoiri generally must also take positions on this question of civil liberties.

"There is a parallel here with the passing of the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act in England earlier this month and shows the necessity of organising to fight against new repressive legislation."

AUDITOR

The Auditor of the Political Discussion Society, Eoghan Mac Cormaic of Derry presided during the Republican Sinn Féin President's presentation. A past President of the UCG Students' Union, Eoghan spent 15 years in the H-Blocks of Long Kesh as a Republican prisoner.

More than 20 searching questions by the large student attendance of close

on 100 were answered by Ruairi Ó Brádaigh following his presentation. These dealt with policy, aspects of the past 25 years and in particular with the current situation.

More than a third were asked in Irish agus tugadh freagra ortha dá réir. All present agreed that it was a highly successful occasion.

• As we went to press further reports of 26-County police raids were reported to SAOIRSE. In Blackwater, outside Limerick city, the home of Johnny O'Brien, a man in his 80s who lives alone, was subjected to a five-hour raid by Special Branch detectives on November 29. In Ennis, Co Clare raids took place on Republican Sinn Féin members on the weekend of November 26-27.

Imeachtaí

CHARLIE KERINS 50th ANNIVERSARY COMMEMORATION
SUNDAY, DECEMBER 4
Tralee, Co Kerry
Assemble:
Denny Street, 2pm
Speaker:
Ruairi Ó Brádaigh

DÍOSPÓIREACHT "AN SOS COGAIDH" ÁRAS NA CRAOIBHE CORRANGRATTAN INSE CHÓR, BÁC DÉ LUAIN, 5 NOLLÁIG
8.15PM
Cainteoir: Ruairi Óg Ó Brádaigh, Alan Dukes, Éamonn Gilmore, Aonghus Ó Snodaigh, Mary Hanafin
Á eagrú ag Conradh na Gaeilge
Craobh Inse Chór

LIAM MELLOWS COMMEMORATION
THURSDAY
DECEMBER 8
ATHENRY, CO GALWAY
after 7.30pm Mass
Speaker: Tom Malone

BALLAD AND MUSIC SESSION
(in aid of Prisoners' Dependents Fund)
THE THATCHED PUB
ELPHINROAD
CARRICK-ON-SHANNON
FRIDAY, DECEMBER 9
Music: Gene Anderson & Friends
Táille: £2. pub hours

No funds for Irish school

THE only Irish language second level school in Belfast has been denied funding by Michael Ancram, British minister responsible for education in the Six Counties, despite the fact that Department of Education inspectors, who inspected the school in June, found the standard of teaching to be of the highest order and far superior to that available in most other schools in the Occupied Six Counties.

Meánscoil Feirste has 100 pupils and is based in the Cultúrlann (Irish language centre) on the Falls Road. Séamus Mac Seáin of the Meánscoil management committee reacted angrily to the news. He said that while the decision wasn't entirely unexpected given the British government's long record of animosity towards the Irish language, the move had implications far beyond the sphere of education.

He went on to say that "many people will now recognise that the idea of 'parity of esteem' is a non-starter. If the British government isn't willing to move on an issue as fundamental as this, then people will quite naturally infer that it's as-you-were as far as the British government is concerned."

The principal, Fergus O'Hare, said it was a scandal. "The increase in the school numbers from nine to just under 100 in four years shows that the school is viable and for the department to put pseudo-educational arguments forward suggesting that there is not a need for such a school is misleading. There is a responsibility on the department to provide Irish language education for children in this part of

shortly to decide what form their protests about the decision would take.

Education authorities in Wales and Scotland fund secondary schools smaller than Meánscoil Feirste and it is clear that the only obstacle to funding this school — and five other Irish language

Also awaiting a decision about a grant is north Belfast's only Irish speaking primary school, Bunscoil Chnoc na hUaimhe. The school which opened in Wyndham Drive in September has 10 pupils and hope to increase their numbers in the near future.



• Pupils of Meánscoil Feirste — denied funding by British ministers in the Six Counties.

Irland and to me this decision indicates the closed-mind attitude and historically-biased attitude of the department. It is now the feeling of many of the parents that we should have a more pro-active campaign to highlight the anti-Irish discrimination of the department."

MEETING

He said that a meeting of the parents would be held

in the Six Counties — is British antipathy to Irish culture.

The day that Meánscoil Feirste was denied funding the British government announced funding of £20 million for the only Gaelic third level college in Scotland where one per cent have a knowledge of Gaelic while 10 per cent of people in the Six Counties have a knowledge of Irish.

Imeachtaí

'After the ceasefire'
PUBLIC MEETING
FRIDAY, DECEMBER 9
North Star Hotel
Amiens Street
Dublin
8pm
Speakers:
Ruairi Óg Ó Brádaigh
Jim Larragy

FRANK DRIVER
SUNDAY, DECEMBER 11
BALLYMORE EUSTACE
Wreath-laying ceremony
3pm

VOL MICHAEL MCGRATH VOL THOMAS O'BRIEN
SUNDAY, JANUARY 8
PICKERSTOWN SHRINE TRAMORE
COWATERFORD
Wreath-laying ceremony
12.30pm

Beannachtaí

CHRISTMAS and New Year greetings to all Irish Republican prisoners. "They have nothing in their whole imperial arsenal that can break one Irishman who doesn't want to be broken" — Bobby Sands. From the Francis Hughes Cumann, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, Glasgow.
CHRISTMAS and New Year greetings to all Republican prisoners at home and abroad. From CABHAIR, Irish Republican Prisoners Dependents' Fund.

SAOIRSE January edition published 5/1/1995

FOR THE RECORD

FRI. NOVEMBER 4: The actual number of unemployed in the 26 Counties, according to figures supplied by the National Organisation of the Unemployed is 302,952 as against official figures of 280,200.
SAT. NOVEMBER 5: Soldiers of the Staffordshire regiment of the British army clashed with local people outside Milly O'Naire's pub at about 8.30pm in Newry, Co Down. Three people were arrested at the time and seven civilians, two British soldiers and nine RUC men were treated in hospital for minor injuries.
SUN. NOVEMBER 6: Three more people were arrested in connection with the incident in Newry the previous night.
A demonstration was held by residents on the nationalist Lower Ormeau Road in protest as Orangemen from Ballynafeigh paraded past Seán Graham's bookmaker's shop, where five nationalists were murdered by the UFF in 1992, for the second time in a week. Unlike the previous march on October 30 the parade passed off peacefully.
MON. NOVEMBER 7: Patrick Mayhew, the British political supremo in the Six Occupied Counties, said that "the name or the structure" of the RUC British paramilitary police would not be changed.
TUES. NOVEMBER 8: Bridie Deaneely, a member of the Rosemount Tower Group in Derry who have been mounting protests outside the massive Rosemount British army watchtower, collapsed at Strand Road Barracks after suffering a diabetic attack when she was arrested during a protest by members of the group outside the watchtower. Three other members of the Rosemount Tower Group were also arrested after the early morning incident where Rosemount residents were alleged to have attempted to re-point security lights which were shining into their homes.
WED. NOVEMBER 9: It was revealed that



• Despite being opposed by residents, Orange marches through the nationalist Ormeau Road, Belfast, went ahead on October 30 and November 6 last.

the Dublin administration is to pay £1.5 million towards the cost of repairing Border roads, blown up by British Crown Forces over the last 25 years.
The Dublin minister for justice, Máire Geoghegan-Quinn, announced that nine Provisional prisoners were to be released from Portlaoise prison by Christmas, two of them on Friday, November 11.
THURS. NOVEMBER 10: Frank Kerr (53), of Keggal Road, Camloch, Newry, a postal worker at the Royal Mail sorting office in Newry was shot dead during a raid on the office in which around £100,000 was taken. As a result of the Newry killing, Máire Geoghegan-Quinn postponed the release of prisoners from Portlaoise.
Eighty jobs are to be lost because the Telecom Éireann and Golden Pages telephone directories are no longer to be printed in Ireland. The contract has been awarded to a British company, Penham.
SAT. NOVEMBER 12: The 90th Ard-Fheis of Republican Sinn Féin began in Dublin.
SUN. NOVEMBER 13: SDLP members in both Belfast and Derry city took part for the first time ever in Remembrance Day ceremonies for the British army.
MON. NOVEMBER 14: Gerald Doherty (40), a community development worker in the nationalist area of Lenadoon in West Belfast and a part-time lecturer, settled a claim of religious discrimination against the University of Ulster for £7,500.
WED. NOVEMBER 16: The British army parachute regiment, which has been deployed in west Belfast in recent weeks, has been accused of waiting outside the home of a 31-year-old Belfast man and attacking him as he walked to work. The man, who is married with three children and whose wife is soon to have a fourth child, was rushed to hospital after his face was smashed with the barrel of a gun. The incident took place on the Monagh

Bypass in west Belfast at around 9.20am.
The European Committee for the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment (CPT), in a report on a nine-day visit to the Six Counties in July 1993, has recommended a range of changes in the conditions in which prisoners are held at prisons and holding centres in the Occupied Six Counties and have expressed concern over allegations of assault and ill-treatment of detainees. The CPT has also called for the video-taping of RUC interrogation of suspects, a reduction of over-crowding at Belfast's Crumlin Road jail and immediate and substantial improvement in conditions at Castlereagh holding centre.
The chief executive of Telecom Éireann, Alfie Kane, said that a "sizeable" number of jobs would have to go even if Telecom was to ally itself with a partner.
THURS. NOVEMBER 17: The coalition government in the 26 Counties collapsed after the Labour Party withdrew from office and Albert Reynolds resigned.
Two men appeared at a special court in Banbridge, Co Down on Thursday, November 17 accused of the murder of a post office worker, Frank Kerr (53), shot dead in an armed raid at Newry, Co Down on November 10. Declan McCormish (27) and Kevin Donegan (38), both from Jonesborough, south Armagh both denied, through their lawyer, Gerry Trainor, that they had any connection, directly or indirectly, with the killing.
FRI. NOVEMBER 18: The real number of people out of work in the Six Counties, according to figures supplied by the National Organisation of the Unemployed is 136,400 as against official figures of 95,800.
SAT. NOVEMBER 19: Bertie Aherne was elected leader of the Fianna Fáil party.
MON. NOVEMBER 21: Michael Anthony Kane (26), a soldier in the Royal Irish Regiment of the British army, was charged with murdering his girlfriend, Sharon McFaul (25) at a court in Belfast.
The military wing of the Provisionals admitted that they were responsible for the operation at Newry Sorting Office in which a postal worker, Frank Kerr was killed.
FRI. NOVEMBER 25: The Oshima Ireland Limited electronic assembly company at Clonslogh Industrial Estate on the northside of Dublin is to close with the loss of 120 jobs.

Re-arming the Orange death squads

Part 2: Nelson's trial

From a Special Correspondent

ON February 3, 1992 Brian Nelson received a minimum prison sentence. Justice Basil Kelly praised him from the bench as a man who had shown "the greatest of courage". Such clearly illustrated the blatant bias and anti-nationalist character of the judiciary in the Six Counties. The fact that many innocent civilians suffered torture and death as a direct result of his activities as a British agent was, as with many of the former charges against him, conveniently swept under the carpet. Such factors seemed to be of little concern to the no-jury court, as the pillars of the British establishment closed ranks and lined up in Nelson's defence.

Ten years was the ultimate sentence. With the usual 50% remission for 'scheduled offences', Nelson would be due for release, given good behaviour, within five years of sentencing. Many were outraged that figures such as British cabinet minister, Tom King, had come to his defence, writing that he was "a valuable agent". The then British Attorney-General, Patrick Mayhew, was part and parcel of the deal struck between Nelson himself and the Six County's judiciary. A transfer to an English prison was one of its terms. Mayhew is currently Secretary of State in the Six Counties.

The comments made in his defence by high-profile figures would have caused an international scandal if the full facts had been properly investigated and exposed by the media. Nelson's past track record was well known to those who tried him, and this included the facts surrounding the torture and death of Gerald Higgins in 1973 (see SAOIRSE, November 1994).

He was merely charged with false imprisonment and possession of a revolver, not with attempted murder. Therefore the deal struck then led to a sentence of only seven years. He had been working for British Intelligence at the time — a fact known only within a small

'Top Brass' military/judicial circle. On his release Nelson returned to his role as an agent for British



●Patrick Mayhew Intelligence and rejoined the UDA. He remained active until the mid-1980s, when he took up employment in Germany. The lines of communication however remained open between himself, his 'handlers' and the leadership of the sectarian UDA death squads.

In 1987 his 'handlers' instructed him to return to Belfast as they needed him within the UDA

leadership. It should be noted that the UDA was still a legal organisation, even though it was responsible for hundreds of sectarian murders. It is believed that the 'Top Brass' did not declare it illegal simply because such would make all their covert activities also totally illegal, which might prove politically embarrassing and upset the bi-partisan arrangements within Westminster between the Tory and Labour parties. Such is the distorted mentality of Britain's ruling elites.

Nelson soon became the UDA's Director of Intelligence. He was therefore in control of selecting targets for loyalist death squads. There is now little doubt that he was actively assisted by British Intelligence. These same handlers' were directly responsible for the subsequent reorganisation and rearming of the UDA and other smaller loyalist death squads. For that reason the Stalker Inquiry was doomed to failure from the start, as the 'Top Brass' could not afford his investigations to uncover the full truth. However Stalker was to expose some of the darker aspects of Britain's 'Dirty War' in Ireland.

In the period since his return from Germany Nelson and his 'handlers' stand accused of many serious crimes. These include:

1. Drawing up lists of people for assassination.
2. Arranging a huge arms shipment from South Africa with the specific intention of creating maximum terror within the nationalist population and eliminating its elected (or non-elected) Republican representatives.
3. The shooting dead of the defence lawyer Pat Finucane and for the targeting of another solicitor, Paddy McGrory, who had dared to face the SAS at the Gibraltar inquest. Members of the media were subjected to threats also.
4. Planning the bombing of the huge Whitegate Oil refinery in Cork Harbour.



●British agent Brian Nelson

5. Handing over official British army/RUC files to loyalist death squads, in the full knowledge that the majority were non-combatants, ie nationalist civilians.

6. Impeding the Stevens Inquiry by delaying for several months the handover of 1,000 Crown Forces photo montages which Nelson had in his possession as the UDA's Director of Intelligence. The Inquiry was headed by John Stevens, a senior British police officer, who followed in the footsteps of John Stalker of the Greater Manchester police. Stalker later wrote a book on his Northern experiences.

7. An escalation of the loyalist sectarian murder campaign which included attacks at the funeral of the three Gibraltar victims of an SAS 'shoot-to-kill' operation; the Ormeau and Oldpark bookmaker's shop attacks and many other incidents, which have been catalogued by other researchers.

8. That an official conspiracy existed cannot be denied. At Nelson's trial a "character witness", a Military Intelligence colonel referred to as "J", stated that he was the commander between 1986 and 1989 directly responsible for Nelson. "J" provided monthly briefings to the

British army GOC in the Six Counties and other senior officers. There were implications that the Secretary of State might also have obtained such 'briefings'.

9. This conspiracy reveals clearly the extent to which Britain rearmed the loyalist death squads and to what covert lengths the 'Top Brass' would go in order to advance the political objectives of their paymasters in government. To date these official war-crimes have not been fully exposed, mainly due to successful attempts by the British Intelligence Services to undermine the Stalker and Stevens' Inquiries.

CONCLUSIONS

This correspondent is convinced that the Nelson case is but the tip of the iceberg of British covert operations in both parts of Ireland. One should never forget that these operations claimed the lives of hundreds of Irish citizens. 33 civilians lost their lives in the Monaghan-Dublin bombings of 1974 and many more were injured.

Currently research on these loyalist/British inspired massacres is being prepared for SAOIRSE in a bid to unravel the full story for its regular readers. It must be stressed over and over again that there is no evidence to suggest that such official control is still not being exercised over the loyalist death squads or that their recent ceasefire announcement has not been directly influenced by the British government. Undoubtedly a deadly, manipulative and controlling influence was present throughout most of the 'Troubles'.

●Recommended reading: *Stalker* by John Stalker and the works of the Belfast journalist Martin Dillon — *Political Murder in Northern Ireland, The Shankill Butchers, The Dirty War, Stone Cold*: (Hutchinson, Random Century Ltd. 20 Vauxhall Bridge Road, London SW1V 2SA).

Kevin Barry remembered

ON Sunday, November 27 in Rathville, Carlow, Republicans paid their respects to Kevin Barry on this his 74th Anniversary. Celia Conway, Kildare led the parade to the monument in the village and a wreath was laid by Con Horgan, Kerry on behalf of Republican Sinn Féin Kildare/Carlow.

Cathaoirleach Des Dalton, Kildare, introduced the speaker Jimmy Kavanagh, Wexford who reminded all present that "When Kevin Barry took his place on the scaffold in Mountjoy on the morning of November 1, 1920 he did so with a dignity and a nobility that belied his years and also with a belief that the goal with which he and his comrades and generations of

Irishmen and women before had struggled and died for was now very close to being fulfilled. This belief together with his own innate courage allowed him to face the hangman unflinchingly.

"How would Kevin Barry have felt had he been able to foresee the treachery that was to come. A treachery that has been repeated down through the years and has now raised its



●Kevin Barry ugly head in yet another generation" said Jimmy. "For those engaged in

the present sell-out there can be no excuses. There is nothing with which the Brits can threaten the nationalist people that they have not already tried over the past 25 years. Internment, the torture centres, the H-Blocks, constant brutality and intimidation by its overt military occupation forces and the murder campaign of its covert death squads. What is left for them to hold over the people's heads?" he asked.

WAFFLING

"All the waffling of Gerry Adams and the blustering of Martin McGuinness can be reduced to a warped reasoning. Both the Downing Street Declaration and the Hume/Adams document, by

underwriting the loyalist veto, effectively exclude any aspiration to Irish unity" said Jimmy.

He concluded that if we are to carry out the responsibility that Kevin Barry passed on to us then we have to concentrate on our strengths, and may we find we are better prepared than we thought. "Now more than ever we have to look to the example of Kevin Barry for inspiration:

If others have forgotten we have not

And while we hold the memory of your deed

Your day returning shall not bring us shame

Until in freedom we may speak your name.

The proceedings closed with the playing of Amhrán na bhFiann.

Corpo rent hikes opposed in Dublin

A successful picket was held at Dublin City Hall on November 28 by the newly formed Ballymun Rent Action Group (BRAG) to highlight the recent hefty rent increases on Dublin Corporation tenants, imposed supposedly against the wishes of City Councillors, by City Manager, Frank Feeley.

Previously a meeting was called by BRAG on November 23 where all the local councillors were invited

to attend to state their position as regards the increases and to clear up rumours that some

councillors had in fact voted for the increases! Only one bothered to show up for this meeting! So much for their accountability to the people that voted them in.

A typical example of rent increases is as follows: in 1992 a one-bedroom flat for a lone parent and one child cost £5.40 per week. Two years later the standing

charge has almost doubled to £10.30 per week.

The new maximum rent for a one-bedroom flat is £53 per week, for a two-bedroom, £60 per week and £68 for a three-bedroom flat.

People are being advised to write expressing their protest to their local councillors at City Hall,

Dame Street, Dublin 2, to local and national newspapers and radio stations in order to publicly highlight these increases which are only the 'tip of the iceberg'.

BRAG plans a picket of Dublin City Council on Monday, December 5 from 6.15-7pm. All are welcome

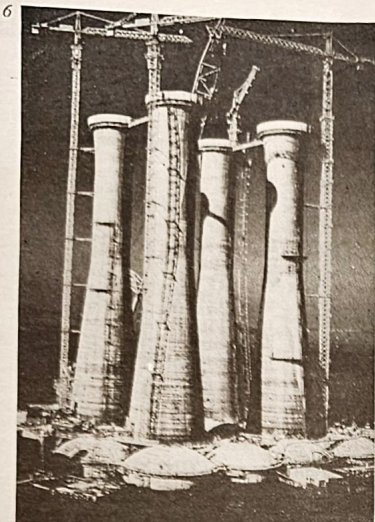
Óglach na Rosann

BEIDH saothar nuascríofa dar teideal *Óglach na Rosann* á sheoladh i dtéach tábhairne an Thatch, Ailt an Chorráin, Tír Chonaill ar an 9ú Nollaig (7.30pm). Pádraig Ó Baoghail, Rann na Feirste, a chum agus is iad Coiscéim, Baile Átha Cliath, na fóilsitheoirí.

Beathaisnéis ar Niall Plúincéad Ó Baoghail atá ann, saighdiúir d'Óglach na hÉireann a chaith lucht an tSaorstáit i gCill Mhantairín i rith an Chogadh Chathartha, mi Bealtaine 1923.

Scolfar an mór-shaothar seo (400 leathanach, le 60 griangraifeanna) timpeall is míle ó theach Niall Plúincéad. Fuair Pádraig an-chúnamh uaidh Bridget Flynn, deirfiúr Niall, atá fós ina beatha i Meiriceá, agus é ag scríobh an leabhair seo.

A monumental biography of the IRA Flying Column leader from the Rosses, killed in Knocknadrace in 1923, the inclusion of many ballads, statements and quotes in English will broaden the appeal of *Óglach na Rosann* to those who are not fluent in Irish.



•Norwegians building Strاتفорт B, the world's largest oil platform — oil accounts for 19% of the country's wealth.

Democrats cheer as Norway says 'No' to EU

FOR the second time in 22 years the Norwegian people have in referendum rejected EU membership. This time the majority saying No was slightly down — 5.6% to 6.8% in 1972.

For Norwegians "Union" is a bad word. It reminds them that they were ruled first by the Danes for 400 years and then by the Swedes for another 100 until as recently as 1905.

In this small country of Ireland too, "Union" is a bad word, denoting as it does British rule here for many centuries.

In 1972 the Norwegians were told of the dire consequences which would follow rejection of EEC membership — yet reject it they did. These consequences never materialised, of course.

They are a fiercely independent people who have built up their country most successfully since

German occupation in WWII — unlike the allegedly neutral 26-County State. Where else in the world just now would a people be found to defy their politicians?

Switzerland is perhaps the only other people who in a referendum in recent years rejected even the European Economic Area, a free trade area embracing the EU and what is left of EFTA.

DOING WELL

The Norwegians are doing very well outside the EU. They have oil, natural gas, hydro-electric power and their own agriculture and fishing industry.

They are concerned over control of their fish stocks. This they do themselves but,

as we Irish know only too well, they cannot depend on the EU to enforce such control. Conservation is the big issue here.

North Sea oil and gas reserved and plentiful stocks of cod and herring are guarded jealously by the Norwegians. Since they already have a free trade agreement — the EEA already referred to — with the EU they are convinced that sacrificing sovereignty for what they see as an "undemocratic union" is not worth the alleged net economic benefits promised by the 'Yes' lobby.

SUBSIDIES

With agricultural subsidies much higher than in the EU and a growing season 40% shorter than in many EU countries, they see little hope of competing with efficient EU agri-business.

Further this second of oil has social services much higher than EU standards. It was notably the referendum that young men and women — as in the various Maastricht referenda more inclined to vote 'No' while men particularly those in business, were by a majority favouring 'Yes'.

Jacques Delors, President of the EU Commission declared "disappointed" at his decision of a country of 4.5 million people. He retires on January 1 and hopes to become President of France. He continues to advocate the United States of Europe in which Ireland would just be a mere province.

DENMARK

Denmark's powerful anti-EU lobby (remember Maastricht) took heart from saying it would strengthen Danish resistance to further political integration within the EU.

Albert Reynolds and the Labour Party agree with Jacques Delors on Norway but the National Platform for Employment, Democracy and Neutrality (remember them during the anti-Maastricht campaign) congratulated the Norwegian people on the result.

It was also a victory for Ireland's anti-EU activists, they said. "Your victory will encourage the growing anti-Euro-federalist forces throughout Europe, strengthening the movement for real internationalism. We are confident that forthcoming events will confirm the wisdom of the Norwegian people in voting 'No'."

Republicans agree and point to the ideal of a Europe of free peoples as the alternative. The Maastricht II referendum on neutrality is the next round in this struggle. Are we preparing?

EU army: Free State objections

THE fact that some people are waking up to the manipulations of the second stage of the Maastricht Treaty in 1996 was illustrated pointedly at the annual conference in Ballyconnell, Co Cavan on November 15 of RACO, the association of officers in the army of the 26-County State.

One officer warned that a future "European" army could be used to further EU economic interests which would worsen conditions in the Third World.

Comdt Dermot Donnelly of the Air Corps said he feared the state would be contributing to a "European army to militarily defend this rip-off of the Third World".

He also urged, according to the *Irish Press* of November 16, that "Defence Force officers be allowed to be the conscientious objectors in this event."

He mentioned the Gulf War as an example of "what can happen when more powerful countries such as America hijack an organisation like the UN. The same can very easily happen

in a German-led Europe, and there will be nothing that Ireland or the Irish people will be able to do about it."

He continued: "Had we been in a European Army we would share the responsibilities for obscenities such as children in Iraq having operations without anaesthetics and dying for want of cheap and readily available drugs. A Harvard research group estimated that up to 700,000 Iraqis were killed in that war."

"We will lose a lot of moral authority internationally if we align ourselves with these bullies. Having been on the receiving

end for so long we shouldn't forget this.

"In spite of being hijacked by the US at present, the UN was acceptable because it was a force for moral good in the world."

Comdt Joe Dowling of the Western Command is quoted by the *Irish Times* of November 16 as saying: "In Title V of the Maastricht Treaty document a common foreign and security policy is established by which the member-states are bound to support the EU's external and security policy effectively and unreservedly."

He went on to quote

paragraph 2.2 which states that EU requests to the Western European Union to implement EU decisions which have defence implications have the stated objective of building up the WEU as the defence component of the European Union.

He concluded by saying the officially commissioned Price Waterhouse report did not mention the Six Counties. "Britain has withdrawn from her colonies. Why should Northern Ireland (sic) be any different? How long can Britain subvert the Northern Ireland economy to the tune of £4 billion annually?"

A new model of wealth creation

Alternative to the G7 Summit:

THE seven richest economic powers in the world meet from time to time to compare notes and decide on how they can become richer. They represent a minority of the population of the world, but they wield enormous power over all of us.

The G7 consists of the US, France, Germany, Japan, Italy, Canada and the UK. President Yeltsin of Russia attended sections of their recent summit in Naples last July.

An alternative group, known as TOES, (The Other Economic Summit) has been shadowing the G7 every year since 1984. The TOES organisers are concerned about world poverty and the environment. They have an outlook on economic and social development, based on

human values, which is similar in many respects to the *Sinn Féin* Poblachtach SAOL NUA programme, and calls into question many EU policies.

We reproduce here the communiqué they issued in Naples on July 10, 1994:

AN INSULT

The Naples Summit has been an insult to the majority of the world's people. It is time either to end these summits or to recast them in a more democratic, global basis. The G7 has no

legitimacy to speak for more than a small minority of the world's peoples. But its failure to tackle the major global challenges — unemployment, poverty, environmental collapse and armed conflict — affects the lives of all.

The globalised economy excludes an ever increasing majority of the world's people who are marginal to the global supermarket either as producers or consumers. The recommendation of the Naples G7 Summit will worsen this. The watchwords of "flexible labour markets", "deregulation", "liberalisation" and "development" have become part of a fundamentalist rhetoric.

This G7 Summit has celebrated the completion of

the GATT Round. This will legitimise social and ecological dumping, at the expense of the livelihoods of the rural majority in poor countries. The GATT is already accelerating the loss of global biodiversity. Putting an outdated dogma of free trade first threatens the future of everyone. History will judge the G7 harshly for abandoning the promises made at Rio.

USURING DEMOCRACY

National political sovereignty has been abdicated to the mastery and ideology of the global market.

TOES holds that either democratic political decision-making be established at the global level or economic power be made accountable at the local and national level.

TOES believes that:

1. We need a new model of wealth creation.

TOES has heard evidence from many international experts and popular movements that there are alternatives to increasing unemployment in the North, 'shock therapy' in Eastern Europe and poverty in the South.

Vibrant, co-operative communities and a healthy environment can underpin new processes of wealth creation. Fiscal reform and investment in renewable energies, energy conservation, recycling, waste reduction and public transport are just some of the new approaches to work that will create many more jobs than ineffectual G7 recipes.

In destroying the social fabric and natural environment through the market 'ethic' of individual self-interest and the market 'efficiency' of externalising social and environmental costs, the neo-liberal model of the G7 is literally devouring itself. It is undermining the very basis on which markets can operate and wealth be sustained.

2. We need a new approach to international economic democracy.


The G7 must be recast as a truly global and accountable

economic summit under the auspices of the United Nations, a first step towards refounding the institutions of global economic governance on a social and ecological basis. The initial post-1945 vision of fair trade could be revived in new ways. Taxation should be shifted from useful work and enterprise onto currency speculation, resource depletion and other activities that detract from the common good.


3. We need new measures of progress.

The G7 congratulate themselves that the world is on a path of economic recovery. But TOES does not share their blind faith in the simple growth of crude economic output. Economic progress should be measured by improvements in the quality of life and the sustainability of such improvements over time. Such new indicators of social welfare and environmental sustainability have been presented at TOES.

Behind each of these proposals there is a wealth of international practical experience, demonstrating the viability and realism of such new economic approaches. While the transition to a sustainable and socially just world economy is a considerable challenge, the G7 alternative is simply impossible.



CHRISTMAS MORNING



REMEMBER THE PRISONERS AND THEIR DEPENDANTS

SPONSORED SWIM

Inchicore

Dublin

opposite Blackhorse Inn — 12 noon sharp

Swim sponsorship cards are available from
41 Arran Quay, Dublin 7

December is Prisoners Month
Collection for the Prisoners and return cash to:
CABHAIR, 41 Arran Quay, Dublin 7

90ú Ard-Fheis 1994 – For a Four-Province Federal Ireland

Ard-Fheis demand for self-determination as a unit for Ireland

MORE than 200 delegates at the 90th Ard-Fheis of Republican Sinn Féin in Lucan, Co Dublin on November 12-13 endorsed a campaign to agitate and organise a 32-County collection of signatures demanding the right of the Irish people to decide the destiny of this island, with the British publicly committed to leave Ireland.

The successful motion began by "accepting the existence of the historic Irish nation whose homeland is the island of Ireland; believing in the words of James Connolly that the British government has no right in Ireland, never had any right in Ireland and never can have any right in Ireland; and convinced that the Easter Rising of 1916 which proclaimed in arms the Irish Republic was justified".

A motion from Galway and Kildare Comhairle Ceantair spelled out the Republican Sinn Féin

position: "no settlement based on the British presence in Ireland and a separate vote in Six and 26 Counties is binding on the people of Ireland and this Ard-Fheis rejects any such outcome".

Equally, the unionist veto was rejected by the delegates who supported a motion stating that no preconditions could be attached to British withdrawal from Ireland.

The delegates agreed to send "solidarity greetings to groupings who are continuing to demand a British withdrawal" and that the right of the Irish people to engage in

active struggle in a "controlled and disciplined manner" for the freedom of their country remains intact.

OUTCOME

The Ard-Fheis recognised that "the present situation is the logical outcome of the decision taken in 1986 to accept the 26-County neo-colonial state". A motion proposed

POLITICAL POLICY / POLISAÍ POLAITIÚIL

by cumainn in south Armagh, Cork and Dublin rejected the "still unseen Hume/Adams betrayal document", the Downing Street Declaration and the framework document as copper-fastening partition. It was passed. Delegates rejected a motion

calling for the dropping of the prefix "Republican" from the organisation's name. Des Long, Vice-President said that Republican Sinn Féin had a historical lineage as far back as the 1917 Ard-Fheis when a Republican constitution was adopted, "I do believe, in time, that there will only be one Sinn Féin. But, now, at this time, Republican Sinn Féin is an honoured name and we should be proud to hold it," he said.

Political extradition was opposed as a denial of one of the most basic human rights and would be an issue while there is a British presence in Ireland, it is also being ignored in the present discussions, delegates pointed out.

Attempts to intimidate Republican Sinn Féin by the forces of the British and Dublin administrations and the Provisionals were condemned by the Ard-Fheis. Republicans would have to stand up to these attacks, delegates said. Confidence was expressed in the

leadership in a successful motion proposed by south Armagh and Kerry Comhairle Ceantair.

The Ard-Fheis called for the dismantling of the present policing and judicial systems on the island of Ireland. A period of repentance and recompense by Britain following their withdrawal from Ireland was necessary and only then could normal relations between Ireland and England resume.

The Ard-Fheis agreed to ask the incoming Ard Chomhairle to review the organisation's foreign policy in the coming year "in view of the rapidly changing international situation," and bring proposals to the 1995 Ard Fheis.

The delegates passed an amended motion condemning the perpetrators of the Dublin and Monaghan bombings of 1974 and extended solidarity to the families who are still struggling for justice. The motion also condemned the collaboration of the Free State Forces in this atrocity.

Support for the GAA's ban on membership by British Crown Forces personnel was agreed by the Ard-Fheis. These forces have no role to play in the life of our country, delegates agreed.

An economy based on indigenous industry with community involvement

THE Ard-Fheis debate on Social and Economic policy concentrated largely on unemployment, low wages and working hours and the "privatisation by stealth" policy of the 26-County administration. The fight against drugs and local charges and the development of the west of Ireland also featured in the debate.

Delegates supported a Wexford motion calling for curbs on multinational companies setting up in Ireland, so that they would be required to reinvest at least 50% of profits back into the country. Multinationals would also be obliged to contract workers for a guaranteed minimum periods of employment of five years.

Much more radical steps than the *Developing the West Report* were needed to combat the "impending disintegration of local

communities" in Connacht, the Ard-Fheis agreed. Nothing short of provincial government with every power except foreign affairs, national defence and overall financing — as advocated in the ÉIRE NUA Federal plan for a four-province Ireland — could reverse western decline. Decision-making must also be devolved within the province to the lowest possible level.

A strong attack was made on the Leinster House administration



•The Republican Sinn Féin Ard-Fheis on November 13 last during the Presidential Address by Ruairi Ó Brádaigh.

SOCIAL & ECONOMIC / SÓISIALTA agus EACNAMAÍOCHTA

LOW WAGES
Low wages in the PAYE sector and inadequate social welfare levels were continually eroded by rises in living expenses while FAS and ACE schemes were no answer to unemployment. Instead a "radical redirection of the economy based on indigenous industry and community involvement" and a restructured education system were needed to provide sustainable employment.

By contrast, "bosses voting themselves over £2,000 per week" in salaries was pointed out by a Clare delegate, as well as the huge increases for Leinster House politicians and the waste of money

on the Beef Tribunal. Seven motions in total from Dublin cumainn highlights the "drugs menace". They were composed by the workshops and passed, calling for an "emergency programme" and describing the current methadone programme as an inadequate response.

The delegates recognised that the present economic system perpetuates escape by means of drug abuse, and current Leinster House priorities listed harassing Republicans much higher than combating the drugs problem or tackling 'white collar' crime.

Members should fully participate with community groups on issues such as drugs and local charges.

A motion from Wexford calling for a 32-hour working week without pay cuts to tackle unemployment was lost as delegates stated the general application of the policy would impact severely on small businesses.

SITES
The Ard-Fheis condemned attacks on Travellers in Bantry and other areas and called for sufficient serviced sites for them in all counties. A Leitrim motion criticising the Dublin department of agriculture for "superimposing conditions and penalties" which are forcing many farmers off the land was passed. The EU has classified 78% of farmers as "transitional" (or obsolete), the Leitrim delegate stated.



•Eamon Larkin, Bearna Uladh delegate.

SAOIRSE-PUBLICITY / POIBLIÓCHT

In the section on SAOIRSE and Publicity on Sunday, November 13, debate centred around two motions from Dublin cumainn which congratulated the staff of the paper and called for sales to be increased by the efforts of all members as a matter of urgency. Reports of paper sales by each cumainn should be made available to the Comhairle Ceantair. Both motions were passed.

A motion from the Liam Mellows Cumann, Dublin Central called for the Republican Sinn Féin "message to be delivered to the people by whatever means are available" and stressed the medium of local radio. ÉIRE NUA, SAOL NUA and *Towards a Peaceful Ireland* policy documents must be promoted as "we are the only people with a plan for the future", stated a motion supported by Dublin, Omagh and the Ard Chomhairle.

These were passed as a Belfast motion condemning the selective censorship by newspapers such as the *Irish News* and *Andersonstown News* and urging a letter-writing campaign to the editors.

1995 CALENDARS OUT NOW
One profile each month of Ireland's 12 hunger-strike martyrs 1974-1981. Price £2 plus p+p from IFP, 41 Arran Quay, Dublin 7.

They gave their lives for Ireland's Freedom

CALENDAR 1995

90ú Ard-Fheis 1994 — Presidential Address by Ruairí Ó Brádaigh

PEACE WITH JUSTICE

We print below edited highlights of the Presidential Address by Ruairí Ó Brádaigh to the 90th Ard-Fheis on November 13 last. The complete speech, *Peace with Justice*, has now been published by Irish Freedom Press as an attractive A5 booklet, price £1 (see panel below).

A Chathaoirleach, a theachtai, is a chairde ar fad, Cuirim céad míle fáilte romhaibh ag an Ard-Fheis seo, an deichiú ceann agus ceithre fichid de chuid Shinn Féin. You are all very welcome at this, the 90th Ard-Fheis of Sinn Féin. The past year has been an eventful one and indeed a very active one for our organisation. The public perception that we are now the only real Republicans on the political scene has increased greatly as the national situation became increasingly clarified for thinking people in the course of the year.

Many observers would date the current "process" from the secret Hume-Adams agreement of 14 months ago but Republican Sinn Féin members would see its origins in the disastrous decision at our Ard-Fheis in 1986 to accept and work the neo-colonial, partitionist 26-County State, thus rejecting the All-Ireland Republic of 1916 and the First Dáil. We were forthright in

our rejection of that move and time has shown just how right we were.

From this time last year pressure was increased on our members by the 26-County police. Whether it was in the form of street harassment, raids on our homes or the arrest of Ard-Chomhairle members, the content was highly political. Why did we not accept the unknown Hume-Adams

document, we were pressed; and the veiled threat of further action if we did not comply was always there.

Our response was to bring out a bilingual leaflet which was launched at a press conference in Belfast at the first week of December. This spelled out clearly our alternative to the sell-out then under way: a United Ireland was an inadequate objective, it said; we were working to establish a peaceful, democratic Ireland of self-governing communities which would replace both the Six and 26-County states.

• Joint Declaration and separate referenda

As our national officers gathered for a press conference to launch the leaflet in Dublin on December 15, the news of the publication of the London-Dublin Joint-Declaration at Downing St. came through. This was immediately scrutinised in every detail for some hours. It did not require seven months - as in some quarters - to do so. It was rejected because it endorsed the Unionist Veto - not once but five times. Although nationalist in rhetoric it was wholly unionist in content.

Two days later Mr. Reynolds said that in any country partitioned for more than 50 years there should be separate referenda. In April, British Secretary Patrick Mayhew said in New York that the Six-County referendum would be the decisive one, while in May, Mr. Spring said in Paris that it would "not be an All-Ireland referendum since the island was divided".

But was it not carefully divided on a sectarian head-count by the British Government in 1920 to deny Irish national democracy as expressed in 1918 and produce the very result we all know to be a foregone conclusion? Then in September, in the aftermath of the Provisionals' ceasefire Mr. Major was back in Belfast to announce that not just British rule itself but also any new arrangements arrived at in order to update it would be decided by the loaded Six-County referendum.

Republicans are already campaigning for a single All-Ireland referendum to decide the shape of the New Ireland, with the British publicly committed to disengage for all time. We reject partitioned referenda with the British Government remaining in Ireland and we shall not abide by the outcome of such bogus plebiscites. The cards were marked, the dice were loaded against Irish national democracy in 1920 and we will not play that game.

The rules of play were set by the English government which has

no right in Ireland, never had and never can have. The results will not be binding on the people of Ireland and Irish Republicans will not surrender their historic mission. We stand by the 1916 Proclamation and the Declaration of Independence of the First (All-Ireland) Dáil Éireann.

• Democratic or constitutional

There is the world of difference between democratic politics and so-called constitutional politics. The First All-Ireland Dáil was democratically elected but it was not constitutional in that the prevailing "constitution" at the time was British rule from Dublin Castle. Constitutional politics takes place within existing structures and Republican Sinn Féin has not operated within the framework of the Six-County and 26-County states since they were imposed on this country under the British Government of Ireland Act.

We are democratic in that we have contested elections down the years except when we were driven from public life by restrictions on the nominations of candidates in the Free State in 1927 and north of the Border from the outset in 1922, again in 1933 and most recently in 1988. However, we advocate democracy extending much farther — down to local community level and into places of work — but always on the essential 32-County basis with no place for the British Government in Ireland. An example of the latter is the current collection of signatures for a single All-Ireland Referendum referred to above.

As was stated last January, Republican Sinn Féin advocates self-determination for each of the four provinces, including a nine-county Ulster, and for local communities also, but the self-determination of the whole Irish people ACTING AS A UNIT must take precedence. The British have no role here; they must simply leave in a planned, phased and orderly manner.

Meanwhile, the Provisionals have burdened themselves with the impossible task of forcing the confessional and collaborationist 26-County state on unionists and nationalists alike. The inducements offered to them to accept the Joint-Declaration were spelled out early on: a place at a conference table with a British agenda, the removal of Section 31 censorship and the British broadcasting ban, plus visas to visit the US and withdrawal of bans on travel to Britain.

Yet the list of opposition to the Declaration grew by the month with Bernadette McAliskey and Fr. Des. Wilson being the most notable. Republican Sinn Féin was clearly at the head of such opposition and the most active in the campaigning.

Posters setting out graphically our ÉIRE NUA alternative were displayed in many parts of the country from Easter onwards and public meetings, debates and discussions were engaged in. The public have turned up in large numbers and have shown great interest in what we have had to say. It is up to us to respond adequately in all areas to this new interest. The opportunity and the challenge are there.

• Toighchán an Údarás

All active workers in the town council elections are to be congratulated on their activity and in particular Joe O'Neill is to be complimented on winning the third seat out of nine on Bundoran Urban Council. Rinne ár n-oiriúnaire san toighchán don Údarás cácht i nGaillimh, i Maigh Eo agus i

gContae na Mí. Le 660 vótat den chéad ghrád bhí ár n-oiriúnaire chun d'fhan sé chun tosaigh air go deireadh. Beidh 'chúile sheans againn ar shuíochán an chéad uair eile ach cur chuige anois.

Tá gné amháin den scéal seo gur mithid bhur n-aire a dhiroú uirthi, Sin sean-cheist an araid. Cúimhnigh gurab ionann toghlach parlaiminte a throid agus tabhairt fé shuíochán ar Údarás na Gaeltachta. Bunaíodh ciste coimhlinte agus rinneadh éileamh láithreach ar lucht tacaíochta Fheis na Poblachta, atá liosta le linn.

Is breá liom a rá go rabhadar dílis agus fíathúil nuair a cuireadh ar na súile dóibh go raibh gnó na Gluaiseachta dá dhéanamh trí Ghaeilge ar fud Ghaeltacht an Iarthair agus na Mí. Chuireadar idir míle agus míle cúig chéad punt ar fáil, glanadh na fiacha ar fad agus tá beagán sa mbreis ann don chéad uair eile. "Bairille folamh is mó torann" a deirtear, ach níorbh aon bhairille folamh iad lucht Fheis na Poblachta nuair a tugadh a ndíshlán an samhraidh seo. Go géilliú Dia bhur bhairillíocht agab, a Ghaela!

• US visa denial

During May also our Vice-President Des Long accompanied by Tommy Mc Kearney of Tyrone made an American tour of some weeks. They set out the Republican alternative to the Joint-Declaration with definite success. But in June, the President of this organisation was once more refused a US Visa. He had been invited to address the Irish Race Convention in New York and address a motion "that Britain set a date to withdraw from our ancient homeland".

He was also scheduled to make a submission to Congressional hearings in Washington. His treatment by the US State Department at the behest of England is in stark contrast to that received by Mr. Paisley and other leading Loyalists, not to mention the officially arranged publicity blitz for some leading Provisionals who up to one short year ago were also refused entry to the US. What then has changed, it is relevant to ask? Not Republican Sinn Féin, or its leadership.

Note well that our supporters in North America continue to be those who have over the past 25 years sought to relieve the distress of Republican Prisoners and their families - firemen, policemen and so forth - ordinary people who give of their meagre earnings. These were the backbone of support for the Femians and the Land League, the Irish Volunteers, 1916 and right through to the 20th century.

Following the Provisionals' ceasefire in September, our other Vice-President Mary Ward spent three weeks touring New York, New Jersey, Boston, Chicago and Washington. In a most successful visit she gained publicity on the theme "Peace in Ireland - An Alternative View". On a lobbying mission at the Capitol in Washington she was accompanied by aides from New Jersey and Washington itself.

• Washington will not push the British out

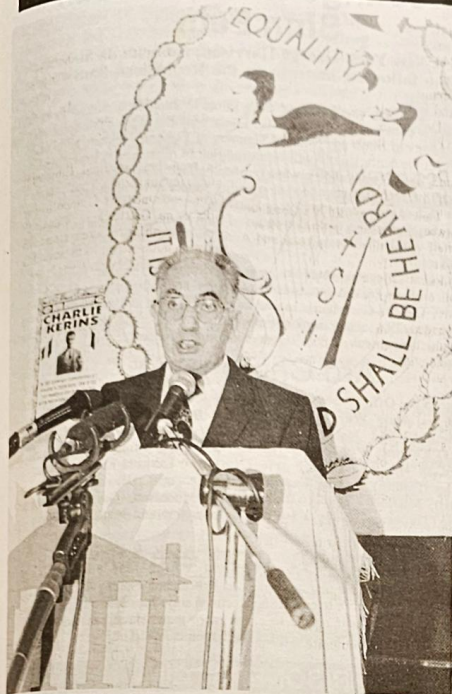
High-ranking official Mike Van Dusen, chief of staff of the House of Representatives Foreign Affairs Committee told her of the extent and limits to the Administration's interest in Ireland. "We wish to see peace in Ireland and are prepared to make some investment there to further the cause of peace, but we are not going to endanger the special relationship between England and America on account of the Irish

PEACE
WITH
JUSTICE
in an Ireland of
self-governing Communities
FREE FROM ENGLISH RULE

Presidential address of Ruairí Ó Brádaigh to the 90th Ard-Fheis of Republican SINN FÉIN Poblachtach 13 November, 1994

• Ruairí Ó Brádaigh's speech has been published in booklet form by IFP. Price £1 plus p+p from 41 Arran Quay, Dublin 7.

90u Ard-Fheis 1994 — Presidential Address by Ruairí Ó Brádaigh



• Republican Sinn Féin President Ruairí Ó Brádaigh - "What lasting peace has ever been made by the oppressed making concessions to the oppressor?"

question". So much for the illusion that Washington is going to push the British Government out of Ireland. Nothing could be clearer.

Indeed, Norman Lamont, British Tory Chancellor of the Exchequer up to a year ago, in an article in the Sunday Business Post of September 18 said that in a long-drawn out conflict situation, it is only when one side realises that it is not going to achieve its objective that meaningful negotiations are possible. The negotiations are then about putting the new arrangements in place, he said.

Unless that realisation is achieved first, the talks will break down, he continued. This is exactly what happened in 1972 and 1975 in the case of the Republican Movement-British Government talks. Lamont went on to say that de Klerk was the one who realised in 1989 that apartheid was not going to win and then everything else fell into place gradually.

• **British have no intention of leaving Ireland**

In the Middle East, he said it was Yasser Arafat who conceded. Hence his difficulties in being forced to police his own people who wish to continue the struggle, he would say. Applying that analysis of Lamont to the Irish situation, Republican Sinn Féin would also say that the British Government has no intention of leaving Ireland. The conclusions to be drawn then are obvious. But we should beware of an Irish analogy with the Arafat position - or indeed the Free State action here in 1922.

In all of this we would point to Charlie Haughey's getting in touch with the Provisionals in early 1987 - soon after their acceptance of the 26-County state in 1986. Then we are reminded of John Hume's words to our late Vice-President Daithí Ó Conaill in June, 1972:

"I think that it is time you (meaning the Republican Movement) cashed your cheque and

took what is on offer. You know, the SDLP and the best of the Republican Movement together would make an irresistible force in Irish politics". O Conaill said "No", of course. What has Hume been saying to Adams in 1993-94? And did Adams say "No"?

• **False peace with no British withdrawal**

Here may we say that the smear tactic has been early in use. We are not "against peace". What we are saying is that it is a false peace, a will-o-the-wisp and that it will not work because it does not provide for British disengagement from Ireland. That is our analysis based on Irish history and our political commentary is based on that analysis. We have the right to make that commentary and will continue to do so. What lasting peace has ever been made by the oppressed making concessions to the oppressor?

In paragraph 5 of the secret Hume-Adams agreement - the only part of it known to the public - the Unionist Veto is accepted. That document was swallowed by the Provisional political and military organisations. How then could they reject outright the Joint-Declaration which endorses that Veto five times? The "fatal mistake" (top British civil servant John Chilcott's words) was in Hume-Adams; they were trapped.

Of course Mr. Reynolds got his political percentage too out of the sufferings of the people north of the Border. Having threatened internment without trial on both sides of the Border, he then gave the Provisionals a deadline of September 1st. A ceasefire announcement on August 31, the day scheduled for the Beef Tribunal Report debate in Leinster House, upstaged and covered over that embarrassing exercise while it also clouded out the massive salary increases the Leinster House politicians paid themselves and their cohorts at that time.

• **Economic democracy and self-reliance**

The Developing the West Together campaign has had the active support of Republican Sinn Féin members. But we do not think that its report last February goes far enough at all. A Council for the West and a Minister for the West as called for are mere palliatives. More realistic is the demand for massive investment in Connacht but more is needed in the form of full self-government for the province with every power except foreign affairs, national defence and over-all financing.

EC membership has accelerated the damage done but radical action is needed before similar damage spreads to the entire country at the same deadly rate. Meetings held over a two-year period have demonstrated a popular will to confront the situation.

This shows that maximum devolution of power within the province would be eagerly grasped and worked. The Structural Funds and Cohesion Funds that so much is being made of will not be available after 1999 and they may in the event turn out to be a poisoned chalice. It comes down in the end to the old gospel of Sinn Féin - self-reliance. The goodwill and support have been proved to be there. What is lacking is the leadership.

All over the country a many sided approach is needed to counter the system of colonial capitalism which still operates in all of Ireland. Small indigenous enterprises, worker or producer-owned co-operatives and the achievement of economic democracy and self-reliance are as relevant to the people of South Armagh, the Falls and the Shankill as to the West of Ireland.

• **1996 Neutrality referendum**

Immediately the question of neutrality arises, for Maastricht No 2 will be the subject of a referendum in 1996. Dick Spring and the Labour Party have sold out already here. Spring "sees no obstacle" to the final abandonment of neutrality. A former President of Conradh na Gaeilge in a letter to the *Irish Times* on May 20 said: "The propaganda campaign against Irish military neutrality is beginning to gather pace, will it become a flood next year and in 1996?"

"We are not 'against peace'. What we are saying is that it is a false peace, a will-o-the-wisp and that it will not work because it does not provide for British disengagement from Ireland."

• **British-backed death squads conditional ceasefire**

A later statement from the death-squads said their purpose was to "remove all threats to the Union", which could be interpreted as not stopping short of outright genocide. Six weeks after the unconditional and unilateral Provisionals' ceasefire came the Loyalists' announcement. Their ceasefire was to be "conditional". For the moment they had been assured by the British Government via Jim Molyneux that "the Union was safe". But they would resume their mass-killing if necessary.

A combination of British military force and their unofficial Loyalist death-squads - pseudo-

gangs on the Kitson model - had triumphed for the moment over the nationalist people. This was what happened in 1922 when 50,000 Specials, A, B, and C class, with 13 battalions of the British Army and thousands of RUC placed the new Six-County colonial statelet on a military basis.

The media made much of the Loyalist expression of regret for past deeds but when taken with their expressed willingness to do the same all over again if they saw fit, it appears to honest minds like very imperfect contrition indeed. By January 1 last they had since 1966 deliberately and as a matter of policy singled out and killed almost 1000 civilians, more than twice the British forces total of killings.

• **British diplomacy will fail as British armed repression failed**

To resist such a policy of extermination over 800 years was the heroic achievement of the weaker party to the conflict - the people of Ireland. British diplomacy now will not accomplish what British armed repression has failed to do down the centuries. They cannot wash their hands now of the deadly consequences of what the British Government very deliberately created in 1920 and enforced by armed might.

To speak of "equality" before British law in the Six Occupied Counties is obscene. Let us take one statistic only: to-day a Unionist is twice (2.2 times) more likely to have a job than a Nationalist. The British-appointed Fair Employment Commission says that over 20 years this ratio has been reduced from 2.6. Calculated arithmetically, this means that at the current rate it would take 110 years to achieve equality.

The very nature of the Six-County statelet ensures this and Nationalists are not prepared to tolerate it. Mr. Reynolds says Unionists cannot be coerced. They number about 900,000 while the Nationalists are about 700,000. But the British Government now and always has backed the Unionists, so Mr. Reynolds turns a blind eye to the coercion of Nationalists.

• **A place for all in ÉIRE NUA**

Under ÉIRE NUA neither

Dr. John Robb of the New Ireland Group - a man with a vision of the future wrote in the *Irish News* of August 15 last: "A new Ireland cannot be the old Ireland in disguise". He went on to say a new Ireland would imply of necessity the dissolution of the 26-county state as at present constituted. Republican Sinn Féin would agree entirely.

An echo of ÉIRE NUA was found in a recent interview with the novelist Maurice Leitch from Muckamore Co. Antrim (*Irish Times*, September 8) who describes himself as "strongly Protestant". Asked if he saw himself as Irish or as an Ulsterman he replied that he was an Ulsterman. "I believe the only solution to the problem in the North is to have a federal situation inside an Irish context. The British link is gone. Deep down, everyone knows that", he said.

Republican Sinn Féin does not believe in backing the Unionists on to a cliff politically. ÉIRE NUA would give them and all other communities in Ireland - whether it be the Irish-speaking Gaeltacht or Dublin's inner city - their own space, as it were, with control over their own lives in a direct participatory democracy.

This is the policy we would bring to an All-Ireland Constituent Assembly elected by adult suffrage with one person one vote in one 32-County election with the British publicly committed to leave Ireland. (See policy document *Towards a Peaceful Ireland*, 1991). Such a constituent assembly would have the sole responsibility of drafting a new constitution to be put to the people for acceptance in a referendum.

Republican Sinn Féin has a solution and it has pointed the way forward to achieve that solution. What have other political bodies got but "the old Ireland in disguise"? They certainly have no vision of a revolutionary New Ireland which would provide for every community in this island and in which all would feel comfortable.

• **Six-County poll would be another charade**

In July the Provisionals "effectively rejected" the Joint-Declaration, yet they are participants in the Dublin Castle Forum which arises out of that Declaration. Any future talks involving the British Government will be firmly based on that document. Therefore such talks will be on the basis of the Unionist Veto which is endorsed by it five times.

Their publicly announced "interim solution" or stepping-stone must accordingly be Stormont Mark 5 with cross-border boards and other trappings. They can then say the result is not PURELY an internal solution. Such would then be put to referendum in the Six Counties, which "decision would be decisive" as British Secretary Mayhew said in New York last spring.

• **Provisionals' readiness to quell dissent**

Already signs are not wanting of their readiness to quell dissent with their policies by physical means. Republican Sinn Féin endured and succeeded in re-organising itself in 1987 and '88 despite physical invasions to disrupt our private meetings in many parts of the country. There were direct threats to members to cease selling our newspaper SAOIRSE, collecting for CABHAR, the prisoners' *cont on page 10*

90ú Ard-Fheis 1994 — For a Four-Province Federal Ireland

Solidarity with peoples in struggle

Republican Sinn Féin Vice-President Mary Ward proposed a motion in the International Affairs section which urged the Ard-Fheis "to take a stand against Indonesian imperialists in East Timor and condemn UN inaction on this issue." She said:

"East Timor is a tiny country just 400 miles to the north of Australia, a Portuguese colony for more than 400 years, invaded in 1975 by Indonesia, the fifth largest nation in the world, led by a military dictatorship. Indonesia has no historic or legal claim to East Timor. Yet its brutal occupation had met with mostly silence from the world's leading governments and international agencies.

governments who were prepared to go to war against Saddam Hussein, but were not prepared in almost parallel circumstances to stop a

the law. Western politicians and diplomats who speak of pragmatism and realism in relation to the military occupation of East Timor

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS / GNÓTHAÍ IDIRNÁISIUNTA

rapacious invader that had broken every provision in the UN charter and had defied no less than ten UN sanctioning resolutions calling on it

not only encourage a lawless bully but condemn a whole nation to a slow cultural death, they should not have their way and there are hopeful signs.

LANDMARK

"In 1993 the UN human rights commission voted on a landmark resolution condemning the Suharta regime. This was due to the extraordinary efforts of Timorese and their allies who refused to allow the unthinkable to be normalised and whose tenacity is reflected in the eyes of people in East Timor, eyes that reflect a resistance, defiance and courage.

"There is also a wider question. Are international relations at the close of the 20th century to be dominated by euphemism and lies that override justice and make small nations expendable. The fate of the people of East Timor is pivotal to this. For if we allow governments to arm their oppressors and to steal their resources and to do so in our name, how can we claim the universal rights that are denied them," she added.

EMBARGO

The Ard-Fheis called for the lifting of the US economic embargo of 32 years standing on Cuba and expressed solidarity with the people of Cuba in their present plight. The motion was proposed, successfully, on behalf of the Ard Chomhairle by Cathleen Knowles, Dublin.

Fraternal greetings were sent to the people of South Africa, "seeing them as a beacon of hope for freedom-struggling peoples throughout the world", according to a motion from Kildare Comhairle Ceantair.

A resolution from the Brughla/Sabhat Cumann, Limerick, demanded the restoration of democracy in Haiti while "rejecting the interference of imperial/great powers in the domestic affairs of any country". Both motions were passed.

to withdraw from East Timor.

"We should keep our heads down," said a British ambassador to Indonesia, "and let matters take their course." The governments of Great Britain, Australia and the USA and others supplied the means by which the regime in Jakarta had bled East Timor.

Mary Ward quoted East Timor political exile Estevao Cabral:

"The Indonesians are exterminating the Timorese people, terrorising, killing people. If no help comes from the international community to intercede on our behalf we will be destroyed by Indonesia, culturally, morally and physically."

Following the Dili massacre in November 1991 Britain increased aid to Indonesia by 250%, Mary Ward continued.

"Amnesty International has said of the Indonesian regime that if those who violate human rights can do so with impunity they come to believe they are beyond the reach of

the record. Is this acceptable then, is it to be the norm? Do John Hume, Albert Reynolds, Dick Spring and the other members of the new coalition, Senator Kennedy and ex-Speaker Tom Foley go along with this repression of a legitimate analysis and political commentary?

Then there is the Free State dimension in this regard, which has been ongoing with a political agenda since Hume-Adams was announced. An Ard-Oifig was raided on January 24, much material was seized only to be returned ten days later but every effort was made to disrupt the publication of the February issue of SAOIRSE.

Then advertisers in the brochure for the annual CABHAIR (PDF) testimonial dinner were visited by the Special Branch and threatened. The Prisoners' Dependents are on the list too, it seems. All this political harassment culminated in a series of police raids on over 60 homes of Republican Sinn Féin



● Mary Ward, Vice-President and Cllr Joe O'Neill, National Treasurer at the Ard-Fheis press conference on November 13.

"What happened in East Timor eighteen years ago was done mostly in secret. Journalists and independent observers are not welcome in East Timor by the Indonesians. Two Australian TV teams, including two Britons, were murdered in East Timor in 1975 by the Indonesian military for trying to breach the wall of silence that the regime in Jakarta and its western allies had built around the country.

"Since the invasion began only hours after a visit by Gerald Ford, then US President, more than 200,000 people have been killed. They were killed resisting the invasion, they were murdered without reason, they died in concentration camps and they starved.

GENOCIDE

"Perhaps genocide is too often used these days but by any standard that is what happened in East Timor and it happened mostly beyond the reach of the TV camera and satellite dish and with the connivance and complicity of western governments. The same

cont from page 9 dependants fund and distributing Easter Lilies.

The past year, significantly, has seen a fresh outbreak of such menacing activity, with Easter Lily distributors being confronted and warned off in Newry, Co. Down and Castleblayney, Co. Monaghan - without effect it is fair to add. Then in September when a very worthy leaflet was produced and distributed by Republican Sinn Féin in South Armagh and Newry, two local women activists were threatened in a very deliberate manner.

In Belfast in October a supporter was lured to a private house on the Falls Road, abducted, hooded and bound. Interrogation and threats followed ending with an assurance that they "would run Republican Sinn Féin out of Belfast". Such behaviour in all cases by the Provisionals has been a failure and reports have been logged with independent third parties for

Greetings to Republican Sinn Féin

FROM New York George Harrison, Cumann na Saoirse, sent the following message to the Republican Sinn Féin Ard Fheis:

"With solidarity greetings and a big salute to Republican Sinn Féin on this historic occasion — your 90th Ard Fheis. May the indomitable spirit of Tom Maguire of Mayo and Michael Flannery of Tipperary animate all of us to carry on the centuries-old unbroken tradition of resistance to British rule in Ireland, until the day dawns when our Motherland is in full control of her own destiny. That this may become a reality sooner rather than later is the fervent wish of your comrade George Harrison."

Solidarity greetings were also received from Europe, Australia and from Partido dos Trabalhadores, Brazil and Andecha Astur, from Asturias in the Spanish state.

● Ard-Fheis delegates voted to appoint George Harrison as Patron of Republican Sinn Féin in succession to General Tom Maguire and Michael Flannery. The Ard-Chomhairle resolution cited Harrison as "Veteran of East Mayo Brigade IRA, active supporter of international liberation struggles and lifelong Irish-American activist". George has kindly consented.

Ard Chomhairle

The incoming Officer Board are: President, Ruairi Ó Brádaigh; Vice-Presidents, Mary Ward and Des Long; General Secretaries, Lita Ni Chathmhaoil and Josephine Hayden; Treasurers, Joe O'Neill and John O'Connor; Publicity Officer, Ruairi Óg Ó Brádaigh. Also elected to the Ard-Chomhairle (National Executive): Cathleen Knowles (Dublin), Eamon Larkin (South Armagh), Geraldine Taylor (Belfast), Michael Hegarty (Clare), Declan Curmeen (Leitrim), Tom Malone (Tipperary), Tom O'Sullivan (Tipperary) and Mick McManus (Fermanagh).

Election conference

THE delegates passed a motion, proposed by Cumann Pádraig Ó Pearaill, Loch Garman, that "prior to contesting elections a special conference be held for candidates and their agents to allow more experienced candidates to advise and assist first-time participants with their campaigns".

PRISONERS / CIMÍ

IN the debate on Prisoners/Cimí delegates reiterated Republican Sinn Féin's support for an amnesty for all political prisoners. The McKelvey/Steele Cumann, Belfast proposed that members send "cards etc to POWs who support our stand to let them know they are not forgotten and to build a strong relationship" with them. The motion was carried.

A Leitrim cumann's resolution was amended and passed, condemning the way in which political prisoners have always been used and are still being used as political pawns. A second Belfast motion on POWs who have their financial support cut off because they support Republican Sinn Féin was referred to CABHAIR, Republican Prisoners' Dependents Fund.

A Comhairle na Mumhan motion on Cork prisoners dependants was referred to the organisation in that county.

NATIONAL DRAW RESULTS

First prize: £2,000
Ticket no 1029, Pat Breslin, Manchester;
Second Prize: £500
Ticket no 149, Pete Farley, New Jersey
Third Prize: £250
Ticket no 2496, B Ward, Co Tyrone
Fourth Prize: £250
Ticket no 1748, Paddy Doherty, Co Donegal
The organisers thank all those who bought tickets in Ireland, England, Scotland and in the USA. Their generous support ensured the success of this year's National Draw. Go raibh maith gaibh uilig.

Sinn Féin. We refuse to have it forced on us in the streets as we go about our political activity, in our homes surrounded by armed police or in custody while prisoners of the state. And that is our final word on the subject.

● We represent a historic ideal

We represent an idea which has survived much greater onslaughts than the petty actions outlined here. We believe in the historic Irish nation and the Republican ideal enunciated by Wolfe Tone and the United Irishmen two hundred years ago next May. This organisation drew back from the open grave which was prepared for it in 1986. It is strong and vibrant to-day in spite of being targeted for intimidation from various quarters. What has sustained us are our roots deeply embedded in Irish history - a history of invasion and colonisation which was met by continuous

resistance. The on-going struggle against oppression has been our lot, decade after decade.

So long as we are true to our origins we are strong. But continued work is necessary to tend and water the Tree of Liberty. Without sustenance it will wither and die. Hard work, for which there is no substitute, now faces us inescapably. The opportunities and the challenges were never greater since we withdrew from the Mansion House eight years ago carrying with us intact the Sinn Féin constitution.

Let us go from here, refreshed in spirit and renewed in comradeship, let us bend ourselves to our tasks and thus re-build the historic Republican Movement. Let us make it once more a worthy instrument of our great objective - the liberation of all the Irish people as part of the emancipation of all humankind.

An Phoblacht abú!

THANKS FOR US TOUR SUPPORT

A chara
We would like, through the columns of SAOIRSE, to publicly thank all those individuals and organisations in the United States of America who contributed their time, effort and resources to helping both of us during our visits there in September and October on behalf of Republican Sinn Féin.

As has been the case now for more than a century, Irish Republicans draw strength from the warm reception and steadfast support of "our exiled children in America", referred to in the Easter 1916 Proclamation. Long may it continue to be so. Once again, go raibh maith agabhair go léir!

MARY WARD
(Vice-President)
CLLR JOE O'NEILL
(Nat Treasurer)
Republican Sinn Féin

unionist" and "a bunch of liars with whom it would be difficult to do any honest business".

Whilst the DUP give all the reasons why they do not want a "peace process", they also describe some of the reasons why Republicans do not agree that it can be a solution for peace on this island.

Mr Wilson's comment that "they (Irish politicians) do not even begin to understand the openness and honesty of unionists" would give one to believe that they would like to "identify" with a political culture other than the present political structure in Dublin. If this is so I would ask Mr Wilson why then has he and his colleagues refused to acknowledge the existence of the alternative solution ÉIRE NUA and SAOL NUA that has been put forward?

Why does Mr Wilson and others refuse to work with those in Ireland who would like to see an end to the "scandal-ridden" and "stroke-pulling" state he describes in his article? Or is the principle of openness and honesty he mentions as much a figment of unionist



IRISH ACTION COALITION POSITION

A chara
We are an independent Irish American organisation with absolutely no allegiance to any political party here or abroad, or to any Irish or Irish American organisation in this country. The only allegiance the Irish Action Coalition has pledged is to the people in the north of Ireland who are fighting for peace with justice in a British-free, re-united Ireland.

Our news and action items cover as much of the Irish political spectrum as

political parties, but we are committed to the truth and dedicated to the cause of Irish freedom.

The north of Ireland's struggle is one of the people, and every organisation or political faction that is committed to the Irish people's right to self determination and Brits Out, regardless of who heads up that organisation or political wing, should be treated with respect and looked upon as an ally. We are not another group to be controlled or given our marching orders, nor should we be trashed, because of a difference of opinion. We are just as committed to the peace process with justice, as anyone else.

HELEN McCLAFFERTY
JAMES MULLIN
Co-ordinators

scholar from Cois Fharráige, Conamara, who fashioned him into a master of the Gaelic language. He spoke and wrote Gaelic better than most ever afterwards. One could conduct one's business completely in Irish in his shop in An Spidéal.

I visited Máirtín many times in An Spidéal and enjoyed his hospitality. The Republican Movement has lost a dedicated and loyal worker. I extend my deepest sympathy and condolence to his wife and family.

Ar dheis láimh Dé go raibh a anam flaitiúil.
SEOSAMH Ó BRÉ
New York

UNIONIST 'LOGIC'

A chara
I look forward to the History Page in SAOIRSE each month. Why is this being spoiled each month with descriptions of the 1940-45 War? Boring in the extreme!

Mr Bruton has said that a minority is attempting to impose its will on the majority of the Irish people. In a letter to the *Irish Times* I pointed out that in 1921 the unionists imposed

(successfully) their will on the Irish people. The letter was not published.

John Taylor is surely the epitome of John Bull, lacking only the Union Jack waistcoat and the bulldog (the comparison would please him). He delved into history recently, spoke about "Scotia", but forgot (?) to say that Ireland was Scotia Major and Scotland Scotia Minor. He maintains that he is English, although he was born in Ireland.

This is the type of logic that Ireland has suffered under for over 700 years. Once it is accepted that the Six-County state is legitimate all the injustice follows.

A Fianna Fáil (failed?) Senator and former minister said on the same RTÉ programme that the "crazy Provisionals blew up a connecting electric installation". He is not aware that two loyalist terrorists were jailed for that action.

The RTÉ radio and television stations have been repeating this lie over and over again. Why does not someone in the audience challenge lying statements? Or are they too cowed?

P CAOMHÁNACH
BÁC



• Thanks for US Tour support: Mary Ward, Vice-President, Republican Sinn Féin, pictured in Cryan's Pub, South Orange, New Jersey with (left) John Cryan and Tom Giblin, Chairman of Essex County Democratic Committee.

WILSON IGNORES ALTERNATIVE ÉIRE NUA SOLUTION

A chara
May I be allowed to comment on the article in the *Irish Times* (Friday, November 18) "DUP describes crisis as 'lucky episode'". This latest outburst of overt comments on "one of the most corrupt states in Europe" flies in the face of all reason and logic.

Unionists are, always have been and no doubt will be in the future used as political pawns, the linchpin to maintaining the very state they describe in their article. Mr Wilson of the DUP goes on to describe Irish politicians as "basically anti-

imagination as is the Dublin and London governments who, along with themselves through their lack of same, seem to enjoy maintaining this situation.

GEARÓDÍN NÍ
CHIOSAÍN
BÁC7

US VIEW CORRECTION

A chara
Thank you for printing my letter under the title 'US View of Current Process'.

There is however, a rather disturbing error in the third paragraph. The first sentence of that paragraph ought to say: "It's a good idea TO RECALL that..." As printed, it implies that I approve of those two policies which couldn't be further from the truth.

ANNETTE BUZSIZS
Chicago, USA

possible. We provide platforms for speakers from all different points of view, coming over from Ireland and England, with the intent to educate the public on political issues pertaining to the north of Ireland. The views expressed by these speakers may or may not necessarily be the views shared by the Irish Action Coalition, but we believe in their right to express those views.

The Irish Action Coalition's function is to generate positive action from Irish Americans on issues that will help to alleviate any suffering, human rights abuses, and discrimination of those in the north of Ireland, as well as to shed light and truth on the occupation of that country by the British government.

Occasionally, we will take a stand on issues that may not make us popular with other organisations or

Irish Action Coalition USA

MÁIRTÍN STANDÚIN RIP

A chara

It was sad and memory resurrecting to learn of the death of Máirtín Standúin, of an Spidéal, Co na Gaillimhe.

Máirtín was born in Liverpool and early in his life was involved with the IRA movement in England. It was in England I first made contact with him in 1938. Later, in 1939, having to get out of England Máirtín found himself in Ireland, was soon arrested and lodged in the Curragh Concentration Camp under the Emergency Powers Act of the de Valera government where I met him again. In the Camp he became a protégé of Máirtín Ó Cadhain, the great Gaelic

DÁITHÍ Ó CONAILL MEMORIAL BUILDING FUND

A chairde

We are now hopeful of acquiring a premises in Dublin city in the near future which would be called Teach Dáithí Ó Conaill. To this end we are appealing once more for contributions to the above fund.

Please send donations, which will be receipted, to any of the following members of the Dáithí Ó Conaill Memorial Building Fund: Joe O'Neill, Cathleen Knowles, Michael McManus, Tom Malone, or direct to Oifig Éire Nua, 41 Arran Quay, Dublin 7.

We thank all those who have subscribed in the past.

• Dáithí Ó Conaill in Memoriam cards are now available, price £1, bulk orders 60p, plus post and packing.

Cuimhneacháin marú Athar Uí Ghríofa

INA aitheasc an 20 Samhain ag an láthair i mBearnna, Co na Gaillimhe ar feall-nharáidh an t-Athair Mícheál Ó Gríofa dúirt Mícheál Ó hEigeartaigh, Co an Chláir, gurab é Sinn Féin Phoblachtach an t-ion eagraíocht atá ann anois a sheasann ar son Phoblacht Wolfe Tone agus Mhic Phiarais agus an Poblacht Uile-Éireann a bunáidh i 1919 dona 32 Contae. Mar sin, b'iad Sinn Féin Poblachtach comharbai Athar Uí Ghríofa a thug a shaoil ar son a mhuintire anseo 74 bliana ó shin.

"In ionad a bheith ag achaimi ar an rialtas i mBaile Átha Cliath mar atá sean-chomrádaite ag déanarmh tá sé de dhualgas ar Phoblachtaigh dúshlán rialtas na Breataine a thabhairt chun a bhfórsaí iomláine a aistharrangt óna Sé Chontae, na cimi go léir a scaoilteadh saor chun go mbeid muintir na hÉireann in-ann Éire Nua a thógail ar a dtoil féin", dúirt Mícheál Ó hEigeartaigh.

"Is todhchaí níos fearr i seo do muintir na hÉireann ar fad ná an dá stát teipthe, thuaidh agus theas atá ar bun anois". B'é Tomás Ó Curraoin, Na Fothraí Maola Thiar, cathairleach ar an chomórach, ag a raibh slua mór i láthair.

Léirmheas

Perfidious Albion and the global media

Don't Mention the War — Northern Ireland, Propaganda and the Media, 368 pp, illustrated, HB £40, PB £14.95, Pluto Press, London.

FOR over twenty-five years the media have portrayed the conflict in north-east Ireland as an irrational confrontation — a war that was not called a war and had no objective social basis. 'Terrorism' caused 'The Troubles'; the British army kept the peace. The conflict was effectively marginalised in the mind of the public at large.

If you dial 071 261 9342 today or any other weekday you can listen to the latest, well-doctored news items from the British government's least known propaganda unit. The London Radio Service (LRS) operates a Storacall facility from the offices of the Central Office of Information (COI) in London and from British Information Services in New York.

This allows radio (and TV) journalists to record the bulletins down the line for use in their own news programmes. The Service is a semi-covert operation which produces its own news reports, features and interviews, including 'happy 1-1.5 minute reports with actuality', which it attempts to 'place' in unsuspecting radio-news programmes around the globe.

The reports are free of copyright restrictions and cost and often the COI provides (at a nominal cost) the technical capacity to receive its products down phone lines. Such news and features are posted to British Embassies and consulates on tape or, more directly, by telephone or satellite.

They are provided in a variety of languages, eg the South American Service uses Spanish and was hastily established at the time of the Malvinas invasion; or the Caribbean Service which caters for speakers of French, set up in the aftermath of the unexpected invasion of Grenada by the USA in 1984. It is believed, as in the post-war era, MI6 continues to provide intelligence guidance as part of Britain's overseas information policy.

SPIN-DOCTORS

In *Don't Mention the War* David Miller chronicles the propaganda and (mis)information management which has done so much to distort and impoverish media reporting of the conflict. Given unprecedented access to senior officials, as well as key spokespersons for all the major groupings in the Six Counties, Miller paints a disturbing picture of the success of the media managers in manipulating public perceptions of the issues and breaks new ground in exploring the complex relationships between propaganda, public opinion and power.

The most important target is the USA where a potential market of 10,000 radio stations are available. Whitehall has expended considerable effort and resources trying to manage the news in the US, with one goal being to undermine 'The Irish Lobby', and particularly those advocating support for the MacBride Principles for Fair Employment in British-occupied Ireland. British propaganda agents went into full swing when Mary Ward, the Vice-President of Republican Sinn Féin, arrived in America to undertake her coast-to-coast tour to put forward Republican Sinn Féin's 'Alternative View' on the current situation.

She was followed by the high-profile leader of the Provisionals, Gerry Adams. The fact that his movement had apparently renounced 'constitutional politics', in reformism, seems to have changed nothing as far as the propaganda

priorities of the LRS were concerned.

It set about 'placing' many news items featuring ministers trying to play down the significance of both speaking-tours, even though the British had actively intervened to ensure that US administrators blocked travel visas to Republican leaders.

Economics inhibit radio stations from enquiring too closely about the origins of 'free' news. As one LSR journalist put it: 'radio is the Cinderella of broadcasting, if it's free they'll take it'. Most significantly the COI tries to disguise the source of the news items which they place in radio bulletins. According to an official pamphlet outlining the service: 'the distinguishing feature of COI radio as compared with other radio services is that material... is then broadcast as if it were its own'.

CONTENTS

Miller's work contains six chapters: 1. Policing the Media: Secrecy, Intimidation and Censorship; 2. The Development of Propaganda Strategies; 3. Public Relations as a Propaganda Tactic; 4. From 'Terrorists' to 'Freedom Fighters': International Coverage; 5. Misinformation and Public Belief: The Case of Gibraltar; and 6. Conclusion: Winning the Information Battle.

In addition four appendices relate to internal briefing documents; the cost to the British tax-payers of the Tories' public relations war; PR staffing levels; as well as a general audience study, and another controversial case-history, specifically focused on the Gibraltar/SAS killings of unarmed IRA Volunteers. The latter incident featured in one major Thames Television programme (transmission was delayed despite media protests) entitled *Death on the Rock*. The work is rounded off by several pages of notes, an extensive bibliography and a helpful index.

PUBLIC OPINION

In the Gibraltar case specific misinformation had a major impact. When Carmen Proetta reported that she had seen IRA Volunteers shot in Gibraltar with their hands in the air, she was labelled by British tabloids encouraged by government sources.

The *Sun* used the headline 'The Tart of Gib'. Although these stories were quite untrue and the papers were forced to apologise, later research showed that many British people continued to believe the allegations. Up to 45% thought that Proetta was, or was possibly, a prostitute.

Republican freedom fighters, as intelligence analysts consistently advise governments, are highly disciplined, quite different from their portrayal in official propaganda as gangs of crazed psychopaths engaged in organised crime. Yet this perception is evidently not widespread amongst the British public.

An ICM opinion poll taken ten days after the Provisionals' ceasefire revealed that 41% of the

DAVID MILLER

DON'T MENTION THE WAR

NORTHERN IRELAND, PROPAGANDA AND THE MEDIA



British public didn't think it would last beyond a few weeks. Think what we may about the 'peace process' and the ceasefire, they were wrong!

The author brings to the subject matter an academic sharpness of mind, yet presents his extensive research in everyday language. He is an expert in his field and currently lectures on Media Studies at Sterling University (Scotland). He has written widely on Irish affairs and the general influence of media politics and propaganda on social consciousness.

WILL US ACT?

Unfortunately this book will not be released in the USA until March 1995 but leaders of Irish American opinion have already expressed a keen interest, after the first ever review of this work was written and faxed to Capitol Hill by this SAOIRSE correspondent. Political interest in the US naturally revolves around Miller's evidence that the British government is engaged in semi-covert and illegal propaganda operations in the United States, particularly in relation to Anglo-Irish affairs.

While such an exposure will come as nothing of a surprise to many Irish civil liberties' groups, it is however viewed as a bombshell by many Americans who foolishly trusted specific media outlets, without investigating by whom

these were established, funded and maintained. All such operations in British-occupied Ireland and abroad are run secretly at the expense of an unwitting British tax-payer.

It is not clear whether the US government will act to require the British Foreign Office to label the London Radio Service, or if penalties will be imposed. If this did happen the irony would be that one of the last covert propaganda operations run by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) will have effectively been closed down by the actions of one of Britain's closest allies.

LIARS EXPOSED

According to COI sources, the Service is more sophisticated than previous Foreign Office-run propaganda efforts. One LRS journalist is quoted as saying: "... you can't take the old approach by saying there's good guys and bad guys, and the bad guys have to be shown... bayoneting babies. Now you have to be totally impartial, while still pushing the line" (quote on page 126 of *Don't Mention the War*).

Under the American Foreign Agents Registration Act all publicity and propaganda material from a 'foreign principal' is required to be identified as such. Yet, as Miller reveals in this book, the products of the LRS are not identified as the product of the

British government, nor are copies lodged with the Department of Justice as required. This constitutes a criminal offence under United States law.

The British government has made great play of its commitment to democracy in British-occupied Ireland. Yet British PR agents have distorted news coverage of the war and helped to manipulate public opinion, thus precluding democratic decision-making.

The financial input into such propaganda efforts are considerable. According to official figures this amounted to £25 million in 1992/3. It is clear from the facts presented by Miller that we are not dealing with legitimate PR, as clearly Whitehall has indulged in black propaganda.

Maximum effort went into cover-ups of the shoot-to-kill incidents in Armagh in 1982, scores of other similar incidents and subsequent 'inquests', the killings in Gibraltar in 1988 and numerous other examples clearly bear this out. These operations have taken a hammering, however, in recent times. Whitehall and Westminster have suffered a serious credibility setback when it was revealed that they had blatantly lied about contacts with Provisional Sinn Féin at the end of 1993.

Even the *Sunday Telegraph* was forced to admit that "perhaps the strangest consequence of the process has been that the PIRA have now become more believable than the government".

Don't Mention the War also chronicles the continuing use of misinformation and deception by official sources centred at the Northern Ireland Office, which is controlled by an appointed cabinet minister who daily supervises all aspects of the NIO's operations. The British government claim that disinformation is used only for 'absolutely honourable security reasons'.

However Miller demonstrates in the book that disinformation has been used to protect security forces personnel from the due process of the law and to legitimise what would otherwise be regarded by the media, the public and the legal process as extra judicial executions. The implications of this book prove beyond any doubt that the first casualty in war, is all too sadly, Truth.

Readers of SAOIRSE who wish to obtain this informative work should take full advantage of a special 20% discount order offer which closes on New Year's Eve. Write, phone or fax, state the title of the book, and request the associated order form: Pluto Press, 345 Archway Road, London N6 5AA; Tel: 081 348 2724; FAX: 081 348 9133.

— Fionnbarra Ó Dochartaigh

Remembering Frank McGovern

Frank McGovern died November 18, 1989. He has been missed and his friends in the USA thought it would be nice to remember him at this time of the year which he enjoyed so much.

Frank was a native of Swanlinbar, Co Cavan. He came to the United States in the 1920s. He worked in construction in New Jersey and at the end of Prohibition in the 1930s he opened the bar which was to become a home away from home for thousands of Irish emigrants, whom he regarded almost

as his foster children. A quiet, soft-spoken man, he was always ready to help with a phone call, assistance in getting a job or a place to stay.

The bar was and is, of course, McGovern's Tavern on New Street in Newark, New Jersey. It was said about McGovern's Tavern: "The very first time you go into

McGovern's you are bound to meet someone from your home county in Ireland". And we've been told this is absolutely true.

At a recent reunion of married couples who had met at McGovern's Tavern over 400 couples responded.

He was a founder of Newark St Patrick's Parade and was himself grand marshal in 1960.

Active in the Republican cause before leaving Ireland, having been born 20 yards from the British imposed border, he was a strong supporter of the movement throughout his life in the United States.

IRA CHIEF-OF-STAFF EXECUTED

50 YEARS AGO

On a First Friday morning In the month of December The hangman from England Came over the sea, And traitors to Ireland

Wreaked vengeance and hatred On Cathal O' Ciarain The Boy from Tralee

At 8am on Friday, December 1, 1944 the official English hangman ended the young life of Chief-of-Staff, Irish Republican Army.

The imported executioner was hired by the 26-County Administration of Fianna Fáil, Charlie Kerins was 26 and a native of Tralee, Co. Kerry.

During the weeks Charlie Kerins was in the condemned cell in Mountjoy Prison, his friends outside attempted to mount a reprieve campaign.

Harry White notes: "Rigorous censorship was applied to notices of reprieve meetings. Despite this 77,000 names appeared on a reprieve petition. Charlie, however, took no part."

Well indeed could the US Legation in Dublin report to Washington on December 11 that "the use of censorship and the police power" prevented the reprieve campaign from getting into its stride.

Deputies were thrown out of Leinster House for pursuing the matter, newspaper stories on local reaction were banned and physical action was taken against reprieve campaigners.

People leaving No 9, North Frederick Street, Dublin — office of the Republican Prisoners Release Association — were assailed by police. Posters, buckets of paste and brushes were seized from them. They were reduced to carrying sticks of chalk and writing on walls the slogan: "Save Kerins".

EVE OF EXECUTION

On the eve of the execution, Thursday night, November 30, O'Connell Street, Dublin was crowded with a seething mass of people. Special Branch men who included many Brody Harkers moved through the crowds.

Those who were recognised as such were openly accosted, challenged and insulted. Finally a large part of the crowd of protesters went on their knees on the traffic island in Upper O'Connell Street in front of the Sacred Heart shrine there.

The centre city riot squad of police from Store St barracks waded in on top of them as they began to offer the Rosary, An Páidín Páirtreach, for the condemned Republican in Mountjoy.

Those praying were batoned to the ground and trampled on while onlookers were forcibly dispersed. Rumours had swept O'Connell Street Pierpoint, the English hangman had to be taken to Mountjoy from the docks in an armoured car, it was said. He certainly would not have been made welcome in O'Connell St. that night.

A young nurse from Clarinbridge, Co. Galway was in the city centre on November 30. Her uncle, Pat O'Brien from Silvermeads, Co Tipperary had taught Charlie Kerins in the Christian Brothers school in Tralee and he had visited him in Mountjoy as he lay under the death sentence.

Fifty years later she describes O'Connell Street as being "saturated with people" while imprecations were shouted at the prowling Special Branch men, the tension was palpable.

Next morning before work she attended 7am Mass in Adams and Eve's Franciscan Church on Merchant's Quay and prayed for the man facing his ordeal that morning. In a shop in James's St. she saw a uniformed Garda weeping openly. He had gone to school with Charlie Kerins in Tralee, he explained.

As she went on duty at 8am in nearby St Kevin's Hospital (now St James'), a man went on his knees opposite a Sacred Heart picture on a stairway landing.

"Do you know what's happening right

now?" he demanded with feeling. He said he was from Inchicore and gave his name. Plain Sean Citizen, the man in the street, had spoken.

Harry continues: "He (Charlie Kerins) was hanged by Pierpoint (sic) in Mountjoy on 1st December, the announcement being published as a five line item in the newspapers.

"To a friend, Liam Burke in Belfast he posted a leaf from a calendar, the month of December: 'A month I shall not see', he had written upon it.

What said Cathal Brugha

*If our last man's on the ground,
When he hears the ringing challenge
As his enemies ring him round,
If he'd reached his final cartridge
If he'd fired his final shot,
Will you come into the Empire?
He would answer, I will not.*

— Gearóid Ó Murchadha.

White

Liam MacGabhann in an interview with Sean Kavanagh, "Memories of Mountjoy Jail," quotes the Governor as saying: "He was the bravest man I ever saw die by hanging". Of course, Charlie was the sole Republican to be hanged by the Free State since 1922 — all the other executions were by firing-squad.

OUTRAGE

"There was outrage in North Kerry", Cronin says (p. 103). With all publicity outlets denied to them, Kerry Republicans acted as best they could. A public meeting was held in Tralee, organised by the former All-Ireland footballer John Joe Sheehy and Richie Eagar, a local bank employee.

"As Hitler took the railway carriage out of a museum for the signing of the French surrender in 1940, we'll send for the English hangman when we hang Gerry Boland!" was stated to have been said from the platform. There was certainly "outrage in North Kerry". Of course charges and prison sentences resulted from that Tralee protest meeting.

Note: The Germans signed the Armistice demanded by the Allies in a railway carriage in Compiegne Forest in 1918. The French preserved it as a museum piece but Hitler used it again when he had the French enter it for their humiliating surrender in 1940.

Dr Kathleen Farrell, in whose house Charlie Kerins had been captured, received a last letter from him dated December 1st, 1944 - 6.30am. The text is given on this page.

Continuing her article on him in *An t-Eireannach Aontuithé* of October-November 1948, she writes: "If anyone, friend or enemy, had any doubt as to the high courage and joyous heart of Charlie Kerins, the short interval between the fixing of the date of his execution and the hanging itself gave them every opportunity of appreciating to the full his heroic stature.

"God has His own ways of strengthening our Cause. Not least of these is the death of our heroes..."

In the words of Dr Con Murphy: "In the last dread days of his life, his resolution to die without flinching can only be described as superhuman. Instead of needing support and consolation, it was he himself who proved to be the support and consolation of his family and friends.

"That he should have given his young life and vigorous manhood not merely bravely but cheerfully in defence of Irish liberty, could only be due to some God-given graces."

"The priest who attended him during his last weeks says: 'When I was asked to go and see him I shrank from the task. How will I comfort him I asked myself? I went and he comforted me.

"He told me he would offer his life in union with his crucified Saviour who died for all men, on behalf of all his countrymen, both enemies and friends — Charlie sang a song half an hour before he died."

"We know from Charlie's last letter", Dr Farrell goes on, "Written at 6.30am, an hour and a half before his death, something of his last thoughts. He remembered that others before him had been hanged for Ireland and these lines ran through his head:

"Whether on the scaffold high, or

LAST LETTER OF CHARLES KERINS TO DR. KATHLEEN FARRELL

Mountjoy Jail,
Dec. 1st, 1944.
6.30 a.m.

Dear Doctor,

In case I haven't left a souvenir to some person to whom I should have, please explain number at my disposal was limited.

I haven't time to say much, but I'm sure there's no necessity. All I ask is, that the ideals and principles for which I am about to die will be kept alive until the Irish Republic is finally enthroned. This I feel sure will be accomplished before very long despite all the labours of traitors and hypocrites, as right will prevail.

Thank everyone who has done anything on my behalf. Good-bye and good luck in the future.
Charlie.

P.S. Do you know what has just run through my head?
"Whether on the scaffold high, etc."

*the battlefield we die,
Oh! what matter when for Erin
dear we fall.*

LAST MESSAGE

"His last message reads: **'All I ask is that the ideals and principles for which I am about to die will be kept alive until the Irish Republic is finally enthroned'**". There is surely food for thought there in these years of desertion and abandonment of Republican principles.

Dr Kathleen Farrell has been extensively quoted in these articles on Charlie Kerins. As Lieut Kathleen Murphy, a young medical student in 1920, she had with Captain Eileen McGrane led the march of the University Company of Cumann na mBan to the gates of Mountjoy on the morning of November 1 when Kevin Barry was hanged.

On the return march though Grafton St. the company recognised Mrs Barry — Kevin's mother — and her family emerging from Mass at Clarendon St. Carmelite Church. The command "Eyes Right" was given as a mark of respect.

When Eileen McGrane was arrested, Lieut. Kathleen Murphy was promoted Captain in her place. She later married the actor Dr Paul Farrell and remained a faithful Republican throughout her life.

As a medical doctor she attended the late Tony Ruane, Honorary Vice-President for life of Republican Sinn Féin and declared herself still staunchly Republican. The link from Kevin Barry to Charlie Kerins to the present remained unbroken.

Bell says: "On December 1, 1944 the imported English hangman carried out the sentence. Charlie Kerins, the Boy from Tralee, was dead and with him died the last fragile symbol of IRA continuity".

As usual Bell lays his finger on the point. It was not just Charlie Kerins they hanged, it was the Chief-of-Staff — the symbol of the entire IRA.

It was as if they executed the whole IRA with him and ended its existence for all time. Did not Gerry Boland boast that the IRA was dead and that he had killed it?

When de Valera and Fianna Fáil brought in their new constitution for the 26 Counties in 1937 and secured the return of the ports the following year, they halted on the "constitutional path" forward.

But the IRA pushed past them, outflanked them on the road to national freedom with their Sabotage Campaign in England 1939-40 and their Northern Campaign of 1942-44. This "Accusing Ghost", or national conscience of their own past was to be ended for all time.

As is being attempted in these times, the Leinster House politicians and their allies north of the Border and in Westminster

sought in 1944 to roll up the carpet on Irish Republicanism for all time. The failed then, just as they will fail now.

THE AFTERMATH

Within 15 minutes of learning of Charlie Kerin's death Brian O'Higgins had committed to paper the eloquent verses quoted from at the beginning of this article. He called his tribute *The Boy from Tralee*. It is sung to the air of *The Rose of Tralee*.

A memorial was unveiled on Easter Sunday 1947 in a small green near Charlie Kerins's home at Caherina, Strand Street, Tralee in memory of his sacrifice. The inscription on it told his story but it was quickly defaced by members of the 26-County police who attacked it with sledge-hammers.

The local GAA football club, The O'Rahilly's, of which Charlie was a playing member, was soon renamed Kerins-O'Rahilly's in his honour. Their jersey was placed on his coffin with the Tricolour and his Sam Browne belt when his body was re-interred in the Republican Plot in Rath Cemetery, Tralee in 1948.

Re-interred also at that time, following a change in the Administration of the 26-Counties, were the bodies of the other executed Republicans, Lieut-Gen Patrick McGrath, Adjutant-General, Staff-Captains Tom Harte and Maurice O'Neill, GHQ Staff, and Divisional OCs Comd Richard Goss and General George Plant.

Let it be known widely and publicly that the families of all six remain faithful to the All-Ireland Republic for which their relatives gave their lives so unselfishly 50 years ago.

In July 1945 during classes at Coláiste Stionnach, An Spidéal, Co. No Gallimhe, a student in his late teens passed an In Memoriam card to this writer. The picture was of a young man in a football jersey and the inscription was as follows:

**In Proud and Loving Memory
of
CHARLES KERINS
Tralee, Co Kerry
who died on the scaffold for the
IRISH REPUBLIC
December 1st, 1944**

Ar Dheis Dé go raibh a nam

The link with yet another generation of Republicans in struggle for Irish freedom was already being revived. Pease's words over O'Donovan Rossa are relevant here: "... they cannot undo the miracles of God who ripens in the hearts of young men the seeds sown by the young men of a former generation".

The 50th anniversary of Charles Kerins's sacrifice for Ireland will be fittingly commemorated at that refurbished memorial at Strand Street, Tralee on Sunday, December 4. Prominent at the ceremony will be his sister Elsie Kerins-O'Connor and other members of his family, all faithful to his memory.

Fuil na Laochra Siol na Saoirse.
(More next month. Re: *The Wolfe Tone Annual 1930* by Brian Higgins, Kevin Barry and His Time by Donal O'Donovan, Harry by Harry White, *Washington's Irish Policy: 1916-1986* by Sean Cronin, *An t-Eireannach Aontuithé*, October-November 1948 and *The Secret Army* by J. Bowyer Bell.)

Just Published . . .

**CHARLIE KERINS —
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Fenian Notes

By our Washington Correspondent

Irish politicians will certainly feel the effects of the recent mid-term US elections. Those with varying shades of Irish nationalism have focused upon the more ethnically diverse Democratic Party to articulate their respective goals. The American Republican Party (ARP) has historically ignored the Irish who have concerns about the Irish

Each major US parties as a whole have not been stellar advocates of the issues surrounding British abuses in the Six Counties. It especially transcends the whole to individuals in each party who reach out to the advocates of Irish freedom and pursue appropriate actions on given matters.

Will the change of power in Congress from Democrat to Republican affect Irish issues? The answer is simply—yes, but to Irish Republicans, it will be a minimal disturbance. Those who will lose influence at the outset are Dublin-SDLP and the Provisionals who relied on Speaker of the House Tom Foley and Senator Ted Kennedy in their respective chambers of Congress.

TROIKA

The pan-nationalist troika named above put all their marbles on Kennedy and Foley to carry out their agenda. In addition they lined up the Friends of Ireland group under Rep Frank McCloskey as an additional support source.

With the ARP ascendancy, Kennedy, though re-elected has lost his seat of power and Foley as well as McCloskey went down to ignominious defeat. There is still Bill Clinton to covet, however he has been severely weakened by the transfer of power. There will be more words from Clinton than action and more words we do not need.

The Dublin government and the SDLP as well as late arrival Provisionals stand to lose by the ARP takeover of Congress. Give Hume credit, he cultivated Foley and Kennedy for years and made sure Irish Republicans were kept out of the US through the censorship tactic of visa denials.

The ARP is ripe for cultivating and one must expect John Hume will be winging his way stateside to sell his bill of goods to all listeners. He will be seeking substitutes for Foley and Kennedy but they will not be as forthcoming to Hume. Being a man without a true set of principles, Hume will easily adapt to any listening ear.

The ARP has been consistently pro-British, but those involved are sympathetic to more Irish Republican elements. Margaret Thatcher is their philosophical heroine and though some do not like her Irish policy, they excuse it by saying they agree with her on all else except it. This lets her off the hook in their view.

The ARP members should have condemned Thatcher outright on Ireland and informed her all policies they supported her on, beside Ireland, would be suspended until she did the right thing about Ireland. This would have gotten her attention.

Sympathetic American Republicans to Irish issues include Pete King and Ben Gilman in the House as well as Al D'Amato in the Senate. Ben Gilman is to be chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee in the House. There are others, but these have been prominent.

BENEFICIARY

One beneficiary of the shift in power will be the Rev Dr Ian Paisley who has for years been ingratiating himself with the so-



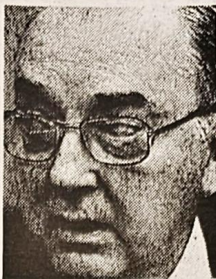
called religious right. This fundamentalist group is in significant control of the working apparatus of the ARP.

Paisley, whose visa has been revoked, has received waivers at will and one of his sponsors has been Chairman to be of the Senate Foreign Relations committee, Jesse Helms. The right-wing Christian movement is big in Jesse Helms constituency. Despite this, let us not rule out Senator Helms as a potential ally in a narrow context.

The avowed opponent of the Irish over this century has been the US Department of State, which is viewed as an adjunct office of the British Foreign Office. Senator Helms is an opponent of the State Department. Since the election Jesse Helms has declared war on the State Department.

The Brits are concerned about Helms because he was a leading opponent of the amendment that removed the political offence exception of the US-UK Extradition Treaty. During the debate about what was criminal and what was political, Helms cited the IRA stating if the IRA shot a civilian, it would be criminal, but if the IRA shot a British soldier or policeman, it would be political and the accused protected from extradition.

Another incident that might help Irish Republicans with Senator Helms is the Anglo-Argentine War in the early eighties. Jesse Helms was the only US Senator that supported Argentina, while all



• Senator Jesse Helms - an opponent of the US State Department.

others favoured the Brits. That took a great deal of courage. Irish Republicans supported Mr Helms and got flak for it, but he may remember this and be helpful to us in a given issue where we are in concert with him. He has not, to my knowledge, ever condemned proponents of physical force insurgents.

We need to help Senator Helms in his efforts against the State Department because it is State which controls visas and their record regarding Irish Republicans and others from Ireland has been abominable. Jesse Helms, a least likely ally, could be a latent supporter. We need to try to set up a meeting with him to discuss our problems with State and the visa office.

VISA ISSUE

The visa issue and its equitable application to all visitors from Ireland, Republican or Loyalist, is a good bet to pursue with Senator Helms. He needs to be persuaded that State operates its visa policy regarding Ireland at the direction of the Brits. This ought to give him another issue upon which to attack State for their administrative inequities.

We will take the high road and state unequivocally that we support visas for Irish Republicans and Loyalists even those with

whom we violently disagree. In reality, this is not a ploy, but how we feel.

The trick in Washington is to pick out a few powerful members of Congress to educate on the efficacy of the Republican Movement/Republican Sinn Féin primacy in the pursuit of Irish Freedom for all persuasions in Ireland. A true American conservative, if convinced on such as this, will gain an affinity for our efforts.

We need to watch the religious right on its ascendance, but we can play off them as well because they purport to be in favour of freedom fighters, so to avoid hypocrisy, we must educate them on Irish Freedom Fighters before Hume and the British do their dirty work.

Clinton will continue to back the British Peace Process, but funds for the effort, a peace dividend are going to disappear to a significant degree. Helms is opposed to such funding and it only bolsters the status quo.

NEW SPEAKER

The new Speaker of the House, Newt Gingrich, has no interest in Ireland but is committed to cutting foreign aid as well as Helms. It is a new day in Washington and not only the Irish but the British are going to have to devise a new strategy.

The ARP era does not help or hurt Republicans in Ireland because Republican Sinn Féin never sold its soul or compromised its principles like the Provos, SDLP and Dublin. This shows a consistency lacking in most groups.

We need to return to simplicity that what is good for the US in 1776 is good for Ireland in 1994 getting rid of the Brits. This logic cannot escape anyone who will truly listen and not defer to the State Department as most do. Let us have a wait and see attitude toward ARP types while pursuing our agenda and hopefully many will join us on issues as they arise.

— Peadar Mac Fhínn

Brón ar an mBás Anthony Gallagher

The death took place on November 12, at the great age of 97, of Anthony Gallagher, Loughbracken, Drumconrath, Co. Meath and formerly of Fahy, Westport, Co. Mayo.

He was a Veteran of the West Mayo Brigade, 4th Western Division, IRA. The second was to Drumconrath on November 13 and the funeral took place at the local cemetery next day.

He is survived by his wife Cecilia, daughter Noreen and sons Paddy, Michael, John and Gerry to whom sincere sympathy is expressed.

The coffin was draped in the Tricolour and Dan Mahon, Westport, Co. Mayo spoke at the graveside in the presence of a large crowd.

Jimmy Cunniffe

The death took place in Sligo General Hospital on October 7 of Jimmy Cunniffe (84) of Kilgobert, Carrick-on-Shannon, Co Leitrim. He was a firm supporter of Republican Sinn Féin and of the Republican prisoners.

Originally a native of Co Leitrim he was attached to the 193rd Battalion IRA in the 1930s and was arrested in 1936 on the possession of documents, taken to Carrick barracks and held in jail.

Mick Cusack

Limerick Republicans were saddened recently on hearing of the death of life long Republican Mick Cusack of Nicholas Street, Limerick.

Mick joined the movement in the early years of the 1930's and held many positions in the IRA locally.

He was adjutant and later OC of B Company IRA Limerick City and as OC had under his command Vol Sean Glynn who died from ill treatment in Arbour Hill Prison in 1936, the first of many Republicans to die under the Fianna Fáil administration.

Mick was noted locally for his expertise in the use of the Thompson submachine gun. He trained the local Volunteers in this weapon prior to their departure to England to take part in the 1940s campaign. He also trained the Volunteers, including Sean Sabhat, of the 1956-62 Campaign in the same weapon. During the

Eddie Joe Gallagher

FORMER Portlaoise prisoner and blanketman Eddie Joe Gallagher, Charlestown, Co Mayo died in England during October. His remains arrived at Knock Airport on October 18 where they were received by Seamus Ó Mongáin, Michael Geraghty, Dan Hoban and other Mayo Republicans.

The funeral took place next day to Iorras Dhomhnaín. Seamus Ó Mongáin spoke at the graveside. The chief mourners were the deceased's wife Molly and son Bill to whom sincere sympathy is expressed.

Following his release from Portlaoise in 1945, Eddie Joe published a statement on the conditions of the Republican prisoners there which penetrated and broke the wartime censorship on such matters. The scandalous situation in Portlaoise jail over the years since 1940 stood exposed. Ar dheis Dé go raibh anam Eddie Joe.

Ar dheis Dé go raibh anam.



• Michael Cusack same period he worked closely with the QMG in the care and dumping of weapons.

Comhbhrón

CUSACK, Sincere sympathy is expressed to Myra and Noreen on the death of their father Michael. From the Ard Chomhairle, Republican Sinn Féin.

FLANNERY, Longford Republicans extend deepest sympathy to the relatives of the late Michael Flannery, New York, IRA Veteran and Patron of the Republican Sinn Féin. Ar dheis Dé go raibh a nam.

MCCARTHY, Sincere sympathy is extended to the McCarthy family on the death of John. From Cumann Mac Republican Sinn Féin, Corcaigh, Cumann na mBan, Corcaigh and Republican Comrades, Corcaigh.

MAE CURTAIN, A minutes silence was observed by members of the Liam Mellows Cumann, Dublin at its November meeting for Tomás Mae Curtain, Cork whose death occurred on October 16. Deepest sympathy is extended to his wife Mai, family and friends. Ar dheis Dé go raibh a nam usáil.

Proposing a vote of sympathy to his two daughters Noreen (Hardacre) Myra (McMahon) Des Long, Vice President of Republican Sinn Féin, said that during his long association with the Republican Movement Mick had never deviated from his Republican principles. He was a man of honour and integrity and will be sadly missed by his family and friends

O'NEILL, Sincere sympathy is offered to Tommy O'Neill, Dublin on the recent death of his son. From the Liam Mellows Cumann, Dublin. Go ndéana Dia tóiréar ar a nam.

I gCuimhne

COUGHLAN, Chris, London and Rathangan — 20th Anniversary. In memory of Christopher Coughlan, Republican activist, who died as the result of an accident, December 25, 1974. Always remembered by Pól O Croidheáin.

MCNEIL, Michael, — 20th Anniversary. Flowers were laid by Republican Sinn Féin at the grave of Volunteer Michael Meenan, Co Kerry who died on active service on October 30, 1974. Ar dheis Dé go raibh a nam usáil. THE Manchester Martyrs were commemorated in Cork by Republican Sinn Féin, Cumann na mBan, Cumann na gCailíní and Republican Comrades when wreaths were laid at the National Monument, Grand Parade, Cork on Sunday, November 27.

Birmingham Six man's video story

JOHNNY Walker, one of the Birmingham Six, has lent his support to a campaign to highlight the case of fellow-Derryman Patrick McLaughlin, whom many believe was falsely convicted in 1986, accused of membership of the INLA and involvement in a bombing operation on Chelsea Barracks.

The agony of false imprisonment for many years experienced by Walker and his life since release is now being told in a video, entitled *A Long Way to Go*.

The film's premiere was held at a local community hall, a mere one hundred yards from the spot where British paratroopers shot dead 13 peaceful civil rights marchers, who took to the streets on January 30, 1972 to protest against internment without charge or trial in a

bid to alert the world to ongoing state-sponsored torture against defenceless internees. Another local man, Johnny Johnson, died a few months later from his injuries.

The event attracted widespread local and media interest and included a public discussion followed by a community dance.

Johnny Walker's generous act in donating all the proceeds due to him from the video to the Pat



● Patrick McLaughlin

McLaughlin Support Fund reveals not only the humanity of the man but shows a continuing and genuine concern for all those Irish men and women unfortunate enough to fall victim to the British (in)justice system. Even if he

wished to forget the ordeal of torture and false imprisonment it is daily recalled in his native Bogside, as people naturally stop to greet him by shaking hands or to talk to him of those many long years away from his beloved family and country. His attitudes to life, people and ongoing committees for justice mirrors a spirit that was eternally free, even though he was physically incarcerated and subjected to all manner of abuse.

VIDEO

The video itself has been made by De Facto Films, a Derry-based company. It received widespread acclaim when shown at the Dublin Film Festival, Galway Film Fleadh and the Euroaim Screenings in San Sebastian.

It deals with the life of Johnny Walker from his childhood through to his arrest and imprisonment and subsequent problems he has faced on release. Many believe that once an innocent victim has been released everything is all right but this film shows that the reality is very different as it is impossible to rebuild shattered lives. Described by one reviewer as a "moving and powerful documentary",



● Johnny Walker presents a copy of the video to Pat McLaughlin's sister, Valerie.

This film allows Johnny Walker to tell his own story.

De Facto Films agreed that it was appropriate that a video telling the life story of one victim of British injustice should be used to support the fight for another victim. Johnny Walker himself has pledged his support to the campaign to secure Patrick McLaughlin's release being convinced that this is just another case of British disregard for the rights and fate of Irish citizens caught up in its repressive web. Walker told the large

audience, which included interested members of the media, that he hopes that the showing of his story can practically assist in rectifying another wrong.

Those wishing to obtain the video, or more details on the case of Patrick McLaughlin should write to: The Pat Finucane Centre, 1 Westland Park, Derry City, BT48. The price of the video is "at least £10". Everything extra will also be going to a very worthy cause as well as covering p&p.

Michael Flannery Awards

OVER 150 people attended the 12th Annual Michael Flannery Awards Dinner organised by the Irish American Femen Society in Verona, New Jersey, USA on November 18th last.

This year there were three recipients of the awards, named after Michael Flannery, IRA Veteran and lifelong Irish American activist who died aged 92 on September 30 last.

Two of the recipients are attorneys based in New Jersey: John Lynch, also a State Senator for the 17th District and David Mahony who in 1959 was arrested by

the B-Specials in County Fermanagh while visiting the Six Occupied Counties. Also honoured was Helen McClafferty, New Jersey, a human rights activist in the cause of Ireland.

The Irish American Femen Society was founded in 1981 to support families of Irish political prisoners. Eileen O'Flaherty, President, made presentations to the

three honorees at the dinner.

The chairperson was Sean Downes, New York, and his fellow attorney and brother Larry made an address on human rights and Occupied Ireland. Mgr Kevin Flanagan outlined the life and work of Michael Flannery to the audience.

A 96-page brochure was produced for the awards dinner and the success of the event is due in great measure to the organising committee: Dorothy Foley, Bob Daley, Jim Hanley, Joe O'Reilly, Howard Casey and Roy Redmond.

Wight, England, AP/IRN, September 29, 1994.

... in '32 Fianna Fail gained its ascendancy through the Dail (sic) support of Labour and the benevolent neutrality of Sinn Féin/IRA. By 1940, de Valera could cast aside their life-belts and comfortably govern without them.

— Bill Graham, Hot Press magazine, October 19, 1994.

"They're naive in Belfast to think it all over," says Paddy Short, the 75-year-old publican, Republican and original civil rights campaigner. "Really it's not over until they leave." He nods his head towards the heavily reinforced (British) army barracks which dominates the tiny village square.

— Paddy Short, Crossmaglen publican, on the ceasefire, Hot Press, October 19, 1994.

"A united Ireland is the only answer," says Short. "If Adams accepts anything less, we'll continue with the armed struggle. Men were head of the IRA before Adams came along and there'll be men head of it when Adams is gone."

— Paddy Short, Hot Press.

We may have to talk about transitional modes.

— Gerry Adams, Walden programme, UTV, October 30, 1994. In 1921 Michael Collins said partition was a "stepping-stone" to Irish freedom. In 1994 this has been replaced by "transitional modes".

With an average IQ of 77 the chronic unemployed are not far above the level of mental retardation and many of them are below it.

— Professor Richard Lynn, Irish Independent (surprise, surprise), November 1, 1994.

While accepting that IRA guns would have to be turned in, Mr Adams said the same held true for loyalist and British army weapons.

— Irish Times, November 8, 1994.

Our politicians (ie those in Leinster House) . . . have, through their diligent pursuit of fiscal mismanagement over decades, left the economy almost entirely dependent on foreign aid from Brussels for all major social and infrastructural investment.

— Feargus Ó Raghallaigh, Sunday Business Post, November 13, 1994.

The fact that it is both possible and desirable to be for the peace and against the process is nowhere acknowledged in mainstream coverage at the moment. This may change, of course, when the process collapses.

— Eamonn McCann, Sunday Tribune, November 20, 1994.

The most cunning, the most ruthless, the most brilliant of them all.

— Bertie Ahern, as described by his mentor Charlie Haughey in 1992, quoted by the Sunday Business Post, November 20, 1994.

It's wonderful that Norway and Iceland will remain independent northern European nations while we have sold our freedom to Brussels.

— Danish opponent of the EU after Norway's 'No' vote, Irish Times, November 29, 1994.

WHAT THEY SAID

Mr Major announced that a referendum would be held in the North on any new Irish-British agreement.

— Irish Times, September 17, 1994, report on the British prime minister's visit to the Six Occupied Counties the previous day.

You wouldn't get it [a united Ireland] in this generation . . . if, in 25 years time, or whatever . . .

— Albert Reynolds, then head of the Dublin administration, Observer, (London), September 18, 1994.

But the major problem is Mr Major himself. Hamstrung by the ultra-right of his own party, who fear that giving up Northern Ireland will unbind Scotland and Wales, he is unable to disengage Britain from the political incubus sired by the British cabinet during the truce of 1921 and legitimated by the Border Commission in 1925.

— Eoin McKiernan, Irish America magazine, September/October 1994.

So far all we have got from John Major are a few meagre concessions which amount to nothing more than crumbs.

— Letter from three political prisoners in Parkhurst Prison, Isle of



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