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the IRISH NEWS

NEWSPAPER OF THE YEAR - *140 years service to the community* **Edition: No. 38,030**

FINAL EDITION

Thursday November 30 1995

30p in Northern Ireland
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Front page history in the making as Clinton trip marks the end of long hard road from violence to peace


the IRISH NEWS

Peace blueprint challenge to IRA

End violence and join talks, premiers tell paramilitaries


the IRISH NEWS

A new era

Time to build a peaceful future for all

IRISH NEWS


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Key to door of peace

Historic document wins support of nationalists

Village opinions sum up the wider divisions

Furniture Bargains


the IRISH NEWS

Peace deal clinched at midnight summit

Bruton flies in for dramatic breakthrough

Window of opportunity

FINAL DAY

REDUCED

Downing Street communique in full

HITACHI

Welcome Mr President

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

[The Irish News, Thursday, November 30, 1995, page 1 continued]

By **Ben Webster**

BILL Clinton's arrival in Belfast this morning demonstrates to the world how far Northern Ireland has recovered from the blight of the troubles.

Tens of thousands of people will turn out to welcome the first serving American president to visit the north.

A billion more people around the world will watch on television Mr Clinton celebrating the 15-month-old ceasefire with tonight's symbolic lighting-up of Belfast.

But his trip is more than just a celebration of past achievements. The president flies in today confident that his powerful influence helped prompt the last-minute peace deal struck at midnight on Tuesday between London and Dublin.

The honour of hosting the world's most powerful man has been earned through two years of unstinting efforts to secure peace – starting with the Downing Street declaration in December 1993, followed by the IRA ceasefire in August last year, continuing with the framework document in February and then Tuesday night's peace deal.

In Downing Street yesterday, Mr Clinton endorsed the new twin-track deal as the "best opportunity" he had seen to resolve all the issues standing in the way of lasting peace.

He said: "My message to the IRA is that the twin-track process has provided a mechanism for all the parties honourably now to bring their concerns to the table and be heard.

"In the end, peace means peace and we are all going to have to support that."

But he declined to urge the IRA to start handing over its weapons now, emphasising that the role of the US was not to "dictate terms or make decisions."

Later, when addressing both houses of Parliament, Mr Clinton said: "Tomorrow I will have the privilege of being the first American president to visit Northern Ireland – a Northern Ireland where the guns are quiet and the children play without fear. I applaud the efforts of Prime Minister Major and Irish Prime Minister Bruton who announced yesterday their new twin-track initiative to advance the peace process, an initiative that provides an opportunity to begin a dialogue in which all views are represented and all views can be heard.

"This is a bold step forward for peace. I applaud the prime minister for taking this risk for peace. It is always a hard choice, the choice for peace, for success is far from guaranteed, and even if you fail, there will be those who resent you for trying. But it is the right thing to do. And in the end, the right will win."

Today in Belfast and Derry the president will be publicising his own key contribution to the search for a peaceful settlement.

His itinerary kicks off at Mackie's factory on the peaceline in west Belfast, where he is expected to confirm his commitment to encouraging American investment in Northern Ireland.

The highlight of his afternoon trip to Derry will be the inauguration of a university chair in conflict resolution.

The main public event will be the switching on of the Christmas lights outside Belfast city hall before a 50,000-plus crowd, with Van Morrison and Curtis Stigers included in the entertainment line-up.

The momentous day in Northern Ireland's history will bring unprecedented traffic chaos, with dozens of roads closed, schools shut and some offices empty.

The RUC warned Belfast workers to leave home early to get around the blockages. A special traffic help line has taken 6,000 calls over the last three days.

A massive security operation involving almost 3,000 members of the RUC and more than 100 American Secret Service agents has been set up to protect Mr Clinton during the 24-hour trip.

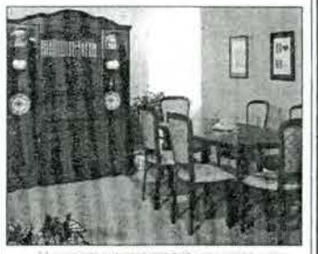
Divers have already searched the sewers and drains and seals have been placed on manholes anywhere near the presidential route.

More than 100 members of the RUC's mobile support unit and three sniffer dogs yesterday finished a top-to-bottom sweep of the Europa Hotel, where Bill and Hillary Clinton will stay.

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● **HAND OF FRIENDSHIP ... President Clinton waves to well-wishers as he goes on a walkabout in London's Parliament Square yesterday**

Irish News goes 'live' on the Net

By **Rory Carroll**

THE Irish News today makes newspaper history when it gives live coverage on the Internet of President Clinton's visit.

In what is believed to be a world first the 60 million users of the global computer network can read and hear today's speeches the moment they are made by switching on *the Irish News'* Internet pages.

The breakthrough means people all over the world will know what is said at Derry's Guildhall tonight at the same time as those sitting in the audience.

If successful the enterprise could become the model for a revolution in newspaper publishing which would eventually transform the nature of communications.

The Belfast-based Genesis Project has teamed up with *the Irish News* to harness different technologies and transmit the visit onto the World Wide Web in real time.

Computer hardware called Realaudio and I.Wave will convert the speakers' voices into digital form and send it down telephone lines to a receiver, called a host, at Genesis' York Street office.

From there the information will be sent to *the Irish News* pages on the World Wide Web where Internet users can choose to read text or listen to sound.

The transmission, which takes a fraction of a second, is possibly the first time any newspaper has given live coverage.

Genesis' managing director George Shaw says the venture, which has attracted interest from universities and media groups all over the world, may be the first step of a communications revolution.

"It's a historic event since by putting the Internet into real time we are creating instant publishing. By merging traditional and new-wave technology newspapers can claw back power from radio and television.

"It can also transform the way history is recorded since researchers can look up to see what exactly what happened today in 50 years time.

"If we pull it off the next stage is transmitting moving pictures instantly, though this time we'll settle for graphics," he said.

After initial amazement at the plan the US Information Agency has offered to help with the daunting logistical problems which may yet scupper the event and delay transmission.

The Irish News' live coverage of the visit can be found on the *Irish News* Web site at:
http://www.Irishnews.com/
Those who can afford to wait can read it in tomorrow's edition.

● **irish.news.net: P12**

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PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

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Politicians blasted by Mackie chairman

By Seamus Boyd

'They're a disgrace' says chief

THE man who this morning will greet President Clinton has launched a ferocious attack on Northern Ireland's politicians.

Mackie International chief executive Pat Dougan said they were "a disgrace" and accused them of "frittering-away the peace".

Speaking at a press conference at his company headquarters on Springfield Road, Mr Dougan said the peace process had stuttered for 15 months.

"The politicians are a disgrace to Northern Ireland. They have let us down.

"By failing to reach agreement they have frittered-away most of the peace. For example we had the charade over what the word 'permanent' meant and now we have the ongoing controversy over decommissioning.

"The politicians from all sides have failed us. They would not be capable of running an industry," Mr Dougan said.

The Mackie boss said he was looking forward to this morning's visit by President Clinton which will be witnessed by an audience of over 1,500 including workers, guests and 200 children from four schools.

Last night a team of painters were putting the finishing-touches to the building where the president will make his keynote speech.

Mr Dougan also announced yesterday that Mackie is poised to begin building a new £13 million foundry creating 160 jobs.

The company is currently in negotiations with the Industrial Development Board and an announcement is expected next month.

The new foundry would serve the entire Irish market and Mr Dougan said he anticipated it would add £15 million turnover to Mackie's current annual sales of £25 million.

When the foundry is complete it will another milestone in the remarkable transformation of Mackie under the leadership of Pat Dougan. Three years ago the company was in danger of closing until he led a management buyout.

Last year it was floated on the London Stock Exchange with a placing price of 180p. Today the shares are worth 367p



● ACCUSATION... Mackie boss Pat Dougan

Shocking increase in north's cancer deaths

By Fabian Boyle

Tobacco significant cause says report

A SHOCKING 75 per cent increase in the number of deaths from lung cancer among Northern Ireland women over the past 15 years is reported in a new study published today.

The escalation, with younger women accounting for much of the increase, is revealed in the first publication of the new Northern Ireland Cancer Register, which was established last year in the Department of Epidemiology and Public Health at Queen's University.

The report, which shows that cancer is causing an increasing number of deaths in the north, was compiled by Dr Dermot O'Reilly, now deputy director of the health and care search unit at Queen's, along with Dr Anne Gavin, colon, ovary and pancreas.

The number of male deaths from cancer has increased by 20 per cent, and the number of females by 21 per cent in the past 15 years.

Deaths from cancers of the oesophagus, the bladder, prostate, kidney, the ovary and the lung have also risen, but those from cancer of the stomach, colon, rectum, the testis preventable. This report should contribute towards improved understanding and a public awareness of cancer and its prevention, which are vital factors in the fight against this disease."

The report also refers to the fact that many of the major causes of death in Northern Ireland are "significantly related to tobacco use," including various forms of heart and respiratory disease.

"Tobacco-related cancer deaths have been increasing in older males and females in Northern

Ear attacker strikes again in city centre

By Seamus McKinney

A SECOND man has had part of his ear bitten off in an unprovoked attack outside a Derry city centre restaurant.

Jonathon McLaren, 21, lost a large part of his ear at exactly the same spot as another man had some of his left ear bitten off last Friday.

Derry police believe the same person carried out both attacks.

The latest incident took place at Waterloo Street at 1.30am on Tuesday. Mr McLaren was standing outside the same fast food restaurant when he was attacked and had part of his ear bitten off.

Despite emergency surgery, doctors were unable to sew the ear back on.

Last Friday morning, 21-year-old Eddie Love lost a large chunk of his ear when a man jumped on his back as he stood outside the restaurant.

Sectarian murder inquiry adjourned again

AN inquest into a loyalist sectarian murder was adjourned for the second time yesterday – to allow a coroner and the RUC to consider the evidence from an unofficial inquiry into the killing.

Liam Paul Thompson, 25, was shot dead by two UFF assassins as he sat in his car at Springfield Park just over 18 months ago.

An inquest into his death was adjourned last August after solicitors for the family claimed that "key witnesses" had not been notified.

But at the resumed hearing a lawyer representing the coroner said every effort had been made to seek statements from key witnesses but no response had been made by solicitors.

However, coroner John Leckey agreed to postpone the hearing once again until both he and the RUC officer-in-charge of the murder inquiry had an opportunity to see the findings of the unofficial inquiry.

Mr Thompson, who lived at Dermott Hill Road, was sitting in a car when he was attacked by two gunmen, who had climbed through a hole in the peaceline fence separating Springfield Park and Springmartin.

His friend, taxi driver Patrick Elley was wounded in the incident.

A two-day public hearing into the killing last September, organised by the Springfield Road Residents' Association, heard claims that police were warned about two men seen tampering with the peaceline security fence before the killing.

The gunmen later used a gap in the fence to launch their murder bid.

Lotto

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● NEW PHILOSOPHY... Cardinal Daly

Accord marks watershed - cardinal

THE Catholic primate, Cardinal Cahal Daly has insisted the twin-track agreement should mark an end to the "not-an-inch philosophy" which has soured progress.

The primate said parties which have supported violence in the past should now make a "solemn commitment" to exclusively peaceful methods and should publicly pledge themselves "irrevocably" to the democratic process.

"There should then be an end to all laying-down of preconditions for entering into inclusive all-party talks. Further procrastination and delay would only put everything that has been achieved at risk," said the cardinal.

In a special message from Rome last night, the cardinal spoke of the urgency of building peace, based on the principle of consent.

He congratulated John Major and John Bruton on their commitment and persistence. "There is not yet full agreement between them but there is at least a welcome breaking of the logjam and a new hope of political progress. Particularly welcome is the announcement of a date for all-party talks.

"The initial response of Sinn Fein, though cautious, is nevertheless not negative.

"It is essential now that all parties declare their willingness to enter into talks and to co-operate fully with the new international commission and to abide by its eventual recommendations."

"The ceasefires are above all a call to political action. They create a serious obligation on the part of all of us to prove that democratic politics can work in Northern Ireland and can deliver equality of rights and equal opportunities and just sharing of decision-making and of responsibility by both of its historic communities."

Cardinal Daly said United States support for the peace process is of immense importance and the visit by Bill Clinton can "mark a watershed and a new beginning".

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

[The Irish News, Thursday, November 30, 1995, page 4 continued]

Hoax bombs in Belfast

PARTS of Belfast were sealed off for several hours last night while British army experts dealt with hoax bombs at petrol stations on Great Victoria Street and Osborne Park on the Lisburn Road.

Peace gain for inmates

A Fianna Fail deputy yesterday criticised the British government for its continuing failure to give "a peace dividend" to IRA prisoners and their families.

Fianna Fail prisoners spokesman Eamon O Cuiv yesterday began a return visit to IRA members in British prisons. The opposition deputy has pledged to keep visiting the prisoners until their situation has improved and they are transferred back to Ireland.

He has regularly visited the prisoners and also recently accompanied a cancer specialist to Whitemoor Prison to examine Co Laois man Patrick Kelly who is seriously ill with skin cancer.

Life member of Union bar

PRESIDENT Bill Clinton will be offered life membership of Queen's University Students' Union during his visit to the campus today.A spokesman said that the honour, which has been bestowed on a variety of personalities, ranging from Nobel Prize-winner Seamus Heaney to Irish education minister, Niamh Breathnach, was due to the fact that he was the first US President to visit Queen's, as well as his commitment to the peace process.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

[The Irish News, Thursday, November 30, 1995, page 4 continued]

Presidential visit

Peace process back on rails

Sinn Fein likely to go along with Downing Street arms initiative

By **William Graham**
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT Clinton arrives today on a political high – confident that the peace process is back on track – amid signs that Sinn Fein are preparing to sign up to the international body dealing with arms.

At the same time President Clinton will hear a very different tune directly from Unionist leaders about increasing unease with the last-minute agreement.

Undoubtedly, the pressure exerted by the Americans over the past few days helped drive through the Downing Street deal.

The real hard work remains however in terms of making this deal stick. The president's man George Mitchell, has the unenviable task of heading up the international body with the almost impossible job of sorting out the arms decommissioning problem by mid-January.

Mr Clinton has described the twin-track as the best opportunity he has seen to identify the way to a lasting settlement in Northern Ireland.

He believes the Downing Street communique has set forth a framework in which differences of opinion can be resolved. He hopes the framework will be accepted by all the parties.

"The United States, whether in the Middle East, Bosnia, or Northern Ireland, is trying to support reasonable peace processes, not to dictate terms or make decisions. The twin-track process is a reasonable peace process and it is not for us to get into the details of the judgments that the countries and the parties will have to make," the president said.

"My message to the IRA is that the twin-track process has provided a mechanism for the parties honourably now to bring their concerns to the table and be heard," he added.

On Saturday the Sinn Fein ard comhairle in Dublin is expected to go line-by-line through the Downing Street statement by the two prime ministers.

The indications are that Sinn Fein will not turn their back on this effort to break the deadlock in the peace process, provided they are satisfied preconditions have been removed. They might also decide to speak "authoritatively" to the Mitchell commission on IRA arms and on removal of all weapons, legal and illegal, out of Irish politics.

The SDLP view this latest initiative as an opportunity to make progress towards dialogue and towards decommissioning. Mark Durkan said: "In itself it does not solve the problems which have been at the heart of the impasse but it does provide a framework in which all parties can put forward their issues and ideas in a constructive and purposeful way."

But President Clinton will hear a very different analysis from unionist politicians. He is due to meet the Rev Ian Paisley later today and will be told that the initiative is an insult and a fudge; and that the DUP are not interested in such a twin-track approach.

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION



● LIGHTING-UP TIME... an electrician tests the light bulbs in a sign for peace on the walls of Derry

Unionists furious with 'insulting' arms deal

By **Chris Hagan**

But SDLP and some loyalists enthusiastic

THERE has been a mixed reaction to the peace process breakthrough with the SDLP the only party which is enthusiastically welcoming the agreement.

The DUP, Sinn Fein and Ulster Unionists all branded it "a fudge".

DUP leader Ian Paisley described it as "a colossal fudge".

He criticised what he claimed was the "mad rush" to make an announcement before President Clinton's visit.

"It is all aimed at helping Bill Clinton in his election to get the Irish vote."

He said it was wrong to try and sell the agreement as part of "an imaginary peace process" since the British and Irish governments were obviously at odds on the issue.

"It was quite evident for all who seen their interviews there was nothing settled, that they were polls apart," Mr Paisley said.

His deputy leader described it as an insult to unionists.

"Unionists don't want to be packaged along with Sinn Fein in a twin-track process," said Mr Robinson.

He said the DUP had always spoken directly to the prime minister on how progress should be made and would continue to deal with Mr Major.

SDLP deputy leader Seamus Mallon welcomed the move. He said it was esseritial to push the peace process forward because it had been clouded by an air of despair and people did not want to let go of peace.

"This is a means of retaining it, of extending it and making it permanent. I think in those terms it is the beginning of something very good indeed," Mr Mallon said.

Alliance leader John Alderdice welcomed the agreement as a way of moving the peace process forward.

Dr Alderdice said: "While this initiative leaves the substantive problems of decommissioning and the form of all-party talks unresolved it is welcome because it provides a process through which we can move forward.

"I have perhaps unkindly likened it to a wheel barrow. What I mean is that a vehicle has been created into which all the substantial problems can be deposited and we can make some progress while trundling those unresolved problems in front of us.

"Sooner or later they have to be addressed and that will be very difficult indeed."

Dr Alderdice said the momentum which the initiative creates must be welcome and helpful.

David Ervine, of the Progressive Unionist party, said there had to be movement in the peace process and as long as it was in the right general direction that was good.

"It may not be all that we want, it may not be all that all the people of Northern Ireland want, but it is as good as we could possibly get."

He said recent weeks, during which there had been talk of a return to violence, had been "quite frightening" but to suggest there had to be some movement "because we are frightened of the IRA going back to war is a nonsense".

On decommissioning he said "If the people of Northern Ireland want decommissioning then the people of Northern Ireland will have to have decommissioning – but I don't think we should go back to war because at this time decommissioning is not possible."

Ulster Unionist party security spokesman Ken Maginnis also described it as a fudge.



● UNDER FIRE... Tom French and Workers' Party supporters picket US Consulate
Picture: Hugh Russell

Workers' Party hits out at US over Cuban sanctions

By **Rory Carroll**

THE WORKERS' Party picketed the US consulate office in Belfast yesterday in protest against the US embargo on Cuba.

Northern Regional Chairperson Tom French accused President Clinton of defying United Nations resolutions and attempting to undermine Cuba's sovereignty.

"Clinton's representative more or less told the UN to get stuffed. This is the tactic of the bully boy and the lout," he said.

Around 18 people stood outside the Queen Street office with placards and a letter asking President Clinton to drop the economic sanctions was handed in to the US Consulate General Kathleen Stephens.

However, Mr French said the party welcomed Mr Clinton's visit and hoped he would make a significant contribution to securing permanent peace and democratic progress in Northern Ireland.

'Help to stop intimidation' plea

MONSIGNOR Denis Faul will today ask President Clinton to intervene in the case of a 15-year-old boy allegedly ordered by the IRA to leave Northern Ireland.

He will hand over a letter giving details of the "violation of human rights" and ask the US President to raise the issue with Sinn Fein.

"I have it written out on a sheet and I will ask him to speak to Sinn Fein so they can use their influence to stop this intimidation," he said.

Patrick Donegan, who is from Jonesboro in south Armagh, has gone into hiding since the banishment order for alleged joyriding.

Mgr Faul, who meets President Clinton at the Whitla Hall in Queen's University, has been joined by Families Against Intimidation and Terror in condemning the IRA.

The Dungannon priest accused the IRA of sickening inhumanity after Mr Donegan was ordered to leave and not return until he was 18.

"This is a gross interference with basic family rights and human rights. We cannot live with this type of tyranny. It must be condemned by all right-thinking people."

Reynolds admits doubts over 'twin-

By **Mary Carolan**

FORMER Taoiseach Albert Reynolds yesterday voiced grave reservations about the prospects for success of the "twin-track" deal hammered out between the Irish and British governments on the eve of US President Bill Clinton's arrival in London.

He said it was "very difficult" to see how there could be progress if British premier John Major sticks to his insistence on IRA arms decommissioning before all party talks.

Mr Major appeared to be "totally inflexible" and "stubbornly insistent" on that issue, said Mr Reynolds.

"He is looking for an unacceptable and an unattainable objective in looking for arms to be handed over in advance," Mr Reynolds said.

"This is looking for surrender. It's the militaristic approach to what should be peaceful words being used in this situation.

"I don't see it happening and I don't see who's looking for it either. It seems to be only political. The security forces, the RUC, the British army are not looking for handover of arms."

Mr Reynolds, who played a crucial role in securing the IRA ceasefire, also pointed out that he didn't believe President Clinton, unlike the British government, was seeking some handover of IRA weapons before the opening of all-party talks.

The agreement between British premier John Major and taoiseach John Bruton setting out a target date for all-party talks and establishing an international advisory body on decommissioning was generally welcomed in Dublin yesterday but received a mixed reception from the northern parties.

Yesterday Mr Reynolds disputed Mr Major's claim that there was no pressure from the US on the British and Irish sides to reach some agreement aimed at retsoring momentum in the deadlocked peace process.

"He would say that, wouldn't he," Mr Reynolds said. "It's well known there's been a lot of pressure coming from Washington on both governments to try and get some move on the process in advance of President Clinton's coming here.

"It's only reasonable to expect that something should be moving by the time he gets here."

He hoped the joint communique from the government leaders would inject new life into the flag when you contrast th prime ministers said answer session of the one wonders. They disagree on this decommissioning."

He said Mr Major "totally inflexibl decommissioning issu

Mr Reynolds said: " that the purpose of commission is to find for John Major government and we h if that's going to happ

[The Irish News, Thursday, November 30, 1995, page 4 continued]

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

[The Irish News, Thursday, November 30, 1995, page 4 continued]

approach.

UUP leader warns over talks with Sinn Fein

ULSTER Unionist leader David Trimble yesterday stepped up his warning after publication of the twin-track agreement that his party will not sit down for talks with Sinn Fein until the decommissioning of IRA weapons has begun.

Mr Trimble, in his first response to the agreement, dismissed it as a "fudge" which failed to address the crucial issue of the decommissioning of IRA arms.

He said there must be what Sir Patrick Mayhew had referred to some time ago as the beginning of a process of decommissioning.

Mr Trimble said this must be a "credible process" which is followed through once it is started.

He said the decommissioning issue was not resolved, but simply delayed by the agreement.

Mr Trimble said: "That issue has been postponed. That is the only thing this does. It sets up a body in the hope that it gets round that issue.

"The essential issue is that there must be decommissioning and there will be no talks with Sinn Fein until that happens."

Mr Trimble was enthusiastic about the reference in the agreement to an elected body. He believed this offered the only prospect for progress and it was a matter of considerable importance to his party.

"I see no possibility of this matter progressing in a hopeful and a sound manner without elections."

The UUP leader accused Mr Major of having struck the deal purely to curry favour with the American President.

"I found that aspect of it rather distasteful. We have had all this rushing about and a press conference at 11pm last night, all so that John Major could meet Bill Clinton and say 'What a good boy I am, I've done what you told me'," he said.

"Isn't that a rather shameful position for a British prime minister to be reduced to, rushing around late at night, scurrying desperately to meet deadlines that other people have set."

Public office closures

IN Belfast the following offices will be close at 3pm today: the Rate Collection Agency on Chichester Street, the Driver and Vehicle Licensing Agency on Upper Queen Street and the Public Records office on Balmoral Avenue.

In Derry the Driver and Vehicle Licensing Agency on Foyle Street may close if there is a lot of disruption in the city.

Prisoners not cheering Bill on his way

By Ben Webster

FIVE life-sentence prisoners have had their pre-release schemes suspended because of Bill Clinton's arrival in Northern Ireland today.

The Ulster Democratic Party condemned the "insensitive haste" of the prison authorities in halting the Working Out training schemes for which inmates receive day-release.

The Prison Service said the five lifers – three UDA, one INLA and one non-paramilitary – would remain behind bars today because of the anticipated traffic congestion in Belfast.

A Prison Service spokesman added: "Due to the traffic difficulties likely to be experienced in and around Belfast owing to the presidential visit, Working Out schemes in the Belfast area will not take place on Thursday."

UDP prisons spokesman John White said: "These valuable schemes prepare prisoners for their eventual release back into the community. Suspending the schemes directly contradicts the Prison Service's plan for resettling prisoners back into the community in a normal and positive manner.

"I think they should be allowed out to celebrate Clinton's visit. They should not be penalised just because the US president is here."

The five men, some of whom work in west Belfast, would normally be dropped-off in the city centre in the morning and picked up in the early evening.

Pre-release schemes for a number of other prisoners serving lesser sentences will also be affected.

All schemes are expected to be back to normal tomorrow.

n-track' pact

the flagging process. "But ntrast that with what both ers said in the question and ion of the press conference, s. They certainly agreed to n this precondition of oning."

Mr Major appeared to be inflexible" on the oning issue.

ds said: "One would expect rpose of the international is to find a way off the hook Major and the British and we have to wait and see g to happen."

The former taoiseach said to his knowledge President Clinton had never agreed to a position where he wanted to see IRA arms decommissioned before all-party talks.

"It may well be that he too expects his international commission chaired by his own than to come up with a set of proposals which would take the British government off the hook on this precondition," he said.

"I'm sure he realises by now that for the last nine months it has been the stumbling block and will continue to be so."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

[The Irish News, Thursday, November 30, 1995, page 5]

Where you can catch a glimpse of the VIPs

By **Niall Blaney**

THERE will be numerous opportunities to see President Clinton as he makes his way through Belfast at various times during today.

For those using the airport, they may be lucky enough to catch a glimpse of the presidential party as it arrives at Aldergrove on Airforce One at 9.15 this morning.

The motorcade will then travel along the M2 – which will be closed to all city-bound traffic in the morning – on to the Westlink and the Grosvenor Road.

From there the procession moves to the Falls, past the Sinn Fein press centre, and into Northumberland Street, across the peaceline, and on to the Shankill Road.

After leaving the Woodvale area, the president will again travel across the peaceline at Lanark Way, along the Springfield Road and into Mackie's.

The journey will take place between 9.30 and 10.10am. It is not envisaged that the motorcade will stop at any time during the tour of west Belfast.

The president is expected to be greeted by a crowd of 1,000 people before leaving at 11.40am.

The cavalcade will then drive back down along the Grosvenor Road, across the Westlink, along Howard Street, Donegall Square South, May Street, East Bridge Street, crossing the Albert Bridge and along the Albertbridge Road to the East Belfast Enterprise Park for 11.55am.

At this point the president and Mrs Clinton will separate, with the first lady visiting the women's drop-in centre on the lower Ormeau Road at noon. She will spend an hour there before rejoining Mr Clinton at Shorts' Sydenham complex via the Depot Road.

They then fly to Derry, arriving back in Belfast at 6 o'clock and leaving the city airport for the city hall at 6.15pm.

The cavalcade will drive along the Sydenham by-pass, across the Bridgend flyover and Queen's Bridge, and along Oxford Street and May Street.

The presidential party will enter the rear of the city hall at Donegall Square South and the Clintons will switch on the Christmas lights at 6.40pm.

The area around the city hall will be closed throughout the day.

The motorcade leaves there at 7.45pm, travelling along Howard Street, Great Victoria Street and into Shaftesbury Square, along Bradbury Place and University Road to Queen's University for a reception at 7.55pm, which will end an hour later.

The presidential party will return along University Road and Great Victoria Street to reach the Europa Hotel for 9.10pm.

Tomorrow morning the Clintons will depart from the Europa just after 8 o'clock for Belfast International Airport and then to Dublin.

All routes taken by the presidential party will be closed until it has passed.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

The president's tour at a glance

- 9.15am: Arrives Aldergrove Airport
- 9.30-10.10: Tour of west Belfast
- 11.40: Through city centre to east Belfast
- 11.55: East Belfast Enterprise Park
- Noon: Hillary Clinton on Lower Ormeau Road
- 1.15pm: Shorts Sydenham Complex
- 2.05: Arrive Derry City Airport
- 2.25: Guildhall Square
- 3.00: President addresses audience in the square
- 5.20: Depart Derry City Airport
- 6.00: Arrive Belfast City Airport
- 6.15: Belfast City Hall
- 6.40: Switching on Christmas lights
- 7.55: Arrive Queen's University
- 9.00: Leave QUB for the Europa Hotel
- 8.10am: To Aldergrove for flight to Dublin

These times may be subject to change

[The Irish News, Thursday, November 30, 1995, page 5 continued]

Major speaks of risks in peace search

PRESIDENT Clinton's visit to Northern Ireland today will provide "huge encouragement" to the people of Northern Ireland and give fresh impetus to the search for peace in the province, British Prime Minister John Major said last night.

He was speaking at a banquet in the state dining room at 10 Downing Street, in honour of the president and his wife, Hillary.

Mr Major underlined that they had taken risks in the cause of peace in Northern Ireland.

"They are worthwhile risks."

But he warned of the truth of the adage: "You must never negotiate out of fear, but let us never fear to negotiate."

The prime minister, and the president himself, underlined again what Mr Clinton described as "this enduring and very special relationship".

And the president, slightly misquoting one of his "favourite Englishmen", 007 James Bond, said this relationship "could never be stirred nor shaken."

The two leaders spoke before the dinner attended by 65 guests, including the opposition leader, Tony Blair, Sir Andrew Lloyd Webber and Richard Branson.

The prime minister paid warm tribute to the president's "memorable" speech in the royal gallery in the morning.

"It showed a detailed knowledge of our history, a great deal of it shared with the United States."

Mr Major told the president that today he would be breaking fresh ground.

"You will become the first serving president of the United States to visit Northern Ireland.

"You will find you are visiting people to whom warmth and hospitality are second nature."

Mr Major said the British government was delighted with the help and support the United States had given towards the peace process.

"Over the past three years or so, I believed that working together the British and Irish governments have achieved a great deal along with the invaluable help of the United States.

"What John Bruton and I are seeking is quite clear. It is to give a fresh impetus to the search for a lasting political settlement in Northern Ireland."

He said that such a settlement would bring about a change of life in Northern Ireland on a scale which people would find difficult to imagine.

The prime minister said the president would see a Northern Ireland being transformed.

[The Irish News, Thursday, November 30, 1995, page 5 continued]

r 30 1995

Presidential visit

Howdy folks! All the president's men roll in

By **Carmel Robinson**

"KEEP your hair on" said a huge man with an official-loking idenification tag round his neck.

That was the scene in the Europa Hotel, Belfast, yesterday as a crammed lift or "elevator" descended a crowd of people like processed meat to the lobby.

The presidential visit has turned one tiny part of Belfast into Washington.

It wasn't even America – it was Washington.

In the lobby, dignitaries used to publicity but who requested anonimity milled about, flabbergasted at the enormity of this US presidential phenomenon.

Even the hairdresser at the Europa was indundated with business.

Boots the chemist next door was almost running out of hairspray as the American entourage stocked up on supplies to keep up their clean-cut appearance.

The Europa foyer – or "lobby" as it is now known – was awash with security.

Three RUC officers were visibly in front of plain-clothed American security agents behind the security gates.

But spirits were high, not just because of the free Bushmills that was being passed round, but the panic and bedlam associated with the logistics of a presidential visit.

Countless people were nipping into one of Belfast's most prestigious hotels just to see what it was really like.

The Europa seemed to be taking it all in its stride.



● **MAMMOTH TASK ... workers get Belfast city hall ready for the big day**
Picture: Hugh Russell

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

[The Irish News, Thursday, November 30, 1995, page 5 continued]

Tragic story of the other Mrs Clinton

EXCLUSIVE

By **Phelim McAleer**

JIM will visit the Ormeau Road today to see Mrs Clinton.

But it is his mother Mary 'Daisy' Clinton with whom he will be calling. Two hundred yards away the first lady will meet with community leaders but Jim Clinton is not interested.

Eighteen months ago there were two Mrs Clintons living in the tiny lower Ormeau area.

But on July 14 Jim's 34-year-old wife Teresa was shot dead as she sat in her living room on Balfour Street. Her husband was upstairs in bed.

"Teresa was hit 23 times. When I saw her she was dead."

Jim stood as a Sinn Fein candidate in the 1989 local government elections but it was not a case of mistaken identity.

"They smashed the window with a brieze block and the block was lying on the Venetian so there was a gap where it was holding the Venetian down. They saw who they were shooting, she was sitting in a short nightdress."

Teresa was shot where she sat.

"She didn't get off the chair; her foot was still underneath her bottom where she had been sitting on her leg."

She would have been 36 yesterday and left two children, Roseann, now 14 and Siobhan, four.

Jim was just 13 when he started going out with Teresa.



● **WIDOWER... Jim Clinton**



● **FIRST LADY... Hillary Clinton**

Her family had just moved to the area and they were next door neighbours.

"We went out together as kids do then when I was 16 I just went out continually with her."

He was 18 and she was 19 when they married in 1979.

"She was a very quiet, gentle, family woman. I would have called her a mammy. We joked about that. With the big age gap she doted on Roseann for 10 years and then Siobhan came along and she doted on the two them."

Every day his daughter reminds him of Teresa.

"Roseann is a double of her mother and I mean a double I went with Teresa from I was 13 and I know what she was like when she was young and Roseann is like her in every way – her mannerisms her looks.

He will go to the Ormeau Road today to visit his mother but will ignore the gathering across the street.

"My mother as a Mrs Clinton doesn't enjoy the same status as the other Mrs Clinton. I will be on the Ormeau road on the day but it will be to see Daisy Clinton, not Hillary Clinton."

He is critical of the RUC's role in the visit.

"It is ironic that the same people who claim to be the sole protectors of the Clintons have also attacked the Clintons on numerous occasions going back to the early 70s right up until the present day."

He feelings about those who killed his wife are simple.

"I hate them with a passion."

Among those arrested for Teresa Clinton's murder was UFF leader Joe Bratty, shot dead on July 31 close to his home, less than a mile away in the predominantly Protestant Upper Ormeau.

He was later released when a police mistake led to witnesses names and addresses being made available to him and they withdrew their evidence.

For Jim the police mistake was useful.

"I'm quite happy they didn't identify him because he would have been in jail and he wouldn't have been standing on the Ormeau Road on July 31."



● **DEVOTED MOTHER... tragic murder victim Teresa Clinton lovingly cradles her youngest daughter Siobhan**

He was not mourned in the lower Ormeau.

"It made a lot of people on the road very happy. That's the way it is."

Jim thinks the presidential visit has certain uses.

"I think the reason Bruton was in London last night was because of Clinton's visit but it hasn't helped the ordinary people in the street and the people who have been affected by the 25 years of the conflict."

"Speaking personally, they are too late to help Teresa Clinton who was shot dead by British guns.

"It's too late for that but it may not be too late to help the other Mrs Clinton who would love to see her two sons released from jail before she dies." His brother Sean is awaiting trial charged with Joe Bratty's murder.

Life since Teresa's death has been difficult.

"You learn very quickly that people don't care about you. You're a big thing for a week and after that you're nothing."

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Christ
Everthing must
Umbrellas, handbags, purses, wallets, lugg briefcases, scarves.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

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Picture: Hugh Russell

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Clinton lovingly cradles her

Buzby loses out in scramble with Yanks

BRITISH Telecom has succumbed to the might of the US electronic empire.

According to one BT source, its scrambling system was simply not good enough for President Bill Clinton's security.

American telecommunications giant AT&T has infiltrated Belfast's Europa Hotel, with all telephone links to the White House contingent using their lines.

While BT is being used as a transmission network by the US entourage, their own direct lines are provided by AT&T.

The BT engineer said: "Some agencies require a high level of data protection. They may use their own equipment which encodes data before transmission and decodes it at the receiving end."

"Government agencies require very high levels of security and will generally use their own equipment which will then be transmitted over the normal network."

Light relief with Dignity

NEWRY'S answer to Boyzone hope to sing and dance their way into the hearts of the watching millions tonight after President Clinton switches on Belfast's Christmas tree lights.

The trio, known as *Dignity*, will also share the platform with the George Michael-like Tony Ajir who is best known for singing advertising jingles.

Newry-born singer Kieran Goss will also entertain the expected crowd of 30,000.

Organisers hope there will be time to squeeze in Van Morrison as well.

[The Irish News, Thursday, November 30, 1995, page 5 continued]

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

Overseas firms plan expansion

MORE than £270 million of additional investment is planned by overseas companies already operating in Northern Ireland, a report by Coopers & Lybrand confirms today.

In the most comprehensive survey of inward investment companies ever undertaken in the British Isles, almost 75 per cent of the foreign companies in the north reveal their intentions to expand further.

The availability of skilled labour combined with low operating costs are the two key factors influencing investment intentions, the survey says.

The north's infrastructure is also a positive element.

Commenting on the survey, Coopers & Lybrand spokesman Stephen Kingon said: "It is clear that for potential investors the perception of Northern Ireland is more influential than the reality.

"Those who do invest, come here for sound commercial reasons and have no regrets."

A full report on the survey which was conducted over a 12-month period, will be made available next month.

USA switches on economic lights as the ceasefires hold steady

With the prospect of permanent peace in the north ever brighter, our business correspondent **Seamus Boyd** reflects that American firms now find investment in Ireland as attractive as the fairy lights on the proverbial Christmas tree

PRESIDENT Clinton will probably go down in history as the man who brokered the peace in Ireland; but while the stability of politics is always uncertain there can be no doubt that his visit has already had a major and long lasting economic impact.

Almost 3,000 jobs and £200 million of investment ($70 million from the Industrial Development Board) has been announced in the past month and inquiries to the Industrial Development Board have rocketed.

This year's Christmas scene around the world will undoubtedly be the President switching on the lights in Belfast.

It's an image of immense significance to those whose task it is to bring jobs to Northern Ireland.

Corners of the globe which previously only saw pictures of violence and carnage will instead be focused on peace and opportunity.

Until now American companies have been slow to invest in Northern Ireland although it must be pointed out that over 40 US firms are already here employing around 9,000 people.

The past five years were dominated by Korean investors who were quick to recognise the economic potential of having a base in the north close to the vital European marketplace.

But now the US companies appear ready to set the pace.

In the past month 721 jobs and $15 million of investments have been created by American firms.

The president's visit, as Economy Minister Baroness Denton says, is a chance to increase investment and ensure that international business learns about the reality of Northern Ireland ... and no longer bases decisions on outdated perceptions.

"Earlier this year, President Clinton said that supporting economic growth offered the best chance for stability and prosperity for all the citizens of Northern Ireland.

"His visit today gives us the chance to build on the economic growth that has already started.

"We must and we will show the United States – and indeed international business – that they can profit with us and in doing so help bring a peaceful and more prosperous future for everyone in Northern Ireland."

The baroness has been a doughty ambassador for the north in the past year during which she led numerous trade missions to the US.

Unfortunately she is a victim of a severe flu this morning ... and will miss her starring role as the warm-up speaker for the president.

However, with a hot whiskey in hand, she may reflect today on a month of outstanding industrial success.

November investments.

AMPC Inc (IOWA) $4.4 million investment – creating 40 jobs in its Lurgan subsidiary Regal Processors.

Plastofilm Industries Inc (Chicago) Packaging company. $2.1 million investment – creating 68 jobs in Enniskillen.

Burnside Engineering (Co Carlow) $2.8 million investment – 50 new jobs also at Enniskillen.

Adldiscon (Dublin) Telecommunications company. $1.2 million project – creating 106 jobs for graduates in Belfast over the next three years.



● IDB chief executive John B McGuckian with Powerscreen chief executive Shay McKeown. The Co Tyrone based company has become a global force acquiring companies in Europe and the United States and proving Northern Ireland industry is not solely dependent on inward investment
Picture: John Harrison

Stream International Inc (MA) $6 million investment – 500 jobs in a software helpline in Derry.

Shorts (Belfast) $5.1 million investment – 155 jobs in its composites plant in Dunmurry.

Michelin (France) $11.8 million expansion at its Ballymena plant.

Dungannon Meats (Dungannon) $3.3 million investment – 140 jobs in a new meat processing centre.

Synthetic Textiles (Newry) $1.4 million investment – 39 jobs over three years in a packaging fabrics factory.

Galen Holdings (Craigavon) $17.4 million investment – 160 jobs in an expansion of its pharmaceutical plant.

Glenbrook Foods (Portadown) $2.2 million investment – 31 jobs in canned food production.

Rusch Manufacturing UK (Lurgan). $2.7 million investment – 113 jobs surgical equipment.

* **Montupet** (France) $142 million investment – creating 1,360 jobs at its Dunmurry plant.

John Clelland (Carryduff) $4.5 million investment in its print and packaging plant.

The above list does not include the expected $13 million expansion at Mackies in Belfast creating 160 jobs.

[The Irish News, Thursday, November 30, 1995, page 6]

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

It's great to have the Yanks here all the time

As the US presidential bandwagon rolls into Belfast and Derry

Francess McDonnell
of our Business Unit
reveals the extent of north American economic commitment to the north

FROM cars to computer software to casual clothing and aircraft components ... you name it and you will discover that behind some of Northern Ireland's most successful companies is an American owner.

Companies such as Ford, Seagate, Fruit of the Loom and Short Brothers are just four of the north's major employers whose American parent companies saw Northern Ireland as the new land of opportunity.

There are currently over 45 American companies employing around 9,000 people in their subsidiaries throughout the north.

Not only have they created employment opportunities but many American consortiums now play an important role in people's day-to-day lives in the north.

Organisations such as Applied Energy Services Electricity whose Northern Ireland subsidiary is electricity generator NIGEN, IBM UK which is owned by International Business Machines and of course the Interpublic Group of Companies – the parent of "wouldn't be great if it was like this all the time" originator, McCann Erickson.

American investment has boosted the local economy of towns in Northern Ireland ... from Antrim – where Nynex Media Communications, the Northern Ireland division of Nynex Corporation New York and Schrader Electronics, the Schrader Automotive division are located – to Larne where the Emerson Electric-owned success story FG Wilson is based.

Companies such as the DDL Electronics subsidiary in Craigavon and the Canadian giant Nortel's Newtownabbey-based Northern Telecom have also acted as catalysts to attract further investment from the entire north American continent.

The city of Derry is a particularly good example of how US investment has been harnessed to generate prosperity in Northern Ireland.

It attracted the "big three" – Dupont, Fruit of the Loom and Lee Apparel – to set up operations in the north and now the American software manufacturer Stream International is set to follow in their footsteps with its announcement this week that it plans to create 500 jobs.

Stream International was just one of three US companies which this week unveiled a series of investment programmes totalling $12.5 million.

Together with Stream, the AMPC group and Plastofilm plan to create almost 590 new jobs in Derry and Enniskillen.

Last week Rusch Manufacturing, a subsidiary of Teleflex also announced it is set to create a further 113 jobs at its Lurgan plant.

It appears that the success of these American companies in Northern Ireland is whetting the appetite of other US firms, as an announcement by the famous American pizza delivery company Domino's will show today.

Domino's will open its first outlet in the north in Belfast to coincide with President Clinton's visit.



● **BELFAST ... Shorts designed and manufacture the nose cowls for the Rolls-Royce RB211 535F5 engine used on Boeing 757 aircraft and selected for the Tupolev 204** Picture: Courtesy Shorts



● **ANTRIM ... Schrader Electrics managing director Jim Bloomer (left) and company research and development director Stephen McClelland can boast state-of-the-art systems** Pictures: John Harrison



● **DERRY ... Paul Kavanagh, president of Stream International (right) shares a joke with IDB chairman John McGuckian and John Hume MP after he announced an investment which will bring 500 jobs to the Foyleside**

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Budget fails to sweeten public

THE first opinion poll after the Budget showed that the Chancellor of the Exchequer's measures had not received public approval.

A total of 74 per cent said that despite his claims they did not believe the economy was stronger because of Conservative policies.

Only 19 per cent thought the economy was strong.

More than 40 per cent of people questioned after Kenneth Clarke's speech said he had done a bad job, the poll for NOP Research showed.

Only 25 per cent of the 500 people questioned liked his approach.

Almost 60 per cent said Mr Clarke should have kept the basic rate of income tax at 25p in the pound and spent more on public services.

Only nine per cent believed he should have cut the rate further and 26 per cent thought he had it about right.

Despite cutting a penny in the pound on basic income tax rates, and the increases in personal allowances, only 25 per cent of people thought they would be better off and 29 per cent thought they would be worse off.

A further 42 per cent thought it would make no difference.

Closi

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Lpool 3½
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BH Prop
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MIM Hldgs
Pan Conti
Renison
W Mining
Wside Pet
EUROPEA
Hoechst
Thyssen
Unilvr NV
NORTH AI
Beth Steel
Exxon
Gen Mtrs
IBM
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BANKS &
Abbey Nat
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Cater Alln
First Nat
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Goode Dr
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HSBC
Ireland
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Lloyds
Nat Aus E
Nat West
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Ryl Scotti
Schroder
Stan Chas
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Union
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Wintrust
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Travis &
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CHEMI
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Amerst
Blagde
Brent I
BTP
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Fisons
Glaxo
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Laporte
Leigh I
Rentok
York C
Zeneca
ELECT
Acorn
Alvis

[The Irish News, Thursday, November 30, 1995, page 6 continued]

[The Irish News, Thursday, November 30, 1995, page 7]

In brief

Bill to get a taste of home

THE fast-food President has arrived just in time to receive a special delivery from Domino's Pizza which opens its first Northern Ireland store today.

President Clinton, who is reputed to tuck into pizzas during long policy-making sessions at the White House, will have one sent to him at the Europa Hotel.

During the Gulf War the Domino's Pizza in Washington had a huge increase in orders.

The new store, on 2 Lisburn Road, will employ 20 full and part-time staff.

Mayor ordered to attend

A Co Down council has told its UUP Mayor that he must attend a gathering with Bill Clinton, tonight rather than switch on the Christmas lights in the main town in his borough.

Ards Borough Council decided by one vote to send its mayor, St Clair McAllister, to a Belfast gathering with Mr Clinton and the secretary of state rather than lead the switch-on of the Ards lights tonight.

Airport advice

Belfast City Airport has advised all passengers intending to fly today to check in at least 90 minutes before their scheduled departures.

President to meet with new head of arms body

By **Seamus McKinney**

THE newly appointed head of the international body on the decommissioning of arms, George Mitchel will be in Derry today to greet President Bill Clinton when he visits the city.

British Prime Minister, John Major and Taoiseach, John Bruton announced on Tuesday night that Mr Mitchel had agreed to head the new commission in an effort to move the peace process out of its current stalemate.

The American statesman will be among the distinguished guests, including politicians and ambassadors, who will attend a civic reception for the US president at the city's Guildhall.

President Clinton is expected to arrive at City of Derry Airport shortly after 2pm. He will travel by motorcade to the Guildhall, to arrive at 2.25pm and at 2.30pm, he will address the people of the city.

After spending approximately one hour meeting the citizens of Derry, the president will be the guest of honour at a civic reception in the city's Guildhall. He will also bestow a new chair of peace studies on the University of Ulster in honour of former speaker of the House of Representatives, Tip O'Neill.

Mr Clinton is expected to leave Derry at 4.30pm to fly from City of Derry Airport at 5.20pm.

Police in Derry have also announced widespread traffic diversions around Derry before, during and after the president's visit. Full details of the traffic diversions are available on an information hotline at Derry 379714.

Derry city council is to use the walls as a backdrop for a concert to be held as the president arrives. Included among the stars due to appear at the concert, which starts at 12 noon, will be Derry singer, Dana and local bands Calgach and Instant Brass.

Mayor of Derry John Kerr said he would be looking forward to officially welcoming the US president to Derry.

"I will be saying 'cead mile failte romhat go Doire Cholmcille," Mr Kerr said.

On a more humorous note, Mr Kerr pointed out that the British ambassador to the US would also be in Derry. The British ambassador's name is Sir John Kerr.

Radio star to capture Bill on film

DOWNTOWN Radio's Ramblin' Man, Bobbie Hanvey, has been given the exclusive job of privately photographing President Bill Clinton during his visit to Derry's Guildhall.

The President is expected to shake hands with around 70 VIPs during the private audience and Bobbie received the appointment from Dr Maurice Hayes, the representative in Northern Ireland of the America-Ireland Fund based in Boston.

During Bobbie's briefing at the Guildhall earlier this week, Clinton aide Ed Emerson spotted Hanvey's portrait of Nobel Prize winner, Seamus Heaney and requested the portrait for the President's suite in Derry and later for it to be taken back for display in the White House.

The Downpatrick award-winning photographer had a hectic phone around to find the three extra backs for his Hasselblad camera needed to do the job. The Swedish company's United Kingdom operation came to the rescue by sending the equipment by express mail.

Meanwhile the Ulster Orchestra has revealed the programme of music to be performed during the President's visit today to Queen's University.In addition to traditional Irish tunes such as *The LDerry Air, Molly on the Shore* and *Mac Ananty's Reel*, there will be music by Mozart, Elgar, Tchaikovsky, Borodin, Dvorak and Boccherini.

Ambulance crews go on full alert

By **Ben Webster**

EXTRA ambulance crews will be on stand-by in Belfast city centre today to handle any emergencies arising during President Clinton's visit.

The RUC, fire and ambulance services have together drawn up contingency plans to cope with the unprecedented congestion in Belfast and Derry created by the presidential motorcade and the thousands of on-lookers.

The M2 will be closed for a period this morning; part of the Sydenham bypass will be closed at lunchtime; much of Belfast city centre will be sealed off from mid-afternoon and many other roads will be cordoned off for part of the day.

An Ambulance Service spokeswoman said: "We cannot predict where there might be an accident. If and when an emergency transpires, we will be in touch with police to get access to roads.

"We could have no problems or we could have quite a lot – it is impossible to tell."

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NEWSPAPER OF THE YEAR



Welcome to a man of peace

FEW United States presidents have played a more pivotal role in the history of this island than William Jefferson Clinton.

And it is with a great sense of pride that we welcome him, his wife Hillary and members of his party to Ireland today. Without Bill Clinton's encouragement and support, we would not now be enjoying our second year of peace.

His administration helped republicans make the transition from militarism to democracy and throughout the present peace process, it has been on hand to offer support and advice to all sides.

This week's momentous deal between Britain and Ireland on the twin-track approach to decommissioning and all-party talks was reached because his visit helped focus minds on the need for movement.

And his commitment to the twin-track approach, expressed time and time again yesterday, makes it more likely that republicans will give it their support.

Mr Clinton has, unfairly, been depicted as a pro-nationalist player in the peace process. At all times he has striven to be even-handed in his approach, and his administration has gone out of its way to listen to the concerns of unionists and the loyalist political parties.

That can be seen in his itinerary for this trip which has been worked out with enormous sensitivity.

It should not be forgotten that the United States has a special relationship with both Britain and Ireland. It is uniquely placed to be an honest broker.

It must be hoped that, during this visit, Mr Clinton will be able to strengthen the bonds of trust between unionists and the White House. If the peace process is to be sustained it must be on the basis of confidence between all sides.

The history of the United States should be an inspiration to all of us as we work for a new set of relationships within this island and between the island of Ireland and Great Britain.

President Clinton referred to that history in his speech to parliament yesterday when he spoke of "an extraordinary relationship" between the United States and the United Kingdom which had been forged in spite of war between them.

The White House itself was damaged in a British attack and Mr Clinton told MPs and peers: "Whenever we have even the most minor disagreement I walk out on the Truman Balcony and I look at those burn marks, just to remind myself that I dare not let this relationship get out of hand again." How potent were those words to us.

When we look at the scars of 25 years of conflict in our own country, we must remind ourselves that we must never go back to that.

Everyone in Northern Ireland – nationalist and unionist – is proud of this most beautiful of lands. Today, through the eyes of television crews, photographers and writers, we share it with the world.

Mr Clinton is a welcome guest. Cead mile failte.

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[The Irish News, Thursday, November 30, 1995, page 8 continued]

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

And it is with a great sense of pride that we welcome him, his wife Hillary and members of his

The executioner was an emp.Bill.Clinton's, sistant of the English executioner. The execution took place in that part of the prison near the canal which used to be the female section but portion of which is now being used as a male civil prison.

Labour campaign in Belfast

WARM tributes were paid to the memory of the late Mr William Walker (the Belfast Labour leader who died in 1918) at a meeting in Clarence Place Hall last night held to inaugurate a memorial in recognition of his services to Labour.

The Labour candidate for West Belfast, Mr Harry Midgley, and other speakers eulogised the services which Mr Walker had rendered to the working people of all creeds and pointed out that he, like those today, were slandered and libelled. Mr JH Gilliland said it was 20 years since Willie Walker, John Burns and himself were hunted from the Ormeau Park because they attempted to hold a Labour demonstration. The workers of Belfast were more enlightened today than to repeat such a discreditable performance which they did on that occasion at the behest of the employers and political cliques who were as strongly determined now as they were now to crush Labour. ("Never" and cheers.)

Mr Midgley, the official Labour candidate, who was received with loud and prolonged cheering and cries of "The west awake" said the campaign in which they were presently engaged on behalf of Labour would never have been possible if it had not been for the glorious work accomplished in the past by Willie Walker. They of the Labour Party, like Walker, never considered the question of a man's religion. (Hear, hear).

clergy. It can be either good or bad. It's good when clergy listen to the victim, understand her situation and refer her out eventually.

A question raised by Monica McWilliams was: why is domestic violence not condemned more often as a sin?

We need to balance these texts with the respect which Jesus showed to women, his challenge to the way men



Ring of security for festive tree

TWO BURLY security guards have been spotted patrolling the area around Belfast city hall's Christmas tree – which, like a princess in a fairytale, lies languishing inside the civic gates awaiting the Clinton touch.

Naturally the tree, imported from the USA, has become a symbol of light and hope throughout the land. So it's very important that no-one steals it, sets fire to it, booby-traps it, or kidnaps it.

The city hall, though, assured us that the security guards weren't crack secret service agents. In fact, the tree was guarded every year, this year was nothing special, a spokeswoman said.

No smoke without ire for the health lobby

ANDREW DOUGAL and his mates at the Northern Ireland Chest, Heart and Stroke Association certainly don't lack a sense of their own self-importance.

Just two hours before the British chancellor, Kenneth Clarke, was due to unveil his Budget, the association sent a fax urging him to increase the cost of a packet of cigarettes by 14p.

Maybe the association really is as important as it thinks it is. Maybe Kenneth Clarke said: "Hold the presses boys and lets get back to the drawing board. Andrew Dougal wants us to put 14p tax on a packet of fags."



In black & white

Liz MacPherson

Hold the farming page until president goes

IT IS unfair the way we are all supposed to put our lives on hold until Bill Clinton's visit ends.

Because of a Clinton broadcast special, we have been deprived of the John Bennett programme on Radio Ulster and, due to expected traffic disruption, the Ulster Farmers Union has been forced to cancel a press conference for agricultural journalists.

As one cynic in the office said: "It's a pity Clinton doesn't visit regularly."

Body language angle excites News Letter

IF NEWSPAPER awards are ever introduced for coverage of the Clinton visit, the *News Letter* must win the one for useless endeavour.

Not only did it managed to write a lot of psycho-twaddle, which made Princess Diana look solid and down-to-earth, on its front page on Tuesday, it also managed to find a unionist angle.

The paper ran a photograph of Mr Clinton with the Ulster Unionist leader David Trimble taken during the latter's visit to the US earlier this month.

As the *News Letter* admitted that it didn't know exactly what the two talked about but said their body language revealed a lot: "The eye contact suggests that neither man feels daunted by the other's presence. They are turned towards each other in a gesture of genuine sincerity."

To my untrained eye Clinton looks wary and weary, like a bank manager being asked to give a loan.

Dunphy waits in vain for broadcaster Ann

PASSIONATE debate over the BBC's *Children In Need* appeal continues in discerning circles.

Sunday Independent columnist Eamon Dunphy called to say that he would pledge some money if his favourite broadcaster – the dark and dusky Ann Cadwallader – said a special hello to him when she was doing her morning paper round up for Radio Ulster.



● **UNDAUNTED...David Trimble**

But former IRSP spokesman Kevin McQuillan got to hear of this and hotly retorted that he would pledge more if Ms Cadwallader said a special hello to him.

Perhaps the conflict would be resolved if Ann simply said: "Hi Eamon and Hi Kevin...and now for a look at what *The Independent* is saying about the Clinton visit."

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[The Irish News, Thursday, November 30, 1995, page 9]

US briefs

Kind bobby gets invite from Bill

He is the London bobby that Bill Clinton never forgot.

PC Laurie Mullin, 58, was the officer who showed the then Governor of Arkansas, his wife Hillary and their daughter Chelsea, around the House of Commons some six years ago.

And yesterday, Mr Mullin received a personal invitation to attend the president's reception at the US Ambassador's residence in London's Regent's Park this evening.

Mr Mullin, of Barking, Essex, who has been an officer at the Commons for 18 years, said: "It came out of the blue. I am over the moon.

"In 1985, I took a family from Arkansas round the commons. They happened to be friends of the Clintons and so they gave him my name when he came over here some years before he went to the White House.

"I showed Bill Clinton and his family around the commons, then he had to return to the United States. So my wife, Laraine and I took Hillary and Chelsea on trips out into the country, including to Stonehenge during the following week.

"It is absolutely marvellous that the President should remember me. We are both delighted. Indeed, we are tickled pink."

Clinton boost from OECD

The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development in its annual US economy review welcomed efforts by Washington to balance the federal budget, but voiced some disquiet about how that might be achieved, since plans included proposed cuts in social spending for the poor.

The OECD report is good



● HEAD TO HEAD... British Prime Minister John Major looks on as US President Bill Clinton goes on a brief walkabout in Parliament Square, London yesterday morning on his visit to Britain

Sax and politics hit the right key for Bill



Try looking at things from their perspective... ...We do

Tricare doesn't work for the people of the Third World - we work with them, in a genuine partnership that combines our

[The Irish News, Thursday, November 30, 1995, page 9 continued]

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

cuts in social spending for the poor.

The OECD report is good news for Bill Clinton, who has been making some of the same budget arguments in his battle with the Republican-led Congress. Mr Clinton has been counting on a continued economic expansion to enhance his re-election chances next November.

The one who couldn't wait

When Delvonda Boldin's triplets celebrate birthdays in the coming years, the party could go on for weeks.

The 24-year-old Florida woman delivered a baby boy last Thursday after she went into premature labour. But his brother and sister are still waiting to make their appearance.

"I guess the little guy just couldn't wait," Boldin said of her son, Kenard Antonio Boldin, who weighed in at just 1 lb 5 oz and was in critical but stable condition last night.

King's wife in separation bid

The wife of videotaped beating victim Rodney King has filed for a legal separation, citing irreconcilable differences in their six year marriage.

King, who is black, was beaten by four white police officers after he was stopped for speeding in March 1991, in an incident that was videotaped and shown on news channels worldwide.

Murdoch plan to rival CNN

Rupert Murdoch has indicated that he plans to start a 24-hour news channel in the United States to rival Ted Turner's Cable News Network.

"We think it's about time CNN was challenged, especially as it tends to drift further and further to the left. We think it's about time for a truly objective news channel," he told business executives in Boston.

...the right key for Bill



Shane

Donaghy

SKETCH

SO BIG Bill Clinton, the second most powerful man in the galaxy after *Sun* owner Rupert Murdoch, is coming over to pay us poor paddies a visit and inhale the pure Irish air.

The cynical reaction is to look at this as a desperate attempt to garner votes from any source ahead of next year's US presidential election campaign. Big Bill will press flesh, kiss progeny and endure all just for that second shot.

With around 40 million people claiming Irish descent in the US every 17 March – and about three the rest of the year – how better to tap people's sensibilities by going across the sea to Erin?

He can drown shamrock, play golf, recite the Workman's Friend, maybe play sax with Van Morrison and tell everyone he was weaned on Guinness. (Next week: The President goes to Copenhagen and tells the Danes that Carlsberg is the best lager in the world. Well, probably).

Thus would the man once facing allegations over flowers and weed come up smelling of four leaf shamrock and roses.

This over-estimates things a tad. It's only relatively recently the US has taken an interest in the world.

After the world war one, America entered what the O-level history syllabus called a period of "splendid isolation". Congress wouldn't let the country join the UN forerunner the League of Nations despite its pivotal role in creating it.

It was the perceived threat from Communism and Mad Uncle Joe Stalin after world war two that propelled the US into its pro-active if not always altruistic role in world affairs.

Since the end of the Cold War, that by and large has all gone and the US is turning in on itself again.

With the demise of the Cold War the US is once again returning to its insular roots – Americans are now more interested in job security, the budget and healthcare. The rest of the world can basically burn so long as it doesn't invade Kuwait and force the price of oil up.

Then again why should the people of Kansas care about the people of Cullybackey? Do the people of Cullybackey care about Kansas? After all Dorothy didn't leave the land of Oz and return to tornado terrorised Tyrone.

To his credit, the first post-cold war president can look back to a pretty good time as far as foreign policy is concerned, even if some of it has been a case of the right place at the right time.

Apartheid was demolished in South Africa; Yasser Arafat and the late Yitzhak Rabin signed an historic accord for the Middle East – after talks begun by former President Bush – on the Clinton White House lawn. After some strong-arm tactics, at the time of writing life is looking up in the Balkans, where "ceasefire" was another word for "lunchbreak" before a return to wholesale slaughter.

The Clinton White House used what little influence it could to set up the Irish ceasefires, and has continued to welcome loyalist and republican representatives.

So now Big Bill "the man from Hope" a small town in Arkansas is coming out of the west to calm the place and visit the oul sod.

Previous visits to Ireland by incumbent presidents have been photo-opportunities, especially Ronald Reagan and his shameless Shillelagh connection.

How we all danced at the crossroads with Mad Ron and John-boy Kennedy, the ultimate heroes in the Irish psyche – local boys made good.

Ron had even managed to trace his ancestry to a mad scientist's test tube in Ballyporeen. For the ex-actor the name was pure Hollywood Oirland. From mud cabin to White House.

Big Bill doesn't really have to make this visit, whether he's part of the Rockall Clintons or not. But the president is on his uppers again. Approval ratings back home are looking good in an age when Washington is mentioned with all the affection of a night on the town with Newt Gingrich.

The massive disappointment of the failure to overhaul healthcare provision in the US, despite a performance by First Lady Hillary which would have put the fear of God into God never mind Congress, is now behind him.

Most importantly General Colin Powell, that mother of all candidates, appears to have decided a frontline tour of Vietnam would be preferable to running for president. Now that Powell's humane vision for republicanism – the American version, not the Irish one – is no threat, Democrat Clinton need have no fear.

Republican party front runner Bob Dole doesn't have Powell's appeal or charisma, so it's only ineffective sniping from eccentric billionaire and Charlie Drake lookalike Ross Perot he has to fear at the moment. A week is a long time on politics and November '96 is an awful long way away.

Even Newt Gingrich, Republican speaker of the Lower House of Congress, is no threat. He has as much as admitted that he caused the closedown of the Federal government because he was miffed at having to sit in the back of the presidential plane on the way back from Yitzhak Rabin's funeral. The thought of what he might do to Russia if Boris Yeltsin ever failed to get off the plane for President Newt the way he failed for former Irish premier Albert Reynolds chills the soul.

So Newty huffed, and no doubt will puff and try to blow the White House down between now and next November, but he's finished. Big Bill's looking good for re-election if all the Clinton skeletons are now walking the earth and there's none left in the closet. He doesn't have to suffer the embarrassment of singing Danny Boy or whatever stage pap they'll subject the poor man to when he's here.

What's in it for us then? It would be nice if Big Bill could bring us all together in peace, love and harmony before going on to the really big stuff – Charles v Diana. If he could only come up with a unifying speech such as Kennedy's "I am a Berliner" at the Berlin Wall at the height of the Cold War.

But Belfast doesn't lend itself to that sort of thing. "Berliner" is also Berlin slang for doughnut. Now there ain't much credibility in Bill saying "I am an Ulster fruitcake".

Hopefully, the visit will be the milk of magnesia to get the peace process moving again. The yanks forced the pace of the debate in Bosnia, why not here? After all, those hundreds of American Secret Service agents can't be coming here for nothing. Have you seen them? They're the Texan accents wearing Celtic shirts and flute band uniforms in a desperate effort to fit in. The sunglasses give them away. Their like will not be seen at the Belfast Central Book Depository again? Perhaps they could leave Hillary in charge to knock some sense into the players.

And as for the visit dividend? Well, the fact that Bill can sleep safely in Belfast's Europa Hotel with US Marines on guard sleepily watching NIO peace ads, may or may not mean substantial investment for the north, and not only for Mallusk.

In the end, the only thing that could come out of the trip is whether or not Big Bill knows the solo in Van Morrison's *Did Ye Get Healed?* But then they say sax and politics are a fatal combination.



● SIDE BY SIDE... US President John F Kennedy with the Republic's President Eamon de Valera during Kennedy's visit to the south where he promised to return to in the spring. His assassination meant the promise was never fulfilled

work with them, in a genuine partnership that combines our expertise and experience with their local knowledge and insight into their own problems. We believe that, given a chance, the people of the developing world can shape their own future. And that future is what Trócaire is all about.

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[The Irish News, Thursday, November 30, 1995, page 10]

Clinton's Christmas cheer with some 'bah humbugs'



Phelim McAleer

WELCOME

CHRISTMAS is on the way and so is Bill Clinton. People's minds are turning to thoughts of peace, reconciliation and now the American contribution.

The reaction to the Clinton visit is generally welcoming but some are questioning the US president's motives, hoping the visit is nothing to do with his re-election campaign.

"Interesting" is how Alliance spokeswoman Mary Clark-Glass describes the visit but added the president should make clear his priorities.

"While he is here, the interests of the people of Northern Ireland should be uppermost in his mind rather than domestic politics.

"There must be a great temptation to come vote-seeking as Irish-American politicians have done in the past and will no doubt do so in the future," she added.

Ms Clark-Glass said she is looking forward to seeing Hillary Clinton.

"She was in Beijing and I was in two minds whether anybody should go but she turned it round to the advantage of those who were pressing for China to be more sensitive to human rights."

The DUP's Nigel Dodds said unionists are "justifiably concerned by the Clinton administration's attempts to play a role in the political affairs of this part of the United Kingdom."

He said: "Everyone is well aware that next year's presidential election is the reason for Clinton's visit. For an incumbent running for re-election, it does your campaign no harm to be portrayed as having been part of a peace process whatever the reality may be."

However, Mr Dodds feels there is a positive aspect.

"Good can result from this visit if more people are encouraged to come here as tourists or to invest. Northern Ireland has been an automatic turn-off for millions across the globe because of the activities of terrorists and their fellow travellers.

"This visit by the president can help to cause people to think again and give Northern Ireland a chance. If given that chance the people here can compete with anyone, anywhere."

stay in the States and apply some of the pressure on American republicans that he is applying to the Irish ones. Basically he should put his own house in order first.

"We are coming up to Christmas and rather than turning the lights on in Belfast they should be setting about lifting his government's embargo on Cuba and give the children there a real Christmas present."

Also disappointed with aspects of Mr Clinton's visit is the manager of the Ulster/American Folk Park in Omagh, John Gilmore.

"We have mounted an exhibition on all the presidents who have links with Ireland to open on the day of the visit. Of course, we would have liked this particular president to visit the park but it has not been possible. Next time perhaps..."

The connection between Ulster and US presidents is also prominent in the mind of Belfast UUP councillor Nelson McCausland.

"Ulster has a unique relationship with the United States as being the cradle of Scotch-Irish or Ulster Scots. These Ulster Protestant emigrants made an impact that was without parallel in early American life. From their ranks came more than a quarter of all the presidents of the United States."

But Mr McCausland is more concerned with the influence of the present leader.

"At this time, the most important thing that an American president can do to promote peace in Ulster is to impress

activist Austin Currie there will be a lot of sore heads in the north after his stay and not just from over exuberant celebrations.

Both men recommend the president knock some heads together.

Mr Close speaking before Tuesday night's Bruton-Major meeting said:

"My message to President Clinton is a very, very straight plea to him to use whatever power, whatever authority he has as being the most powerful man on earth to persuade those who are preventing progress towards a political settlement to think again. In other words he should be knocking heads together."

Mr Currie, now a minister of state in the Republic's government, said he would like to thank the president for his contribution so far.

"There cannot be even the slightest doubt that the cessation of violence which have given us this opportunity for peace would not have occurred without your help.

"But as an old friend of mine used to say when you bought him a drink and as he raised his glass 'Thanks for the next'.

"The most useful thing you can do is bang a few heads together. I don't need to tell you which heads. But if there is any doubt in your mind I can tell you next Friday when you are in Dublin."

The president of the Northern Ireland Gay Rights Association PA MagLochlainn wishes Mr Clinton could have varied his itinerary.

"Come down to Fermanagh and visit your ancestors and help the Fermanagh tourist industry. It will certainly help the sales of dark glasses in the county.

"I believe the Cassidys are an ancient medical family and if nothing else it might do wonders for his ailing popularity."

Comedian John Linehan alias May McFettridge wants the president to extend his visit.

"I think that Clinton should stay for a week and really get to know us and see what we are really like," he said.

Belfast SDLP councillor Alex Attwood feels that the president's visit will be historic.

"In May, President Clinton said 'Ireland has given much to America – it is time



'The next presidential election is the reason for Clinton's visit'

– Nigel Dodds



'Cessations would not have occurred without your help'

– Austin Currie



'Interests of Northern Ireland should be uppermost while here'

– Mary Clark Glass



'Basically he



'Britain has as



'It will certainly

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chance the people here can compete with anyone, anywhere."

For former IRSP spokesman Kevin McQuillan the visit is "somewhat of a non-event".

"And I would say that is also the feeling of the vast majority of people living in west Belfast."

Dismissing claims of a "bah humbug" attitude Mr McQuillan says the president "has been seen to be strutting around the world stage acting like some pacifist panacea".

"It would suit Bill Clinton better to promote peace in Ulster is to impress on Sinn Fein the necessity for the immediate and unilateral decommissioning of the IRA.

"If we are to secure real peace in Ulster, all terrorist armies must be disarmed and disbanded. There can be no place at the talks table for those political parties which have guns under the table or outside the door," he said.

If Mr Clinton follows the advice of the deputy leader of the alliance party, Seamus Close and former civil rights

has given much to America – it is time to give a little back'.

"All the citizens of Belfast should share in one of the city's greatest days. But amid the energy and excitement, we should also take a little time to remember with sorrow, rebuild with hope."

For author and member of the Northern Ireland Police Authority Chris Ryder the president should try and bring part of the American way to Belfast.

"America is the home of democracy and the so-called land of the free and in welcoming President Clinton to Ireland, I would hope that he would remember those great American values and act to underpin democracy and consent and not reward or recognise those who would use or threaten violence."

But it is coming up to Christmas and as is normal at this time of year ones thoughts turn to family.

Publicity officer for Republican Sinn Fein Ruairi Og O Bradaigh wants Mr Clinton to reconsider the decision not to give his father a visa to visit America.

"I would ask you to heed those members of Congress, leading Irish-American newspapers and the many ordinary members of the Irish family in the US who support the granting of a visa. They contend that this outstanding visa ban is a denial of their rights to hear all sides of the argument on the current situation in Ireland."

Mr O Bradaigh feels the president should hear all points of view "as it is unlikely you will meet any republicans – of the Irish variety – during your visit."

"Britain has as much right to be in Ireland, Mr President as it had in the US in 1776 or in 1812 when as the song says, you sent the British 'a running/ down the Mississippi to the gulf of Mexico'.

Competition SPOT



ONE OF THREE WEEK-END BREAKS

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The Victor Hotel is privately owned and affiliated to the Best Western Worldwide Lodging chain of hotels. It is fully centrally heated and has 68 en suite bedrooms with every comfort for the visiting tourist.

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ENTRY COUPON

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'We should remember with sorrow, rebuild with hope'

– Alex Attwood



'In other words he should be knocking heads together'

– Seamus Close



'Clinton should stay for a week and really get to know us'

– May McFettridge



'There can be no place at the talks for parties which have guns'

– Nelson McCausland



● PLENTY TO TALK ABOUT...but no one's letting on what Hillary Clinton, left, and Norma Major are saying about the peace process

'Basically he should put his own house in order first'

– Kevin McQuillan

'Britain has as much right to be in Ireland as it had in the US in 1776'

– Ruairi Og O Bradaigh

'It will certainly help the sales of dark glasses in the county'

– PA MagLochlainn

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Clinton hails 'bold' peace deal

Praise for work of Bruton and Major

PRESIDENT Bill Clinton yesterday said the American people felt "a special gratitude for the efforts" of London and Dublin in Northern Ireland.

During an historic address to both British houses of Parliament at Westminster, the US president said: "With every passing month more people walk the streets and live their lives safely, people who would otherwise have been added to the toll of the troubles."

He said that today he would "have the privilege of being the first American president to visit Northern Ireland".

He added that it was "a Northern Ireland where the guns are quiet and the children play without fear".

President Clinton said he applauded the work of Prime Minister John Major and Taoiseach John Bruton in setting up the new twin-track peace initiative, "an initiative which provides an opportunity to begin a dialogue in which all views are represented and all views can be heard."

President Clinton declared: "This is a bold step forward for peace. I applaud the prime minister for taking this risk for peace.

"It is always a hard choice, the choice for peace, for success is far from guaranteed and even if you fail there will be those who resent you for trying."

To loud applause, he insisted: "But it is the right thing to do and in the end the right will win."

Mr Major, sitting next to Mrs Clinton in the front row, was seen to mouth the words: "Thank you."



● Historic address ... President Clinton addresses both British houses of Parliament in the Palace of Westminster

Commons and the Lords and recalled his previous visits to Parliament.

"Today the US and the UK glory in an extraordinary relationship that unites us in a way never before seen in the ties between two such great nations," he said.

Mr Clinton was formally welcomed by the Lord Chancellor Lord Mackay of Clashlern, who said: "You are by no means a stranger to these shores.

"We hope you will regard your visit as something of a homecoming. We are honoured and delighted that you have been able to visit and address us today.

"The President of the United States of America is especially welcome to Westminster and to this, the mother of Parliaments."

He pointed to the close ties between Parliament and the US Congress, adding: "I hope you feel you are among friends on your visit today."

Rising to loud applause, Mr Clinton told the lord chancellor: "The longer I hear you talk the more I wish we had an institution like this in American government.

To laughter he said: "I look out and see so many of your distinguished leaders in the house of Lords and I think it might not be a bad place to be after a long and troublesome political career!

"My wife and I are honoured to be here today.

"I have been here to Westminster many times before. As a student I visited America had overcome their differences, rediscovering their common heritage and shared values.

Recalling how the two nations had fought together in the second world war, he said: "In the greatest struggle for freedom in all of history, they saved the world."

America and Britain had emerged from the war with the resolve to prevent another like it. They had bound together with other democracies in the west and Japan: "And we stood firm throughout the long twilight struggle of the cold war.

"In the years since, we have also stood together, fighting together for victory in the Persian Gulf, standing together against terrorism, working together to remove the nuclear cloud from our children's bright future.

"And together we are preparing the way for peace in Bosnia, where your peace keepers have performed heroically and saved the lives of so many innocent people.

"I thank the British nation for its strength and its sacrifice through all these struggles and I am proud to stand here on behalf of the American people to salute you."

The president said: "In this century, democracy has not merely endured. It has prevailed.

"Now it falls to us to advance the cause that so many fought and sacrificed and died for.

"In this new era we must everything was at stake.

"In this new world our lives are not so very much at risk, but much of what makes life worth living is still very much at stake.

"We have fought our wars. Now let us wage our peace."

He said this time was full of possibilities. The "chasm of ideology" had disappeared. Much more of the world now shared the ideals that the US and Britain had fought for.

In Europe and many other nations, long-suffering peoples at last controlled their own destinies, and economic freedom was spreading with political freedom, bringing renewed hope for a better life, rooted in "honourable and healthy competition of effort and ideas", he said.

President Clinton said: "America is determined to maintain our alliance for freedom and peace with you, and determined to seek the partnership of all like-minded nations to confront the threats still before us.

"We know the way. Together we have seen how we succeed when we work together."

Mr Clinton said that although the cold war was over, the forces of destruction were still a challenge.

"We see it in the growth of ethnic hatred, extreme nationalism and religious fanaticism which most recently took the life of one of the greatest champions of peace in the entire world – the prime minister of Israel."

Mr Clinton added: "We must go out to meet the challenges, before they come to threaten us."

That meant that peace was necessary in Bosnia.

"For nearly four years a terrible war has torn Bosnia apart, bringing horrors we prayed had vanished from the face of Europe forever: the mass killings, the endless columns of refugees, the campaigns of deliberate rape, the skeletal persons imprisoned in concentration camps.

"We must help peace to take hold in Bosnia, because so long as that fire rages at the heart of the European continent, so long as the emerging democracies and our allies are threatened by fighting in Bosnia, there will be no stable, undivided, free Europe.

President Clinton then declared, to warm applause: "Friends, we have stood together in the darkest moments of our century. Let us now resolve to stand together with the bright and shining prospect of the next century.

"It can be the age of possibility and the age of peace. Our forebears won the war, let us now win the peace."



● President's tribute ... Mr Clinton lays a wreath at the tomb of the unknown soldier in Westminster Abbey

If BC phones DC

[The Irish News, Thursday, November 30, 1995, page 11 continued]

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

words. "Thank you."

Earlier in his address, President Clinton hailed the "extraordinary relationship" between Britain and America.

Mr Clinton and his wife, Hillary, were welcomed amid pomp and pageantry to Westminster by Mr Major and Commons Speaker Betty Boothroyd.

Arriving to a fanfare of trumpets he addressed a packed royal gallery in the house of Lords where the guests included former Prime Ministers Lady Thatcher and Lord Callaghan.

Opening his speech, Mr Clinton said he was honoured to address both the before. As a student I visited often and over the last 20 years I have often returned.

"Always I have felt the power of this place, where the voices of free people who love liberty believe in reason and struggle for truth, have for centuries kept your great nation a beacon of hope for all the world."

Mr Clinton described Parliament as a "monument to liberty" and recalled its role in opposing the tyrannies of earlier times.

"As one whose ancestors came from these isles, I cherish this opportunity."

President Clinton said that in this century, Britain and

"In this new era we must rise not in a call to arms but in a call to peace."

The American philosopher John Dewey had said the only way to abolish war was to make peace heroic.

"Well, we know we will never abolish war, or all the forces that cause it, because we cannot abolish human nature, or the certainty of human error.

"But we can make peace heroic, and in so doing, we can create a future even more true to our ideals than all our glorious past.

"To do so we must maintain the resolve in peace we shared in war, when

President's charm woos Westminster

By **Aidan Hennigan** in London

THE Royal Gallery of the Palace of Westminster with its huge dramatic frescoes of incidents from the Battles of Trafalgar and Waterloo and portraits of British monarchs was the historic and ornate setting for Bill Clinton's address to the joint houses of parliament yesterday, the main formal event of his one day visit to London.

Here former political leaders, Kosygin of the Soviet Union, Fragal of Italy, Brandt of Germany and D'Estaing of France had come to dwell on existing world problems but Bill Clinton captured the imagination of his distinguished audience with a speech that was a mixture of humour and serious import.

The Welsh Guards band played the American national anthem as the president and Hillary arrived at Buckingham Palace for tea with the queen.

The visit which began only hours after the hurriedly convened mini-summit between John Major and John Bruton was largely, but not exclusively, dominated by the peace process and the later initiatives to revive it.

President Clinton standing alongside John Major outside No 10 Downing Street after an intensive two-hour discussion had this message: "The twin-track process has provided a mechanism for all the parties to bring their concerns to the table and be heard."

But he refused to be drawn into any dialogue about



● **FIRST LADIES... Hillary Clinton shares a joke with the queen during a short visit to Buckingham Palace**

Britain's insistence on partial decommissioning of IRA arms before preliminary talks begin. "That" he declared "was a matter for the parties."

The morning began with the laying of a wreath by the president in Westminster Abbey and as he left to meet John Major in Downing Street, Hillary Clinton took time off with Norma Major to tour Westminster.

The serious subjects of the Irish and Bosnian peace settlements overshadowed the visit's social aspect to some extent but not altogether.

Even the most solemn and prestigious event of the Royal Gallery address had its high moments of humour.

President Clinton reflected that his ancestral background in "these islands" might have projected him into politics in Britain but having observed the cut and thrust of Prime Minister's Question perhaps they did him a favour by emigrating.

If there was any lingering doubt of President's Clinton's commitment to the "special relationships" between the United States and Britain it was dispelled when the president announced that one of the most modern guided missile destroyers which was being built would be named "Winston Churchill".

More directly he paid a wholesome tribute to John Major and John Bruton for their latest peace process initiative declaring positively that all the people of Britain owed John Major a great debt for his effort.

The immediate media verdict on the British leg of President Clinton's visit was that it was quite impressive.



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Northern Ireland is better off with BT

Trailblazing scientist who rocketed into Cyberspace

CYBERSPACE. The Information Superhighway. The Web: These words form part of the iconography of the Nineties, as much a part of modern day life as a capitalist Russia, the New World Order and Kylie Minogue.

Not many people realise that the Internet has been around a lot longer than the couple of years or so that it has pervaded the national consciousness.

Back in the early Seventies – the days of nightmare clothes, bona fide hippies and Harold Wilson – there was an Internet in existence. But it was a very different beast to the all-singing all-dancing creature we know and love today.

I spoke to Dale Amon, a man around in the earliest days of the Net and who, as part of the Genesis Project Ltd, was responsible for bringing the Internet to Ireland.

"Getting onto the Net in those days was not easy," he said. "My first experience of getting out onto the Net was wholly accidental."

In 1973 Dale was a graduate student at Pittsburgh's Carnegie Mellon University – then, as now, at the forefront of information technology research. At that time the 'Internet' consisted of Arpanet. Arpa stands for Advanced Research Projects Agency, a US government agency founded in the 1940s to look into new technologies, particularly in relation to defence.

One of the spin-offs of Arpa was Arpanet – a network of some 15 computers dotted around the States, in communication with each other via clumsy slow modems the size of a television. Many of these computers were in military establishments but some were in university computer departments.

It was through a connection at CMU that Dale made his first journey onto the proto-highway: "In those days we used a teletype machine to link-up with the university, from my home. One day we dialled in and the prompts that we got on the teletype weren't ones we understood at all.

"We found out that we were logged into Berkeley University, San Francisco. I suppose you could say we were the first people to be lost in Cyberspace!"

It is important to remember what stage computing technology was at in those far-off days. Desktop computers simply didn't exist. Silicon chip microprocessors existed but were not to be available on a mass-produced commercial basis for many years. A computer often took up a whole room and ran using valves or, if you were lucky, transistors.

VDU screens – forget it. You programmed the things by punched cards, or a type keyboard. The most powerful computers to be found had less processing power than the engine control unit in a modern car.

Little wonder that the Internet struggled a bit in the early days.

From CMU, Dale Amon went into commercial computing, developing software control systems. He was looking for funding for a new system to check the quality of artificial heart valves – a system that could save many lives a year as the valves were prone to coming apart without warning, killing their unfortunate owner instantly.

The US government had promised some funding for the project. Another source of funding turned out to be the IDB in Belfast. So Dale and his colleagues came to Northern Ireland in 1988 to develop the product.

Sadly, things didn't go according to plan. the US government pulled the plug on the funds and the project died.

"Entrepreneuring is a dangerous and exciting game," said Dale.

Penniless, and stranded in Belfast, he found a job in the Queen's University computing department, doing research. It was then Dale realised that he was a long way from the superhighway – the only access he had to the Internet was by dialling up the States and that was expensive.

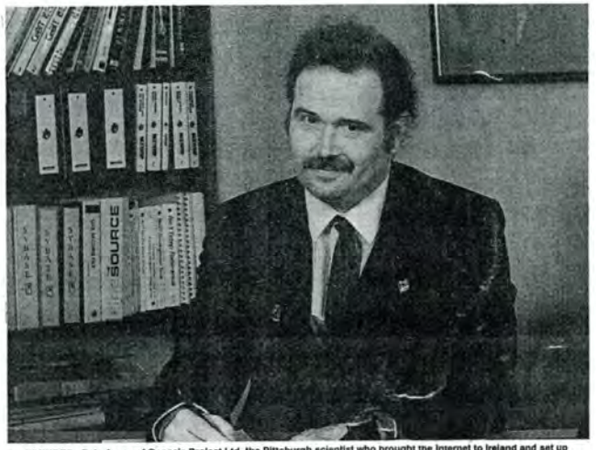
So he applied for an account with Queen's to link up to 'Janet' – the joint academic network – a link up of UK university computers that, just seven years ago – was virtually the only way of getting access to the Internet proper.

"I got these vague looks from people, 'what on earth is the Internet?' they would say. I found out pretty quickly that access to Janet in the UK was guarded by the computer centres. I couldn't get on to the Net, this was a great surprise to me because I knew that I could, for example, go to the University of California at Stanford and get on line, just by asking someone there."

When he became a full member of staff at Queen's, Dale managed to get Internet access but it wasn't easy. He remembers the first time he logged onto the Internet at Queen's: "I was waiting like a vulture for connection to be made."

The first proper Internet connection from Ireland was made at around Christmas of 1991. The whole process had been made easier by the fact that the Janet network, centred on Imperial College in London, had just converted to the IP protocol rather than the old Janet protocol.

Having an IP protocol in place meant files could be downloaded from any computer on the Internet without having to go through intermediaries and from then on the Internet in the UK really took off.



● FOUNDER...Dale Amon of Genesis Project Ltd, the Pittsburgh scientist who brought the Internet to Ireland and set up the Queen's University computer network site

From Queen's, Dale moved into setting up a commercial Internet service provider in Belfast – called the Genesis Project. The first point of presence in the north was established last year. Since then, Genesis ran into difficulties with Pipex, the company from whom it leased lines.

Now those difficulties have been resolved and Genesis is again up and running, and new business is flooding in.

Genesis has run into a strange new problem, however. Its domain name – the part of the electronic address that identifies the company – is 'GAP.COM'. Unbelievably, the Gap clothing company, famed for its beige clothes, has taken issue with this and is threatening to sue. It is, as they say, a funny old world.

PRESIDENT CLINTON: Celebrities everywhere are rushing to establish that all-important Web presence, Eddie Izzard, Stephen Fry...and now Bill Clinton.

As the leader of the free(ish) world is on his way to do a spot of electioneering – sorry, helping to move the Irish peace process along – I thought I would check his home page out.

And a pretty sorry affair it is too. It is all old-style Gopher menus for a start and half the stuff is mysteriously inaccessible. Still, you do get the president's e-mail address: (president@whitehouse.gov) and Hillary's phone number. There are links to other sites too – notably the obsequious Ted Kennedy home page, featuring a graphic of a car plunging into a river and a sozzled senator running into the distance (just kidding). Not the most exciting parts of the Internet but worth a visit if you can't think of anything better to do. You can keep up to date on the Clinton visit through the Internet with the irishnews.com/

● **Michael Hanlon can be reached by e-mail at: mh@dnet.co.uk**

● **The Irish News is now on-line. The URL is: http://www.irishnews.com**

Breakthrough on racetrack for the Micro Machines set

GAMES
Andrew Midgley

ONE OF the most eagerly awaited games of the year is now available.

The Micro Machines range is already one of the biggest-selling brands in the short but exciting history of video games.

And thanks to its pedigree this latest instalment is virtually guaranteed to be a regular feature in the sales charts over the next couple of months.

Does it deserve such success though? After a brief test-driving session the answer has to be Yes – it's great!

Micro Machines '96 picks up where the last MM release left off in terms of white-hot racing action. But it has one big advantage over its predecessor – MM '96 features a brand new construction kit facility.

This fascinating feature enables you to invent and build your own racetracks to your own specification before storing it in the cart's memory. Then, by entering a special set of passwords, the info is downloaded and every twist, turn and obstacle is automatically reconstructed for you to tackle again. Up to 10 different designs can be stored on one cartridge, so you can create a series of complex, challenging circuits for future use.

Another top feature of this game is that it is a J-Cart, which means it has an in-built four-person facility for multi-player action.

So, once you have created some fiendishly difficult tracks, why not invite some friends over and put their driving skills to the ultimate test in a knockout challenge?

Full marks to Codemasters for coming up with new features for this release rather than taking the easy way out and resting on their laurels. The good thing is that as well as pleasing existing Micro Machines fans who have been crying out for more of their favourite game, it also helps to keep the series fresh and vital. Here's to the continued success of one of the brightest games around – something tells me we haven't seen the last of the Micro Machines series yet.

● **Sega Mega Drive: Micro Machines '96, $44.99.**

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

[The Irish News, Thursday, November 30, 1995, page 12]

[The Irish News, Thursday, November 30, 1995, page 19]

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● LIT UP... the scene last year when the lights were switched on but tonight it will be President Bill Clinton who will brighten up Belfast Picture: Hugh Russell

Stars and stripes

BELFAST will be celebrating the all-American Christmas tonight.

ADVERTISING FEATURE

For it's not just any old Christmas tree that United States President Bill Clinton switches on — this one was imported from Nashville, Tennessee.

The 49ft white pine made the same journey across the Atlantic as Mr Clinton himself – although the tree spent eight days in transit, and will be staying longer than Mr Clinton.

The 30-year-old tree was growing as a specimen plant at a golf course in Nashville, a sister city of Belfast. It originated as a seedling at Tennessee State Forest Tree Nursery and was selected by the Metropolitan Nashville Parks and Recreation Department.

Belfast Lord Mayor Eric Smyth and US consul general in Belfast, Kathleen Stephens, received the tree when it arrived at city hall last weekend.

Ms Stephens said the tree was "a wonderful symbol of the continued development of the social, cultural and economic links between Northern Ireland and the United States.

"The strengthening of the tie between Belfast and Nashville is especially welcome as so many people in that region of America are of Ulster-Irish descent."

● **DUE TO a technical error in the production process, several stories appeared with the final two or three lines missing from last week's Christmas Bazaar. The fault has been rectified and we apologise for any confusion caused.**

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[Belfast Telegraph, Thursday, November 30, 1995, page 1]

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AN HISTORIC DAY FO NORTHERN IRELAND

Clinton in Ulster

Shankill joy as President puts the people first



US President Bill Clinton, international peacemaker and the most powerful man on earth, today became the first serving US President to visit Northern Ireland.

And he immediately put the people before protocol when he arrived in Belfast today.

The President threw his meticulously planned schedule into chaos when he chose to meet ordinary people before an army of dignitaries.

Mr Clinton ordered his motorcade to divert to West Belfast for a symbolic visit to the peace line that divides the two communities in west Belfast.

He kept hundreds of people gathered at the nearby Mackie's factory waiting as he stepped out of his limousine and was immediately mobbed by well wishers on the Shankill Road.

Flanked by anxious secret service men the president walked eagerly over to the

By Mandi Millar and Martin Hill

"The President was very good. He put his hand on Michael's shoulder and asked if he was crying because he thought he wasn't going to meet him," she added.

Violet's — close to the Agnes Street peaceline — has never had such an important customer for its assorted chrysanths and fruit.

"He bought apples and flowers — it was a complete shock. He paid for them himself and he didn't take his change," said proprietor, Violet Clarke.

Earlier the Presidential motorcade swept through the heart of west Belfast amid a blaze of American-style

walked eagerly over to the crowds standing three and four deep on the pavement.

People screamed in delight and reached out with outstretched hands to greet the president who was clearly thrilled at the warmth of the reception.

In a touching gesture he walked casually walked into Violet's fruit shop and bought apples and flowers for wife Hillary.

But as the press surged forward on the President's re-emergence from the shop, Michael Storey, from the Shankill PHAB Club was swamped by the crowd.

"I think the photographers got a bit excited and Michael doesn't like crowds," said Elaine Storey from PHAB.

blaze of American-style razzmatazz.

Mr and Mrs Clinton waved to hundreds of cheering schoolchildren as they drove slowly down the Falls Road.

A crowd of several hundred craned their necks to snatch a first glimpse of the president.

Among them were children from St Mary's and St John's primary schools.

Hannah Donnelly, 7, a P3 pupil at St Mary's, was awake half the night making her traditional American outfit.

St Mary's P4 teacher Clare O'Neill said all but Primary 1 had been given the morning off school.

"All the children walked to school so there was no problem about them getting buses.



Crowd pleaser: President Clinton goes on walkabout on the Shankill Road. Picture by Brian Thompson

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A child's plea for peace

'I hope it will last in Ireland forever'

By Vincent Kearney and Martina Purdy

PRESIDENT Clinton's peace mission to Ulster was given a poignant reminder of the horror of the Troubles by a primary schoolgirl.

Catherine Hamill, a Catholic, tole the President on his visit to the Mackie's engineering plant in west Belfast that her father had been killed during the violence.

"It was the worst day of my life," she said.

Catherine, a pupil of St John's school, near the plant, echoed the feelings of many in the province when she added: "My Christmas wish is that peace and love will last in Ireland forever".

She and David Sterrit from the other side of the peaceline greeted the President as he prepared to make his keynote address to the province.

David said he lived in a mixed community and peace meant that Protestant and Catholic children were able to play football and other games together.

A visibly moved President Clinton, said: "A big part of peace is children growing up peacefully and learning together.

"A big part of peace is working together for family, community and the success of the common enterprise".

Earlier the firm's chief executive Pat Dougan said the workforce had given an example to everyone in the province, including the decision makers, by working together for prosperity and through it for peace.

Ronnie Lewis, a senior shop steward, said the integration of the workforce and their common efforts had been a great success.

"Both Mackie's and Northern Ireland are on the up and up," he added.

In his keynote speech, President Clinton said that the beauty of the province and its people was now shining through, now that the "shroud of terror" had been lifted.

He compared the trend in Ulster to developments in Bosnia, the Middle East and South Africa.

"Here, you are making a miracle, a miracle symbolised by the two children we saw earlier who held hands and told us what the whole thing is about," he said.

Drawing on the symbolism of his visit to Mackie's, President Clinton said that in Ulster disparate threads were coming together to produce a "remarkable fabric".

He quoted a bystander at a St Patrick's Day parade in Armagh, which was led by Catholic and Protestant children, saying: "Even the normal is beginning to seem normal".

Mr Clinton paid tribute to the efforts of John Major, John Bruton and Albert Reynolds and said that the twin-track initiative offered a "promising new gateway to a just and lasting peace."

He also singled out Gerry Adams and loyalist leaders David Ervine and Gary McMichael, saying they had helped to silence the guns.

But he urged both parties to do their part to move the process forward. "Dialogue is not a matter of surrender," he said.

He said that one US President in four could trace their ancestral roots to Ireland. "I am the latest in this time-honoured tradition", he said.

Into history with a beaming smile

By Lindy McDowell and Darwin Templeton

AT precisely 9.04 this morning Air Force One swept out of the grey autumn sky with a deafening roar.

The blue and white 747 emblazoned with the seal of the President of the United States of America, touched down at Belfast International Airport — and into the history books.

Fifteen minutes later President Clinton, hand in hand with his wife, Hillary, emerged from the giant jet.

The couple, wrapped in long black overcoats, were welcomed to Northern Ireland by the Queen's representative, Lord Lieutenant Lord O'Neill, and Secretary of State, Sir Patrick Mayhew.

Also waiting on the tarmac to greet the president and his wife were Jean Lady Mayhew, Ms Kathleen Stephens, American Consul General, Minister of State Michael Ancram, head of the Civil Service Sir David and Lady Fell, RUC Chief Constable Sir Hugh Annesley, South Antrim MP Clifford Forsythe and Mr Jim Dornan, managing director of Belfast International Airport.

Hunched against a biting wind Mr Clinton told the group he was very happy to be in Northern Ireland. The couple shared a joke with Ms Stephens.

Then, before climbing into the presidential cadillac, Mr Clinton turned to acknowledge the cheers of airport staff with a beaming smile and a wave.

Secret Service agents clustered around the limo as it prepared to move off. Ms Stephens sat between the first couple for the journey to Belfast city centre.

The presidential motorcade comprising more than 40 vehicles then swept out of the airport.

In the cavalcade, led by motorcycle outriders, were more than 20 police cars, marked and unmarked, and an ambulance.

An Army Lynx helicopter hovered overhead to monitor the progress.

Speaking at the airport Mr Ancram said he believed the President's visit was a boost to the peace process.

WEATHER Becoming increasingly cloudy with mainly light rain spreading across the province, becoming even more patchy as it transfers east. Minimum temperature 6C. Fresh- to-strong gusty south-easterly winds. SEE BACK PAGE

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PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

[Belfast Telegraph, Thursday, November 30, 1995, page 1 continued]

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

[Belfast Telegraph, Thursday, November 30, 1995, page 6]



Toasting time: Bill Clinton and John Major share a toast during a dinner at No 10 Downing Street.

CLINTON VISIT

Risks worthwhile, says Prime Minister

■ Major pays tribute to Clinton's contribution

PRESIDENT Clinton's visit to Ulster today will give fresh impetus to the search for peace, said John Major at a Downing Street banquet in honour of the president and his wife, Hillary.

And Mr Major underlined that risks had been taken in the cause of peace in Northern Ireland.

"They are worthwhile risks," he said the dinner last night.

But he warned of the truth of the adage: "You must never negotiate out of fear, but let us never fear to negotiate."

The prime minister, and the president himself, underlined again what Mr Clinton described as "this enduring and very special relationship".

The two leaders spoke before the dinner attended by some 65 guests, including Labour leader Tony Blair, Sir Andrew Lloyd Webber and Richard Branson.

Mr Major paid warm tribute to the president's speech in the Royal Gallery earlier yesterday.

"It showed a detailed knowledge of our history, a great deal of it shared with the United States."

"It could only have been made by a long-standing friend of this country."

Mr Major told the president that today he would be breaking fresh ground.

"You will become the first serving president of the United States to visit Northern Ireland.

"You will find you are visiting people to whom warmth and hospitality are second nature."

Mr Major said the government was delighted with the help and support the United States had given towards the peace process.

"What John Bruton and I are seeking is quite clear. It is to give a fresh impetus to the search for a lasting political settlement in Northern Ireland."

He said that such a settlement would bring about a change of life in Northern Ireland on a scale which people would find difficult to imagine.

The prime minister said the president would see a Northern Ireland being transformed. "The very fact of your visit will be a huge encouragement to the people of Northern Ireland."

The president said his visit had enabled the two governments to talk about their common interests, their shared values and future agenda in a relationship that was "enduring and very special".

He said: "It will always be so, it will always be strong."

The president said the United States supported those who took risks for peace. "Working for peace is always important. Today it is imperative because we can achieve it in so many places where just a short while ago it was impossible."

But he warned: "Peace won't happen if we do not work at it, or if we work at it alone. It will only happen if we work at it together." —PA



Joking aside: Labour leader Tony Blair shares a joke with Bill Clinton on the steps of the US Ambassador's residence in London.

Bill puts fizz into aide's gift



David Trimble: Dinner guest

By Desmond McCartan
at Westminster

PRESIDENT Clinton gave his key adviser, Tony Lake, a bottle of champagne to celebrate this week's Anglo-Irish deal, it has been revealed.

The gesture, as Air Force One left Washington on Tuesday, was a mark of the President's gratitude for Mr Lake's efforts in helping to forge agreement on the twin-track strategy.

News of the late-night breakthrough at Downing Street allowed Mr Clinton to begin his trip to the UK and the Republic on a high note.

For Mr Clinton, the development was a further fillip after the successful Bosnian peace agreement as he prepares to launch his campaign to win re-election.

■ Champagne surprise for adviser Lake

Mr Lake, the National Security Adviser, has been involved in intensive efforts behind the scenes to encourage the search for a formula to tackle the political log-jam.

Although the US officials have sought to play down the Administration's role, Mr Clinton's high praise for Mr Major and the Taoiseach, John Bruton, in London yesterday indicated the extent of the White House's influence.

Mr Lake is reported to have telephoned both Gerry Adams and Ulster Unionist leader David Trimble soon after the Number 10 announcement to urge them not to reject the deal out of hand.

According to sources in London, there has been growing US pressure on the Sinn Fein leader to address the decommissioning issue seriously in return for the earlier Clinton decision to allow him to raise funds in America.

Last night, Mr Trimble was among 65 guests at a Downing Street dinner for the President, hosted by Mr Major.

Also present was Labour leader Tony Blair, making his first visit to Number 10, Richard Branson and Sir Andrew Lloyd Webber.

They dined on seafood salad, venison and almond and apricot pancakes.

DON'T MISS SPECIAL TELEGRAPH FRIDAY MORNING EXTRA ON CLINTON'S VISIT

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

[Belfast Telegraph, Thursday, November 30, 1995 page 7]



Visit gives a new impetus to special links

■ Optimism over Ulster proposals

THE Anglo-American special relationship has been given new impetus with the historic visit to London of President Clinton.

His arrival came only hours after John Major and John Bruton broke the deadlock over the Ulster peace process with a new deal, sparking renewed optimism a lasting settlement can be achieved.

Mr Clinton said the twin track agreement demonstrated the will for peace was more powerful than bombs and bullets.

Then Mr Clinton and John Major walked from the abbey to Downing Street amid massive security.

Later the president was welcomed amid pomp and pageantry to Westminster by the Prime Minister and Commons Speaker Betty Boothroyd.

Arriving to a fanfare of trumpets he addressed a packed Royal Gallery in the House of Lords.

Baroness Thatcher, who invited former President Ronald Reagan to speak to Parliament in the early 1980s, was among the guests to hear Mr Clinton describe the links between the two countries.

Hailing the "extraordinary relationship", Mr Clinton said "it unites us in a way never before seen in the ties between two such great nations".

Recalling that he had been to Westminster many times before, he said he always "felt the power of this place, where the voices of free people who love liberty, believe in reason and struggle for truth, have for centuries kept your great nation a beacon of hope for all the world".

Mr Clinton said: "For a long time I thought if my forebears had not left this country perhaps I might have gotten here on my own, at least to the House of Commons.

"But now our American television carries your Question Time and I have seen Prime Minister Major and Mr Blair and other members slicing each other up face to face with such great wit and skill against the din of cheers and jeers, I am now convinced my forebears did me a great favour," he said to laughter.

Although the Cold War was over the forces of destruction were still a challenge.

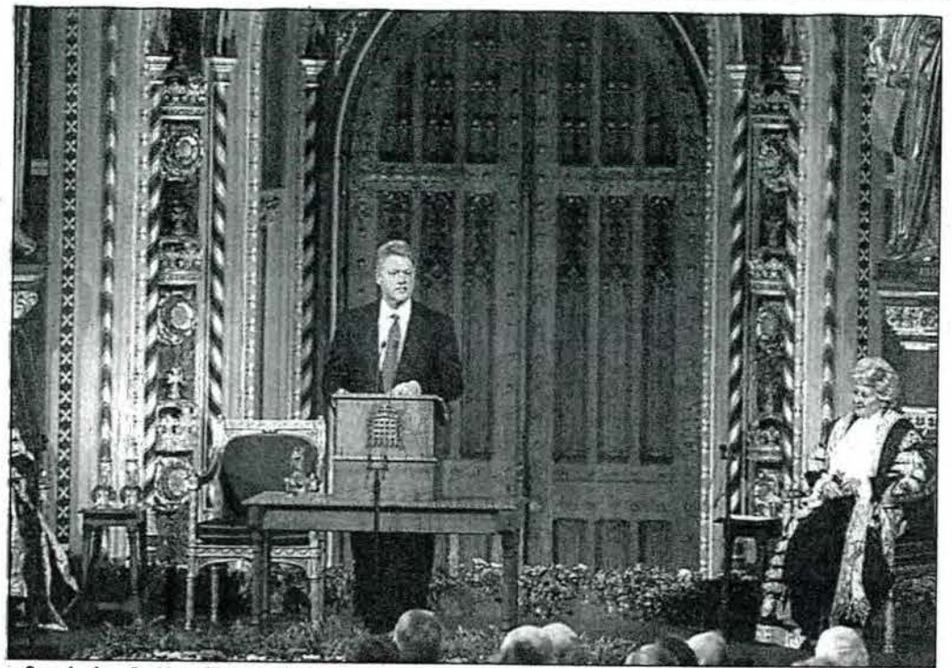
"We see it in the growth of ethnic hatred, extreme nationalism and religious fanaticism which most recently took the life of one of the greatest champions of peace in the entire world — the prime minister of Israel."

It was also evident in acts of terrorism that resulted in deaths from Islamabad to Paris, from Riyad to Oklahoma, and the organised drug trade.

"After so much success together we know that our relationship with the United Kingdom must be at the heart of our striving in this new era: because of the history we have lived, because of the power and prosperity we enjoy, because of the accepted truth that you and we have no dark motives in our dealings with other nations."

And as if to underline the strength of the partnership Mr Clinton announced a powerful new US warship will be named after British prime minister Winston Churchill.

—PA



Speech day: President Clinton addresses Parliament on the first day of his visit to London, Belfast and Dublin. Also in the picture is the Speaker of the House of Commons, Betty Boothroyd.



Leading ladies: Norma Major and Hillary Clinton lead their husbands up the stairs of No 10 Downing Street on their way to an official dinner.

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PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

[Belfast Telegraph, Thursday, November 30, 1995, page 7 continued]

Boom time for taxi firms

By Marie Foy

TAXI drivers are getting a pre-Christmas boost thanks to the US presidential visit.

US government officials have block-booked a convoy of taxis for a two-week period to ensure they can travel at a moments notice around Belfast.

The American Consul contacted a number of companies a month ago to ensure transport for a small army of personnel paving the way for the historic visit.

A spokeswoman for Holywood Taxis said: "We could only give the Consul eight cars which they wanted for their own staff. They hired them for a fortnight, last week and this week."

Alan Jackson, owner of Mahoods in Carrickfergus, revealed: "We have about 15 taxis fully booked until Sunday.

"Six of them are in Londonderry and the drivers are just staying up there. The majority of the work is shuttling communications and officials up and down between Belfast and Londonderry.

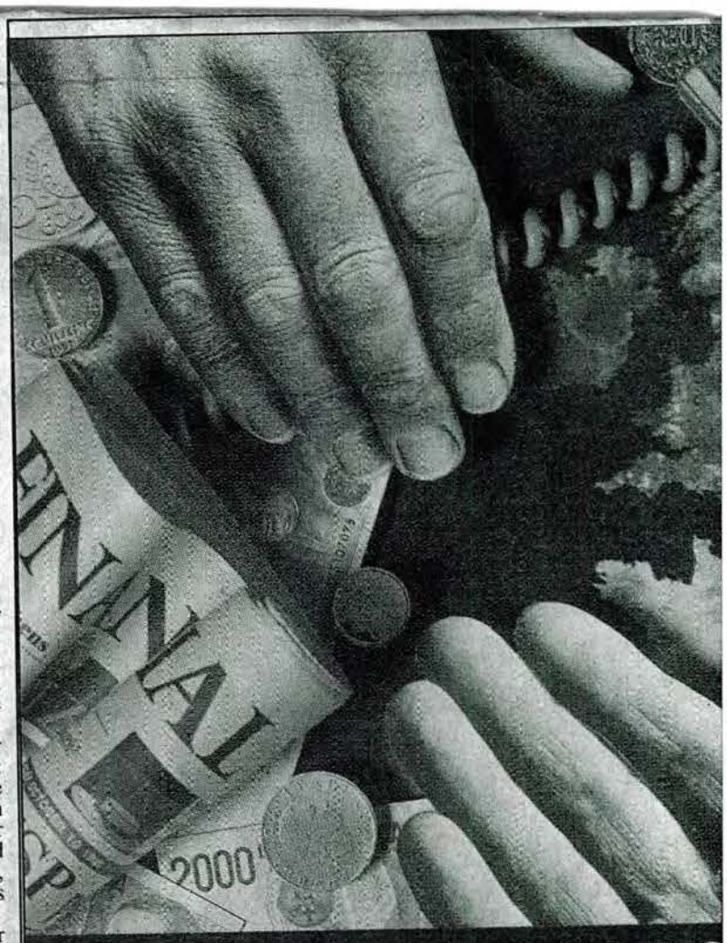
"We have six more cars at the Europa which are on stand-by during the day and we have just been told more cars are needed in both cities on Thursday. We have limousines and mercedes on stand-by.

"The visit has been good for business. We have taken on six or seven drivers and will keep them on now for the Christmas period.

"Our school lifts will be hit tomorrow though. We use the motorway and it looks like it will be virtually impossible to get around."

A manager at VIP in Belfast Heather McBride said: "We have had bits and pieces of business but not an awful lot. Thursday is going to create more problems than anything else.

"We have heard that the Consul staff have booked Range Rovers and hired drivers privately."



[Belfast Telegraph, Thursday, November 30, 1995, page 8]

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

CLINTON VISIT

Armour-plates and V8s



Street fleet: The president's motorcade leaving London this morning for the trip to Northern Ireland.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

[Belfast Telegraph, Thursday, November 30, 1995, page 8 continued]

DON'T MISS  **SPECIAL TELEGRAPH FRIDAY MORNING EXTRA ON CLINTON'S VISIT**



By Martin Hill

THE presidential visit is being organised with all the precision of a military operation.

Everywhere the White House entourage travels, it carries enough ordnance to launch a small invasion.

Even as the president's Boeing 747 — call sign Air Force One — touched down in Belfast, a huge support operation was already underway.

Giant Galaxy Starlifter cargo planes have been ferrying in everything needed for the visit for the past week.

The president travels in a fleet of Cadillac limousines, their huge V8 engines specially-tuned to handle the extra weight of tons of armour-plate.

A praetorian guard of Secret Service agents flanks the convoy in powerful Jeep Wagoneers.

Though technically Mr Clinton's bodyguards are not permitted to carry firearms on British soil, the RUC is turning a blind eye to a veritable arsenal of weaponry.

Crack snipers took up positions on rooftops in Belfast and Londonderry from daybreak.

Treetops have even been trimmed to give marksmen a clear view of everyone in the crowds.

An American ambulance, equipped like a small operating theatre, is also on hand.

The president's personal physician always travels in the Cadillac behind him.

Belfast has been declared a no-fly zone, with scheduled flights re-routed away from the city centre.

Even the RUC's spotter plane has been grounded for the duration of the visit.

Two US Air Force F-16s have been scrambled from their base in England to provide air support.

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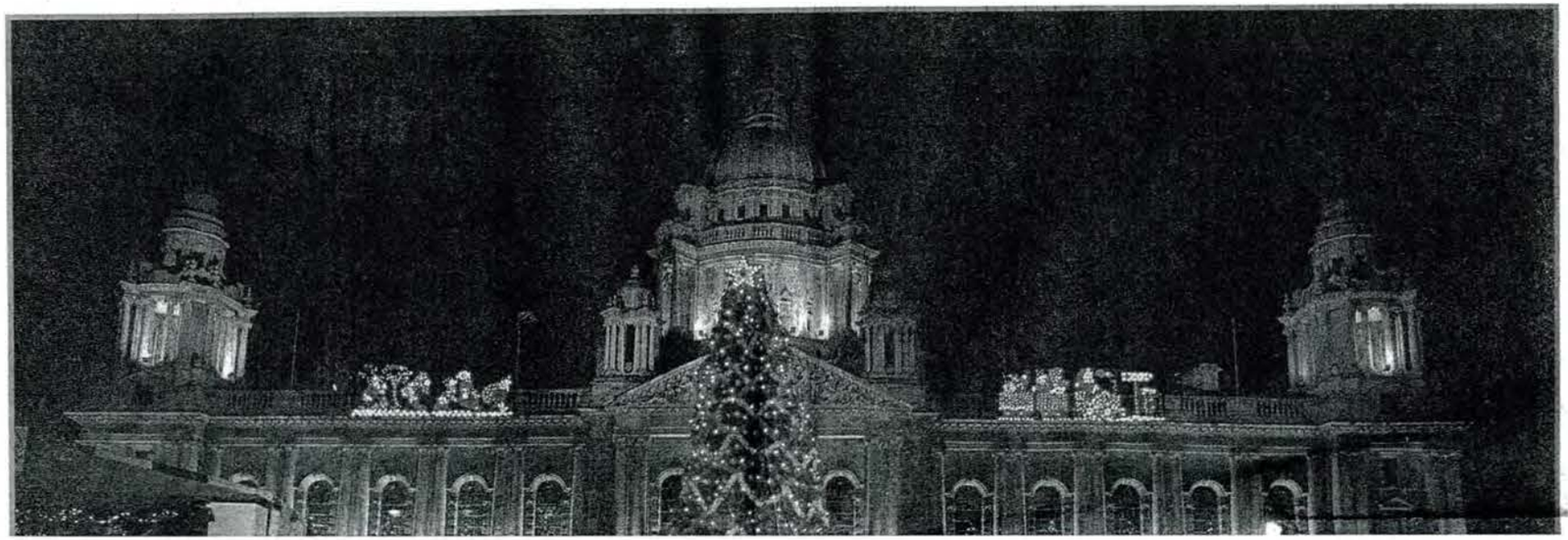
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This day was one of the most remarkable days of our lives

President Clinton, Belfast City Hall, November 30, 1995



[Belfast Telegraph, Friday, December 1, 1995, page 1]

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION



Light fantastic: Belfast goes wild as the President switches on the Christmas tree lights at the City Hall.

Picture by Gerry FitzGerald

CLINTON IN ULSTER:

Special Telegraph Morning Extra

PRESIDENT Bill Clinton told the people of Belfast his visit to Northern Ireland was one of the most remarkable days of his life.

Up to 80,000 people gave him a hero's welcome as he flicked the switch to light up the Christmas tree at the City Hall.

Van Morrison said his mother told him there'd be days like this — but she never told the President of the United States.

Visibly moved by the tumultuous greeting, Mr Clinton said: "This day that Hillary and I have had here will long be with us as one of the most remarkable days of our lives."

And, reinforcing America's full support for the peace process, he pledged: "We will stand with you as you take risks for peace."

To rapturous applause, and with emotion high in his voice, Mr Clinton concluded: "I leave you with these thoughts. May the Christmas spirit of peace and goodwill flourish and grow in you."

"When God was with us he said no words more important than these — blessed are the peace-makers for they shall inherit the earth."

It was remarkable. Indeed, it was spectacular.

Clinton-mania ensured the biggest peace party ever seen in Belfast.

Thousands of Protestants and Catholics stood shoulder-to-shoulder, cheering at every vow that the violence which had tarnished so many of their lives must never be allowed to return.

They came from every county in the province on a cold winter's night to pay tribute to the world's most powerful politician and to savour the carnival atmosphere.

Many arrived hours earlier, determined to get a close-up of the President.

"We want Bill", they chanted among a sea of American flags. Even street traders caught the bug, selling stars and stripes baseball bats and American football hats.

The massive party swung into action to the appropriate strains of In The Mood courtesy of the John Anderson Big Band.

They were followed by the City of Belfast Music Chorale, Kieran Goss, Renaissance, Four Men And A Dog and US star saxophonist Curtis Stigers.

But the biggest cheer — with the exception of Mr Clinton — was saved for Belfast's own Van Morrison.

Eyes welled up as he sang the song, Days Like This, which has become synonomous with the peace process.

West Belfast singer Brian Kennedy, who performed with Van the Man, summed up the magic atmosphere.

"I think it is a real turning point. It is unbelievable to have the President here in Belfast," he said.

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[Belfast Telegraph, Friday, December 1, 1995, page 1 continued]

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

[Belfast Telegraph, Friday, December 1, 1995, page 2]

'You must not allow the ship of peace to sink on the rock of old habits'



Telegraph reporting team

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

[Belfast Telegraph, Friday, December 1, 1995, page 2 continued]

Millar, Robin Morton, Noel McAdam, Desmond McCartan, Lindy McDowell, Claire McGahan, Oliver McGuckin, Eddie McIlwaine, Ian McTear, Martina Purdy, Suzanne Rodgers, Mark Simpson, Darwin Templeton, Gail Walker, David Walmsley and Laurence White.

● Pictures by Belfast Telegraph photographic team: Charles Cockcroft, Mervyn Dowling, Robert Ingram, Brian McMullan, Roy Smyth and Brian Thompson.

Youthful zeal: Two schoolgirls joyfully rush to greet US President Bill Clinton during an unscheduled stop on the Falls Road.

By Laurence White

PRESIDENT Bill Clinton had already made an impact on the Northern Ireland peace process long before Air Force One touched down at Aldergrove.

His impending visit had, in the words of Prime Minister John Major, concentrated the minds of all those involved in trying to give a new impetus to the logjammed search for a political solution.

It was no coincidence that the British and Irish governments managed to find a consensual form of words — the twin track approach — and fix a tentative date for the beginning of substantive talks.

The joint communique from Downing Street on the eve of the visit set the tone and gave a purpose to the presidential visit. And President Clinton instilled a much needed "feel good factor" into the process.

All his words of encouragement were for the peacemakers, and particularly the common people of the province.

"You, the vast majority — Protestant and Catholic alike — must not allow the ship of peace to sink on the rock of old habits and hard grudges", he said in his keynote address at Mackies engineering firm right on the west Belfast peaceline.

For the men of violence his message was uncompromising. "Your day is over", he told them, adding, in a nicely crafted sentence, "violence has no place at the table of democracy". The import was clear to anyone who felt the threat of violence is a legitimate negotiating ploy.

But he was careful not to hint at any imposition of a solution. Our destiny is in our own hands. We must make the choices for the future. He simply pledged that the United States would back us every step of the way on the road to a brighter tomorrow.

His performance throughout the day was superbly balanced. The itinerary touched all the right spots, both physically and metaphorically.

Mackies, situated near the notorious Lanark Way — a former bolthole for sectarian killers, is now proud of its integrated workforce and could be held up as an example of what the future can, and must, hold for the province.

Then President Clinton was off to east Belfast and an enterprise park, funded in part by American money through the International Fund for Ireland — a point which even the harshest critics of the IFI could not dispute. The search for more aid and more investment throughout the province was considerably eased by his mission.

Londonderry, Ulster's second city and home of SDLP leader John Hume whose contacts in America have been influential to the economic regeneration of the city, was a must for the President. Belfast and Derry are seen as the capitals of the two traditions in the province.

Then it was back to Belfast for the symbolic Christmas tree lights switching on ceremony. Has light finally emerged at the end of the tunnel?

The visit of the most powerful western political leader, put Northern Ireland centre stage in world attention for the day. The message millions of people heard around the globe was that, at last, there is hope in a province where it was almost extinguished. Quite simply it was Northern Ireland's greatest ever publicity coup.



Joining in: Hillary Clinton enjoys the happy mood in Belfast



Reflective mood: President Clinton waves to the crowds outside the City Hall and his image is reflected on the bullet-proof screen in front of the podium.

> All his words were for the peace makers, and the common people of Ulster. His message was clear: 'Your day is over,' he told the men of violence.

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

[Belfast Telegraph, Friday, December 1, 1995, page 3]

BILL CLINTON'S VISIT TO ULSTER

Airforce One lands at Aldergrove Airport
THIS PAGE

Shankill walkabout
PAGE 4

Mackies
PAGE 5/6

Falls walkabout and handshake with Gerry Adams
PAGE 7

East Belfast
PAGE 8

Hillary at the Gaslight Cafe
PAGE 9

The Clinton's in Londonderry
PAGES 10/11

The Christmas switch on
PAGES 12/13

The last reception. The President at Queen's
PAGES 14/15

DON'T MISS

Roaring into history...

CLINTON'S DAY IN ULSTER

9.04AM ALDERGROVE AIRPORT

By Lindy McDowell

YOU could hear Air Force One long before you see it.

A low slung blanket of cloud shielded the blue and white 747 from view until just before it touched down on the main runway at Belfast International Airport.

It was a deafening arrival.

And an historic one. Bill Clinton had become the first serving US president to visit Northern Ireland.

As dozens of journalists looked on, Mr Clinton and his wife Hillary swathed in an ankle-length black coat, stepped down from the aircraft to meet a welcoming party headed by the Lord Lieutenant, Lord O'Neill and Secretary of State, Sir Patrick Mayhew.

Also among the group were Minister of State, Michael Ancram, Sir Hugh Annesley and South Antrim MP, Clifford Forsythe.

Security at the airport was tight — even by Northern Ireland standards — and the public were prevented from catching even a glimpse of the VIP visitors.

But a group of airport workers who had gathered on the tarmac to watch the scene won from the president a wave and a smile.

And then they were gone. Seated on either side of US Consul General Kathy Stephens in the presidential Cadilac, Mr and Mrs Clinton were ferried via a deserted M2 (it had been closed off earlier in the morning) for Belfast City Centre.

Behind them came a mighty cavalcade of vehicles including police cars, an ambulance and mini buses carrying White House staff.

The show was, quite literally on the road.

Dramatic entrance in Air Force One



First time: President and First Lady make their way down the steps of Air Force One.

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[Belfast Telegraph, Friday, December 1, 1995, page 4]

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

CLINTON'S DAY IN ULSTER

9.58AM SHANKILL WALKABOUT

Moment of magic as Bill pulls in to chat

IT took all the President's men to draw up his schedule but only one man could break it.

And break it he did when the people of the Shankill Road were treated to an impromptu visit by Bill Clinton early yesterday morning.

There was a moment of silent disbelief as the motorcade of stretch limos, Press and the initialled ranks of the FBI and RUC swept from Northumberland Street onto the Shankill.

But it was the quiet before the storm of an appreciative roar that greeted the first sighting of Bill and Hillary waving from behind the bullet-proof tinted glass of their limo.

With the requisite Stars and Stripes flags fluttering at the end of one of the world's longest bonnets, a beaming President emerged right outside Violet's Fruit Shop.

Accompanied by Sir Patrick and Lady Mayhew and the American Consul General Kathleen Stephens, the Clintons stepped inside as well-wishers strained to see the spectacle.

"I was completely shocked. We certainly weren't expecting this," said Violet Clarke, proprietor of the shop.

■ Impromptu stop delights Shankill

"He bought chrysanths for Hillary and fruit and he paid for them himself — but he didn't wait for his change."

Employee Mark Collins, though, reckons the VIP visit will put the shop on the international map.

"We're going to get a banner made saying 'The President Shops Here'" he joked.

But by the time Mr Clinton and his entourage re-emerged there was no holding the crowd's enthusiasm.

As the presidential party made its way across the road to meet local people the well-meaning melee outside Violet's surged forward to follow, eager not to waste a second of history in the making.

It was all too much, though, for one young man.

As the pack of Press photographers elbowed each other, jostling for position, Michael Mullen, a member of the Shankill PHAB club, was caught in the middle and it all ended in tears.



Important customer: The Presidential limousine stops outside Violet's shop on Belfast's Shankill Road.

Not even the reassuring hand of the President himself could console Michael.

"Mr Clinton asked us Michael's name and if he was upset because he thought he wasn't going to meet the him," said Julie Lester from PHAB.

A flushed Elaine Storey thought the president looked "very relaxed" as he shook her hand.

"He must be a very free and easy type to mix so well with a crowd like this," she added.

But it was a Canadian who gets top marks for coming furthest to see the First Citizen of the White House.

"I've never seen him in the flesh before. I'm just home at the moment visiting my family who are from the Shankill," said Ken Bond from Toronto.

However, the enthusiasm of the welcome belied the cynicism to which many onlookers had admitted just moments before the arrival of the motorcade.

"A lot of people around here feel the President favours Irish unity and that's what causes the mixed reaction," said Shankill pharmacist Ian McConkey.

Mrs Clara McQuitty wasn't impressed by the spectacle.

"It will take our country a long time to pay for all this fuss," she said.

But as the motorcade swept on towards its next stop at Mackie's all that was left were memories and a hastily hoisted Stars and Stripes fluttering in the sharp November air.

The greengrocer with a Presidential seal of approval

■ 'He's a very pleasant man and a real VIP'

By Mandi Millar

PRESIDENT Bill Clinton really made Violet Clarke's day.

All she expected was a quick snapshot of the most powerful man in the world as he and his entourage swept past her Shankill Road fruit shop.

Instead she had a personal encounter with him and he gave her three pounds for his purchases.

"I am still shocked but I am on a high," she said after the President had gone on his way.

"We were standing around waiting for him to pass and I had my camera ready to get a quick shot of him as he passed.

"A few seconds before he arrived on the scene one of his aides came into the shop and told me to introduce myself when the President called.

"You could have bowled me over. I couldn't believe it was happening. And I wasn't so sure it would. But the President went walkabout and came in. He came in, introduced himself and his wife. Then he talked to my staff, all four of them and said he wanted to purchase some fruit.

"He got four apples, a net of Clementine oranges and a bunch of mixed flowers.

"I didn't want to charge him but he gave me £3 and didn't take any change.

"I have put the coins away safely and will keep them for the future. After all it isn't every day you get an American president calling in and buying something in your shop.

"He is a very pleasant man and a real VIP. When Prince Charles came here I got a wave from him but he didn't come into the shop.

"I'll probably put up a sign saying 'President Clinton shopped here'."



Clinton's choice: The President makes his selection in Violet Clarke's fruit shop

For Violet's Florist on the Castlereagh Rd the President's impromptu call on the Shankill Road caused some hassle.

"Our telephone has never stopped ringing since it happened," said Violet Craig.

"Sandra Kay, the owner and myself have been telling journalists from all over the world they have the wrong shop. But this is the only one of that name in the telephone book.

"President Clinton would certainly have been welcome had he decided to call with us," she said.



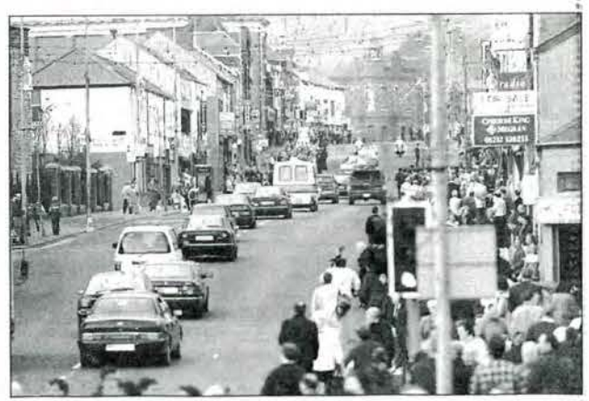
Going in: The President stops off to do some shopping



Coming out: Purchases made, the President goes back to his car



Human touch: President Clinton shakes hands with the waiting crowds



Road drama: The Presidential motorcade drives up the Shankill Road on its way to Mackie's factory.

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

DON'T MISS SPECIAL TELEGRAPH SATURDAY MORNING EXTRA ON CLINTON'S VISIT

[Belfast Telegraph, Friday, December 1, 1995, page 4 continued]

A child's plea and a man from a place called Hope



Peace point: Mr Clinton shows the way during his speech at Mackie's.



The future: Catherine touched the President's heart.

CLINTON'S DAY IN ULSTER

10.15AM MACKIES

By Darwin Templeton, Vincent Kearney and Martina Purdy

A CHILD'S hopes, born from the horror of the Troubles, captured President Clinton's heart as the eyes of the world watched his historic visit to west Belfast.

Nine-year-old Catherine Hamill shared her dreams for the future with the watching millions.

"My Christmas wish is that peace and love will last in Ireland for ever," she said.

The Catholic schoolgirl was only a baby when gunmen burst into her home and shot her father dead.

"It was the worst day of my life," she told 1,500 guests at Mackie International.

On that day, her father Patrick was shot through the head by loyalist

Ecstatic boys and girls from four local schools, many with packed lunches tucked under their seats, raised the noise level with squeals of delight.

In the front row, Hillary Clinton sat next to an awestruck 21-year-old Teresa McCullagh, who wore blue overalls, the only woman among 30 apprentices at Mackies.

Two hundred Mackie workers sat to the far right in an elevated platform.

They had won a ballot to see Mr Clinton speak; the unlucky ones sat behind the President, watching him on a big screen.

Outside, the first handshake had been reserved for a fellow American named Patrick who inherited his US passport from his emigrant father from Co Antrim

It was the pinnacle in the career of Patrick Dougan, the Dunloy orphan who grew up to unite Catholics and

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PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

[Belfast Telegraph, Friday, December 1, 1995, page 5]

"It was the worst day of my life," she told 1,500 guests at Mackie International.

On that day, her father Patrick was shot through the head by loyalist terrorists as she lay in her mother Laura's arms.

The child's pain brought nods of sympathy and tears to the eyes of many of those who listened intently to her words. Catherine stood on a wooden box with David Sterrit, a Protestant schoolboy from the other side of the peaceline.

Holding hands in a moving gesture of hope, Catherine and David, in their school uniforms, then jointly introduced the most powerful leader in the world — the man from a place called Hope.

"Ladies and gentlemen, the President of the United States."

The atmosphere was immediately transformed as euphoric factory workers, schoolchildren, loyalists, republicans and British and American VIPs stood to greet Mr Clinton.

named Patrick who inherited his US passport from his emigrant father from Co Antrim

It was the pinnacle in the career of Patrick Dougan, the Dunloy orphan who grew up to unite Catholics and Protestants in a faltering factory he rescued from the brink three years ago.

Also in the welcoming party was Patrick's wife, Mary, the Queen's representative Colonel Elliot Wilson, West Belfast MP Joe Hendron, North Belfast MP Cecil Walker and Lord Mayor Eric Smyth.

Four harpists and a flautist played a traditional Irish tune, adding to the magic. After the President's speech, the voice of Ireland, Ros Ni Dhubhain took over, singing The Last Rose of Summer, as Mr Clinton personally greeted each shop floor worker.

"Brilliant," said one child. "I never thought I would meet the President of America."

"Give us a wave," shouted others as he left the factory to loud cheers.

It was a day none will forget.



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PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

[Belfast Telegraph, Friday, December 1, 1995, page 5 continued]

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

[Belfast Telegraph, Friday, December 1, 1995, page 6]

'Ulster's chance to inspire the world'

THIS is the text of Bill Clinton's keynote speech at Mackie's engineering works.

THIS is one of those occasions where I really feel that all that needs to be said has already been said. I thank Catherine and David for introducing me, for all the schoolchildren of Northern Ireland who are here today, and for all whom they represent.

With every extra day that the guns are still, business confidence grows stronger and the promise of prosperity grows as well.

I want to honour those whose courage and vision have brought us to this point; Prime Minister John Major, Prime Minister Bruton and before him, Prime Minister Reynolds, laid the background and the basis for this era of reconciliation.

From the Downing street Declaration to the joint framework document, they altered the course of history. Now just in the last few days, by launching the twin-track initiative, they have opened a promising new gateway to a just and lasting peace.

Foreign Minister Spring, Sir Patrick Mayhew, David Trimble and John Hume, all have laboured to realise the promise of peace.

And Gerry Adams, along with loyalist leaders such as David Ervine and Gary McMichael, helped to silence the guns on the streets and to bring about the first peace in a generation.

Last year's ceasefire of the Irish Republican Army, joined by the Combined Loyalist Military Command, marked a turning point in the history of Northern Ireland.



Clinton speaks of new page in history

Let me begin by saying that the search for common ground demands the courage of an open mind.

This twin-track initiative gives the parties a chance to begin preliminary talks in ways in which all views will be represented and all voices will be heard.

It also establishes an international body to address the issue of arms decommissioning. I hope the parties will seize this opportunity.

Moving from ceasefire to peace requires dialogue. For 25 years now the history of Northern Ireland has been written in the blood of its children and their parents.

The ceasefire turned the page on that history; it must not be allowed to turn back.

The leaders of the four main churches recently condemned the so-called punishment beatings and called for an end to such attacks. I add my voice to theirs.

As the church leaders said, this is a time when the utmost efforts on all sides are needed to build a peaceful and confident community in the future.

Those who have suffered most in the fighting must share fairly in the fruits of renewal. The frustration that gave rise to violence must give way to faith in the future.

Ours is the first American administration ever to support in the Congress the International Fund for Ireland, which has become an engine for economic development and for reconciliation.

We are proud to support Northern Ireland. You have given America a very great deal.

Irish Protestant and Irish Catholic together have added to America's strength.

From our battle for independence down to the present day, the Irish have not only fought in our wars, they have built our nation and we owe you a very great debt.

The United States looks forward to working with our allies here in Europe and others to help the people in Bosnia — the Muslims, the Croats, the Serbs — to move beyond their divisions and their destructions to make the peace agreement they have made a reality in the lives of their people.

Those who work for peace have got to support one another. We know that when leaders stand up for peace, they place their forces on the line, and so sometimes their very lives on the line, as we learned so recently in the tragic murder of the brave Prime Minister of Israel.



Peace mission: President Clinton speaking at Mackie's factory, Belfast.

For, just as peace has its pioneers, peace will always have its rivals. Over the last three years I have had the privilege of meeting with and closely listening to both nationalists and unionists from Northern Ireland, and I believe that the greatest struggle you face now is not between opposing ideas or opposing interests.

The greatest struggle you face is between those who, deep down inside, are inclined to be peacemakers, and those who, deep down inside, cannot yet embrace the cause of peace.

Between those who are in the ship of peace and those who are trying to sink it, old habits die hard.

There will always be those who define the worth of their lives not by who they are, but by who they aren't; not by what they're for, but by what they are against.

They will never escape the dead-end street of violence. But you, the vast majority, Protestant and Catholic alike, must not allow the ship of peace to sink on the rocks of old habits and hard grudges.

You must stand firm against terror. You must say to those who still would use violence for political objectives — you are the past; your day is over.

Those who show the courage, those who do show the courage to break with the past, are entitled to their stake in the future.

As leaders for peace become invested in the process, as leaders make compromises and risk the backlash, people begin more and more — I have seen this all over the world — they begin more and more to develop a common interest in each others success; in standing together rather than standing apart.

They realise that the sooner they get to true peace, with all the rewards it brings, the sooner it will be easy to discredit and destroy the forces of destruction.

We will stand with those who take risks for peace, in Northern Ireland and around the world.

If you enter that era determined to build a new age of peace, the United States of America will proudly stand with you.

But at the end of the day, as with all free people, your future is for you to decide.

Your destiny is for you to determine. Only you can decide between division and unity, between hard lives and high hopes. Only you can create a lasting peace.

I have been so touched by the thousands of letters I have received from schoolchildren here, telling me what peace means to them.

One young girl from Ballymena wrote — and I quote — "It is not easy to forgive and forget, especially for those who have lost a family member or a close friend. However, if people can look to the future with hope instead of the past with fear, we can only be moving in the right directions."

I couldn't have said it nearly as well.

I believe you can summon the strength to keep moving forward. After all, you have come so far already.

You have braved so many dangers, you have endured so many sacrifices. Surely, there can be no turning back.

But peace must be waged with a warrior's resolve — bravely, proudly, and relentlessly — secure in the knowledge of the single, greatest difference between war and peace; in peace, everybody can win.

Northern Ireland has a chance not only to begin anew, but to be a real inspiration to the rest of the world, a model of progress through tolerance.

At this holiday season all around the world, the promise of peace is in the air. The barriers of the Cold War are giving way to a global village where communication and co-operation are the order of the day.

From South Africa to the Middle East, and now to troubled Bosnia, conflicts long thought impossible to solve are moving along the road to resolution. Once-bitter foes are clasping hands and changing history. And long-suffering people are moving closer to normal lives.

Here in Northern Ireland, you are making a miracle — a miracle symbolised by those two children who held hands and told us what this whole thing is all about. In the land of the harp and the fiddle, the fife and the Lambeg drum, two proud traditions are coming together in the harmonies of peace. The ceasefire and negotiations have sparked a powerful transformation.

Mackie's Plant is a symbol of Northern Ireland's rebirth. It has long been a symbol of world class engineering. The textile machines you make permit people to weave disparate threats into remarkable fabrics. That is now what you must do here with the people of Northern Ireland.

Here we lie along the peace line, the wall of steel and stone separating Protestant from Catholic. But today, under the leadership of Pat Dougan, you are bridging the divide, overcoming a legacy of discrimination where fair employment and integration are the watchwords of the future.

On this shop floor men and women of both traditions are working together to achieve common goals. Peace, once a distant dream, is now making a difference in everyday life in this land. Soldiers have left the streets of Belfast

People can go to the pub or the store without the burden of the search or the threat of a bomb. As barriers disappear along the border, families and communities divided for decades are becoming whole once more.

Have you a story to tell?

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

CLINTON'S DAY IN ULSTER

11.50AM FALLS WALKABOUT

Crowd nearly mobs Adams handshake

By Martin Hill and Mandi Millar

PRESIDENT Clinton was nearly mobbed when he visited west Belfast to shake Gerry Adams' hand.

Hundreds of high-spirited well-wishers waving Stars and Stripes pennants broke through police lines to greet him.

It was the first time the president had shaken Mr Adams's hand in public.

Secret Service agents and the RUC battled to control the good-natured crowd after two schoolgirls ducked under policemen's arms to rush Mr Clinton's party.

His bodyguards panicked momentarily when the crowd surged closer as he left a home bakery.

But the RUC managed to push well-wishers back to allow the presidential motorcade to pass.

Mr Adams said he had wished the president 'cead mile failte' — a hundred thousand welcomes — from the people of west Belfast.

"It is important that the president touches base with all sections of the community," he said. "This visit is politically and historically imperative.

"It's a celebration for the people of this area."

Shop assistant Ciara Callaghan, 16, stole a kiss from Mr Clinton when he came into the Dunville Pharmacy, where she works.

"I waved at him through the window to come in and he kissed us.

"He shook our hands and everything," she said later.

"I'd only ever seen him on the television before. It was a big shock but he's lovely."

Evelyn Meredith, who also kissed Mr Clinton and shook his hand, said the visit was a "first in history".

"He has a part to play in our situation," she said.

"He's already started something with the twin-track approach.

"For a president of the United States to visit a small country like Ireland is really something."

Mr Clinton also made it an extra special day for birthday boy Christopher McLaughlin — who was eight yesterday.

His mother, Barbara, and grandmother, Rita McDonald, were in McErlean's bakery buying his birthday cake when Mr Clinton dropped in to sample some Ulster wheaten.



Hands clasp: President Clinton and Gerry Adams shake hands on the Falls Road

[Belfast Telegraph, Friday, December 1, 1995, page 7]

[Belfast Telegraph, Friday, December 1, 1995, page 8]

PRESERVATION COPY



Warm welcome: Peter Robinson MP who greeted the President and his wife. With him is Alliance leader John Alderdice.

CLINTON'S DAY IN ULSTER

12.15PM EAST BELFAST

Jokes all the way on the 'East' side

By Oliver McGuckin

AS befits the advent of the Christmas season, the wise men — and women — from the 'East' came bearing gifts.

After all, it is not every day the United States President drops in to talk business.

Investment was the buzz word at the East Belfast Enterprise Park meeting — investment in people, productivity and skills; a community's future.

The atmosphere was sincere and good-humoured. Local MP Peter Robinson greeted Mr Clinton and his wife Hillary with warming words of tribute.

Mr Robinson was followed by Peter Thompson, chairman of the Enterprise Park, who highlighted the contribution made to the project by the International Fund for Ireland.

As well as the IFI, the £1.3m centre received assistance from the Local Enterprise Development Unit (LEDU), Making Belfast Work and the European Regional Development Fund.

These groups and agencies were also complimented, both by guest speakers and by members of the 'panel' who gave the President a potted history of their business initiatives.

Mr Clinton smiled broadly as he heard of how their fortunes had been improving since the ceasefires.

He almost blushed when Sammy Douglas, from the East Belfast Shadow partnership, told him: "Your efforts, Mr President, have helped to create the conditions for peace in Northern Ireland."

It was that sort of occasion. Accolades, bonhomie and jokes all the way.

Even the man himself got in on the act before leaving for his helicopter flight to Londonderry.

Referring to the name of one of the companies at the Enterprise Park — Altered Images, run by Lynne McGregor and producing engraved mirrors — Mr Clinton suggested she set up business in Washinton.

"She would make a fortune overnight. Some of us over there could do with having our images altered," he joked.

On his departure, Mr Clinton was presented with three specially-commissioned gifts to mark his historic visit.

More smiles, handshakes and then he was gone — from east to west.



Friendly wave: America's First Lady waves to the crowd on Belfast's Ormeau Road.

DON'T MISS SPECIAL TELEGRAPH SATURDAY MORNING EXTRA ON CLINTON'S VISIT

[Belfast Telegraph, Friday, December 1, 1995, page 9]

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

Hillary tries cosy touch in tea-time chat

CLINTON'S DAY IN ULSTER

11.40AM GASLIGHT CAFE

By Gail Walker

THE FIRST Lady uses a tea cosy back home in the White House to keep the brew warm for herself and Bill.

But she thinks the teapots we have here are great because they keep the tea "so nice and hot".

And she asked the 10 women hand-picked to have a casual chat with her in a tiny downtown cafe where she could buy one to take back to the States for the sideboard in Washington.

They looked a bit taken aback by the request. It was after all an ordinary pot, found in thousands of homes across the province.

So no-one really answered her. There was some muttering and nervous laughter. The tea was dispensed.

"No milk," said Mrs Clinton, who then revealed she was still a little jet-lagged. She also confessed she loved tea and drank it "all the time".

But enough smalltalk. When Mrs Clinton drops in for a casual chat its a serious business.

This is meeting the people or "interfacing", as the Americans say.

And what if the women's conversation seemed a little suited, a little prepared at times as they each took their turn in The Gaslight to tell Hillary exactly where they were coming from?

■ It's a serious business – talking

Sally McErlean told her about the West Belfast Parent and Youth Support Group, Annie Quinn talked about New Beginnings, set up for single parents, and Ailish McIntyre discussed Money and Relationship Counselling.

Then there was Mabel Frye, founder of South Belfast Cultural Society; Rita Weatherall of Bangor Women's Group; Mary Fox, co-ordinator of Footprints and Marie Annett of Annadale Crescent Residents Association.

And Lady Jean Mayhew, wife of the Secretary of State, who actually said little but looked very interested all the same.

Hillary nodded intently throughout, listening carefully to the tales of grief, of triumph in the face of adversity.

The woman who once resolutely stuck to her maiden name and was famed for her feminism smiled warmly as community leader Joyce McCartan described how the assembled women before her were all "family feminists."

"We look after our sons and our men too," added Mrs McCartan as the delicious smell of turkey roasting in the little kitchen out the back wafted over the party as proof.

Admittedly it must have been difficult to be intimate. Reporters and cameramen were crammed everywhere. Tall men in long raincoats took up any other spare space.

A cafe worker beside me, balanced precariously on chairs behind the serving counter, watched it all for a while, then watched my shorthand, then climbed down.

Another local man, helping tape the conversation, leaned against the wall, staring into space and making no effort to see the First Lady.

Even when Mrs Clinton asked a few questions — were more people getting involved in politics? what were the major obstacles standing in the way of the peace process? — he failed to stir.

After 50 minutes, Mrs



Refreshing humour: First Lady Hillary Clinton enjoys a joke and a cup of tea with Joyce McCartan during her visit to the Ormeau Road, Belfast.

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people getting involved in politics? what were the major obstacles standing in the way of the peace process? — he failed to stir.

After 50 minutes Mrs Clinton posed for an impromptu photocall with her new friends, posing for individual portraits.

Then, an immaculately-clad arm around Mrs McCartan's shoulder, she walked back to her limousine.

Mrs McCartan's 17-year-old son Gary was shot dead in the hallway of their home, one of 13 of her relatives murdered in the Troubles.

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[Belfast Telegraph, Friday, December 1, 1995, page 9 continued]

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

[Belfast Telegraph, Friday, December 1, 1995, page 10]

The town he loved so well



Smiles better: The President obviously enjoys this chance to meet the people of Londonderry.

[Belfast Telegraph, Friday, December 1, 1995, page 10 continued]

COPY
VATION

Smiles better: The President obviously enjoys this chance to meet the people of Londonderry.

CLINTON'S DAY IN ULSTER

2.55 PM GUILDHALL SQUARE

By Mark Simpson

BILL Clinton wants a political pay-back for his Northern Ireland visit.

And he wants the province to become an international model of successful peace-making.

The challenge was thrown out by the President to the gathering which included unionist and nationalist councillors at a private reception at the Guildhall in Londonderry.

At the end of a speech packed with emotive language, the President looked at the crowd and said: "I pray not only for your success in making peace, I pray that you will become a model for the rest of the world.

"The world will always need models to peace. Thank you and bless you all".

Cynics argue that the only political pay-back Bill Clinton wants from his historic visit is votes at next year's presidential election.

However, Mr Clinton made it clear in his speech that peace in Northern Ireland was not just a selfish aim of the White House.

Drawing on examples from the Middle East and Bosnia, he said the need was peace is universal.

He said: "First you have to put your violence behind you — you have done that — then you have to make agreements that recognise the differences and commonalities among you.

"And this twin-track process I believe is a way at least to begin that process (in Northern Ireland) where everyone can be heard.

"Then you have to change the spirit of the people until it is as normal as getting up in the morning and having breakfast to feel a real affinity for the people who share this land with you — without regard to their religion or politics."

Looking on as Mr Clinton spoke was one of the architects of the IRA ceasefire, SDLP leader, John Hume, who accompanied the President every step of the way in Derry.

Less conspicuous but also present in Derry city centre yesterday to witness the presidential visit was Sinn Fein's Martin McGuinness.

It was a sign of how times have changed that the Derry republican rubbed shoulders with nationalists and unionists, council officers and business leaders, in the VIP section of Guildhall Square for Mr Clinton's outdoor speech.

The President's indoor speech was a more select affair, with around 200 people assembled inside the Guildhall to see the President awarded an honorary degree.

On receiving it he said jokingly that he would have preferred a Professorship from the University of Ulster.

The President said: "I have this job without a lot of tenure and I'm looking for more tenure."

Among the assembled was one of Mr Clinton's closest advisors on Northern Ireland, Nancy Soderberg.

She has been at the heart of the shuttle diplomacy which has operated between Washington, London and Dublin to help keep the peace process afloat.

Normally publicity-shy, Miss Soderberg could not hide her joy at seeing the President receive such an ecstatic welcome in a peaceful Derry.

"It's extraordinary — it's truly overwhelming," she said. But she stressed that the glory in the search for a permanent peace should not go to the White House.

She said: "It's the people of Northern Ireland who are taking the risks".



Presidential salute: Bill Clinton acknowledges the crowd in Guildhall Square

Coulter cameo hits right note with Bill

By Mark Simpson

A MUSICAL cameo from Phil Coulter left the President punching the air with delight in Londonderry.

A surprise rendition of The Town I Love So Well clearly moved Mr Clinton as he attended a gala reception at the city's Guildhall.

He sat, eyes closed, foot tapping and singing along as Coulter played the piano and sang to a 200-strong audience.

As soon as the piece was finished, Mr Clinton led the standing ovation and then rushed over to Coulter and shook him warmly by the hand.

The song had gone down well in the White House on St Patrick's Day and Mr Clinton clearly enjoyed the repeat performance.

Coulter said he was pleased to oblige.

"Today, Mr President, you have won the hearts of the people of Derry," said singer songwriter Coulter.

SDLP leader John Hume enjoyed the moment as well, and mouthed every word.

The Guildhall reception was attended by city councillors, visiting American politicians, church leaders and members of the business community.

Among the throng was deputy mayor Richard Dallas, who said he was disappointed that the President had not been able to fit in a visit to the mainly unionist Waterside during his first trip to the city.

To the disappointment of many of those gathered at the reception the First Lady Hillary Clinton did not address the audience.

Throughout the Derry visit she won almost as much adulation as her husband.

Flowers, gifts and letters were thrown at her from an adoring crowd as she took time out to do a walkabout at Guildhall Square, before the reception.

One of the presents she was given was a Sinn Fein green ribbon, but its significance was lost on her and her officials. It was simply added to the large pile of gifts.

Although Mrs Clinton did not speak formally during the whistle-stop visit, she did comment briefly when asked by the media if she was enjoying her stay.

"It's incredible . . . overwhelming," she exclaimed before being ushered on by the omni-present batch of bodyguards.



[Belfast Telegraph, Friday, December 1, 1995, page 11]

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

CLINTON'S DAY IN ULSTER
3.30PM SHIPQUAY ST WALKABOUT

'The time has come for the peacemakers'

By David Walmsley

8,000 in Derry hear visitor's plea

AN estimated 8,000 people filled Londonderry city centre to hear President Bill Clinton say it was time for peacemakers to triumph in Northern Ireland.

In an address which lasted just more than 10 minutes, Mr Clinton spoke of his love for Derry and of his commitment to seeing a stable peace becoming a reality.

He said he was keeping a promise he had made to SDLP leader John Hume in the United States by finally seeing, at first hand, the famous walled city.

Speaking from a podium in the centre of Guildhall Square, Mr Clinton told the crowd he had fulfilled a wish.

"Twice already we have had the honour of hosting John and Pat Hume in Washington.

"The last time I said 'you can't come back to Washington until you let me come to Derry'. And here I am."

He said John Hume represented all that was good about the people of Northern Ireland.

He described the Foyle MP as "the most tireless campaigner for civil rights and most eloquent voice of non-violence".

In the city from where a nationalist strategy culminating in the IRA ceasefire began life had become more positive, with new opportunities developing, said Mr Clinton.

And he appealed to those still unsure if killing was not perhaps a more effective method of exercising change.

The US leader, who was running about 40 minutes behind schedule after arriving at City of Derry airport by helicopter from Belfast, said there was a stark choice.

He told the thousands of well-wishers: "The divisions that are most important here are not the divisions between opposite views or interests.

"Those divisions can be reconciled. The most important ones are those between the peacemakers and the enemies of peace.

"Those who deep down inside want peace and those deep down inside who can't reach out for peace.

"There are those who are on the ship of peace and those who would sink it.

"Everyone in life has to decide what sort of person they are going to be . . . what you are against and what you are for.

"The time has come for the peacemakers and the US will support them."

Sensing the historic nature of yesterday's visit, President Clinton spoke of his affinity with Derry.

He referred to a reconciliation statue at the bottom of Abercorn Road in the maiden city.

The statue, 10ft tall and made of bronze, depicts two men, hands out-reached.

It was erected, said a council spokeswoman, to remind the public about how partnerships could be forged and of how the injustices of the past could be forgiven.

Mr Clinton said it represented a "powerful symbol".

After his address, the President began a walkabout on Shipquay Street to meet the crowd.

Pictures by Trevor Martin and Ian Trevithick



Warm greeting: President Clinton and John Hume share a warm handshake in Londonderry's Guildhall Square

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

[Belfast Telegraph, Friday, December 1, 1995, page 11 continued]

Security plan sticks close to the action

By David Walmsley

IT was the biggest security operation Londonderry has ever seen.

Everyone entering the city's Guildhall Square was thoroughly searched.

RUC officers worked with US Secret Service agents at two main filter points in the city centre.

Everyone was forced to walk through an electronic door which scanned for metallic objects.

Many of the estimated 8,000-strong crowd were also frisked.

It was the culmination of weeks of work, codenamed Operation Venice, by US agents and RUC.

Guildhall Square is surrounded by a large number of tall buildings.

Every window capable of providing a would-be sniper with a vantage point was blacked out ahead of the president's arrival.

Sharpshooters stood on the roof of a number of buildings, including the Guildhall itself and the nearby Ulster Bank. They studied the crowds with binoculars.

Male and female Secret Service agents mingled with the crowd.

A number of agents, dressed in trench coats, took photographs of the crowd.

After his speech, Mr Clinton and his wife, Hillary, went on a walkabout in Shipquay Street where he met some of the thousands of well-wishers.

At the foot of the street, outside the Gainsborough Bar, his armoured car, the engine running, was parked half on the pavement.



Hello Derry! President Clinton waves to the crowds on his arrival at the Guildhall

A Secret Service agent stood by the open passenger door.

In the event, the agent's biggest problem came from a freelance radio broadcaster who insisted in standing too close.

He was eventually persuaded to move to the pavement.

A senior military officer stood near the president at all times with a black briefcase in hand. It reportedly contained the nuclear strike codes.

When Mrs Clinton briefly split from her husband for a meeting with the crowd she was accompanied by three men.

When her husband rejoined her they moved towards the Guildhall for the civic reception, before Mr Clinton returned one final time to the platform for a last wave.

As the president walked out of sight, a burly guard walked up to the dais and took the presidential seal away under his arm.

Umbrellas, cans and sprays were all banned from the immediate area near the president.

Magee is awarded peace studies chair

By Suzanne Rodgers

PRESIDENT Clinton inaugurated a Chair in Peace and Conflict Resolution at the University of Ulster at Magee College during a private ceremony in the Guildhall.

The chair is funded by the American Ireland Fund and dedicated to the late Tip O'Neill, a former Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Mr Clinton said: "You have proved here that political decisions by brave people can make a difference in people's lives."

"You have to make an agreement that recognises difference and commonality between you. I believe this twin-track approach, which has been launched with Senator George Mitchell heading up the international dimension, will help achieve that."

"I pray for your success in making this peace because you can become a model for other places and the world will always need models for peace."

Tip O'Neill's children Rosemary and Tom paid tribute to the President for his efforts in promoting peace in Northern Ireland and to John Hume who, he said, "drafted my dad into the cause of peace on this island".

A symbolic stone from Washington DC was presented to Magee College at the ceremony, and the President was awarded an honorary Doctor of Literature degree by university vice-chancellor Trevor Smith.

He said he applauded the President's efforts at conflict resolution around the world.

Earlier, President Clinton won the hearts of Derry's people on a walkabout in Guildhall Square.

Kay Johnstone, 10, from the Waterside, said she prayed the night before that she would get to shake his hand and she did.

The President made a point of singling out children in the huge crowd, including Jean-Anne Craig, 11, from Rosemount, and Patrick Burke, 10, from the Creggan.

DON'T MISS SPECIAL TELEGRAPH SATURDAY MORNING EXTRA ON CLINTON'S VISIT



'Tele' kids' night to remember

By Claire McGahan

Centre stage at big switch-on

IT was the night of a lifetime for two Ulster schoolchildren who opened their hearts to the President.

The two — winners of the Belfast Telegraph's 'Write a Letter to the President' competition — took centre stage at the City Hall with Mr Clinton and the First Lady at the hightlight of the President's visit to Northern Ireland.

Thousands of children took up the the challenge, but it was letters by 12-year-old Cathy Harte and Mark Lennox, aged 15, expressing their hopes for the future of a peaceful Northern Ireland that moved the President.

Cathy, a pupil at St Dominic's High School Belfast, and Mark, from Glengormley High School, Newtownabbey, sat on the presidential podium in front of tens of thousands of people gathered outside the City Hall as Mrs Hillary Clinton read extracts from their letters.

Then, with the President's arm around each of their shoulders, they helped Bill Clinton make history as together they flicked the switch to light Belfast's Christmas tree.

US Consul General Kathleen Stephens and Belfast Telegraph editor Edmund Curran judged the competition and said they were overwhelmed with the massive response.



Proud moment: Belfast Telegraph letter winners Mark Lennox and Cathy Harte meet President Clinton in the City Hall.

Picture by Mervyn Dowling

Belfast takes First Lady to its heart

CLINTON'S DAY IN ULSTER

7.05PM CITY HALL

By Claire McGahan

HILLARY Clinton captured the hearts of the tens of thousands of people packed into Belfast city centre when she spoke of a night of hope and peace.

The First Lady, dressed warmly against the bitter wind, told the massive audience that the children of the province were the reason why the peace process was so important.



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[Belfast Telegraph, Friday, December 1, 1995, page 12]

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And she quoted extracts from letters by 12-year-old Cathy Harte and 15-year-old Mark Lennox, winners of the Belfast Telegraph sponsored 'Write a letter to the President' competition.

Wishing everyone in the province a happy Christmas, Mrs Clinton added she hoped there would be many peaceful festive seasons ahead.

"Let us remember the reason for this great holiday celebration. And let us remember that we seek peace most of all for our children.

"May this be one of many, many happy and peaceful Christmases in Northern Ireland this year and for many years to come."



First Lady: Hillary Clinton reading from the prizewinning letters.

CATHY'S LETTER

She started with Cathy's letter which said: "I live in Belfast and I love it here. It's green, it's beautiful and, well, it's Ireland.

"All my life I have only known guns and bombs with people fighting. Now it's different. There are no guns or bombs and on UTV Live our local news presenters are tongue-tied about new to tell. And any they do is mostly good.

"My dreams for the future, well I have a lot of them. Hopefully the peace will be permanent. That one day Catholics and Protestants will be able to walk hand and hand and will be able to live in the same areas.

"Religion does not matter to me. Catholic, protestant, black or white, it's the person inside that counts.

"Actually my aunt and uncle are protestants and it is very interesting to see their traditions and way of life.

"What I hope is that when I have my own children that there will still be peace and that Belfast will be a peaceful place from now on."

MARK'S LETTER

Mrs Clinton then went on to read from Mark's letter, in which he wrote how pleased he was about the permanent peace in the province.

"The USA government is very important to the Northern Irish people because if the peace talks fail things will go back to the way they were, or even worse.

"All the people in Northern Ireland want peace, both Roman Catholics and Protestants. It is only a minority who resort to violence.

"It is difficult to achieve political settlement because of all the different marches and demonstrations of different traditions.

"If Northern Ireland is to have a future then we must all learn to live with each other in a more tolerant way.

"Also we must all work for peace and make a real effort. We will have to change our ideas and work for change.

"Some people want to destroy the peace and the peace process. We must not allow this to happen."

Santa Calls.

[Belfast Telegraph, Friday, December 1, 1995, page 12 continued]

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

PHOTOCOPY
/ATION



On song: There'll be days like this . . . Van Morrison and Brian Kennedy give it their all in front of the crowds packed round the City Hall, Belfast, before President Clinton switched on the Christmas tree lights.

Picture by Charles Cockcroft

[Belfast Telegraph, Friday, December 1, 1995, page 13]

MICROSOFT PRESERVATION



Cordial encounter: President Clinton and Ian Paisley sit side-by-side before the reception at Queen's University begins. **Pictures by Brian Thompson**

CLINTON'S DAY IN ULSTER

9.05PM QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY

Paisley and Clinton have 'cordial' talks

By Tanya Acheson

DUP leader Ian Paisley spent 25 minutes with the President at Queen's University last night.

The meeting was also attended by US officials Tony Lake, Admiral William Crowe, Senator George Mitchell and Nancy Soderberg.

DUP councillor Nigel Dodds also sat in on the talks.

The meeting was held in a private room while more than 300 civic and political representatives — including Sinn Fein leaders Gerry Adams and Martin McGuinness — awaited the President's arrival.

Mr Clinton told Mr Paisley that he had followed his career since 1969 when he was a student at Oxford.

The meeting was described as "cordial".

But after the meeting Mr Paisley criticised the President for failing to meet with members of the security forces during his visit.

He said: "I think he was wrong and he must be condemned. He never paid any tribute whatsoever to the police, to the Army and to others who have given their lives to both sections of the community, that we might be saved from the hands of murdering thugs and murdering scum.

"I think those people should have been singled out by the President and they were not."

Mr Paisley also condemned the American administration for not fully briefing the President on the loyalist viewpoint.

"He wasn't well briefed on what was really happening," he said.

"We believe they (the American administration) are pro-united Ireland. We will put every barrier in their way to stop a united Ireland coming about."

[Belfast Telegraph, Friday, December 1, 1995, page 14]

[Belfast Telegraph, Friday, December 1, 1995, page 14 continued]

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

'People must make their own peace'

By Rosie Cowan

THE United States cannot impose peace on Northern Ireland, President Clinton told a Who's Who of the province's political scene at Queen's University last night.

"We cannot and would not, even if we wanted to, impose a peace on anyone," the president told an audience of 300 top political, business, and religious leaders in the university's Whitla Hall.

Guests ranged from fringe loyalist leaders, Gary McMichael and David Ervine to Gerry Adams and Martin McGuinness, albeit at different ends of the room.

"I've taken a strict and unyielding position for the United States as a force for peace throughout the world," said the president, who was introduced by Secretary of State, Sir Patrick Mayhew.

"Whether in Bosnia or Israel or Northern Ireland, we cannot impose peace on anyone.

"People must make their own peace, from their heads and from their hearts.

"All we can do is to do the best we can to create the best conditions and give the greatest encouragement to the progress of peace.

"That is our role. That will remain our role. The question of whether you will go forward, that is all up to you.

"If you do we will be proud to walk with you."

The president, who was joined on stage by his wife Hillary, Sir Patrick and Lady Mayhew, received frequent bursts of warm applause as he told his audience of the day he would remember for the rest of his life.

He spoke of his emotion as he switched on the Christmas tree lights with two local children.

And he praised the warmth and sincerity of the welcome he had received from the people on the streets in Belfast and Londonderry.

"When I was shaking hands in the crowd beside the City Hall with no microphones or cameras near me, person after person said 'we're glad you're here, we're trying to do this, please stay with us, peace is not certain yet'."

Among the other guests at the reception were Ian Paisley, Ian Paisley Jnr, David Trimble, Robert McCartney, Joe Hendron and Martin Smyth.

Church of Ireland leader Lord Eames and Monsignor Denis Faul, were also there, along with business leaders such as Ulster Bank chairman, Sir George Quigley, IDB chairman, John B McGuckin, W and G Baird chairman Roy Bailie, Belfast Telegraph editor, Edmund Curran and Don Price, managing director of Belfast Telegraph Newspapers.



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Welcome words: Sir Patrick Mayhew addresses the guests at Queen's University last night.

Trimble hitches ride in Presidential limo

By Rosie Cowan

DAVID Trimble held a private meeting with President Clinton in the Europa Hotel last night.

The Ulster Unionist leader hitched a lift from Queen's in the Presidential car for his heart-to-heart with the world's most powerful man.

Before going into the meeting he said: "We have arranged a one-to-one meeting, which I expect to last around 20 minutes.

"It is appropriate for the President to acknowledge the Ulster Unionists, Northern Ireland's largest party, in this way.

"The United States needs to be even-handed between unionists and nationalists, but not between peace and terrorism. We expect President Clinton to take an active interest in peace against terrorism."

Mr Trimble said he would stress the need to progress towards an elected body in Northern Ireland as soon as possible, as well as sharing his concerns about the twin-track process with the President.

"I'll be telling him my concerns about the twin-track approach, particularly that it may be used as a fudge as regards decommissioning," said Mr Trimble.

"I hope George Mitchell will succeed in bringing about the actual decommissioning of arms which could open the way to talks here."

Meanwhile, Sinn Fein president Gerry Adams was asked in a television interview if his party would support the twin-track process, endorsed by President Clinton. He said it was committed to taking all of the guns out of Irish politics.

"If this twin track approach is a way of doing that, along with all of the other issues, of course we will embrace that.

"We want to make violence in my country — and the source of it in many ways is British policy — part of our history.

"We want the future to be free from violence of whatever source, and Sinn Fein has played a singular role in bringing about this opportunity for peace. Let's build upon it by talking to each other," he said.

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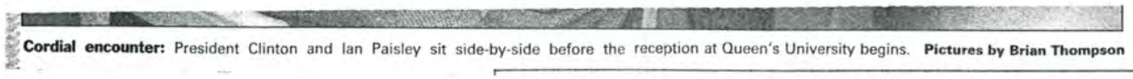
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Cordial encounter: President Clinton and Ian Paisley sit side-by-side before the reception at Queen's University begins. **Pictures by Brian Thompson**

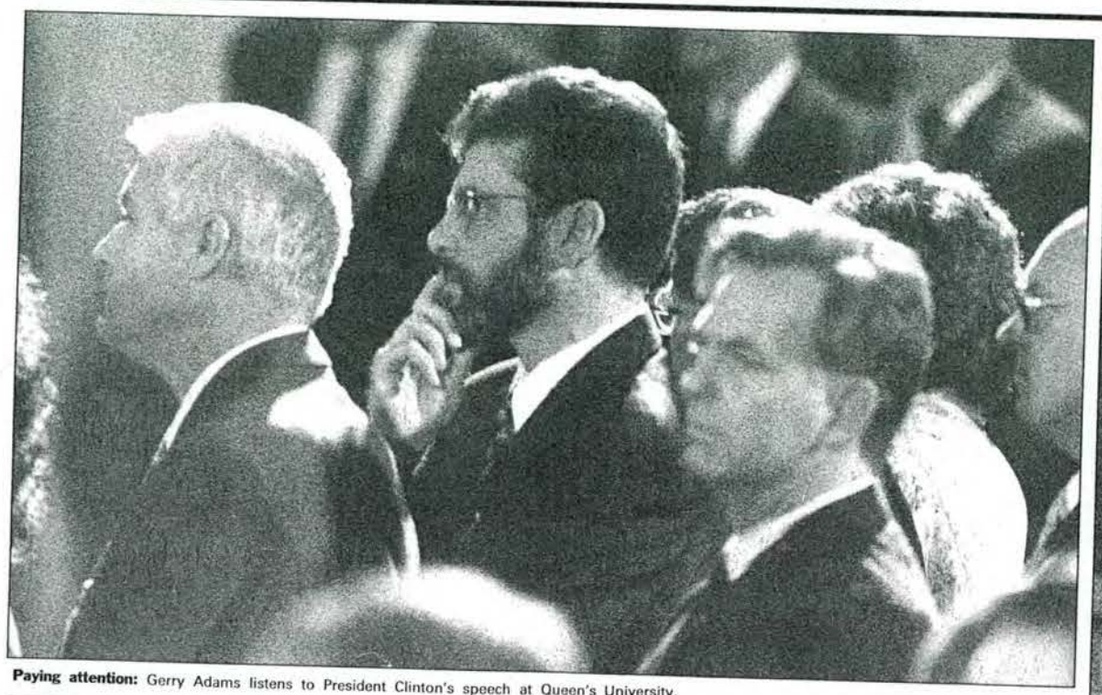
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Ireland. We will put every barrier in their way to stop a united Ireland coming about."

[Belfast Telegraph, Friday, December 1, 1995, page 14 continued]

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

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Paying attention: Gerry Adams listens to President Clinton's speech at Queen's University.



On campus: Bill Clinton during last night's visit to Queen's.

COME TO BELFAST

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Bruton issues invites

INVITATIONS

the Drumsill Hotel

[Belfast Telegraph, Friday, December 1, 1995, page 15]

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[Belfast Telegraph, Friday, December 1, 1995, page 15 continued]

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Bruton issues invites

INVITATIONS to talks under the terms of the new Northern Ireland peace process twin-track approach are to be relayed to Ulster's political parties today, Taoiseach John Bruton said last night.

Speaking in Dublin ahead of United States President Bill Clinton's arrival there in the morning, Mr Bruton also said he believed the American leader's visit was having "a huge influence" in encouraging the politicians to follow the line adopted by the British and Irish governments this week.

Mr Bruton said he believed Mr Clinton's day of engagements on the northern side of the Irish border "would do wonders for the morale of the people".

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The people's president

CLINTON VISIT: *A triumphant endorsement of peace and democracy*

IT was a day like none other in Northern Ireland. President Bill Clinton, a political leader on a global scale, was actually treading the mean streets of Belfast and Londonderry. For a time it seemed the province could not really believe what was on the television screens. There were few people around to greet him initially, but the momentum of welcome built up throughout the day to give him a truly presidential salute.

His mission was to promote peace and this he did with the deftness of a polished political performer. For the men of violence there could be no return to terrorism. "Your day has gone" was his ringing message. He praised those who had helped bring about the ceasefires in both the republican and loyalist camps, but warned that a threat of resumption of terror should play no part in political negotiations.

Unequivocal his words may have been, but they were skillfully crafted to avoid an atmosphere of rancour. His central theme was the future and the hopes of the ordinary people for lasting peace. There could be no imposed solutions. It is for the people of Northern Ireland to decide their own destiny. He was careful to keep his role at arms length, promising assistance and encouragement, but no coercion.

While his visit was a much needed catalyst to breaking the peace process logjam — and American influence was undoubtedly brought to bear on both the British and Irish governments —



Big moment: Schoolchildren Catherine Hamill and David Sterrit wait to read their poems to President Clinton



Out of the sky to meet the people

CLINTON'S DAY IN ULSTER

Historic visit in pictures

[Belfast Telegraph, Friday, December 1, 1995, page 16]

British and Irish governments — President Clinton wanted to portray himself and his administration as friends of everyone in Northern Ireland. Our politics are for us to decide, but America can help in other ways.

Much was made of the industrial and aid links between the province and the US. The International Fund for Ireland is a source of revenue for small enterprises and American businesses are the prime targets of Ulster officials seeking new inward investment. If the President of the United States can come here, the hope must be that his captains of industry will follow.

He also succeeded in bringing Northern Ireland to a wider audience. The international press corps covering the visit brought images of the province around the world, giving a new positive view of life here. It was a tremendous fillip for those attempting to sell Ulster abroad. Fifteen months of peace has transformed the atmosphere and that was evident in every picture transmitted along the information highway. Never before has there been a better opportunity to woo investors.

The people of Northern Ireland have every reason to feel good today. They greeted a man of international stature with the warmness for which they are famed and the delight in the presidential visit was obviously mutual. Ultimately President Clinton's tour of the province does not solve our historic differences, but for a day they did not seem to matter so much. He brought us hope, a commodity so often in short supply. And his hope, as should be ours, were summed up by nine year old Catherine Hamill who greeted him at Mackies: "My Christmas wish is that peace and love will last in Ireland for ever".

THEY SAID

"My Christmas wish is that peace and love will last in Ireland for ever." — **Nine-year-old Catherine Hamill whose father was shot dead by terrorists in 1987.**

"You, the vast majority — Protestant and Catholic alike — must not allow the ship of peace to sink on the rock of old habits and hard grudges." — **Clinton keynote address at Mackies.**

"Those who suffered most on the fighting must share fully in the fruits of renewal. The United States will help secure the benefits of peace." —**Bill Clinton.**

"I believe that the greatest struggle you face now is not between opposing ideas or opposing interests. The greatest struggle you face is between those who deep down inside want to be peacemakers and those who deep down inside do not support the cause of peace." — **Bill Clinton.**

"Dialogue is not a matter of surrender." — **Bill Clinton.**

"I pray not only for your success in making peace, I pray that you will become a model for the rest of the world. The world always needs models to peace." **Bill Clinton.**

"First you have to put your violence behind you — you have done that — then you have to make agreements that recognise the differences and commonalties among you". **The President.**

"Today, Mr President, you have won the hearts of the people of Derry". **Songwriter Phil Coulter.**

"Perhaps, because of children, we have a



Keeping track: Security men on the tarmac at Aldergrove as they await the arrival of the Presidential plane



Ulster landing: Air Force One touches down at Belfast International Airport with the American President and his party



Scene setter: President Clinton addresses the vast gathering in Mackie's factory, Belfast





PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

[Belfast Telegraph, Friday, December 1, 1995, page 16 continued]

[Belfast Telegraph, Friday, December 1, 1995, page 16 continued]

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"Perhaps, because of children, we have a link with the future that keeps giving us hope and energy to try to make things better." **Hillary Clinton.**



Keeping track: Security men on the tarmac at Aldergrove as they await the arrival of the Presidential plane



Ulster landing: Air Force One touches down at Belfast International Airport with the American President and his party



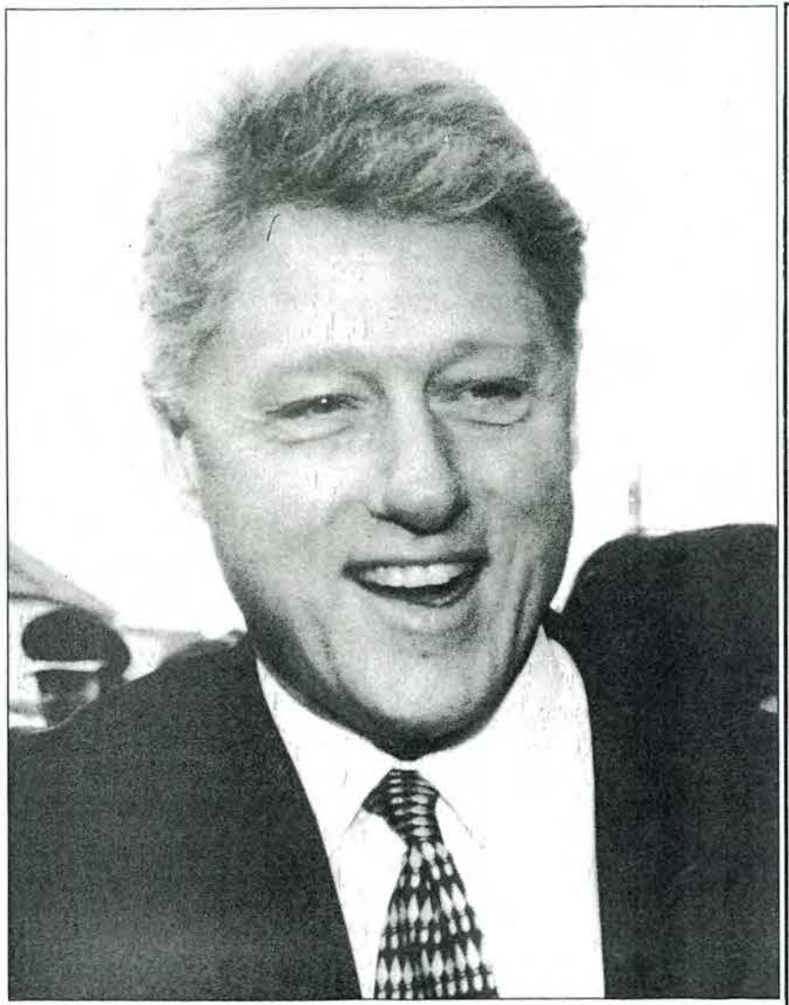
Scene setter: President Clinton addresses the vast gathering in Mackie's factory, Belfast



Mackie's guests: President Clinton meets guests during his visit to Mackie's factory in Belfast



In the east: President Clinton waves to the crowd as he arrives at East Belfast Enterprise Park



City humour: A smiling President Bill Clinton enjoys his walkabout in Belfast.

Barry White

The price we must all pay to ensure a lasting peace

DO WE really want peace enough? I ask that because no sooner was the ink on the new Downing Street declaration dry, but people have been picking it to bits.

If, however, the answer is "Yes", then it is clear to all the world, though maybe not here, that there is a price to pay. We had a 25-year war, for reasons that were and are deeply held, or it would never have lasted so long.

It is over, not because the paramilitaries on both sides were beaten, but because, I believe, they were convinced that politics was a more moral and saner way to pursue their aims. They don't deserve thanks for stopping something that was never justified, but they do deserve to be engaged in political debate, because they represent strands of opinion that need to be addressed.

That is what we are painfully getting around to do, not because of anything the conventional politicians have said or done, but because of the latest Major-Bruton initiative. It affords a possibility of finding a new political accommodation between unionism and nationalism which could pave the way for a peaceful, if uncertain, future. But we have to want it a lot.

Of course the deal is a woolly one, leaving dozens of loose ends, but what else could we expect? It had to include assurances for everyone — unionists and republicans alike — while offloading the decommissioning issue as much as it could to an international body and setting a target date for all-party talks.

For republicans, this is a lot less than they expected, even a few months ago. They thought they could move rapidly to talks, regardless of IRA arms and a unionist boycott.

For unionists, there is a fear that if the international arbiters judge that Sinn Fein is committed to achieving IRA decommissioning after talks start, John Major may find it difficult to stick to the Washington Three demand about a physical start needing to be made. If talks were called the unionists could find it politically impossible to attend — with the DUP, no doubt, besieging the Stormont gates.

This is where the risk comes in, and John Major has spelled it out for us. He and John Bruton have constructed a ricketty mechanism, with no guarantee of success, but equally no alternative in view. We can take risks for peace, and run with it, or make sure that it fails, hoping that something more definitely unionist or republican will turn up.

If people and politicians answer the call and begin the preliminary dialogue on the political future as they see it, there must be a chance of changing the political climate. It has happened in many other conflict situations when people start seeing their enemies as politicians deserving respect, not eternal damnation.

Just think how difficult it was, and is, for the Israelis to come to terms with Yasser Arafat. Or Afrikaaners with Nelson Mandela.

If we don't get to that point, however, and if the international experts cannot recommend a way of resolving the decommissioning problem "to everyone's satisfaction", we will be in a worse position than ever. Blame would be allocated on the basis of how outsiders saw it, and the goodwill we are currently enjoying would evaporate.

Personally, I don't imagine that if the talks do get off the ground they will immediately be dominated by decommissioning or constitutional matters. Economic problems are common to all and attempting to get the best of all worlds, in the UK, in an island-wide context and in Europe would be a good bonding exercise to begin with.

One tries to be positive, but as our problem is increasingly internationalised through the intervention of Dublin and Washington, the politics can get more rather than less divisive. We all know the underlying agreed Ireland aims of Irish America and the Republic — some would even add London — so unionists are getting more defensive.



John Major: Difficulties.



John Bruton: Republic changing.

In a statement this week that may eventually be more significant than the Downing Street deal, David Trimble seemed to be trying to extract the North-South strand from "the interlocking three-stranded process" which the two premiers endorsed.

He pointed to the illogicality of linking a region of one state with another, which may be correct in principle but goes against everything the pro-nationalist parties, representing up to 35% of the electorate, stand for.

Hopefully he was in a negotiating mode and is not retreating into the old, out-moded integrationist position that many unionists hanker after. The three-stranded approach is written in stone, however difficult it will be to develop in practice, and internal solutions based on administrative devolution are clearly non-starters. They do, however, reflect a deeply pessimistic unionist opinion about London's intentions.

We'll see as soon as the preparatory talks begin how much commitment there is, after Clinton, to the necessity for political change — on all sides. We are being asked for a lot — no less than is being asked in South Africa, the Middle East and Bosnia — but at least we have to show the world we will give it a try.

People can change if they want to badly enough, and we're privileged to watch it on our own doorstep, in the Republic. Those of us who think of a country rooted in Fianna Failism, anti-Britishness, male dominance and obedience to one Church are slowly having to revise our opinions.

Recognising the reality of marriage breakdown, divorce and the right to make a new start was an essential part of the new North-South relationship.

FREE COPY PRESERVATION

[Belfast Telegraph, Friday, December 1, 1995, page 17]

PRESERVATION

The people's President and a sea of faces on a night to remember



People's man: President Clinton reaches out to the massive crowd who took over Belfast city centre for the Christmas tree switch on.

[Belfast Telegraph, Friday, December 1, 1995, page 39]



Double act: Bill Clinton and John Hume see the funny side of an incident during the President's visit to the Maiden City.



Too much: This lady was brought to tears during the President's speech at the City Hall.





Best Mates: Adam McLellan and Henry Deazley who to television viewers became a symbol of the peace process turned up at the City Hall to see President Clinton.



COPY
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[Belfast Telegraph, Friday, December 1, 1995, page 39 continued]

COPY
PRESERVATION

[Belfast Telegraph, Friday, December 1, 1995 page 39 continued]



Double act: Bill Clinton and John Hume see the funny side of an incident during the President's visit to the Maiden City.

Too much: This lady was brought to tears during the President's speech at the City Hall.



Seasonal message: Peace on Earth, the message from President Bill Clinton and his wife Hillary at Belfast City Hall.



Best Mates: Adam McLellan and Henry Deazley who to television viewers became a symbol of the peace process turned up at the City Hall to see President Clinton.



Brave effort: President Clinton shakes the hands of some of the thousands of people who turned out to see him at the City Hall.



DIGITAL COPY
PRESERVATION

[Belfast Telegraph, Friday, December 1, 1995, page 40]

[Belfast Telegraph, Friday, December 1, 1995, page 40 continued]

PRESERVATION





Thousands celebrate: Tens of thousands gathered to see the President switch on the Christmas tree lights at Belfast City Hall.

Pictures by Gerry FitzGerald

Crowd puller: President Clinton addresses the crowds gathered in Belfast City Centre

THE IRISH TIMES

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COPY PRESERVATION

How high is your EQ?
Maureen Gaffney explores emotional intelligence
WEEKEND *1*



***Later* with Jools**
Kevin Courtney joins the audience for the best rock show on TV
WEEKEND *12*



How the deal was done
Frank Millar analyses the Bruton-Major breakthrough
NEWS FEATURES: *8*

Wayne's world
Sean Kilfeather previews Wayne McCullough's title defence in his home town
SPORT: *18-23*

Decommissioning logjam could be got around, Major hints

MR JOHN MAJOR has hinted that the precondition of handing over some arms could be negotiated if the IRA gave a commitment to a "permanent and certain" end to violence. He was speaking on a round of television interviews last night. The idea is reminiscent of an earlier demand by the British government at the outset of the cessation of violence that the IRA make clear the permanence of the ceasefire.

The British Prime Minister told ITN that the principle of some sort of decommissioning of arms preceding talks was necessary to build confidence, particularly unionist confidence. He said he knew of no alternative to decommissioning at the moment "and no one yet has suggested an alternative". This is seen as a clear hint to Senator Mitchell's decommissioning body to work on such an alternative: **page 5**

Finola Bruton accused of upstaging Hillary Clinton

MRS FINOLA BRUTON was criticised last night for a "deeply offensive" speech in front of Mrs Hillary Clinton in defence of women who stay in the home.

The wife of the Taoiseach was accused by Fianna Fáil's Máire Geoghegan-Quinn of trying to upstage Mrs Clinton when introducing her to an audience of women at the National Gallery: **page 12**

Surprise at jobless fall: The number of people out of work fell by 2,600 in November to 280,400. The fall is the first in three months and follows a record rise in October: **page 16**



Former SA minister named in court: The former South African defence minister, Gen Magnus Malan, was one of the main architects of a hit squad which massacred civilians in 1987, according to prosecutors. They also name the Inkatha Freedom Party leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, as a prime mover behind the creation of the squad. However, Chief Buthelezi is not among the accused: **page 7**

French strikes to spread: France faces widespread strikes on Monday with an escalation of industrial action which has brought chaos to Paris. Trade unions have announced new strikes in schools, hospitals and tax offices

The day the US President said he felt 'like a real Dub'



[The Irish Times, Saturday, December 2, 1995, page 1]

[The Irish Times, Saturday, December 2, 1995, page 1 continued]

PROOF
PRESERVATION

ESB price rise opposed: The ESB is believed to be seeking a 10 per cent price rise for domestic consumers to meet EU competition rules, but the move is being opposed by senior civil servants: **page 5**

Warning for Bus Éireann: Bus Éireann will go out of business if it loses the contract to run the school bus service, the company has warned in a document seen by *The Irish Times*: **page 5**

Man 'sorry for heartbreak': A Belfast man on trial in connection with the murder of band-hall victim Margaret Wright told police afterwards that he was sorry for the heartbreak he had caused: **page 4**

O'Reilly takes £18.3m stake: Dr Tony O'Reilly and other members of his family have paid £18.3 million for a 3.7 per cent stake in Waterford Wedgwood, of which Dr O'Reilly is chairman: **page 16**

AIDS statistics released: The latest statistics on HIV and AIDS show 28 new cases of AIDS since March 31st, 1995, and 28 deaths since that date, the Department of Health said on World AIDS Day: **page 5**

'Irish Times' linked to licence bid: *The Irish Times* has a 25 per cent stake in Ireland 100 Productions, which has applied for a national radio licence. Other members of the consortium include Virgin Radio, the shareholders in FM 104 and the Belfast-based Downtown Radio: **page 16**

Leeson faces sentence: Nick Leeson, the trader at the centre of the Barings Bank collapse, has been sentenced to six and a half years for his conviction on two charges of cheating. The nearly nine months Leeson already spent in a German jail will be subtracted from the time he has to serve in Singapore. He pleaded guilty to the two charges on Friday after prosecutors said they would not proceed with nine other charges: **page 16**



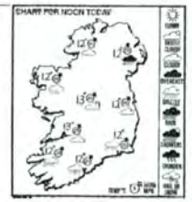
NATO head selected: Ambassadors of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation unanimously chose the Spanish Foreign Minister, Mr Javier Solana, as the new head of the alliance, ending six weeks of often bitter transatlantic arguments: **page 6**

Two charged with murder: Two 20-year-old men were charged yesterday with murdering Mr Gabriel Norman Harley, whose body was found at a waterworks in north Belfast on Monday night: **page 4**

Jobs venture for Dublin: A joint venture between the German media giant, Bertlesmann, and America Online (AOL), the largest provider of online computer services in the United States, is to create 500 new jobs in Dublin: **page 16**

WEATHER

Mostly cloudy, with outbreaks of rain or drizzle in many areas during the morning, but becoming mainly dry during the day, with bright intervals developing. Rather windy, with fresh or strong S to SW winds. Highest temperatures 12 to 15 C. Another spell of rain will extend eastwards: **page 2**



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Hands touching hands: President Clinton mixes with a throng of well-wishers after his speech in College Green, Dublin, yesterday. Photograph: Eric Luke

Clinton pledges US will be a partner for peace

INSIDE

The Clintons' visit to Dublin:

reports and colour photographs:

pages 9-13

By Geraldine Kennedy, Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT Clinton made a solemn commitment to continue his political, financial and moral support "to those who take risks for peace" on a day when thousands of people poured on to the streets of Dublin to celebrate his visit yesterday.

After witnessing the poignant evidence of "a harmony of new hope" in Belfast and Derry, his repeated pledge in the capital was to be "a partner with you for peace".

His own twin-track theme to the people of Ireland, North and South, was that "America will be with you as you walk the road of peace".

He warned, however, that waging peace was risky. The right thing to do, he said, was to reach out for a new future of peace — "not because peace is a document on paper, or even a handshake among leaders, but because it changes people's lives in fundamental and good ways".

The presence of Mr Clinton visibly boosted the confidence of most party leaders that the twin-track initiative launched on the eve of his visit could overcome the decommissioning logjam in the peace process.

Dublin was in a happy, celebratory mood from 10 a.m. when Mr Clinton, accompanied by his wife, Mrs Hillary Rodham Clinton, arrived at Dublin Airport from Belfast.

He was greeted by the President, Mrs Robinson, and her husband, Mr Nicholas Robinson, the three Coalition party leaders and their wives, and members of the Cabinet.

Some 80,000 people, many waving American flags, walked through traffic-free streets to welcome the US President on his main public appearance of the day: the conferring of the Freedom of Dublin on the most powerful politician in the world.

There were happy shouts of "Olé, Olé" and "We want Bill" as the Lord Mayor, Mr Sean D. Dublin Bay Rockall Loftus, concluded the official ceremony.

President Clinton caught the celebratory mood of the day when, to constant applause, he tempered his address to the people of Ireland with homely conviviality and hard politics.

The Dáil was overflowing when he later received three long standing ovations from members and guests for his crucial interventions in the peace process. The leaders of the SDLP, Mr Hume, of the Alliance Party, Dr John Alderdice, and, for the first time, of Sinn Fein, Mr Gerry Adams, were in the chamber.

The political significance of the occasion was also marked by the presence of the Chief Justice, Mr Justice Hamilton; the chairwoman of the Forum for Peace and Reconciliation, Judge Catherine McGuinness; the former president, Dr Patrick Hillery, the former chief justice, Mr T.F. O'Higgins, and Dr T.K. Whitaker among the invited guests.

The chairman of the new international decommissioning body, former Senator George Mitchell, was in the Distinguished Visitors' Gallery.

The Ceann Comhairle, Mr Sean Treacy, renowned for rising to the pomp of such occasions, brought roars from the distinguished audience when he advised the President that, unlike Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich, he had not as yet been given the power to control the Budget.

After months of stagnation and stalemate, the Tánaiste, Mr Spring, announced that he had written to the Northern Ireland parties inviting them to begin the groundwork talks.

The Northern Secretary, Sir Patrick Mayhew, issued parallel invitations.

But last night the DUP leader, the Rev Ian Paisley, described the invitations as an "outrage", and said his party would not respond.

He said it was an insult that the invitations had been issued by both governments, accusing the British government of abandoning its role as the sovereign power and giving Dublin joint management and control.

President Clinton leaves Dublin Airport early today, having engendered confidence and renewed enthusiasm in political leaders that the road to peace can be consolidated politically.

Editorial comment: page 15

Spring and Mayhew issue talks invitations to parties in North

'Bill, you're elected' is the verdict of Dublin crowds on patron saint of hopeful causes

By Deaglán de Bréadún

THE PATRON SAINT of hopeful causes brought his blessing to the people of Dublin in College Green yesterday. Bosnia, Palestine and now Northern Ireland have yielded to his magic touch. Is there no stopping this guy?

The Liffeyside wags were out in force, and when Bill asked if there were many Cassidys in the audience — his mother's name — a punter shot back: "Yeah, Hopalong."

Not only has Bill brought peace in the North, he has ended begrudgery in the South. Even though he cut the Kerry resort out of his trip, there were still placards in the crowd saying: "Ballybunion Backs Bill Clinton — '96".

It worked, too: like a latter-day MacArthur, Bill said: "I will return to Ballybunion."

The same "spin-doctors" who taught Bill the right way to pronounce Ballymena during the Northern part of the visit had him using "Dubspeak" in College Green. As though reared in the Liberties, he described Dublin as having a "handy" football team, where another would have boo-booed by using some Americanism like "neat".

John Bruton looked as if all his birthdays had come at once. He had the air of a man who, in a few short days, had brought peace in the North and pluralism in the South. Who was it said a week is a long time in politics?

Pat Kenny did the warm-up with presidential aplomb except for thinking the dove of peace on Bill's present of crystal glass was an American eagle.

The roofs all around were dotted with sharpshooters in case the local representative of the Moody Loners with Handguns Association showed up. A gaberdine-clad secret serviceman appeared from behind a Trinity College chimney like an apparition out of *The Omen*.

The ceremonial sword and the city mace were brought on so that Bill could be made a Freeman of Dublin.

When the award was presented by Sean Dublin Bay etc Loftus, Bill accepted it with his awshucks smile and his down-home Arkansas manner. The crowd applauded him loud and long: he seems to be the first American President since Kennedy that young people consider to be less than a total dork.

Have you noticed how the White House team even stage-managed the weather on this trip? Every time Bill went back to his hotel the heavens opened, but the rain stayed off for his open-air rallies, and yesterday was no exception.

A group of American students joked that they had to come to Ireland to see their own President. And, when they saw Bono from U2 standing in the doorway of the Bank of Ireland, their cup overflowed. "What a day!"

The happiest woman on the scene was the US ambassador, Jean Kennedy Smith. She literally rubbed her hands with delight as she flashed that unmistakable Kennedy smile.

By the end, even the men with the bulging gaberdines seemed to have decommissioned their piercing stares and stopped talking into their sleeves. The whole occasion could be summed up with a traditional Dublin phrase: "Bill, you're elected."



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DOE
PRESERVATION

[The Irish Times, Saturday, December 2, 1995, page 2]

REVIEW OF THE WEEK

Republic votes Yes and snap summit sets stage for Clinton visit

Saturday/Sunday
THE closest referendum result in the State's history was recorded when a majority of 0.56 per cent voted to remove the constitutional ban on divorce. After a recount, a vote of 818,841 in favour and 809,731 against was announced. But leaders of the Anti-Divorce Campaign and the No-Divorce Campaign said they would take legal advice on seeking to have the result overturned.

In a startling change from the 1986 referendum, 16 of 41 constituencies recorded a majority Yes vote. The biggest swing towards a Yes vote was in Dublin Central. All Dublin constituencies, plus Cork South Central, Limerick East, Kildare, Louth and Wicklow voted in favour.

The Taoiseach, Mr Bruton, expressed relief at the outcome, but said everyone should reflect on why there had been such a large No vote.

The former judge Mr Rory O'Hanlon, chairman of the No-Divorce Campaign, said it would have won the referendum if it, like the Government, had received £500,000 to put its case.

Disagreements emerged between Dublin and London as efforts to arrange an Anglo-Irish summit before President Clinton's arrival continued. Telephone contacts between the Taoiseach and the British prime minister continued as reports suggested London was adopting a "divide and rule" approach to the continuing talks.

Speculation about a summit before Mr Clinton's arrival persisted despite the controversy.

A spokesman for the Bishop of Ferns, Dr Comiskey, said the bishop would not be returning to Ireland until mid-January. Father Walter Forde said Bishop Comiskey's 90-day anti-alcoholism treatment in the US only began in early October.

Monday
Whitehall sources said a miracle would be needed if an Anglo-Irish summit was to take place before the Clinton visit to Britain and Ireland. The Taoiseach held a 22-minute telephone conversation with Mr Major.



Dr Comiskey: not coming home until January

Anti-divorce campaigners met to consider a legal challenge to the referendum result. Mr Richard Greene of Muintir na hEireann said: "We are satisfied there is a case to be answered by the Government."

Tuesday
Mr Bruton and Mr Major held a hastily convened summit in London, less than nine hours before Mr Clinton was due to arrive in Britain. They issued a joint communiqué launching a twin-track approach to breaking the peace process impasse. They announced that it was "the firm aim of both governments" to start all-party talks by the end of February.

The summit followed a day of intensive contacts between the two sides, with the final touches of the communiqué only being agreed at 8 p.m. It was agreed that an international agency on decommissioning, chaired by US Senator George Mitchell, would report by mid-February. Mr Major said his government was still seeking an IRA gesture on arms.

It was reported that gardaí investigating the murder of a man and woman in Tallaght on Friday were exploring the possibility that the man was killed by a "contract killer" for supplying drugs to someone who had died as a result of taking them.

Wednesday
President Clinton, speaking on the steps of 10 Downing Street, praised Mr Bruton and Mr Major for the twin-track initiative launched on Tuesday night. In a message to the IRA, Mr Clinton said the process provided a mechanism whereby all parties could now honourably bring their concerns to the negotiating table.

The Sinn Féin president, Mr Gerry Adams, said a definitive response to the twin-track mechanism would take time, but that his party would address the joint communiqué "in a positive way". The Ulster Unionist Party leader, Mr David Trimble, described the communiqué as "a fudge" but did not rule out involvement in talks.

A Government spokesman said it would defend the outcome of the divorce referendum after the chairman of the Anti-Divorce Campaign and former Fianna Fáil senator, Mr Des Hanafin, announced he would be taking a case to the High Court.

Thursday
President Clinton made the first visit by a serving US President to Northern Ireland. In Belfast and Derry, Mr Clinton was given a response that exceeded all expectations in both warmth and size of turnout. In a number of speeches the President repeated his message that the present opportunity for peace should not be allowed slip away. Mr Clinton, and his wife, Hillary Rodham Clinton, went on two surprise "walkabouts" — on the Shankill Road and the Falls.

During his visit Mr Clinton met leaders of the main political parties, including Mr Adams, during his stop to talk to people on the Falls. A massive crowd turned out in Belfast in the evening to see President Clinton turn on the Christmas lights at City Hall, and to hear Van Morrison sing: *My mamma always told me there'd be days like this*

NEWSVERSE

You must have seen the other night
— at news-time on TV —
Bill Clinton shed electric light
on Belfast's Christmas Tree.
A foreigner on Irish soil,
his visit makes me ask,
"Can foreign brains, goodwill, or toil,
accomplish Ireland's task?"
The answer? Well, I guess it's clear
no foreigner can take
the place of those who, living here,
have everything at stake.
And yet, it's true you find (to hark
well back, uncynically)
some foreigners who've left their mark
on Ireland's history.
No sooner did Bill Clinton flick
the switch on Belfast's tree,
than one example flashed quite quick
to mind, at least to me.
A foreigner we still admire,
who set so much in train
the night he lit his well-known fire
upon the Hill of Slane.

A weekly look at current issues and people in the news in verse

COLM KEENA

SATURDAY PROFILE



MARIAN FINUCANE

Architect of the phone-in where the public is the star

MARIAN Finucane is the slightly headgirlish presenter of *Liveline*, a broadcaster with the mix of a teacher and a wide-eyed innocent, with her casual colloquialisms, "Right . . . yeah . . . How so? . . . Fair's fair . . . Go on! . . . Ah now, come on". She is also one of RTÉ's most valuable assets.

Liveline is a 10-year-old broadcasting phenomenon. As it enters its second decade, it has attracted a listenership of 417,000, putting it ahead of Gerry Ryan on 2FM, *The Pat Kenny Show* and not far behind *News at One*.

The concept is deceptively simple: give the public access to the airwaves to address any issue it wishes, with minimum interference.

It should be easy to copy, but it is not. The show *is* Marian Finucane, which is why Century Radio went to such efforts to attract her five years ago.

Century believed Marian Finucane was the one broadcaster who could go head to head with Gay Byrne. RTÉ gave her an increase in salary, but nothing to what Century was seemingly willing to pay her. But she stayed with RTÉ.

According to those who have worked with her, Marian Finucane is stunningly fair. "You would never know what side she is on," said one former *Liveline* oe found in the *Liveline* office, being part of the team. However, there is a distance. "No one really knows her," said one RTÉ source.

Marian Finucane was born in Dublin, grew up in Glasnevin and went to school in Scoil Chaitríona, with one unhappy year at St Louis in Monaghan. She studied architecture at Bolton Street.

She broke her study, worked as an architect and returned to college. However, before she had completed her studies, she was in RTÉ.

She met broadcaster John O'Donoghue at a party and, after a discussion about current affairs, he suggested she might try to get into broadcasting.

She applied to be part of a new programme called *Tangents*, but failed the audition. However, the bug had bitten and that was the end of her ambitions to be an architect. She applied and got a position as a continuity announcer in 1974.

She worked on programmes such as *The Gay Byrne Show*, *The Pat Kenny Show* and *News at One* before moving to *Women Today* with Nuala Fennell and Mary Kennedy. She then moved to *Women Today* with Mary Kennedy and Eileen Dunne. She then left RTÉ for an unhappy spell editing a women's magazine, *Status*.

She returned to RTÉ to current affairs and religious programmes, presenting *Saturday View*, a consumer programme, and a television programme, *The Women's Programme*.

She claims she was attracted to the idea of *Liveline*, which was to offer the public its own space without the mediation of politicians or official spokespersons. It was to rely on the public phoning in.

IT IS hard today to understand just how radical the idea of *Liveline* was 10 years ago. Then, rather grudgingly, the public was allowed on air, but more often than not comments from listeners would be read out.

Liveline comes after hours of talk radio — *Morning Ireland*, *The Gay Byrne Show*, *The Pat Kenny Show* and *News at One* — in which the public is the star. Marian Finucane's show is the one where the public is the star.

Given her image of having no political baggage but buckets of sympathy and concern, it is little wonder that she is in demand to promote charities. She is associated with the hospice movement

people's kitchens, then they can talk about it on *Liveline*," Ms Finucane says.

She has been associated in the public mind with women's programmes, but says since 1974 she has worked for only two years with specifically women's programmes. She says many of the issues covered by the *Women's Programme* and *Women Today* are featured on other programmes, "and that is how it should be".

She won the Prix Italia, a prestigious broadcasting award, for a 1979 ground-breaking documentary, *Abortion: The Lonely Crisis*. It followed a woman from the moment her pregnancy test showed positive, to when she went to England for an abortion, followed by an interview six weeks later.

Her friend and former colleague on the *Women's Programme*, Nuala O'Faolain, says Ms Finucane has a "gift for happiness and can find happiness". She is married to John Clarke, a farmer. Jack, her son, is aged nine. However, her life has had tragedy: her daughter Sinéad died of leukaemia in 1990 at eight years of age.

FACTFILE

Name: Marian Finucane

Why in the news: One of RTÉ's outstanding broadcasters. The programme most associated with her, *Liveline*, which attracts 417,000 listeners, is celebrating its 10th anniversary.

What of the future: TV3 perhaps, but whatever, the warm response of the public means one of RTÉ's greatest assets has an assured future.

Clinton touch on foreign policy gains extra kudos

WORLD VIEW

PAUL GILLESPIE



PRESIDENT Clinton came to Ireland on a foreign policy roll that has undoubtedly strengthened his stature and authority at home and abroad as he faces into an election year. This is bound to amplify the pressure he can apply to the Northern Ireland peace process.

Today in Germany, as he addresses US troops bound for Bosnia, and tomorrow in Madrid, where he signs a declaration on a "New Transatlantic Agenda", he will consolidate his position.

It is a remarkable turnaround for a president who came to power three years ago with the promise to concentrate on domestic issues and critical of President Bush's foreign policy preoccupations.

Mr Clinton was not slow to put the Northern Ireland peace process alongside those in South Africa, the Middle East, Haiti and Bosnia in his address at Mackie's factory in Belfast. "Conflicts long thought impossible to solve are moving along the road to resolution," as he put it.

It remains to be seen how much the US influence in bringing them to this point actually contributes to his campaign next year. Foreign policy issues are hardly at the top of the domestic American agenda.

While there is a new isolationism in the US after the end of the Cold War, it is counteracted by a qualitative change in the extent of US trade relations with the rest of the world. Exports now comprise some 11.8 per cent of its GDP, making it the world's biggest exporter, compared to a much smaller proportion a generation ago.

Although there may not be many great surprises or headlines in the Madrid declaration, it does underline the importance of avoiding a drift into a declining transatlantic relationship in the next five to 10 years.

The extraordinary US role in arranging a Bosnian peace agreement, their insistence on Nato rather than the United Nations policing it, and this week's agreement with the Russians on how to implement it all indicate that their role in Europe remains central.

How compatible is this with closer European integration? The question goes to the heart of the transatlantic relationship. As always, there are different perspectives on it.

President Clinton went to great lengths in London to praise the alliance between the US and Britain. He was repairing a relationship whose deterioration was dramatically exemplified by the arguments over the Adams visa.

But he carefully avoided mentioning Europe, or the common US diplomatic refrain, which has not been abandoned, that Britain will have influence in Washington only to the extent that it retains it in an integrating Europe.

There is no denying that the US now has a close involvement with the Irish peace process, more than facilitator if less than broker. In this sense there are several different Atlanticisms at work after the end of the Cold War.

The British one was and is predicated on security concerns, as Mr Clinton made plain in discussing Bosnia and Nato enlargement with Mr Major.

The Irish one has now come

Chief Buthelezi named as prime mover in township massacre

SOUTH AFRICA

Edward O'Loughlin, Durban

THE leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has been named by KwaZulu/Natal prosecutors as the prime mover behind the training and deployment of a murder squad responsible for the 1987 massacre at KwaMakutha, outside Durban.

Thirteen black civilians, including seven children, were shot dead when gunmen burst into a household said to support the ANC in the KwaMakutha township. The attack is seen as the first of a long series of "third force" massacres involving collusion between the apartheid security forces and anti-ANC forces among the non-white population.

Up to 10,000 people are estimated to have died in fighting between the Zulu nationalist IFP and the ANC.

The allegations represent a major blow to Chief Buthelezi and to the unity of South Africa's fragile ruling coalition, in which he holds the home affairs portfolio. The IFP and the third party in the coalition, the National Party, have condemned the prosecution as a political witch-hunt orchestrated by the dominant ANC.

The claims set out in the indictment have fuelled speculation that Chief Buthelezi has himself escaped arrest only because the legal authorities fear that charging him might spark an open civil war in the Zulu-dominated province. Despite the allegations levelled against him, Chief Buthelezi is not among the 20 accused in the KwaMakutha massacre case.

Those named in the indictment are the former National Party defence minister, Gen Magnus Malan, 12 retired army and police officers, six alleged murder squad members and the IFP's deputy secretary general, Mr M. Z. Khumalo.

The indictment claims that the killing had its origins in late 1985, when Chief Buthelezi — then chief minister in the KwaZulu homeland — was told of alleged ANC plans to have him assassinated. This prompted him to seek the South African Defence Force's aid in setting up a paramilitary body to provide VIP protection.

According to a military document included in the indictment, and bearing the alleged signatures of several senior generals now among the accused, he also requested that the body include "a small full-time offensive element which can be used covertly against the United Democratic Front and the ANC."



The former National Party defence minister, Gen Magnus Malan, who was named in the indictment

The indictment then traces the dates and proceedings of a series of alleged further meetings involving senior officers and civil servants, and an adviser to Chief Buthelezi and Gen Malan. It claims that "Operation Marion" received political approval at a meeting of the state security council in the official residence of the then president, Mr P. W. Botha, on December 20th 1985. A crucial question will be whether Mr Botha's successor as state president, Mr F. W. de Klerk, was also present.

The indictment goes on to deal with the recruitment of 200 Inkatha supporters who were flown in secret to a training camp in Namibia's Caprivi Strip. Thirty were trained in "offensive techniques" including weaponry, use of explosives and "attacks on identifed targets". Another 20 were trained on "defensive" techniques, including collecting information on targets and the invention of cover stories.

The document then tells how the 200 were smuggled back to KwaZulu/Natal and put under the command of a political commissar and two army officers, while Mr Khumalo allegedly liaised with them on behalf of the IFP. According to the indictment, the KwaMakutha household was chosen as the first target because it was the home of an anti-government activist, Mr Victor Ntuli.

The attack was carefully planned by the SADF liaison officers and carried out with weapons from a local military base.

A key SADF memorandum from 1986 cited by the prosecutors stated that the military's intention was to create a force which could be "cut off" from its creators and which would function independently once SADF assistance was withdrawn. Nevertheless, it says, SADF officers involved in "Operation Marion" could be associated with capital offences and should therefore be granted indemnity.

Gen Malan denied earlier this week that he had any knowledge of hit squad activities or of any abuses by the forces under his command. Interviewed by *The Irish Times* last week, Chief Buthelezi maintained angrily that the "Caprivi 200" were trained solely for VIP protection purposes.

All 20 accused are now expected to come up for trial in Durban's Supreme Court next March. Even if they are found guilty, they could still be eligible for amnesty from the proposed Truth Commission, to be headed by Archbishop Desmond Tutu. First, however, they would have to admit guilt.

Papandreou fights for life, party leadership battle rages

Four contenders for leadership emerge as Pasok looks to future

As doctors were fighting to keep the ailing Greek Prime Minister, Mr Andreas Papandreou, alive, ministers were manoeuvring behind closed doors to find a possible successor, writes **Patrick** Comerford, Foreign Desk Editor



GREEKS celebrate their name with a greater sense of occasion than their birthdays. Last Thursday was St Andrew's Day, but the Greek Prime Minister, Mr Andreas Papandreou, was in no fit state to celebrate.

Doctors at the Onassis Heart Centre near the Athens beach fought to keep Mr Papandreou alive on a dialysis machine throughout this week.

But another battle was also under way as cabinet ministers and the executive of his ruling party, the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (Pasok), held furtive meetings behind closed doors to pick a successor.

Mr Papandreou was visited by his former wife, Ms Margaret Chant, and the four children from their marriage — George (43), who is Minister of Education, Sophia (41), Nikos (40), and Adricos (34) — were frequently at his bedside. But, otherwise, the Prime Minister's ambitious and controversial second wife, the former Olympic Airways hostess, Ms Dimitra "Mimi" Liani, confined in secret to a training camp in Namibia's Caprivi Strip. Thirty were trained in "offensive techniques" including weaponry, use of explosives and "attacks on identifed targets". Another 20 were trained on "defensive" techniques, including collecting information on targets and the invention of cover stories.

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Guerrillas surrender after siege

LIMA — An armed band of Peruvian left-wing guerrillas surrendered yesterday after a bloody, all-night siege by government troops in a residential area of Lima, authorities said.

About 15 guerrillas from the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA) released their hostages and surrendered after negotiating to be treated as prisoners of war. — (Reuter)

Cyprus court told of confession

LARNACA — A British soldier accused of killing a Danish tour-guide in Cyprus confessed to a police officer within hours of his arrest that he bludgeoned her to death with a spade, a Cyprus court heard yesterday.

Cpl Alan Ford (27), and two other British soldiers charged with the abduction, manslaughter and conspiracy to rape Ms Louise Jensen (23), have pleaded not guilty. — (Reuter)

Rebel leader's driver jailed

DILI — A driver who worked for the jailed East Timorese resistance leader, Xanana Gusmao, was sentenced to six years and two months in jail yesterday for trying to separate the territory from Indonesia. — (Reuter)

18 immigrants feared lost

LECCE — One man died and 17 other people were missing after a boat carrying suspected illegal immigrants capsized off southern Italy, civil protection officials said yesterday. — (Reuter)

Nygren tipped as new Swedish PM

STOCKHOLM — Swedish Co-ordination Minister, Mr Jan Nygren, has been tipped to take over as prime minister of Sweden and leader of the Social Democratic Party next March, the daily, *Dagens Nyheter*, said yesterday. — (Reuter)

Guevara's grave not located

VALLEGRANDE — A retired Bolivian general, ordered to locate the remains of Che Guevara, returned on Thursday to this remote village 28 years after he buried him — but could not find the grave. — (Reuter)

Matisse sold for £1.1m

PARIS — A Henri Matisse watercolour of *La Danse*, a portrayal of five nudes dancing hand in hand in a circle, has been sold to an American col-

[The Irish Times, Saturday, December 2, 1995, page 7]

much smaller proportion a generation ago.

Background papers prepared for the US-EU summit in Madrid on Sunday illustrate graphically the extent of economic interdependence between the two blocs, which this agreement is designed to consolidate.

President Clinton has made a special theme of the substitution of geoeconomic for geostrategic factors in the post Cold War world, as with the North American Free Trade Agreement and the Asia-Pacific economic conference. He can argue that by positioning the US at the heart of these new frameworks he has helped to maximise US competitiveness and employment.

Although the attempt to fashion a North Atlantic Free Trade Agreement has been abandoned as too ambitious and exclusive a project, tomorrow's declaration is predicated on the depth of the economic relationship between the world's two richest blocs.

But this is not sufficient to guarantee a harmonious future after the Cold War. US activism on such diverse issues as Bosnia, trade, the Nato general secretaryship, interest rates and currency alignments in recent months has revealed resentment and rivalry as well as a potential partnership.

It is as if Washington has not yet decided between hegemony or partnership in its newfound relations with its European allies. This is partly because there is an inherent asymmetry between the mature US federal system of government and an EU system still in the process of being formed.

enlargement with Mr Major.

The Irish one has now come into its own. It is based, of course, on the Irish-American diaspora, a phenomenon with which we in Ireland are still very much coming to terms. Its dynamics are partly transatlantic, partly arising from generational change and multicultural identity within the US itself. It seems bound to grow in importance.

A Japanese acquaintance, a senior diplomatic figure, told me last year that when his government looks at Ireland they see not five million but 70 million people.

A similar point was made by the Chinese foreign minister on his recent visit here. They are referring to the diaspora effect, and notably to the extraordinary access it has provided for Irish politicians to the White House.

The same perception can be found in European capitals. It is worth stressing this as Ireland faces into an intense year in its own international relations, in which we will be president of the European Union and participate in an Inter-Governmental Conference on the Union's future.

From the Irish point of view this new Hibernian Atlanticism could have much to contribute to the wider transformation of Atlantic relations.

This is all the more the case if the logic of EU enlargement plays itself out in such a way as to peripheralise Ireland on the far west of the European continent. Ireland is certainly not peripheral in Atlantic terms.

controversial second wife,' the former Olympic Airways hostess, Ms Dimitra "Mimi" Liani, controlled all access to her husband, keeping away many cabinet ministers and key party figures.

Even before he entered hospital, Pasok leaders were questioning Mr Papandreou's ability to stay at the helm of the party founded by the Harvard-educated economist with the fall of the colonels in 1974.

Now the only outstanding question is whether he will recover sufficiently to make his own nomination for the leadership. The wheeling and dealing has intensified, and four senior Pasok figures have emerged with ambitions to become prime-minister and lead the party into the 1997 elections.

Pasok is split into two distinct camps: one centres around Ms Liani and her husband's close confidant, the Interior Minister, Mr Akis Tsohatzopoulos, who hold a firm grip on the party machine; the other is grouped around the leading dissident and former industry minister, Mr Costas Simitis (59).

For the past fortnight, Mr Tsohatzopoulos has been acting as prime minister, and in a surprise move on Thursday, it emerged that he would represent Greece at the EU summit in Madrid later this month. Only the previous day, the Athens press

behind closed doors to find a possible successor, writes Patrick Comerford, Foreign Desk Editor



Mr Tsohatzopoulos: acting as prime minister



Mr Simitis: leading dissident and former industry minister.

speculated that President Costis Stephanopoulos would represent Greece at the summit, and the nomination of Mr Tsohatzopoulos was seen as a clear indication of Mr Papandreou's preferences.

Mr Tsohatzopoulos is a civil engineer with a masters degree in economic engineering from a German university.

He has a firm grip on the party machine, but has no direct experience of foreign policy issues, and his close association with Ms Liani, who is also the premier's chief of staff, has damaged him considerably among the party rank and file.

He is seen by some as a transitional figure, but some party sources indicate he may be more interested in becoming party president.

For many months, senior Pasok members have believed Ms Liani and her clique have trying to lock



Mr Arsenis: has emerged as likely compromise.



Ms Papandreou: founder member of Pasok

[illegible] have been put out to Mr Simitis, if he agrees to a deal that would protect Ms Liani from any backlash after her husband is gone from the scene.

Ms Papandreou is the other leading contender in the "Gang of Four". A founder member of Pasok, she has held the industry, energy and technology and commerce portfolios in previous cabinets.

But in the past few days the Defence Minister, Mr Gerasimos Arsenis, who has kept himself clear of party in-fighting, has emerged as the likely compromise.

An economist who trained at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Mr Arsenis is a technocrat with wide domestic and international experience.

With a reputation as a brilliant economist, he served as financial czar in the more radical government of 1981-1989. However, he lacks the charisma and aggressive temperament of modern Greek political heroes such as Mr Papandreou and the former president, Mr Constantine Karamanlis. Less likely compromises include the parliamentary speaker, Mr Apostolos Kaklamanis, and the leader of the centrists within Pasok, Mr Iannis Haralambopoulos.

With a big majority, Pasok could stay in power until 1997, if the party can avoid tearing itself apart in the bitter leadership race in the coming weeks.

for £1.1m

PARIS — A Henri Matisse watercolour of *La Danse*, a portrayal of five nudes dancing hand in hand in a circle, has been sold to an American collector for 8.4 million francs (£1.1 million), the Drouot auction house said yesterday.

The price was a record high for a Matisse watercolour in Europe. — (Reuter)

Sinatra celebrates 80th birthday

NEW YORK — Frank Sinatra cut a slice from a giant chocolate cake and joked with well-wishers at a Manhattan reception celebrating his 80th birthday.

Sinatra's birthday is December 12th and yesterday's event, organised by Capitol Records, was one of a series marking his 60-year career. — (Reuter)

Balanced Guaranteed Equity Bond

CLOSING NOTICE

Friday 1st December, 1995, was the closing date for the above investment product.
The CAR (Compounded Annual Rate) on the Guaranteed rate of 45%* is 6.99%.

There is a cooling-off period of seven days commencing on the 2nd December, 1995. During this period the investor has the right not to proceed with this investment and have the investment refunded in full.
Accordingly, written notice must be received by the Company at 56/59 St. Stephen's Green, Dublin 2, prior to close of business on 8th December, 1995.

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UN man in Sarajevo criticises Dayton accord as Nato agrees to send troops

BOSNIA

Kurt Schork, Sarajevo

NATO agreed yesterday to send the first 2,600 troops of a 60,000-strong force to police a Bosnia peace settlement. However, the French UN commander in Sarajevo openly criticised the deal and warned it might be unworkable.

Nato sources said 200 soldiers could leave for Bosnia as early as today. The decision came after a major obstacle to the participation of 20,000 American troops in the force was removed when the United States Senate majority leader, Senator Bob Dole, gave his reluctant backing.

Gen Jean-Rene Bachelet criticised the peace deal forged in Dayton, Ohio, as leaving Bosnian Serbs unprotected and panic-stricken when their districts come under Muslim-Croat rule.

He accused US negotiators who brokered it of forcing it through to help the re-election chances of President Clinton.

Gen Bachelet told the French daily *Ouest-France* that Sarajevo Serbs would flee in their thousands, burning their homes in a scorched-earth strategy if their militia were dissolved, as stipulated by the agreement.

Bosnian Serb sources in their "capital" Pale, near Sarajevo, reported yesterday that Serb civilians had begun leaving suburbs due to be handed over, but said it was a trickle rather than a rush.

Gen Bachelet called for an international commission to visit every Bosnian Serb town to be placed under Muslim-Croat control in order to reassure residents and address their concerns.

"If we are not careful, the situation will become unsustainable for us who are in charge of a process created by others," he said.

A UN spokesman, Mr Alexander Ivanko, said: "The comments attributed to Gen Bachelet are his own personal opinion and are not shared by the United Nations.

"The UN is surprised and disappointed that a UN commander decides to comment on political issues which are outside his area of responsibility."

However, another spokesman, Lieut Col Chris Vernon, said: "We've learned over the years here you can make very high-powered agreements sitting in various forums in the international community, but the reality of doing those on the ground is often not properly thought through, and the people who have to do need to be listened to."

The Bosnian Serb leader, Dr Radovan Karadzic, linked an improvement in the terms of the Dayton deal for Sarajevo Serbs with the fate of two French airmen shot down during Nato air strikes against Bosnian Serb targets in August.

At a news conference in Pale, Dr Karadzic said France could help free the pilots by "doing something big for the Serbs", but added he had no hard evidence they were still alive.

Earlier yesterday, the French newspaper *Le Figaro* reported that Dr Karadzic was offering to help get the airmen released in exchange for French support in getting a better deal for Serbs in Sarajevo.

Dr Karadzic did not go as far as that. "If they are still alive and still controlled by some group, it will help a lot if France does something big for the Serbs," he said.

Author freed after trial over Kurdish essay

TURKEY

Istanbul

A SECURITY court has acquitted the renowned Turkish author, Yasar Kemal, who was charged under laws against incitement to racism for an article about the Kurdish minority he wrote for a German magazine.

Mr Kemal, well-known abroad through numerous translations, had faced up to three years in jail for the article in *Der Spiegel*.

"Our struggle is to get rid of crimes of expression. Democracy is Turkey's right," Mr Kemal (73) said outside the court.

Mr Kemal, author of the acclaimed novel *Memed My Hawk*

of "a campaign of lies" to hide systematic oppression of its people, particularly the Kurds.

The Istanbul state security court prosecutor yesterday asked for acquittal because he said Mr Kemal's piece did not constitute a crime according to Article 312 of the penal code, under which he was charged.

racism or regionalism", and Mr Kemal has been on trial since May.

No formal plea is needed under Turkish law. Mr Kemal had said he wrote the piece to expose Turkey's human rights violations.

The court in September watered down the charge against Kemal. He was originally accused under Article 8 of the anti-terror law, which has been used to jail scores of writers, lawyers and others for expressing views on Turkey's Kurdish minority and the Kurdish

and courts have since ordered the release of more than 100 people held under racism incitement laws mainly due to a lowering of their penalties.

The European Parliament has asked for an improvement in Turkey's human rights record in exchange for it ratifying a customs union pact with Ankara.

Meanwhile, a prominent stockbroker who was standing in the general election on December 24th has been killed and burned in his car in Istanbul

Minister, Dr Tansu Ciller, was killed on Thursday night, police said yesterday.

"He had lots of business ties so we do not think the murder was political," Istanbul police said. The semi-official Anatolian news agency said Mr Kaya had probably been killed before having his hands and legs handcuffed to his car and set ablaze in Istanbul's violent Bagcilar district. His charred body was recovered by an Istanbul fire brigade

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In the fertile foothills of the Andes, a land whose irrigation system dates from the Incas, master wine-maker, Aurelio Montes has carefully cultivated Ireland's most popular Chilean wines. Villa Montes Sauvignon Blanc and Cabernet Sauvignon.

[The Irish Times, Saturday, December 2, 1995, page 7 continued]

The distinction between paramilitary and security force weapons dogged issue to the last

Sustained pressure 'unlocked the door'

Frank Millar looks back at how, after hours of tough negotiations and several telephone calls, agreement was reached on how to break the impasse in the peace process before President Clinton's visit

AFTER more than three hours of tough talking, the cream of Anglo-Irish diplomacy had again failed to break the impasse in the peace process. As they prepared to leave the Cabinet Office in Whitehall last Saturday night, it was Ted Barrington, the Irish Ambassador to London, who asked the question. What would they tell the press? "The line" was quickly agreed. They would say nothing.

Mr Barrington returned to the embassy for dinner and a series of telephone consultations with the Taoiseach, Sean O hUiginn, Sean Donlon and the rest of the Irish team took the last flight home. As they settled down to a reviving drink, the Whitehall machine went to work.

To add insult to injury, the final editions of the *Sunday Independent* reflected the British press briefing.

The talks had broken down. "Agreements" reached on the Friday (between Paddy Teahon, Secretary of the Department of the Taoiseach, and Sir Robin Butler, the British Cabinet Secretary) had been "unpicked" the following day, when the Taoiseach's man was joined by officials "from Dick Spring's Department of Foreign Affairs" and from Justice. Mr Major was mightily disappointed, and wrote to Mr Bruton telling him so.

Downing Street had served a cold breakfast for the Foreign and Justice Department officials now back at their desks. And their furious response was equally cold.

The British were quite simply "telling lies", said one. There was absolutely "no colour" to support their analysis. The points of difficulty and disagreement presented by the Irish side were "common" to all strands of the government.

"Disinformation" was the name of the British game. Monday's *Irish Times* headlined Dublin's less than diplomatic response. The British were adopting a "divide and conquer" approach to the negotiations, attempting to detach the Taoiseach from his coalition partners.

That charge revealed something of the power play which followed Mr Bruton's call, on the eve of on the Festival of Remembrance at the Royal Albert Hall," he fumed, days after the event.

The Taoiseach's speech was partly born of irritation that Mr Major had not replied to fresh proposals sent to him the week before. His advisers urged him to use his speech to the Meath Association in London to address mounting nationalist frustration about the conduct of the peace process, assert Dublin's treaty-recognised right to articulate nationalist concerns, and force Mr Major's hand.

The morning after, Mr Major wrote to the Taoiseach from New Zealand, expressing regret that Mr Bruton had spoken as he did and defending the NIO response. However, the prime minister struck a more conciliatory note, affirming his desire to maintain the joint approach, and promising a substantive reply to Mr Bruton's proposals.

On a quiet news weekend, a good old-fashioned Anglo-Irish row raged. But Whitehall mandarins were busy analysing the Taoiseach's text. Beyond the "green" rhetoric, some detected the possibility of movement under cover of Mr Bruton's call for "an act of leadership" by the two governments.

British sources observed that was what they'd been hoping to provide last September, before "pressure from Sinn Fein" led Dublin to abort the scheduled Anglo-Irish summit. Was Mr Bruton signalling that he might this time move to the "twin-track" strategy without Sinn Féin's prior agreement? That was what they'd set out to test over the next week or two.

BUT an essential backdrop to the subsequent negotiation predated the Taoiseach's speech. On Friday, November 3rd, Sinn Féin's Martin McGuinness reportedly told Minister of State Michael Ancram they would only participate in the "twin track" on three conditions.

One, there would be a "fixed" date for all-party talks. Two, that they had an assurance they could participate without precondition. And three, that no distinction decision by the British government. Britain's "bottom line" was thus placed firmly in the public domain, and the scope for compromise consequently diminished.

That bottom line was highlighted when Mr Major wrote to the Taoiseach on November 17th. His draft communiqué allowed that the parties could "submit their analysis of the decommissioning issue" to the international body and that the body would "consider such evidence on its merits". But that could only aid the body "in reaching conclusions on its remit".

By this stage the British had dropped their insistence, *à la* the Chilcott/Dalton recommendations of last August, that the body would consider the issue of "illegal" weapons.

But Mr Major's draft contained the crucial textual distinction between paramilitary and security force weapons which was to dog the negotiation to the last. The international body would be asked to report on the arrangements necessary "for the removal of those arms and other *materiél*, silenced by the statements of 31 August 1994 and 13 October 1994, from the political equation".

Mr Bruton replied three days later, on November 20th, telling Mr Major: "We must both show clearly ... that our Inter Governmental agenda remains resolutely dedicated to reconciling the rights of both communities."

Specifically, the Taoiseach pressed again for a formula to allow the international body to make recommendations on "Washington 3". He insisted Dublin was not seeking "equivalence" of security force and paramilitary weapons, but wanted a description of IRA weapons which Sinn Féin could accept.

And, in addition, he pressed for a significant "beefing-up" of the proposed political track — in terms committing the two governments to meet parties jointly, where the parties agreed, and also to convene meetings jointly with more than one of the parties, again subject to their agreement.

Despite Britain's resolution on the remit for the international body, this exchange — followed by one in the series of telephone calls between Mr Major and Mr Bruton — produced agreement that Mr Teahon should meet Sir Robin Butler on Friday, November 24th.

The accounts of their four-hour discussions are, as we know, hotly disputed. But British sources say that, on the strength of the position reached, Sir Robin advised Mr Major that night that a summit the following Monday was on the cards. Twenty-four hours later, London was setting the scene for a breakdown.

According to British accounts,



British sources agree that the sustained Irish pressure was "one of the keys that unlocked the door." However, their interpretation of it was that the pressure to secure agreement ahead of President Clinton's visit "was operating more on the Irish than it was on us".

On Monday evening, senior Whitehall sources were indicating that only "a miracle" would now produce a deal. Tuesday morning's final edition of *The Irish Times* proclaimed the news that the miracle was in the making.

DOWNING Street played it down throughout the day. At its end, journalists were to wonder if there had been agreement all along, with Number 10 simply anxious not to blow Chancellor Clarke's budget off the television screens and Fleet Street's first editions.

The British insist not. Tuesday's lunchtime chat between the two leaders left unresolved the wording on the remit for the international body, the formula for managing the preparatory political talks, and the "target" date for bringing all the parties around the table.

Paddy Teahon and Sir Robin spoke again by telephone at 7.25 p.m. and it was apparently only after this session, at about 8 p.m., that Mr Bruton and Mr Major clinched the deal.

The government jet had been on standby throughout the day. The Irish Embassy had already made the necessary hotel reservations. And as Mr Bruton winged his way to London, the two sides prepared and rehearsed the agreed "spin".

Yes, "Washington 3" held. No, it wasn't in the remit of the international body. But the body would produce an "independent assessment" of the issue. And the parties could present it with their views on the entirety of it. Both governments believed the target date for talks was achievable. But that, of course, would depend on "co-operation from all the parties in both tracks".

It really was an extraordinary performance. Mr Major and Mr Bruton confirmed their continuing disagreement on the key issue in dispute.

The prime minister held to "Washington 3". The Taoiseach insisted it could not be achieved. The point was subsequently made that Mr Bruton could not have carried it off without such a forthright rejection of the British position.

As the former Taoiseach, Mr Reynolds, was to observe the next day, the British condition still held, and Mr Major had sounded "as intransigent as ever".

Moreover, Mr Major must have been warmed by Mr Bruton's

COPY PRESERVATION

[The Irish Times, Saturday, December 2, 1995 page 8]

less than diplomatic response. The British were adopting a "divide and conquer" approach to the negotiations, attempting to detach the Taoiseach from his coalition partners.

That charge revealed something of the power play which followed Mr Bruton's call, on the eve of Remembrance Sunday, for a "reasonable compromise" by the British on the issues preventing all-party talks.

A Northern Ireland Office "spokesman" had reacted furiously to the speech, wrongly headlined as a call for immediate all-party talks.

Mr Bruton stood accused of "megaphone diplomacy", all the more offensive — according to one British minister — for its timing. "It suddenly occurred to me that he'd be standing up to deliver it just as the poppies were falling

Fein's Martin McGuinness reportedly told Minister of State Michael Ancram they would only participate in the "twin track" on three conditions.

One, there would be a "fixed" date for all-party talks. Two, that they had an assurance they could participate without precondition. And three, that no distinction would be made between paramilitary and security force weapons in the referral of the decommissioning issue to the proposed international body.

Mr Ancram's response was to publish his "Building Blocks" paper.

This defined the remit of the international body in terms of the first and second of the so-called "Washington tests" (concerning the principle and methodology of decommissioning) and expressly reserved the crucial "Washington 3" test as a matter for ultimate

discussions are, as we know, hotly disputed. But British sources say that, on the strength of the position reached, Sir Robin advised Mr Major that night that a summit the following Monday was on the cards. Twenty-four hours later, London was setting the scene for a breakdown.

According to British accounts, Saturday's resumed meeting saw Friday's points of agreement "disappear like snow in the sunshine".

Specifically, the British alleged a renewed Irish attempt to blur the distinction between security force and paramilitary weapons. The suggested Irish formulation talked about "removing from the political equation the arms now silenced". This absence of reference to the ceasefires appears to explain the British charge — flatly denied by Dublin — that the Irish had placed the "equivalence" issue "back on the screen".



The second charge was that Dublin sought to "import language rejected earlier in the week" in an attempt to widen the remit of the international body.

To which was added a third: that, where London thought the composition of the international body agreed, Dublin had now decided it did not want the Canadian general "or anybody else in uniform" and advanced the name of a South African of "international renown" as an alternative.

When Mr Bruton replied to Mr Major's "disappointment" last Sunday he apparently reiterated his difficulty on the definition of arms, and registered his understanding that Sinn Féin had rejected the British formulation in their meeting with Mr Ancram on November 3rd.

One British paper on Monday had accused Dublin of advancing "a Sinn Féin prospectus". Unsurprisingly, the impression was of a negotiation off the rails.

But even as the *Daily Telegraph* article was written, the Taoiseach was striking back. After five hours of talks with officials, a fresh Irish plan was sent to Mr Major. "We wrongfooted the Brits by our swift response," was how one Dublin source put it later.

carried it off without such a forthright rejection of the British position.

As the former Taoiseach, Mr Reynolds, was to observe the next day, the British condition still held, and Mr Major had sounded "as intransigent as ever".

Moreover, Mr Major must have been warned by Mr Bruton's answer when questioned about his apparent failure to consult Sinn Féin.

The only people with whom he had consulted fully, confirmed the Taoiseach, were those with whom he had concluded this agreement — the British government.

The two governments, it seemed, had moved ahead of Sinn Féin, and effectively "postponed" the crunch issue on terms not dissimilar from those which the republican leadership had successfully scuppered back in September.

Dual killing could mark a sinister turning for Tallaght

The widow of Eddie McCabe, shot dead last weekend in Tallaght, rejects rumours about drug-dealing and about his relationship with Catherine Brennan, the woman killed along with him. Like Ms Brennan, she says, her husband was simply in 'the wrong place at the wrong time'. **Alison O'Connor** reports



Eddie and Linda McCabe after the christening of their twin sons George and Wayne



Catherine Brennan, the other victim of the Tallaght shooting

IN THE early hours of last Saturday morning, father of four Eddie McCabe (35), and mother of two Catherine Brennan (29), were together. The car they were in was parked on the side of Cheverstown Road in Tallaght. Shortly after 4 a.m., they were shot dead at close range.

Various theories have been put forward on the nature of their relationship and how they ended up together that night. Detectives are investigating the possibility that McCabe was a small-time drug dealer and that he may have been killed because of supplying drugs to a person who died.

According to gardaí, Catherine Brennan was "in the wrong place at the wrong time". This explanation is backed up by Eddie McCabe's widow, Linda. But she

murder of her husband. She is also struggling to cope with the layers of innuendo and rumour which are clinging to him. It has been suggested that her husband was involved with Catherine Brennan and that he was a drug dealer.

"He was not *with* this girl. He didn't even know her. I knew her to see and I feel terribly sorry for her children. The man who shot that gun has destroyed a lot of lives. Six children are left without a parent."

Linda McCabe rejects allegations that her husband had criminal connections or supplied drugs. "It is really getting to me that they are saying he was undercover with 'The General'. That is totally untrue. He never sold drugs. It would kill him if he thought that a young girl had lost her life after

me down if I am lying."

The shooting of the pair has put the spotlight once again on the west Dublin suburb of Tallaght, where there are 17,000 families and 30,000 people under the age of 20. It is an area which has been battling, with some success, to shake off a bad image. Now there are fears that the murders of Eddie McCabe and Catherine Brennan could mark a turning point for the area.

The opening of the Square, and other facilities which had been lacking for so long, has gone a long way towards making Tallaght an area people would be happy to live in.

The concern now is that the suburb could be back on the slippery slope, with a worsening drug problem. An increasing amount of ecstasy and heroin is circulating in

compare it to our next-door neighbour, where they had riots at Hallowe'en," says a local garda. "We hope what happened last weekend is just a blip, but we are very worried. Drugs are at the root of all the problems. When you have drugs, you have crime."

LINDA McCabe says her husband was a good family man who had been well liked by friends and neighbours. "He was never violent towards me. He never marked me. Of course, we had our rows, but who didn't. Eddie would go to the church and say a little prayer. We separated a couple of times, but he always came back after about a week, usually with a bunch of flowers. I blame myself for a lot of the rows. I'm very houseproud and I'd even give out about a fag

occasions he had "turned himself in". He had other minor convictions and was due in court for possession of a firearm in January, but she would prefer not to discuss that. "I thought he was hallucinating when he told me what had happened the time of the assault. He couldn't live with himself, so he turned himself in. He would never steal, never lie. He was very loyal."

Mrs McCabe, one of 18 children, said that he got on well with everyone. "You should have seen his funeral, there were so many people there. He was very popular. All my family loved him. My brother just rang from Wheatfield Prison. He is just broken-hearted. They had a collection for Eddie in the prison and raised £100. The lads in there are very upset."

Linda McCabe said that a lot of

band and her nephew, George, went to a friend's house for a few drinks. She was tired, so Eddie dropped her home after midnight. Eddie had wanted to drive up to the mountains "for a spin", but his friend told him it was too cold. He wanted a "buzz", so they drove to Fatima Mansions to see someone they knew there.

That friend had gone to bed, so from there the three men went to JJ's nightclub at the Embankment complex. They did not go inside, because Eddie and his friend were barred. After chatting to the bouncers they went to the Primo garage to put £5 of petrol in the car. Afterwards, they returned to the same car park.

LATER, Catherine Brennan approached the car and asked for a lift home,

she invited them in for a cup of tea.

After having tea, Eddie agreed to go to Primo garage for cigarettes with Catherine Brennan. On the way, he dropped his friend home, leaving just himself and Catherine in the car. Shortly after that, they were both shot dead.

Linda McCabe believes that, since Eddie had pulled over, parked the car and had the window rolled down, he knew the person who shot him. She does not believe it was "a hit".

"Now I just wonder was he thinking of us at the moment that they had the gun to his head. The people that did this are horrible people with no conscience and no heart."

She insists that the father of Edward (10), twins George and Wayne (7), and Ciarán (3), was

in bits. One of the papers printed a picture of his Daddy just lying there on the road without anything covering him. It really, really upset him and he also feels very angry towards the men who shot his Daddy. I'm afraid of him growing up and having a bad attitude, remembering that his Daddy was shot only a few minutes away from here. He was outside playing earlier and one of the other kids said to him 'Your Daddy got a gun in the head for selling drugs'. Edward came in here and asked me if it was true. It's heartbreaking. I'm hoping that the Corporation will give me a home in Drimnagh, near my mother."

Meanwhile, the investigation into his death and that of Catherine Brennan is continuing. Gardaí say that Eddie McCabe was a man who rarely came to their notice

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THE CLINTON VISIT

Dublin reception brings tears to eyes of campaign-hardened entourage

Clinton carves out role as world peacemaker

By Conor O'Clery, Washington Correspondent

IT was inevitable that President Clinton's visit to Dublin yesterday would be compared to his highly emotional triumph in Northern Ireland the previous day. But it was no anti-climax. The President drew a huge, enthusiastic crowd at College Green, helped by the new invention, refined in Derry, of presidential appearance-cum-fleadh ceoil.

The last time Bill Clinton attracted wild and enthusiastic crowds like this, one old hand among his travelling press noted, was after the Democratic Party convention in New York in 1992.

Then, as the party's great new hope, he went on a bus tour of the Mid-West, where the adulation of the unexpectedly large crowds inspired the *Washington Post* headline "Heart-throb of the Heartland".

After his election there were a series of stumbles and he lost it in America, so the waves of cheers lapping around Trinity College and the Bank of Ireland yesterday brought tears of joy to the eyes of his campaign-hardened entourage, already on a high after Wednesday's emotional scenes in Belfast and Derry.

"We're in Day Two of the 1996 campaign," said a breathless member of the administration.

Presidential spokesman Mike McCurry came into the White House press room waving the *Belfast Telegraph* with its splash headline "This day was the most remarkable day of our lives", and punching the air with his fist. If the President could only get coverage like that at home!

It was easy to write the story that this was all just electioneering, Mr McCurry told the White House correspondents.

But it was much more, he said. It was personal. "In private the President was as noticeably enthusiastic about his reception as in public," said McCurry. His involvement was made tangible and meaningful by being told "thank you" and being asked by children "don't forget us, stay with us". It doubled the President's determination to do exactly that, he said.

Before our eyes these last three days Bill Clinton, the domestic President, has been redefining himself as international



President Clinton and Mrs Clinton enjoy a laugh while on the platform at College Green in Dublin yesterday. Photograph: Alan Betson

Plan for follow-up to White House investment conference announced

By John McManus

A FOLLOW-UP to last May's White House Investment Conference is being planned by the Irish

the British Prime Minister, Mr John Major, in Belfast last December, said Mr Brown.

The US Commerce Secretary

conference, which had been designed to showcase Ireland to US investors. The proposed conference would focus on small and

Fund for Ireland programme were announced to coincide with President Clinton's visit.

Under the RADIUS (Research

Minister of State for Commerce, Science and Technology, on plans to "co-operate in science and technology activities of mutual

Twin-track approach an 'astonishing' development

By Carol Coulter

PRESIDENT Clinton stressed the importance of the twin-track approach in bringing about a political settlement in his speech in Dublin Castle last night. He was proposing a toast to the Taoiseach and the people of Ireland at a dinner hosted by Mr Bruton.

"The twin-track approach is an astonishing development. It permits all views to be heard and all voices to speak," he said, in a speech which also expressed his evident enjoyment of his visit and of the reaction it evoked North and South.

"It has been an experience like none I have ever had before," he said.

In the course of a speech that was alternately witty and serious, he turned to former senator George Mitchell, the chairman of the international body on decommissioning, and jokingly quoted a country song, *I Got the Goldmine and You Got the Shaft*. But he became more serious when he referred to the two children who had joined him in Belfast expressing their hopes for peace.

"Globally there is a hunger among young people for their parents to put down the materials of war in favour of their childhood," he said.

He quoted from a letter from a teenager in Dublin seeking his help to ensure that "reason and reasonable people" would prevail, so that those who survived the suffering could go on living.

The letter was from a young

that the system of government in Northern Ireland must be one to which both communities can agree. In one sense, neither side has a veto. In another sense, both sides have a veto. So getting an agreement is not going to be easy."

President Clinton arrived with Mrs Clinton just after 8.20 p.m., and was welcomed by Mr Bruton and his wife Finola. They were piped upstairs to St Patrick's Hall where some 320 guests awaited. Another 80 sat in the balconies above the hall.

The dinner was attended by the members of the Cabinet and their partners, Opposition leaders Mr Bertie Ahern, accompanied by Ms Celia Larkin, and Ms Mary Harney, with her sister, Ms Geraldine Harney; the Ceann Comhairle, Mr Sean Treacy, and Ministers of State Mr Jim Higgins and Mr Pat Rabbitte.

The Sinn Féin leader, Mr Gerry Adams, was there with Ms Lucilita Breathnach, as was Mr John Hume and his wife Pat, Cardinal Daly, Archbishop and Mrs Robin Eames, the Chief Justice, Mr Justice Liam Hamilton and Mrs Hamilton, the former director-general of GATT, Mr Peter Sutherland, the editor of *The Irish Times*, Mr Conor Brady, and his wife Ann, along with a number of business people.

Among American guests were the US Ambassador, Mrs Jean Kennedy Smith, the National Security Adviser, Mr Anthony Lake, former senator

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meaningful by being told "thank you" and being asked by children "don't forget us, stay with us". It doubled the President's determination to do exactly that, he said.

Before our eyes these last three days Bill Clinton, the domestic President, has been redefining himself as international peacekeeper.

In his two major speeches yesterday, at College Green and in Leinster House, Mr Clinton used the word peace a total of 35 times. "The people want peace and they will have it," he declared.

Watching his address to the joint houses of the Oireachtas was Senator Chris Dodd, chairman of the Democratic Party, and an architect of the President's Irish policy. "It needed someone to shape the role of peacemaker," he said.

The Connecticut senator, who is not given to hyperbole, added: "I'm just glad to be alive to see this day", which just about summed up the emotions of the Irish-American legislators and company executives and union leaders travelling with the President.

Clinton also redefined himself in the Kennedy mould, with JFK gestures and high-flowing rhetoric, and one declaration at College Green, "I am now a Freeman of Dublin" reminiscent of President Kennedy's "Ich bin ein Berliner."

The astonishing acceptance of Clinton by almost everyone on the island as catalyst of the national mood for peace gave him the authority to tell the College Green throng that they should make allowances for the unionists.

"Realise how difficult it is for them . . . and realise that those of you who have more emotional and physical space must reach out and help them take those next hard steps."

It was close to psychobabble. It was almost lecturing. Only Bill Clinton, international peacemaker, could have got away with this to a sovereign people.

The President who campaigned for office with the catch-cry "It's the economy, stupid!" returns to the United States next week as an internationalist who has championed peace in the Middle East, Haiti, Bosnia and Northern Ireland.

His re-election campaign will soon be picking up steam, this time possibly with a tempting new slogan: "It's the peace, stupid!"

investment conference announced

By John McManus

A FOLLOW-UP to last May's White House Investment Conference is being planned by the Irish and US governments for the first half of next year. Mr Ron Brown, the US Commerce Secretary, said yesterday that the two governments had resolved that they would "together come up with an agenda, a plan, for such a conference".

The level of Mr Clinton's involvement has not been decided.

Mr Brown said that it was important that Mr Clinton's visit be seen as the start, rather than the end, of a process aimed at encouraging US investment in Ireland. The process began with the investment conference called by the British Prime Minister, Mr John Major, in Belfast last December, said Mr Brown.

The US Commerce Secretary made the announcement after meeting the Minister for Finance, Mr Quinn, the Minister for Enterprise and Employment, Mr Richard Bruton, and the Minister for Energy, Transport and Communications, Mr Lowry, in Government Buildings yesterday afternoon.

The probable location of the conference will be Chicago and it is hoped that it will be held in the first half of next year. "There is enough credibility and substance for us to go ahead," said Mr Quinn, who added that the Chicago conference would be of a different nature to the White House conference, which had been designed to showcase Ireland to US investors. The proposed conference would focus on small and medium-sized US companies which were interested in expanding into Europe, according to Mr Quinn. It would be less substantial than the Washington conference, but more focused on producing investment.

Mr Bruton said that it was still to early to say how successful last May's conference had been. The IDA had been in contact with all the companies which had attended, but as yet there was no "pipeline" of investments, he said.

Mr Brown also signed two co-operation agreements yesterday, while details of an International Fund for Ireland programme were announced to coincide with President Clinton's visit.

Under the RADIUS (Research and Development between Ireland and the United States) programme, grants for research and development will be made to companies in the North and the Border counties. The loans will be repaid out of royalties on any products developed.

Under the scheme, £500,000 will be made available next year and £1 million the following year. Mr William McCarter, the chairman of the International Fund for Ireland, said that the programme would support economic regeneration in the Border counties.

Mr Brown signed a joint statement with Mr Pat Rabbitte, the Minister of State for Commerce, Science and Technology, on plans to "co-operate in science and technology activities of mutual benefit". Details of an initial programme are to be announced within 12 months, according to Mr Rabbitte. A working group of industrialists and academics from both sides of the Atlantic will be brought together to identify opportunities.

Earlier in the day Mr Brown signed a co-operation agreement with the Minister for the Marine, Mr Barrett, which will allow Ireland to draw on the resources of US marine research agencies. In particular, this will facilitate co-operation with the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration.

parents to put down the materials of war in favour of their childhood," he said.

He quoted from a letter from a teenager in Dublin seeking his help to ensure that "reason and reasonable people" would prevail, so that those who survived the suffering could go on living.

The letter was from a young Bosnian girl now living in Dublin.

Earlier Mr Bruton had proposed a toast to the President and the American people, in which he thanked Mr Clinton for his commitment to help with the peace process.

"At the beginning of your presidency, you said you would be there for the Irish, not just on one day of the year but every day of the year. You have lived up to that."

Referring to the problems of seeking a solution in the North, he said: "Consent also means

eral of GATT, Mr Peter Sutherland, the editor of *The Irish Times*, Mr Conor Brady, and his wife Ann, along with a number of business people.

Among American guests were the US Ambassador, Mrs Jean Kennedy Smith, the National Security Adviser, Mr Anthony Lake, former senator Mr George Mitchell, Mr James Walsh, chairman of the Friends of Ireland, Mr Bruce Morrison, Mr Niall O'Dowd and Ms Nancy Soderburg.

They were served with terrine of local game, followed by rack of "Royal Tara lamb", white chocolate and poppy-seed mousse with raspberry coulis, a selection of cheeses, coffee and Irish mint sticks.

Californian wine, Opus One from the Napa Valley, and Wente Brothers Chardonnay from the Livermore Valley, were served, with Graham's Port.

Clinton causes a storm in a half-pint pot

By Sean MacConnell

PRESIDENT Clinton may well have helped bring peace to Ireland, but by God he created havoc in the Irish brewing industry yesterday.

You see when Bill Clinton visited Cassidy's Pub in Camden Street, Dublin, he drank a glass of Murphy's stout, not Guinness. Murphy's even had its managing director, Marien Kakebeeke supervising the pouring ceremony.

But late last night Guinness said that the President drank Guinness in Cassidy's and that he had told its managing director, Colin Storm, that he is a Guinness fan.

Guinness even quoted the bar's owner as having reported that Mr Clinton had enjoyed a glass of Guinness pulled for him in proper "Guinness Time".

But as the battle of the breweries deepened, a spokeswoman for Murphy's said the White House had confirmed that the President had only one glass of stout yesterday and that was Murphy's.

The 38-minute visit by Mr Clinton and his wife, Hillary, to the black-fronted, gold-lettered pub was one of the most relaxed parts of the historic visit.

He was welcomed into the pub by the Tánaiste, Mr Spring, and his wife, Kirsti, and the owner of the pub, Fran Ryder, the former Dublin trainer and footballer.

Mr Clinton was escorted into a private backroom and presented with a silver replica of the Famine ship, *Jeannie Johnston*, which is being rebuilt at Blennerville, Co Kerry, as a tourist attraction.

The Tánaiste also presented the President with an antique putter, circa 1905, from Ballybunion Golf Club, where the President had intended to play had his visit been longer.

Then it was time for the pour-in: Austin Kelly, the Sallynoggin barman who had been chosen to serve the President, offered him a choice of beer, stout, diet Coke or mineral water and the President chose stout.

In fairness to young Kelly he did not specify what stout President Clinton had chosen — Murphy's did that through their PR company — he filled the glass and toasted the President on behalf of Cassidy's.

President Clinton, replied "Sláinte" and drank from the glass which had come from a keg which had been inspected by Presidential staff.

Hillary Clinton was less relaxed than her husband and left the bar after about 15 minutes. The official version was that she had gone to get changed, but there was another reason. It appears there was a smoking ban on guests but, in the best Irish style, people began to smoke and the First Lady was unable to cope with the smog and departed.

In the end the President was ushered out of the bar and on to the street where he was met by a woman from Concern, the aid agency, to whom he made a $20 donation.

Apart from the bad feeling between the breweries, there is no doubt but that the Camden Street visit was a success.



It's your only man: breweries fought a PR battle over President Clinton's glass of stout in Cassidy's Pub in Camden Street yesterday. Photograph: Maxwell



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THE CLINTON VISIT

Clinton renews pledge to continue support and praises those who have taken risks for peace

By Michael O'Regan and Dermot Kelly

PRESIDENT Clinton recalled his visit to Northern Ireland on Thursday for members of the Dáil and Seanad yesterday. The people there wanted peace, "and they will have it", he told a special joint session of the two Houses, where the guests included the Sinn Féin president Gerry Adams.

Mr Clinton said he was especially pleased to be there "before the elected representatives of a strong, confident and democratic Ireland, a nation today playing a greater role in world affairs than ever before".

He said: 'We live in a time of immense hope and immense possibility, a time captured, I believe, in the wonderful lines of your poet, Seamus Heaney, when he talked of 'the longed-for tidal wave of justice can rise up and hope and history rhyme.'

"That is the time in which we live. It is the world's good fortune that Ireland has become a force for fulfilling that hope in redeeming the possibilities of mankind, a force for good far beyond your numbers. And we are all the better for it.

"Today I have travelled from the North, where I have seen the difference Ireland's leadership has made for peace there at the lighting of Belfast's Christmas tree before tens of thousands of people.

"In the faces of two communities, divided by bitter history, we saw the radiance of optimism born, especially among the young of both communities. In the voices of the Shankill and the Falls there was a harmony of new hope which we saw. I saw that the people want peace and they will have it.

"George Bernard Shaw with his wonderful Irish love of irony said: 'peace is not only better than war but infinitely more arduous.'

"Well, today I thank Prime Minister Bruton and former Prime Minister Reynolds and Deputy Prime Minister Spring and Britain's Prime Minister Major and others, but especially these, for their unfailing dedication to the arduous task of peace.

"From the Downing Street Declaration to the historic ceasefire which began 15 months ago, to Tuesday's announcement of the twin-track initiative which will open a dialogue in which all voices can be heard and all viewpoints can be represented, they have taken great risks without hesitation.

"They have chosen a harder role than the comfortable path of pleasant pieties. But what they have done is right, and the children and grandchildren of this generation of Irish will reap the reward.

"Today I renew America's pledge. Your road is our road. We want to walk it together. We will continue our support — political, financial and moral — to those who take risks for peace.

"I am proud that our administration was the first to support in the executive budget sent to the Congress the International Fund for Ireland, because we believe that those on both sides of the Border who have been denied so much for so long should see that their risks are rewarded with the tangible benefits of peace.

"In another context a long time ago Yeats reminded us that 'too long a sacrifice can make a stone of the heart'. We must not let the hearts of the young people who yearn for peace turn to stone.

"I want to thank you here, not only for the support you have given your leaders working for peace in Northern Ireland, but for the extraordinary work you have done to wage peace over war all around the world.

"Almost 1,500 years ago Ireland stood as a lone beacon of civilisation to a continent shrouded in darkness. It has been said, probably without overstatement, that the Irish in that dark period saved civilisation. Certainly, you saved the records of our civilisation, our shared ideas, our shared ideals, our priceless recordings of them.

"Now, in our time, when so many nations seek to overcome conflict and barbarism the light still shines out of Ireland. Since 1958, almost 40 years now, there has never been a single, solitary day that Irish troops did not stand watch for peace on a distant shore — in Lebanon, in Cyprus, in Somalia, in so many other places.

"More than 41,000 Irish military and police personnel have served over the years as peacekeepers, an immense contribution for a nation whose armed forces today number fewer than 13,000.



President Clinton speaking to members of the Dáil and Seanad yesterday in a special joint session of the two Houses. Photograph: Joe St Leger

"I know that during your presidency of the European Union next year Ireland will help to lead the effort to build security for a stable, strong and free Europe. For all you have done, and for your steadfast devotion to peace, I salute the people of Ireland.

"Our nation also has a vital stake in a Europe that is stable, strong and free — something which is now in reach for the first time since nation states appeared on the continent of Europe so many centuries ago.

"But we know that such a Europe can never be built as long as conflict tears at the heart of the continent in Bosnia. The fire there threatens the emerging democracies of the region and our allies nearby, and it also breaks our heart and violates our conscience.

"That is why now that the parties have committed themselves to peace, we in the United States are determined to help them find a way back from savagery to civility, to end the atrocities and heal the wounds of that terrible war.

"That is why we are preparing our forces to participate there, not in fighting a war, but in securing a peace rooted in the agreement they have freely made.

"Standing here, thinking about the devastation in Bosnia, the long columns of hopeless refugees streaming from their homes, it is impossible not to recall the ravages that were visited on your wonderful country 150 years ago, not by war, of course, but by natural disaster when the crops rotted black in the ground.

"Today, still, the Great Famine is seared in the memory of the Irish nation and all caring peoples. The memory of a million dead and nearly 2 million more forced into exile — these memories will remain forever vivid to all of us whose heritage is rooted here.

"But as an American I must say that in that tragedy came the supreme gift of the Irish to the United States — the men, women and children who boarded the coffin ships, with Galway and Mayo empty, when Kerry and Cork took flight for a life and a spirit that has enormously enriched the life of our country.

"The regimental banner brought by President Kennedy that hangs in this House reminds us of the nearly 200,000 Irishmen who took up arms in our civil war.

"Many of them were barely off the ships when they joined the Union forces. They fought and died at Fredricksburg and Chancellorsville and Gettysburg. Theirs was only the first of countless contributions to our nation from those who fled the Famine.

"But that contribution enabled us to remain a nation and to be here with you today in partnership for peace for your nation and for the peoples who live on this island.

"The Irish have been building America ever since — our cities, our industry, our culture, our public life. I am proud that the delegation that is accompanying me here today includes the latest generation of Irish-American leaders in the United States, men and women who remain devoted to increasing our strength and safeguarding our liberty.

"In the last century it was often said that the Irish who fled the Great Hunger were searching for castles of gold.

"I cannot say that they found those castles of gold in the United States, but I can tell you this — they built a lot of castles of gold for the United States and the prosperity and freedom of our nation. We are grateful for what they did and for the deep ties to Ireland that they gave us in their sons and daughters.

"Now we seek to repay that in some small way by being a partner with you for peace. We seek somehow to communicate to every single person who lives here that we want for all of your children the right to grow up in an Ireland where this entire isle gives every man and woman the right to live up to the fullest of their God-given abilities, and gives people the right to live in equality, freedom and dignity.

"That is the tide of history. We must make sure that the tide runs strong here, for no people deserve the brightest future more than the Irish. God bless you and thank you."

And just which Cassidy would you be?

Dear Mr President,

You are indeed very welcome to the land of your roots and it is because of those I will now address you, as I am from the land of the Cassidys.

In this country, there is a tradition of reciting poems, a kind of Celtic Rap, but I'm afraid not half as exciting.

But one of the most popular of these is about a man who looks in a hotel register and wonders if he knows the Francis Farrelly who has signed in.

"*Are you that Francis Farrelly I met so long ago in the woods beyond Belmullet, in the County of Mayo?*"

The guy speculates about which of the many Francis Farrellys it might have been because he knows many of them.

Now I fell to wondering which of the Cassidys you might be because in Fermanagh there are more Cassidys than bogholes. In fact, there were so many Cassidys that we had to give your people nicknames to identify them.

I wonder are you of the "Bear" Cassidys, who had a ferocious reputation as fighting men, mean footballers and superb farmers? "The Bears" were the breed of big strong rough men and plain women who would live in your ear and rent out the rest.

Or would you be one of the Cassidys of Cassidy's Cross who had a small quarry and worked their butts off on poor land and left, I think, for America in the Fifties?

There were also the Cassidys of the Bog, Cassidys of the River, the Long Cassidys and the Yella Cassidys and the Black Cassidys.

The Yella Cassidys were so called not because they had failed in battle but because of the sallow colour of their skin. Their men were not pretty but their womenfolk were much sought after.

You might indeed be part of one of the richest Cassidy families in the county, the ones who own the sawmills in Ballycassidy. They even had their own

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these, for their unfailing dedication to the arduous task of peace.

"From the Downing Street Declaration to the historic ceasefire which began 15 months ago, to Tuesday's announcement of

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Great Hunger were searching for castles of gold.

"I cannot say that they found those castles of gold in the United States, but I can tell you this —

must make sure that the tide runs strong here, for no people deserve the brightest future more than the Irish. God bless you and thank you."

Rallying call to the hearts and minds of the young

Bill Clinton enjoyed a lap of honour in Dublin, writes **Denis Coghlan**, Chief Political Correspondent

THE serious business was already done when President Clinton spoke in the Dáil. The peace process was running on a twin track, both governments were committed to facilitating all-party talks and the people of Northern Ireland had turned out in their tens of thousands to endorse his rallying call for equality, freedom and dignity.

He had injected momentum into a flagging political process. And the exercise was all the more emphatic because of his invocation of "people power" on the streets of Belfast, Derry and Dublin in the interests of peace.

Mr Clinton touched the quick of Irish life in a way few politicians have done. And his message of brotherhood, peace and prosperity was aimed primarily at young people and the rising generation.

The meetings with politicians were formal occasions, redolent of caution. And they paled into the commonplace when compared with the vibrancy of the street theatre he generated by invoking the needs and suffering of ordinary people.

Wherever he went, the unvarying message was one of "peace and future prosperity" and the need to take risks for it.

The day was everything John Bruton had hoped for: high bright skies and cheering crowds. Dublin at its best and a grinning, delighted President of the United States.

In return for his interest and support, he was being given a proper Irish "thank you". The Taoiseach had provided the Downing Street summit and a refurbished twin-track approach for the visit and he was growing in stature by the hour.

In the Dáil, Mr Clinton hammered home his message of accommodation and peace. Immense hope and possibility beckoned in Northern Ireland, he declared. Two communities divided by bitter history for years had been transformed into "a harmony of new hope". It was clear to him that the people of Northern Ireland wanted peace, he said, "and they will have it".

body, Mr Clinton's comments on US-Irish relations engendered confidence.

In renewing what he described as "America's pledge", Mr Clinton said: "Your road is our road. We want to walk it together. We will continue our support — political, financial and moral — to those who take risks for peace.

"I am proud that our administration was the first to support, in the executive budget sent to the Congress, the International Fund for Ireland, because we believe that those on both sides of the Border who have been denied so much for so long should see that their risks are rewarded with the tangible benefits of peace."

Even as he spoke, invitations to preliminary talks in the twin-track approach were being sent to the Northern political parties by Dick Spring.

And there was growing confidence in Government circles that the spontaneous response by both communities in Northern Ireland to President Clinton's plea for peace would create flexibility in the political situation.

The response to Mr Clinton on the streets of Dublin, Belfast and Derry has served to strengthen the common approach to Northern Ireland on behalf of the Government and opposition parties.

Overall, President Clinton spoke in generalities. He spoke of peace, but not of the settlement terms which would make it possible. He talked of the people of this country, Catholic and Protestant, but he did not distinguish between their conflicting loyalties. Symbols were laid aside in the interests of peace.

Irish people, from both communities, had contributed to the building of the United States. "Now", he said, "we seek to repay that in some small way — by being a partner with you for peace.

"We seek somehow to communicate to every single person who lives here that we want for all your children the right to grow up in an Ireland where this entire island gives every man and woman the right to live up to the fullest to their God-given abilities and gives people the right to live



The Taoiseach and Mr Clinton outside the Dáil yesterday before the President addressed the joint houses of the Oireachtas. Photograph: Frank Miller

Silver-tongued Bill thanks Irish immigrants for 'castles of gold'

By Joe Carroll,
Parliamentary Correspondent

AFTER Derry's Guildhall, Belfast City Hall, and Dublin's College Green, it was the Dáil's turn to be exposed to Bill Clinton's silvery tongue. Like all very important people he arrived late — only half an hour — but we knew it wasn't his fault.

Leinster House had put out the flags, laid some new carpet and lined the stairway with vases of flowers. Just like for his predecessors, JFK and Ronnie Reagan. Tomas MacGiolla, Proinsias De Rossa and Tony Gregory walked out on Ronnie in 1984 over central America but no one walks out on Bill Clinton.

Rather, everyone wants to listen. The TDs and senators filled all the seats while foreign diplomats sat at the back, as did members of the Forum and the Council of State.

Proinsias had a place of honour this time while Tony was still tieless. As the Chamber filled up waiting for the Eagle to land, the buzz got louder.

Gleeson, swapped stories, while former Chief Justice, Tom O'Higgins, stared nostalgically down at the benches he once sat on.

So did the former president, Dr Patrick Hillery, who ended up sitting beside Gerry Adams and the Sinn Féin chairman, Pat Doherty. Former residents of Áras an Uachtaráin and Long Kesh side by side in the Dáil Chamber — that's what Bill Clinton has helped bring about.

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But "in the meantime, the Government is quite safe", the Ceann Comhairle said reassuringly.

The President launched into his sixth speech in 48 hours. The Belfast Christmas Tree, the twin-track, Ireland as a lone beacon of civilization, Irish troops as peacemakers, Bosnia, the Famine, the coffin ships, the Irish Civil War. You could not call them unionists, of course.

It used to be said, concluded the President, that the Irish immigrants arrived in America looking for "castles of gold". He could not say if they found them, but "they built a lot of castles of gold" for the US and it is still grateful.

He bowed out to prolonged applause. But

Occasion of 'a thousand poignant memories'

By Dermot Kelly and Michael O'Regan

PRESIDENT Clinton's address to the joint session of the Oireachtas was described by the Ceann Comhairle, Mr Sean Treacy, as a unique event in Irish history.

He added that it was an international event of inestimable value in remembering the close bonds existing between Ireland and America.

Welcoming Mr Clinton, he said: "By addressing our parliament today, Mr President, you are following in the footsteps of two of your illustrious predecessors, the late President John F. Kennedy and President Ronald Reagan. You stand on the exact same spot in this Chamber as they did on those great, momentous occasions in 1963 and 1984 respectively at which I had the honour to be present.

"These were occasions of immense pride of race, of blood and kinship, of achievement and great hope for the future. So this is not an ordinary occasion; it is one of a thousand poignant memories."

The President, he added, had come to Dublin following his historic visit to Northern Ireland at a time, the first in 25 years, when the country as a whole had experienced peace over the past 16 months. "You, Mr President, have taken upon yourself the role of peacemaker, not alone in Ireland but in many other parts of the world. You have done so with great success. Your herculean endeavours have won for you the praise and gratitude of all civilised people.

"God grant that your endeavours for peace and reconciliation in Ireland will be crowned with great success also. Peace is a very delicate flower which needs to be nurtured and developed most carefully."

Following the President's address, the Cathaoirleach of the Seanad, Mr Liam Naughten, thanked him, adding: "You have come as a friend and, by accepting our invitation to be among us, you honour not only this parliament but also the people of Ireland at home and abroad."

Mr Naughten said Ireland and America were linked by history and by the great democratic institutions which were the foundation of liberty and freedom.

"Our democratic institutions are the repository and legacy of the hopes, struggles and achievements of our forebears and a living testament to their vision and indomitable spirit. Be assured

one of the richest Cassidy families in the county, the ones who own the sawmills in Ballycassidy. They even had their own town. Or indeed the Cassidys of Enniskillen who ran a fleet of buses. Many the man met his wife or remembers a good day out to Bundoran courtesy of the Cassidys' Bus.

Indeed, when I saw your profile while driving through Dublin town yesterday, I caught a likeness to the eldest son in that family with whom I once shared a school bench. He was a golden boy. Good at sport, excellent at his books, mannerly in all ways. I hated him.

But I reckon I know the Cassidy clan from which you sprang. My father's best friend was a man called Peter F. Cassidy, who is still a legend around the fields of Ballanamone, Arney and Montiagh Cross.

Peter F., it can now be revealed because he is long dead, was one of the "boys", which, Mr President, does not mean he was a good buddy who hung around drinking beer and playing pool.

He was your classic Irish republican who had been involved in the Troubles which started where I come from somewhere around 1694 and have continued unabated until about a year ago.

Peter F. ran just about all the organisations in the area, the GAA and the IRA. Yes, that was them all. The priest ran the church.

And when he was too old to bear arms, Peter F. turned to politics and it was in that discipline that he is credited with his first and only miracle.

He was the man who registered voters and it is said that the dead of Ballanamone rose from their graves and elected a "Shinner" to Westminster a generation and a half before Gerry Adams was born.

He was also the man who told regulars in Arney pub the exact date of the Normandy invasion in 1944, 10 days before it happened. Only President Roosevelt, Winston Churchill and Peter F. Cassidy from south Fermanagh knew what was going on, so, Mr President, I reckon that is your Cassidy clan.

I hope you enjoy your trip and if you want, I can show you sometime the grave where the last and probably best of your clan is laid.

Safe journey,
Sean MacConnell

Amnesty holds torchlight vigil

About 200 people took part in an Amnesty International torchlight vigil last night calling for the abolition of the death penalty in the US.

The vigil started at the GPO and then moved to Dublin Castle, where President Clinton was attending a State banquet in his honour. The marchers were stopped by gardai about 100 yards from the castle gates.

Amnesty International stressed that it welcomed Mr Clinton's visit to Ireland and appreciated his efforts to get a permanent ceasefire in Northern Ireland.

A petition was signed calling for an end to capital punish-

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wave of justice can rise up and hope and history rhyme.'

"That is the time in which we live. It is the world's good fortune that Ireland has become a force for fulfilling that hope in redeeming the possible."

The meetings with politicians were formal occasions, redolent of caution. And they paled into the commonplace when compared with the vibrancy of the street theatre he generated by invoking the needs and suffering of ordinary people.

Wherever he went, the unvarying message was one of "peace and future prosperity" and the need to take risks for it.

The day was everything John Bruton had hoped for: high bright skies and cheering crowds; Dublin at its best and a grinning, delighted President of the United States.

In return for his interest and support, he was being given a proper Irish "thank you". The Taoiseach had provided the Downing Street summit and a refurbished twin-track approach for the visit and he was growing in stature by the hour.

In the Dáil, Mr Clinton hammered home his message of accommodation and peace. Immense hope and possibility beckoned in Northern Ireland, he declared. Two communities divided by bitter history for years had been transformed into "a harmony of new hope". It was clear to him that the people of Northern Ireland wanted peace, he said, "and they will have it".

Given the vital role which will be played by George Mitchell over the next six weeks, as head of the arms decommissioning

And there was growing confidence in Government circles that the spontaneous response by both communities in Northern Ireland to President Clinton's plea for peace would create flexibility in the political situation.

The response to Mr Clinton on the streets of Dublin, Belfast and Derry has served to strengthen the common approach to Northern Ireland on behalf of the Government and opposition parties.

Overall, President Clinton spoke in generalities. He spoke of peace, but not of the settlement terms which would make it possible. He talked of the people of this country, Catholic and Protestant, but he did not distinguish between their conflicting loyalties. Symbols were laid aside in the interests of peace.

Irish people, from both communities, had contributed to the building of the United States. "Now", he said, "we seek to repay that in some small way — by being a partner with you for peace.

"We seek somehow to communicate to every single person who lives here that we want for all your children the right to grow up in an Ireland where this entire island gives every man and woman the right to live up to the fullest to their God-given abilities and gives people the right to live in equality and freedom and dignity."

It seemed a worthy objective on the last day of his Irish visit.



The Taoiseach and Mr Clinton outside the Dáil yesterday before the President addressed the joint houses of the Oireachtas. Photograph: Frank Miller

Silver-tongued Bill thanks Irish immigrants for 'castles of gold'

By Joe Carroll,
Parliamentary Correspondent

AFTER Derry's Guildhall, Belfast City Hall, and Dublin's College Green, it was the Dáil's turn to be exposed to Bill Clinton's silvery tongue. Like all very important people he arrived late — only half an hour — but we knew it wasn't his fault.

Leinster House had put out the flags, laid some new carpet and lined the stairway with vases of flowers. Just like for his predecessors, JFK and Ronnie Reagan. Tomas MacGiolla, Proinsias De Rossa and Tony Gregory walked out on Ronnie in 1984 over central America but no one walks out on Bill Clinton.

Rather, everyone wants to listen. The TDs and senators filled all the seats while foreign diplomats sat at the back, as did members of the Forum and the Council of State.

Proinsias had a place of honour this time while Tony was still tieless. As the Chamber filled up waiting for the Eagle to land, the buzz got louder.

The peacemakers, Gerry Adams, John Hume and Albert Reynolds moved around and shook hands. Legal eagles, Chief Justice Liam Hamilton and Attorney General Dermot Gleeson, swapped stories, while former Chief Justice, Tom O'Higgins, stared nostalgically down at the benches he once sat on.

So did the former president, Dr Patrick Hillery, who ended up sitting beside Gerry Adams and the Sinn Féin chairman, Pat Doherty. Former residents of Áras an Uachtaráin and Long Kesh side by side in the Dáil Chamber — that's what Bill Clinton has helped bring about.

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The Secret Service men got more tense as the Eagle appeared at the top of the stairs and was led proudly down to his seat by the Taoiseach, Tánaiste and Proinsias De Rossa. Albert got a friendly wave.

The Ceann Comhairle prayed for guidance and then began his welcoming speech to "the illustrious leader of the greatest nation earth" and his "lovely wife". The chair, who was there for JFK in 1963 as well as Reagan, cracked a few jokes to put Bill at his ease.

He pointed out that he is not exactly like the Speaker of the House of Representatives nor does he have any control over the Budget or health and welfare. Knowing laughter from the TDs.

But "in the meantime, the Government is quite safe", the Ceann Comhairle said reassuringly.

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It used to be said, concluded the President, that the Irish immigrants arrived in America looking for "castles of gold". He could not say if they found them, but "they built a lot of castles of gold" for the US and it is still grateful.

He bowed out to prolonged applause. But he's coming back to play golf in Ballybunion. Dick Spring would like it before the next election.

the country as a whole had experienced peace over the past 16 months. "You, Mr President, have taken upon yourself the role of peacemaker, not alone in Ireland but in many other parts of the world. You have done so with great success. Your herculean endeavours have won for you the praise and gratitude of all civilised people.

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"Our democratic institutions are the repository and legacy of the hopes, struggles and achievements of our forebears and a living testament to their vision and indomitable spirit. Be assured that our prayers are with you as you continue to promote the ideals of peace and justice."

Roosevelt, Winston Churchill and Peter F. Cassidy from south Fermanagh knew what was going on, so, Mr President, I reckon that is your Cassidy clan.

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Amnesty International stressed that it welcomed Mr Clinton's visit to Ireland and appreciated his efforts to get a permanent ceasefire in Northern Ireland.

A petition was signed calling for an end to capital punishment and the group dispersed peacefully.

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THE CLINTON VISIT



COPY
FREE VATION

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PRESERVATION



President Clinton is cheered by the crowd at College Green after his speech and after he was made a Freeman of Dublin. Photograph: John Giles/PA

Keynote address praises role of Irish in keeping the peace

By Jim Cusack

PRESIDENT Clinton received a tumultuous reception from a huge crowd gathered in Dublin's city centre yesterday when he arrived at a ceremony to receive the Freedom of the City. This was followed by the keynote address of his 24-hour visit to the Republic.

Some 80,000 people were jammed into College Green and surrounding streets.

Mr Clinton and Hillary Rodham Clinton — who arrived an hour late for the event — waved repeatedly as they took their places behind a bullet-proof screen. Many members of the huge crowd waved Irish or American flags.

Addressing a small section of the huge crowd waving Ballybunion placards, Mr Clinton promised to return for the golf game he had to cancel because of his commitments to meet US troops going to Bosnia.

His speech had occasionally light-hearted moments. He told the crowd he had been on College Green before, as a student in 1968, and never dreamed he would be back again "in this capacity". His comment that he felt "like a real Dub" was met with a rapturous response.

He added: "Let me say that, as a lot of you know, because of the events developing in Bosnia and the prospect of peace there, I had to cut short my trip. But there are a few signs out there that I want to respond to. I will return to Ballybunion for my golf game."

'You are an inspiration to people around the world'

Referring to Ireland's international cultural figures, he said: "I hear all about how the world's global culture is becoming more American, but I believe if you want to grasp the global culture you need to come to Ireland."

On the contributions of the Defence Forces and the Garda to peacekeeping missions, he said: "Your sons and daughters in the gardaí and Defence Forces take part in some of the most demanding missions of goodwill, keeping the peace, helping people in war-torn lands turn from conflict to co-operation.

"Whenever the troubled places in the earth call out for help, from Haiti to Lebanon, the Irish are always among the very first to answer the call. Your commitment to peace helps conquer foes that threaten us all. And, on behalf of the people of the United States, I say to the people of Ireland, we thank you for that from the bottom of our hearts.

"Ireland is helping beat back the forces of hatred and destruction all around the world: the spread of weapons of mass destruction, terrorism, ethnic hatreds, religious fanaticism, the international drug trade. Ireland is helping to beat back these forces that wage war against all humanity. You are an inspiration to people around the world. You have made peace heroic."

He turned to the Bruton-Major summit, saying: "Nowhere are the people of Ireland more important in the cause of peace today than right here at home. On Tuesday night, before I left the United States to come here, I received the happy word that the Taoiseach and Prime Minister Major had opened a gateway to a just and lasting peace, a peace that will lift the lives of your neighbours in Northern Ireland and their neighbours in the town and counties that share the Northern Border.

"That was the greatest welcome anyone could have asked for. I applaud the Taoiseach for his courage but I know that the courage and the heart of the Irish people made it possible."

He spoke of the Famine, saying: "Out of that horrible curse came the most bittersweet of blessings — the arrival in my country of millions of new Americans who built up the United States and climbed to the top of its best works. For every person here in Ireland today, 12 more in the United States have proud roots in Irish soil."

The President recalled the words of his predecessor, John F. Kennedy, on his visit to Ireland 32 years ago: "That your future is as promising as your past is proud, that your destiny lies not as a peaceful island in a sea of troubles but as a maker and shaper of world peace".

"A generation later, Ireland has claimed that destiny," he said. It is a more peaceful land in a world that is more peaceful in significant measure because of the efforts of Irish citizens.

"For touching the hearts and minds of peace-loving people in every corner of the world, for the risk you must now continue to take for peace, for inspiring the nations of the world by your example and for giving so much to make America great, America says thank you."

Visit broke logjam, says Bruton

By Mark Brennock

THE visit of President Clinton was a crucial factor in this week's agreement to launch the twin-track attempt to break the logjam in the peace process, the Taoiseach said yesterday.

At a joint press conference with the US President outside Government Buildings, Mr Bruton paid tribute to Mr Clinton for his "key role" in the peace process.

Mr Clinton said in turn that the credit for the agreement should go to Mr Bruton and Mr John Major.

"The ingredients for the agreement were there for some time," said Mr Bruton, "but we both recognised that the visit of President Clinton was an opportunity to launch an initiative. We were able to do it in such a fashion that his visit here would give it the best possible wind."

He and Mr Major recognised the support the US administration had been able to give to the peace process. Both of them appreciated that Mr Clinton's support gave encouragement to the people of Northern Ireland.

Mr Clinton said that he hoped his visit to Northern Ireland would be significant, but "it will have more meaning because of what the Taoiseach and prime minister Major did. That gave me something to talk about in trying to advocate the peace process."

The United States would support both communities in the North if they worked towards peace, he said. "My visit there showed me that people are often ahead of the politicians."

Mr Bruton said the fact that, when in the North, Mr Clinton had given recognition to "the people who made peace themselves" was very important.

"It gave to the people of Northern Ireland a sense of international encouragement and support. They now see what they have won."

The fact that "the most powerful politician in the world" had come to see them was a very significant statement. "The President played a key role in bringing that peace about," said Mr Bruton.

The Taoiseach said he wanted to thank Mr Clinton "for all you have done to help bring peace to our country. Thank you for all you continue to do to bring the people of Ireland closer together".

He paid tribute to Mr Major, but said the fact that the agreement was reached on the eve of Mr Clinton's visit was "no accident".

Mr Clinton praised the Taoiseach and the British prime minister for taking risks to keep the peace process going. "The credit for this latest progress belongs to the Taoiseach and Mr Major," he said. "It gives the parties the chance to engage in honest dialogue where all their views are represented and all their views can be heard."

He said he was pleased that former Senator George Mitchell would lead the international body on arms decommissioning. "He has begun to organise his efforts, and I expect them [the members of the decommissioning body] to be at work shortly."

"The Taoiseach has shown great courage in the pursuit of peace and we intend to do everything we can to help him and prime minister Major, Mr Spring and all those working for the peace to succeed.

When asked what he would do if this week's agreement between Mr Bruton and Mr Major failed to break the logjam, he said: "We ought to give these folks a chance to succeed . . . we shouldn't be talking about what happens if it fails.

"If it fails then we can see what to do next, but the lesson of the last 15 months is that people like peace, they like the absence of violence. I'm inclined to believe it will succeed. If it doesn't, ask me then."

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COPY PRESERVATION

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THE CLINTON VISIT

* *

TELEVISION COVERAGE



SEAMUS MARTIN

Truth of great visit is caught in world wide web

PRESIDENT Clinton's visit would, we were told, focus the eyes of the world on Dublin. It wasn't quite like that, there was a focus but a somewhat blurred one. On Thursday for Belfast and Derry the BBC, UTV, Sky and RTE scrapped their schedules and devoted huge chunks of airtime to the world's most powerful man but after Air Force One took off from Aldergrove things changed. UTV and the Beeb relapsed into insularity and the field, in this part of the world at least, was left almost entirely to RTE and its capable team with Sky chirping in at key moments.

All right. But, it was, we were told, going to be big news in the US. In this wonderful new hi-tech world there are ways of finding out. With the assistance of a nifty little program called "Real Audio" you can listen to foreign radio stations on the Internet for the price of a local phone call.

ABC radio news is the only service available at present and let's hope it's not typical. On its bulletin at 8.00 a.m. Pacific Time (4.00 p.m. in Dublin) they told their listeners that President Clinton had gone into Cassidy's in Camden Street for a glass of "free

Hillary tells women they are the great untapped resource of the world

By Mary Cummins, Women's Affairs Correspondent

REGARDLESS of cultural, social or ethnic differences, women still have more in common than they have in the differences between them, Mrs Hillary Rodham Clinton said in Dublin yesterday.

In a wide-ranging speech to about 350 women at the National Gallery, she stressed the universality of women; speaking about their place in the North, peace, women's choices and options for work.

Women, she said, were the world's greatest untapped resources and greater efforts must be made to remove the obstacles preventing them from achieving happiness and fulfilment. One of the hurdles which she emphasised was the urgent need for childcare facilities for working mothers.

There was a strong wave of applause when she added that women "must declare a truce among themselves". They should not make judgments about whether it is better to to go out to work, to stay at home or, like herself, to "combine the two".

Mrs Rodham Clinton arrived over 40 minutes late in the Shaw Room of the National Gallery to give her address to "mná na hÉireann". She was accompanied by Mrs Finola Bruton, the wife of the Taoiseach.

The chairwoman of the National Women's Council, Ms Noreen Byrne, welcomed her, and Ms Inez McCormack, regional secretary of Unison (a Northern Ireland trade union), spoke on behalf of women in the North.

Many of seats were allocated to some of the 130 affiliate organisations of the NWC. Others in the audience ranged from Americans living in Ireland to former and current women politicians.

They included the Minister for Justice, Ms Owen, Ministers of State Ms Joan Burton and Ms Liz McManus, Ms Mary O'Rourke, Fianna Fáil deputy leader, Ms Liz O'Donnell and Ms Helen Keogh of the Progressive Democrats, as well as many other TDs and councillors.

Northern women's groups were also represented. They included Ms Brónagh Hinds of the Northern Ireland European Women's Platform.

Mrs Clinton, the final speaker, gave a crisp, decisive delivery. She did not have a script and, apart from a comment on Bosnia, concentrated on the lives of women. She raised a few laughs when she said that she and Mr Nick Robinson, President Robinson's husband, had considered setting up a club for spouses.

She added that on her way to the gallery she was told the story of the several new women TDs on a well-known television chat show after the last election who were asked who was at home minding their children. "I wish more men were asked that question," she said, to applause.

"There is no formula that I am aware of for being a successful and fulfilled woman today. Perhaps it would be easier if there were, if we could be handed out a pattern as our grandmothers were. That, I suppose, would be easier.

"That is not the way it is today and I relish that it is not. I relish the diversity in the lives of women today. I am pleased that I am living in this time, as difficult as it is, because I want to know who I fully am. I want to help other women to make that choice as well. Having choices means having responsibilities. As Mrs Bruton said, accepting the consequences.

"But," she said, "every part of society can effect changes to improve the lives of women and help them in their choices. Schools, for instance, can be more flexible for women who want to return to learning. Businesses can initiate policies that are more family friendly. We are making it as difficult as possible for both men and women to be good workers and good parents."

One of the benefits of modern technology was that more women might be able to work from home and this should be encouraged.

To applause, Mrs Clinton said the availability of childcare facilities made an immense difference to women's choice to work. Opportunities to make childcare more readily available should be carefully considered. Working in business could empower women — they would be able to fight for equal salaries for equal work everywhere in the world.

She called for law enforcement agencies to ensure greater protection for women, particularly those who were victims of domestic violence. Violence in the home, she said, was the leading cause of death worldwide among women between the ages of 14 and 44.

Mrs Clinton praised the women of Northern Ireland. "The women I spoke with yesterday are not high-level diplomats or professional negotiators. They were Catholic and Protestant women whose lives were affected by violence.

"They did not wait for other voices to be raised. They took it upon themselves to go door-to-door in their neighbourhood to stop the bloodshed. They said, 'this cannot go on'.

"If it was not for these women, I don't know if we would see as many women as we saw yesterday who are willing to drop the barriers."



Mrs Finola Bruton with Mrs Hillary Clinton at the National Gallery Photograph: Jack McManus

Mrs Bruton criticised by women politicians for 'offensive' speech

By Mary Cummins and Niall O'Flynn

MRS Finola Bruton, the wife of the Taoiseach, was at the centre of a political row last night because of remarks she made at a meeting attended by Mrs Clinton.

She was accused of using the presidential visit to make a personal case for women who choose to stay at home to look after their families and of appearing to blame feminists for many of the ills of society.

Ms Joan Burton, a junior Minister, said that many of the 300 women in the audience felt Mrs Bruton was being critical of them.

"I think she was not sufficiently generous in acknowledging that many of the women in the audience are not only working in the home but also in a variety of groupings from Women's Aid to the Rape Crisis Centre.

"Many of the women approached me afterwards and said they were unhappy with the tone and were shocked."

Another junior Minister, Ms Eithne Fitzgerald, said it was not a speech she would have chosen to make in the circumstances.

The Fianna Fáil TD Ms Máire Geoghegan-Quinn said Mrs Bruton's speech was "deeply offensive and an attempt to upstage the First Lady. I don't think it is the place of a wife of a politician to make political speeches on an occasion like this."

Ms Helen Keogh of the PDs said: "People felt she was pointing to feminism as divisive or inclusive. A lot of people felt it was an inappropriate place for her to be expressing her own views. There was a perceptible tension in the room about Finola's speech. A lot of women reacted very badly."

However, another junior Minister, Ms Liz McManus, defended Mrs Bruton's remarks. "I think she articulated a lot of what many women feel, of what many young women feel today. If we are going to be serious about marriage and divorce, we have to be serious about allowing others to express their views."



Mrs Bruton stresses right

local phone call.

ABC radio news is the only service available at present and let's hope it's not typical. On its bulletin at 8.00 a.m. Pacific Time (4.00 p.m. in Dublin) they told their listeners that President Clinton had gone into Cassidy's in Camden Street for a glass of "free and warm beer". In case they didn't hear or believe it the first time the newscaster intoned the following important information: "Yeah that's what they drink over there. Warm beer".

By the 9.00 a.m. bulletin things had become much more serious and concentrated on Mr Clinton's message to "Irish, Ulster and British politicians" and by 10.00 a.m. in California the coverage of the great visit to Dublin had been updated again to consist of zero words, zero minutes and zero seconds. Absolutely zilch.

It all went to prove that President Clinton's visit had all to do with the peace process and nothing to do with getting media coverage back home in preparation for the elections next November.

If he was out for air time, all he got was a piece of buffoonery from a station whose knowledge of beer-drinking habits left something to be desired. Fortunately for those Americans with a less trivial bent, one of the major providers of news on the net, Trib.Com, reproduced the front page of *The Irish Times*.

If anyone gained it was John Bruton. He couldn't have asked for anything more. He was introduced by Pat Kenny to the tens of thousands on College Green as "the man who broke the deadlock in the peace process". Minutes later the world's most powerful politician told the crowds to "stand by the Taoiseach".

You will have noted that Mrs Bruton has a first name. So too has the wife of the Tánaiste but, it would appear, the wife of the Minister for Social Welfare does not. They were identified by RTÉ as "John Bruton's wife, Finola; Dick Spring's wife, Kristi; and Proinsias De Rossa's wife ... Mrs De Rossa". Her name, I am told, is Monica and like the other two is a person in her own right.

She did not, at least, suffer the fate of another woman who had no name at all.

"There's someone going up the steps of the aircraft," said Linda Duffin of Sky News at Dublin Airport. The someone was a member of a very famous family, is currently US Ambassador to Ireland and is called Jean Kennedy Smith.

Out on the tarmac for RTÉ, Miriam O'Callaghan took a much safer course. She hardly said anything at all.

All of that, of course, mattered little to the President who had become a "real Dub" like JFK, the Pope, Mother Teresa and Ulysses S. Grant, a man who, at one time, was as unpopular among leading politicians from Arkansas as Newt Gingrich is today.

It was a great day for warm beer, warm hearts and warm statements but the serious message about "taking risks for peace" was given the hard sell. After his major speech in Belfast, President Clinton had promised "more of the same" and that's what we got, except this time the role of Irish troops as peacekeepers in foreign conflicts was stressed time and again.

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ABC radio news is the only service available at present and let's hope it's not typical. On its bulletin at 8.00 a.m. Pacific Time (4.00 p.m. in Dublin) they told their listeners that President Clinton had gone into Cassidy's in Camden Street for a glass of "free and warm beer". In case they didn't hear or believe it the first time the newscaster intoned the following important information: "Yeah that's what they drink over there. Warm beer".

By the 9.00 a.m. bulletin things had become much more serious and concentrated on Mr Clinton's message to "Irish, Ulster and British politicians" and by 10.00 a.m. in California the coverage of the great visit to Dublin had been updated again to consist of zero words, zero minutes and zero seconds. Absolutely zilch.

It all went to prove that President Clinton's visit had all to do with the peace process and nothing to do with getting media coverage back home in preparation for the elections next November.

If he was out for air time, all he got was a piece of buffoonery from a station whose knowledge of beer-drinking habits left something to be desired. Fortunately for those Americans with a less trivial bent, one of the major providers of news on the net, Trib.Com, reproduced the front page of *The Irish Times*.

If anyone gained it was John Bruton. He couldn't have asked for anything more. He was introduced by Pat Kenny to the tens of thousands on College Green as "the man who broke the deadlock in the peace process". Minutes later the world's most powerful politician told the crowds to "stand by the Taoiseach".

You will have noted that Mrs Bruton has a first name. So too has the wife of the Tánaiste but, it would appear, the wife of the Minister for Social Welfare does not. They were identified by RTÉ as "John Bruton's wife, Finola; Dick Spring's wife, Kristi; and Proinsias De Rossa's wife ... Mrs De Rossa". Her name, I am told, is Monica and like the other two is a person in her own right.

She did not, at least, suffer the fate of another woman who had no name at all.

"There's someone going up the steps of the aircraft," said Linda Duffin of Sky News at Dublin Airport. The someone was a member of a very famous family, is currently US Ambassador to Ireland and is called Jean Kennedy Smith.

Out on the tarmac for RTÉ, Miriam O'Callaghan took a much safer course. She hardly said anything at all.

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some of the 130 affiliate organisations of the NWC. Others in the audience ranged from Americans living in Ireland to former and current women politicians.

"But," she said; "every part of as well. Having choices means having responsibilities. As Mrs Bruton said, accepting the consequences.

"If it was not for these women, I don't know if we would see as many women as we saw yesterday who are willing to drop the barriers."

Ms Joan Burton, a junior Minis-

to stay at home to look after their families and of appearing to blame feminists for many of the ills of society.

"Many of the women approached me afterwards and said they were unhappy with the tone and were shocked."

Another junior Minister, Ms

casion like this."

Ms Helen Keogh of the PDs said: "People felt she was pointing to feminism as divisive or inclusive. A lot of people felt it was an

women feel, of what many young women feel today. If we are going to be serious about marriage and divorce, we have to be serious about allowing others to express their views."

Bruton supports Clinton on US role in Bosnia

By Mark Brennock

THE Taoiseach joined President Clinton in making a spirited defence of US military involvement in peacekeeping in Bosnia in the face of some aggressive questioning from American journalists.

Both men were speaking at a press conference outside Government Buildings yesterday.

While the Irish reporters present concentrated on the Irish peace process, the US media pressed Mr Clinton on his decision to send US troops to Bosnia, asking why US troops should be involved in solving a European war.

"Bosnia is a problem for the world at large," said Mr Bruton. This was in response to a question apparently directed at Mr Clinton. "It is a problem for all of us. There is a universal responsibility for all of us to do whatever we can in proportion to our means to facilitate peace," the Taoiseach said.

Mr Bruton said the role played by the US and the EU in Bosnia was "one of facilitating peace", not making peace. "The peace in Bosnia is being made by the people of Bosnia", he said.

Mr Clinton joined in by citing Ireland's role in peacekeeping. "Every day for almost 40 years there has been a citizen of Ireland working in peacekeeping in countries where the US did not go, and we did not ask 'what interest has Ireland got there'", he said.

Irish peacekeepers had helped people to live in peace "from Cyprus to Somalia", he said, and he was very grateful for that.

He asked how Americans would have felt if, when President Bush sought European support in the Gulf War, Europe had turned and said it was not its problem, that it was all about oil and "you waste more oil than us, you handle it".

Europe could have said over Haiti: "They're your refugees, they're on your doorstep", but it did not.

Bosnia was not a "risk-free mission" for US troops, he said. The peace, security and safety of US troops was uppermost in his mind, but this was



Mrs Clinton addressing an invited audience of women at the National Gallery in Dublin yesterday. Photograph: Jack McManus

Mrs Bruton stresses right of women to have choices beyond the workplace

THIS is the text of Mrs Finola Bruton's speech at the National Gallery:

I congratulate and thank Mrs Hillary Rodham Clinton for choosing to set aside time in her all-too-brief visit to Ireland to address this gathering of women.

Mrs Hillary Rodham Clinton is a person of courage. She took on the most difficult domestic policy challenge facing any US administration — health care reform — without hesitation, because she understands how health care issues affect women.

This is just part of her search for a public policy response that ecompasses a greater sense of community, of her search for a philosophy of living, that overcomes what she so well describes as the 'sleeping sickness of the soul', which afflicts public discourse in so many countries. That search requires radicalism.

True radicalism is about asking questions. Asking questions especially about those ideas that are most fashionable, most progressive or most politicaly correct at any given time in history. True feminism is about affirming the uniqueness of women and their contribution to this world. It is also about acknowledging that not all women are the same, either in what they are, or in the choices they make.

The true radical and the true feminist must listen, listen especially to the voices and to the underlying concerns of those who challenge what have now become almost traditional notions in regard to rights and choices.

Now is the time to recognise, in a deeper way, that for every right there is a corresponding obligation, for every choice there is a consequence. Now is the time to recognise that the notion of equality does not necessarily give a natural primacy to a professional career, over other choices a woman may make.

There is a vital place beyond the workplace; many women choose to be there. They should be applauded and acknowledged.

One must recognise, too, that philosophy which is predicated on success and which provides no consolation for those who fail is not truly universal. We are dealing here with human beings and not raw materials, and as human beings, and as women, we are not only free, independent, strong and courageous but often weak, difficult, lonely and frightened.

A realistic acceptance of the necessity and inevitability of a certain amount of pain in our lives is the first step we can take towards the healing of that pain.

Rights and choices on their own will not banish that pain. Rejection, broken marriages, sudden deaths, natural injustices, mental illness cannot be prevented by rights or choices. No matter how much education we have, we are dependent on the love and care of those at all times in our lives, and we are shaped and prejudiced by our own attachments and love.

The liberation of women must also be about the liberation of men and fundamentally it must be about the creation of a new society where all citizens must have a share and be given the opportunity to develop their potential.

There has been a certain tendency in the women's movement which seeks to exclude or marginalise men. This line of thinking is not in the long-term interest of women or of society.

In some of our more deprived communities in Ireland and other countries there is already clear evidence of a growing number of young men alienated from society who do not participate in any significant way in the economic and civic life of their community.

In many cases these young men are also excluded from normal family relationships. I believe such a development is fraught with dangers for women, children, the young men themselves and society generally.

As we struggle towards the creation of a new society, we must be aware that a good relationship between men and women is central to the success of any society. We must also be conscious that the values of the marketplace are not the values which are most beneficial to society.

Any undue emphasis on consumer-type values and on individualism in relationships is detrimental to the cohesion of society. We only become human in a social context. Without society individual human existence is empty and devoid of meaning.

The primary emphasis, therefore, must be on society and on the values it affirms. Among those values must, of course, be support for individual growth and development. But individual rights must always be anchored by duties and responsibilities to society.

Our Constitution rightly affirms that the family is the fundamental unit of society. For a family to be successful, values such as consent, commitment and solidarity between the various generations is essential. It is within a family that individuals find the necessary freedom and security to grow and develop as individuals.

A happy family also provides a safe environment for closeness and intimacy, which are essential for the development of well-integrated human beings.

This Government is rightly concerned about the well-being of the family and has recently established a Commission for the Family which will look at the family in all its dimensions and variety, and examine means of supporting families in their various forms.

I strongly support the building of families and, as women and as citizens, I believe we need to affirm that a loving married relationship between a man and a woman is a core value to be recognised, affirmed and supported.

Feminism in Ireland has exacted enormous and lasting achievements to its name and, of course, much remains to be done.

But, as a result of these achievements, I believe Irish feminists now have the confidence to develop their thinking, so that it becomes truly inclusive: inclusive of women in the home; inclusive of children; inclusive of men; inclusive of the positive experiences of all women, whatever their political philosophy, whatever their chosen role in life.

One last farewell for the man who inspired Belfast

By Dick Grogan
and Gerry Moriarty

BELFAST coaxed President Clinton into one final walkabout early yesterday, as the city bade farewell to the man who had inspired it for one memorable day.

Several hundred people waited in early-morning drizzle outside the Europa Hotel, hoping for a last

"I feel a great deal of gratitude for a remarkable day", he told well-wishers. There were repeated calls of "Thank you for coming."

The Northern Secretary, Sir Patrick Mayhew, who saw the presidential party off at Aldergrove Airport, said afterwards that the Mr Clinton had given "great stimulus, great heart and great encour-

Irish News said that his message was inspirational: "People power has the potential to change the direction of history. We should use it."

The unionist *News Letter* said that the "glitz" of the visit had "brightened the grey of the November day and for 24 hours our little province was put into the

Derry had been "allowed to take the form of a triumphalist Irish nationalist rally, centred around our second city's self-professed 'peace ambassador' — John Hume".

The *Belfast Telegraph* said that President Clinton's message urging dialogue between political opponents "must be heeded by all political parties as we enter this

Shortly after the President departed, the Northern Ireland Office announced that Sir Patrick had written to the Northern parties, inviting them to begin the groundwork talks. His letter, issued to the Alliance Party, SDLP, UUP, DUP, Sinn Fein, UDP, PUP, the Workers' Party and Mr Robert McCartney MP,

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[The Irish Times, Saturday, December 2, 1995, page 12 continued]

PRESERVATION

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With involvement in Bosnia coming up that was the one message of the Clinton visit that was designed for domestic US consumption. One wonders what ABC radio made of it.

being made by the people of Bosnia", he said.

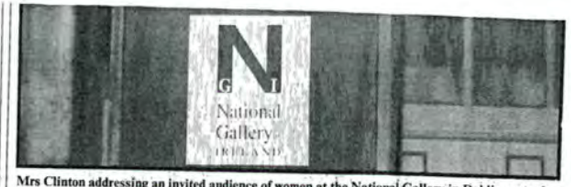
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Bosnia was not a "risk-free mission" for US troops, he said. The peace, security and safety of US troops was uppermost in his mind, but this was "a mission to stop the worst slaughter since World War II".



Mrs Clinton addressing an invited audience of women at the National Gallery in Dublin yesterday. Photograph: Jack McManus

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One last farewell for the man who inspired Belfast

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BELFAST coaxed President Clinton into one final walkabout early yesterday, as the city bade farewell to the man who had inspired it for one memorable day.

Several hundred people waited in early-morning drizzle outside the Europa Hotel, hoping for a last glimpse of the US leader. Their patience was rewarded when he emerged and walked over to the crowd for handshakes.

"I feel a great deal of gratitude for a remarkable day", he told well-wishers. There were repeated calls of "Thank you for coming."

The Northern Secretary, Sir Patrick Mayhew, who saw the presidential party off at Aldergrove Airport, said afterwards that the Mr Clinton had given "great stimulus, great heart and great encouragement to the peace process".

Editorial comment in the Northern newspapers acknowledged the impact of the visit. The nationalist *Irish News* said that his message was inspirational: "People power has the potential to change the direction of history. We should use it."

The unionist *News Letter* said that the "glitz" of the visit had "brightened the grey of the November day and for 24 hours our little province was put into the glare of international attention in a really positive way".

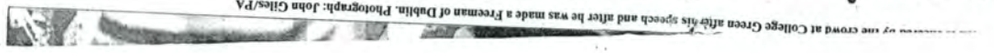
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The *Belfast Telegraph* said that President Clinton's message urging dialogue between political opponents "must be heeded by all political parties as we enter this next phase in the peace process". He had opened minds and hearts to the possibility of a new way forward.

Shortly after the President departed, the Northern Ireland Office announced that Sir Patrick had written to the Northern parties, inviting them to begin the groundwork talks. His letter, issued to the Alliance Party, SDLP, UUP, DUP, Sinn Féin, UDP, PUP, the Workers' Party and Mr Robert McCartney MP, expressed the hope that meetings could begin at an early date.

Yesterday morning Mr Ron Brown, the US Commerce Secretary, and Mr Michael Ancram, the North's Political Development Minister, signed a memorandum of understanding to strengthen the growing technological links between Northern Ireland and the US.

President Clinton, while at Queen's, announced a special Fulbright Fellowship in Conflict Resolution which will be awarded to the university for tenure by a distinguished American professor.



Keynote address praises role of Irish in keeping the peace

...of the crowd at College Green after his speech and after he was made a Freeman of Dublin. Photograph: John Giles/PA

[The Irish Times, Saturday, December 2, 1995, page 13]

COPY
PRES VATION







Clinton meets a man happy to call a spade a spade in seven languages

By Lorna Siggins

THERE are actors and there are Oscar winners. "I've heard a lot about ya, Charlie," said a deferential Mr Clinton at Áras an Uachtaráin yesterday.

Heads turn. Some mistaken identity perhaps? "I understand you can be my adviser on Russia!" the US President continued, beaming under the mid-morning sunshine in the Áras grounds. Bending ears for quotable quotes, the White House press corps looked puzzled. The Irish press corps also looked confused.

Mr Charlie Moran (66), head gardener at Áras an Uachtaráin, was unperturbed. He didn't even drop the shovel on the little red carpet as he returned the greeting. Originally from Dromod, Co Leitrim, this was his 36th time to do a bit of tree-planting for foreign dignitaries — including the Pope and two former US Presidents, Messrs Reagan and Kennedy.

Finally the riddle was solved. Mr Moran is not only a horticulturist, but also a linguist — with Manx, Scots Gaelic and Russian among his seven tongues. "He speaks all those different languages and he knows trees are a better bet!" Mr Clinton exclaimed, as he "planted" an eight-year-old Irish oak in the West Avenue arboretum.

Recalling his meetings with two of his predecessors, who had left a California redwood and a Jefferson magnolia respectively, Mr Moran told Mr Clinton that he was "very delighted" and "very honoured" to be in the company of two great "Presidents for peace" and nodded to his boss. This oak was a "most durable tree" and he hoped that Mr Clinton's peace initiatives would be just as durable. The oak's average life-span is 500 years.

He handed his visitor the spade. "Charlie, I've done a lot of work like this and it never gets any easier," Mr Clinton said.

"I hope the deep roots of this tree will symbolise the work we're doing together to try and find a lasting peace in Ireland," he proclaimed."

The presidential party had arrived from Dublin Airport a little late. "Good sign," said one Government official, in the knowledge that it would be very difficult to follow the Belfast and Derry acts. ZG 40, the stretch limousine flown in by US transport plane from London, drew up to a bugle salute with another 40 or so vehicles behind.

Wearing red ribbons to mark World AIDS Day, the President, Mrs Robinson, and Mr Nicholas Robinson, invited Mr and Mrs Clinton to sign the visitors' book and escorted them down the Francini corridor by the busts of former Irish heads of state, including the US-born De Valera. There was a photo-call in the state reception room, and a few questions. What would he and Mrs Robinson talk about at their private meeting? "More of the same," Mr Clinton said, in a direct reference to Northern Ireland. What was his reaction to the support for the Bosnia initiative by the US Republican leader, Mr Bob Dole? "I'm gratified. I appreciate it very much," Mr Clinton said.

The party included the former senator, Mr George Mitchell, who will chair the international commission on disarmament; the National Security Adviser, Mr Anthony Lake; the special adviser to the President, Ms Nancy Soderberg; the Under Secretary, Mr Peter Tarnoff; the US Ambassador to Ireland, Mrs Jean Kennedy Smith; the Irish Ambassador to the US, Mr Dermot Gallagher and Mrs Maeve Gallagher.

It was just before midday when they sped away, leaving the little tree with a small pile of soil beside it. A recent visitor, the Zambian president, Mr Frederick Chiluba, had finished the job properly, one of the officials noted. He had even "jumped up and down" to bed his tree in the Phoenix Park earth.

● The President, Mrs Robinson, has accepted an invitation to undertake a State visit of the US next year. The invitation was extended by President Clinton yesterday at Áras an Uachtaráin, and has been agreed to, subject to sanction by the two governments.

The visit will be the first by an Irish head of state since Eamon De Valera accepted an invitation in 1964 from President Lyndon B. Johnson. This followed President Kennedy's trip to Ireland the previous year. President Robinson has travelled several times to the US during her term, most recently to mark the 50th anniversary of the United Nations, but has not undertaken a State visit.

- TOP: The President and his wife Hillary wave at the crowd gathered at College Green, Dublin
- LEFT: The head gardener at Áras an Uachtaráin, Mr Charles Moran, assisting Mr Clinton during a tree planting ceremony
- BOTTOM LEFT: Hillary Clinton greets people in the crowd as she leaves the Bank of Ireland after Mr Clinton's address
- BELOW: Mr Clinton meets members of the public including Sister Carmel Earls, of the Order of St Francis, Neilstown, at College Green

PHOTOGRAPHS:

Matt Kavanagh
Joe St Leger
Press Association





COPY
PRESERVATION

[The Irish Times, Saturday, December 2, 1995 page 13 continued]



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[The Irish Times, Saturday, December 2, 1995, page 13 continued]

President who came to do business

DICK WALSH



ON POLITICS

SOME of his American critics are apt to describe Bill Clinton's visit to Ireland as a triumph of rhetoric over inactivity.

It's a snappy judgment with which I've heard one or two Irish observers agree; a clever shot, quickly taken, but wide of the mark.

It was a visit unlike Kennedy's sentimental journey, or the search for relevance undertaken by Nixon and Reagan.

From the start Mr Clinton sounded like a President who meant business. A politician who had work to do.

Some of that business was his own: he wants to be re-elected next year and knows the importance of the Irish vote. The bulk of that vote once went largely to the Democrats but, for a variety of reasons, it no longer does.

By the same token Mr Clinton recognises the value of credit to be gained from other foreign policy issues — Bosnia, Haiti and the Middle East — especially when difficulties arise on the home front.

But his commitment to the peace process in Ireland — or his deeper, potentially more dangerous, commitment to the settlement in the making in former Yugoslavia — is not diminished by the reality of political life in the United States.

On the contrary, it might well be argued that the need to achieve success abroad is a spur to the investment of time, political energy and funds, all of which are essential to the success of the peace process.

And nothing that might [illegible] resolution of a problem which had begun and could only end among their people.

If the governments were telling the Northern parties that it was time for them to act, the President arrived with a similar message, except that there were times when he appeared to be directing his exhortations, not only at the parties, but at the governments as well.

He was also shrewdly enlisting the people of Northern Ireland in his crusade. Neither government could have managed to cross the old dividing lines as he did on Thursday, when every step of his journey spoke of determination to be even-handed.

From the inspired choice of Mackie's as the platform for his keynote speech, to the apparently casual stops on the Shankill and the Falls and his easy way with the crowds in Derry and Belfast, he measured his appeal with care and skill.

Crudely, what Mr Major and Mr Bruton had done was to set their train in motion

Mackie's was once not only a wholly Protestant workplace, but also an ominously loyalist one. Now Protestants and Catholics work together there in the proportions of 70-30, and the requirements of fair employment are ac-



Bruton's active participation kept the process on track

London summit was a fine example of Irish diplomacy

GARRET FITZGERALD



ON SATURDAY

LAST Tuesday's summit was a remarkable achievement of Irish diplomacy — reflecting the skill and tenacity with which our negotiators addressed the log-jam in the peace process, doggedly refusing to give up in the face of a fairly lethal combination of British negativism, domestic sniping from some anglophobic politicians and journalists, as well as dangerous and self-defeating Sinn Féin talk of a peace-threatening crisis.

No one watching the Downing Street press conference could have been in doubt as to whence had come the impetus for this breakthrough.

The joint press conference was an absolutely vital element of the process. It was clear from TV programmes broadcast even in the brief interval between the news of the breakthrough and the start of the press conference that the British were out to present the outcome quite shamelessly as a belated victory for British common sense over Irish intransigence.

And listening to John Major's attempts to put a not-so-subtle British slant on the communiqué, it was evident that without John Bruton's active participation and party talks involving Sinn Fein must be preceded not merely by a cessation of violence but also by a handing over of arms.

Even if, in retrospect, the implications of that position may now seem to have been inadequately considered here, such had, indeed, always been the position of Irish governments — one that had, in fact been restated in the Dáil by Dick Spring on behalf of the government led by Albert Reynolds shortly before the cessation of violence.

Few among us would now fault Albert Reynolds because in the event he settled for a simple cessation of violence rather than risking its continuation by persisting with insistence on the cessation of violence being accompanied by a handover of

In getting themselves off the hook of a complete decommissioning requirement they were clearly unwise to put themselves on to a fresh hook by demanding a decommissioning "gesture".

First of all their Intelligence should have informed them that any such "gesture" would be interpreted by the IRA as a surrender — and would thus be beyond the power of Gerry Adams to secure.

Second, common sense should have told them that a "gesture" cannot logically or convincingly be presented as involving a point of principle. Once realism had forced them to abandon their demand for a complete decommissioning as a precondition for Sinn Féin participation in all-party talks, the introduction of a "gesture"

For, quite apart from the UUP's stated willingness to talk to Sinn Féin within an elected Convention context without arms decommissioning, on RTE's lunchtime news on Wednesday the UUP Leader, David Trimble, said in this connection that he was "quite prepared to listen to any proposition people make to me"; adding, however, that he could not understand how anyone refusing even to start the process of decommissioning could possibly be said to be committed to exclusively peaceful means.

It is, of course, true that John Major, in one of his more defensive and, I felt, less coherent responses at Tuesday's press conference, also said "we won't be asking the international body — the decommissioning body — to question (sic) our position on the Washington 3 criteria. The international body was not established for that purpose. It was not established to make recommendations on when decommissioning should start".

BUT while that is certainly not the purpose for which the body was established, such a recommendation would not be outside its terms of reference, which are "to report on

THIS WEEK THEY SAID

My message to the IRA is that the twin-track process has provided a mechanism for all the parties honourably now to bring their concerns to the table and be heard.

— President Clinton on the Anglo-Irish twin-track initiative

Let me try and make the point clear so there is no misunderstanding. We won't be asking the international body — the decommissioning body — to question our position on the Washington 3 criteria.

— Mr John Major restating Britain's view that arms decommissioning was a precondition for Sinn Féin's entry into all-party talks

I believe the two prime ministers have agreed on something that they never disagreed on and that they have pushed on the back-burner the crucial issue on which they have disagreed, in other words when illegal weapons will be decommissioned.

— The Ulster Unionist Party MP Mr Ken Maginnis

This could be any city in the world. It could be London, Barcelona or New York. But it's Belfast, and it's great.

— Belfast resident Mr Gerry Murphy on the atmosphere around Belfast City Hall during

[The Irish Times, Saturday, December 2, 1995, page 14]

diminished by the reality of political life in the United States.

On the contrary, it might well be argued that the need to achieve success abroad is a spur to the investment of time, political energy and funds, all of which are essential to the success of the peace process.

And nothing that might have helped the process — no point of detail or subtle nuance — was missed this week by any of the main participants: Bill and Hillary Rodham Clinton, their hosts of all persuasions in Britain, Northern Ireland and the Republic, or those who planned, choreographed and scripted the presidential tour.

What hand Mr Clinton, the White House or the State Department may have had in the frantic Anglo-Irish negotiations in the 10 days preceding the visit remains to be seen.

No hint was to be detected in speeches which faithfully acknowledged the coincidence of an agreement reached on the eve of the President's departure from Washington.

But the communiqué issued by John Bruton and John Major on Tuesday evening — in some respects an agreement for the time being to disagree — served their purpose and his as well as if it had been tailor-made for the presidential programme.

THE governments had agreed to begin the preparatory work which must precede all-party discussions: the invitations have already been written and sent.

In the meantime, the fraught problems of decommissioning — about which neither the governments nor the parties could agree — are being set before an international body under the chairmanship of Senator George Mitchell.

His message could hardly have been clearer: those who chose violence were the past

For months Dublin and London had been unable to come to terms on these issues. The Taoiseach and the Prime Minister postponed an Anglo-Irish summit meeting which was to have been held in early September because they feared the impact of public exposure of their disagreement.

Now, they were united on two points: the best way to approach all-party discussions was to set an opening date and make a start on the preliminaries; and the safest thing to do about decommissioning was to create a forum in which all parties could say how best the problem might be resolved.

Crudely, what Mr Major

motion

Mackie's was once not only a wholly Protestant workplace, but also an ominously loyalist one. Now Protestants and Catholics work together there in the proportions of 70-30, and the requirements of fair employment are acknowledged.

THE greengrocer's store at which the President bought his apples on the Shankill Road stands beside what remains of Frizzell's tragic fish shop; and in the bakery he visited on the Falls, Gerry Adams just happened to be a customer.

Some unionists objected to that handshake with Mr Adams. They saw in it a relic of the bad old days when, in their eyes, the United States was home from home for the Provos.

As it happened, there was a balancing visit to East Belfast and at Mackie's the IRA was not the only paramilitary organisation Mr Clinton chose to address. His message could hardly have been clearer: those who chose violence were the past. Those who gave it up deserved a say in the future.

But Mr Clinton was careful not to lay down the law on the direction to be taken in the twin-track approach (so called because it separates the issues of decommissioning and all-party discussions).

It was for the governments, for the parties and essentially for the people of Northern Ireland to decide how to proceed.

The document signed on Tuesday night suggests the options open to them.

The two most obdurate groups in the North have been the unionists and Sinn Féin/IRA. The twin-track approach and the impetus given to the peace process by Mr Clinton challenge both.

The unionists have once more the opportunity to secure the union in a way that would allow the North to develop as never before: without violence or the threat of violence, with the agreement of every section of the community and in harmony with their neighbours North and South.

It would not be an unreformed Northern Ireland. It would be a place where equal rights in every respect wrought changes such as those which made Mackie's what it is today, where nationalists were free to pursue their political ambitions and enjoy recognition of their identity.

Sinn Féin/IRA are challenged to show they are serious when they talk about their desire for all-party discussions. If so, they will take seriously the work of Mr Mitchell's group; Sinn Féin will speak to the group with authority on the question of arms.

And if they mean what they say about improved relations with the unionists there are several improvements they can make a start on without

this breakthrough.

The joint press conference was an absolutely vital element of the process. It was clear from TV programmes broadcast even in the brief interval between the news of the breakthrough and the start of the press conference that the British were out to present the outcome quite shamelessly as a belated victory for British common sense over Irish intransigence.

And listening to John Major's attempts to put a not-so-subtle British slant on the communiqué, it was evident that without John Bruton's active participation and courteous but determined insistence on balancing the British slant, the whole process might have been knocked off course at the very outset.

For, if not instantly put right, the kind of gloss that John Major seemed to feel obliged by his domestic political sensitivities to attempt to put on what had been agreed could conceivably have precipitated a negative Sinn Fein reaction to the communiqué, and thus have stymied the whole process.

To describe the communiqué as a "fudge" seems to me to underestimate the potential importance of what has been achieved. It is in no way surprising that the British government has not been prepared at this stage to abandon the "gesture" hook on which they have so unwisely impaled themselves as a result of their — understandable — chagrin and even bitterness at the absence of any provision for decommissioning in the cessation of violence arrangement negotiated by Albert Reynolds at the end of July last year.

I say "understandable" chagrin and bitterness because, in fairness, we ought to be prepared to recognise that the British government had earlier been given every reason to believe that the government led at that time by Albert Reynolds and Dick Spring shared their conviction that all-

of that position may now seem to have been inadequately considered here, such had, indeed, always been the position of Irish governments — one that had in fact been restated in the Dáil by Dick Spring on behalf of the government led by Albert Reynolds shortly before the cessation of violence.

Few among us would now fault Albert Reynolds because in the event he settled for a simple cessation of violence rather than risking its continuation by persisting with insistence on the cessation of violence being accompanied by a handover of arms.

But a failure to face the fact that this change of stance on the part of our Government created a huge problem for the British government suggests the very kind of insensitivity of which we are prone frequently to accuse the British.

One does not need to have a lot of imagination to envisage just how the British government must now feel about Albert Reynolds's repeated criticism of their rigidity on an issue upon which, to be blunt about it, they must feel that he sold them down the river.

We sometimes pride ourselves on what we believe to be our greater capacity to empathise with those who differ from us — a capacity which we are inclined to accuse the British of lacking.

This time, part of our media and some of our politicians have been demonstrating just such a lack of empathy on this issue — as well as what seems to me to be a most unattractive blend of double-think and self-righteousness.

EXPECTING the British to have followed us automatically in our abandonment of the arms handover requirement has clearly been unrealistic. But this does not exonerate the British government from responsibility for clumsy handling of this issue once they were faced with it.

missioning "gesture".

First of all their Intelligence should have informed them that any such "gesture" would be interpreted by the IRA as a surrender — and would thus be beyond the power of Gerry Adams to secure.

Second, common sense should have told them that a "gesture" cannot logically or convincingly be presented as involving a point of principle. Once realism had forced them to abandon their demand for a complete decommissioning as a precondition for Sinn Féin participation in all-party talks, the introduction of a "gesture" requirement could only lead them into a cul-de-sac.

And, third, the attempt to present the "gesture" demand not as a British but as a unionist requirement has carried little conviction; no unionists have been willing to say that a gesture of this kind would satisfy them.

There has been one small chink of light in this sombre picture — but time would be needed for this flickering light to become a reliable flame — and time is, of course, just what this summit has bought.

This chink of light has been provided by some phrases used on several occasions by British spokesmen and repeated by the Prime Minister on Tuesday night: "We see no other way than the physical beginning of decommissioning by Sinn Féin. . .

"Unless something wholly unexpected happens, we have not found another way of building that confidence . . . no one has yet found an alternative way of building (confidence)".

These phrases leave open the possibility that the decommissioning body might find and propose some acceptable confidence-creating alternative to a mere gesture of arms decommissioning. And that this possibility may not have been totally excluded appears to be envisaged by the Ulster Unionist Party as well as by the British government.

one of his more defensive and, I felt, less coherent responses at Tuesday's press conference, also said "we won't be asking the international body — the decommissioning body — to question (sic) our position on the Washington 3 criteria. The international body was not established for that purpose. It was not established to make recommendations on when decommissioning should start".

BUT while that is certainly not the purpose for which the body was established, such a recommendation would not be outside its terms of reference, which are "to report on the arrangements necessary for the removal from the political equation of arms silenced by virtue of the welcome decisions taken last summer and autumn by those organisations that previously supported the use of arms for political purposes".

It is arms decommissioning as a precondition of being allowed to become engaged in the all-party talks process that has caused the present log-jam. Sinn Féin for its part should accept that, equally, decommissioning is not something that can be left to the end of the whole process.

And it will also have to recognise that, in making such a major issue out of decommissioning as a precondition of participation in all-party talks, it has used up a good deal of its far from unlimited credibility, and has correspondingly reduced its room for manoeuvre on other issues.

More generally it would be important for some opposition politicians in this State, and some anglophobic journalists, to consider whether persistence in overenthusiastic support for Sinn Féin positions and in strident demands that the Government should abandon its key balancing role in this matter in favour of leading a partisan pan-nationalist front may not risk ultimately rendering sterile the whole delicate peace process.

Celebratory visit that showed us our similarities and not our differences



DRAPIER

AN INSIDER'S GUIDE TO POLITICS

HE CAME, he saw, and certainly he left an indelible impression. Not since **John F. Kennedy** has an American president made such an impact on us all. We were polite when **Ronald Reagan** came, and proper for **Richard Nixon**, but **Bill Clinton** has that extra magic, and it rubbed off on all of us in here, but more importantly, it boosted the peace process. For the first time in ages, it made all of us feel hopeful that Northern Ireland has a future.

But to Drapier and those of his vintage there was more to it than that. The Clinton visit recaptured some of the lost innocence and magic of John F. Kennedy's 1963 visit. It was unashamedly emotional and celebratory, it had a unifying effect as nothing else could have and, for once, pointed up the similarities rather than the differences between North and South and between ourselves down here, whatever our party.

It has, in fact, been an extraordinary 10 days in here and has undoubtedly been the turning point for **John Bruton** as Taoiseach. At its most simple, this was the week John Bruton came of age as Taoiseach. His handling of the referendum and, in particular, its aftermath, and the breakthrough in the peace process, ensured that.

Let's get the referendum out of the way first. Drapier said here 12 weeks ago that the referendum

a fair amount of binding up needed to be done. Bruton's handling of this showed statesmanship. The bishops could take a lesson from him — and Drapier's ecclesiastical spies tell him that some of the brighter sparks in the hierarchy realise the extent to which they are offside and that real PR advice is now being taken at last by their lordships.

Drapier said here a few weeks ago that he noted a new spring in **Des Hanafin's** step and certainly, even with the result, Des Hanafin has had a good referendum. He showed what it means to be a pro

lost his Senate seat last time out by a mere quarter of a vote — yes, a quarter of a vote — so the recent publicity should be helpful.

As to Des's High Court challenge, Drapier sees little hope of it succeeding. Drapier was always uneasy about the funding issue and said so here and elsewhere, but he doubts very much if their lordships (the judicial ones this time) will now annul the entire referendum. Drapier remembers that different Taoisigh in the 1970s and 80s used to refer to the then Supreme Court as "Disneyland" given the unpredictability — from a political perspective — of judicial behaviour.

Drapier feels, however, that this Supreme Court will do much as was done in the famous Murphy Case (on equal tax rates for men and women) and say there will be no retrospective application of their decision. Drapier hopes so. Twelve more weeks of **William Binchy**, **Gerard Casey** and Muintir na hEireann would be too much for all of us, not to mention that woman who referred to all of us as "wife-swapping sodomites". Mind you, she changed this later on Vincent Browne's Sunday night radio show to "wife-swappers and sodomites", and threatened to name names in both categories. One way or another, with friends like this the anti-divorce people didn't need many enemies.

ON THE question of the peace process break-



John Bruton: this was the week he came of age as Taoiseach

conference and sent out a clear signal that he and **Dick Spring** were the driving forces.

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breakdown that such almost becomes unthinkable.

That said, there is still a fair old deficit on the trust side as far as some of the British officials are concerned. There was far too much leaking, some of it downright lies, especially the guff about a split between the Taoiseach's Department and Foreign Affairs, and Drapier never ceases to wonder at the way some of the British media allow themselves be used by their government to put a spin on a story — or even to "float" a story with no basis in fact.

You wouldn't get our crowd doing that. *Au contraire*, as some of the university senators might say.

SPEAKING of universities, Drapier could not make head nor tail of what was going on in the Seanad this week. As Drapier understands it, **Niamh Bhreathnach** has made a series of proposals for what *The Irish Times* called a modest reform of our universities. Too modest, says Drapier, but in any event the universities seem happy enough, especially the new universities of Limerick and Dublin City, who asked for such legislation. Trinity has problems but they don't seem to be insuperable, although you would never think that from the Apocalypse Now speeches of **Shane Ross** and **John Dardis**. The debate itself produced some of the best and a few of the worst speeches of recent times. **Joe Lee** and **Feargal Quinn**

on the back-burner the crucial issue on which they have disagreed, in other words when illegal weapons will be decommissioned.

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This could be any city in the world. It could be London, Barcelona or New York. But it's Belfast, and it's great.

— Belfast resident Mr Gerry Murphy on the atmosphere around Belfast City Hall during President Clinton's visit

My first Daddy died in the Troubles. It was the saddest day of my life. I still think of him. Now it is nice and peaceful. I like having peace and quiet for a change instead of people shooting and killing. My Christmas wish is that peace and love will last in Ireland forever.

— Eight-year-old Catherine Hamill of Belfast

The greatest struggle you face is between those who, deep down inside, are inclined to be peacemakers, and those who, deep down inside, cannot yet embrace the cause of peace.

— President Clinton speaking in Belfast

A very mature and considered decision.

— The Tánaiste, Mr Spring, referring to the Yes victory in the divorce referendum

Wheeling out the Attorney General was just not right. He gave his opinion in less than seven sentences. Who ever heard of a counsel's opinion in less than seven pages?

— The chairman of the Anti-Divorce Campaign, Mr Des Hanafin, referring to the AG's statement that the first family would not lose constitutional protection after divorce and remarriage.

It is in the interests of democracy that the conduct of the referendum be reviewed by the courts. The change involved is a radical redirection in Irish social policy and doubts on the validity of the referendum outcome should be clarified.

— Mr Hanafin, who is bringing a High Court challenge against the divorce referendum result

G'way, ye wife-swapping sodomites.

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COPY PRESERVATION

[The Irish Times, Saturday, December 2, 1995, page 14 continued]

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Now, they were united on two points: the best way to approach all-party discussions was to set an opening date and make a start on the preliminaries; and the safest thing to do about decommissioning was to create a forum in which all parties could say how best the problem might be resolved.

Crudely, what Mr Major and Mr Bruton had done was to set their train in motion in the hope that those who'd been standing about for months in increasingly sullen groups would climb aboard — if only for fear of being left behind.

The governments were telling the Northern parties and the paramilitaries that it was now up to them to make their contributions towards the

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Sinn Féin/IRA are challenged to show they are serious when they talk about their desire for all-party discussions. If so, they will take seriously the work of Mr Mitchell's group; Sinn Féin will speak to the group with authority on the question of arms.

And if they mean what they say about improved relations with the unionists there are several improvements they can make a start on without delay.

They can stop punishment beatings, intimidation and recruitment.

They can tell the families of their victims where the victims lie buried. They can direct their energies, instead, to the development of a political programme to be put to the electorate, the sooner the better.

Celebratory visit that showed us our similarities and not our differences



DRAPIER

AN INSIDER'S GUIDE TO POLITICS

HE CAME, he saw, and certainly he left an indelible impression. Not since **John F. Kennedy** has an American president made such an impact on us all. We were polite when **Ronald Reagan** came, and proper for **Richard Nixon**, but **Bill Clinton** has that extra magic, and it rubbed off on all of us in here, but more importantly, it boosted the peace process. For the first time in ages, it made all of us feel hopeful that Northern Ireland has a future.

But to Drapier and those of his vintage there was more to it than that. The Clinton visit recaptured some of the lost innocence and magic of John F. Kennedy's 1963 visit. It was unashamedly emotional and celebratory, it had a unifying effect as nothing else could have and, for once, pointed up the similarities rather than the differences between North and South and between ourselves down here, whatever our party.

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Let's get the referendum out of the way first. Drapier said here 12 weeks ago that the referendum issue would be won or lost on passion and leadership. Up to the **Patricia McKenna** case there had been little of either, and Drapier is now certain that her intervention proved crucial, finally forcing the politicians to lead.

It was in the aftermath, however, that Bruton really excelled. There was no triumphalism, no playing down of the depth of hurt the result represented for many on the No side, and a realisation that a fair amount of binding up needed to be done. Bruton's handling of this showed statesmanship. The bishops could take a lesson from him — and Drapier's ecclesiastical spies tell him that some of the brighter sparks in the hierarchy realise the extent to which they are offside and that real PR advice is now being taken at last by their lordships.

Drapier said here a few weeks ago that he noted a new spring in **Des Hanafin's** step and certainly, even with the result, Des Hanafin has had a good referendum. He showed what it means to be a pro — he hit hard, especially at some of his Fianna Fail colleagues, but never lost his cool and showed great humour at all times. Drapier doesn't pay any heed to all this talk of a new political party to represent the No voters. It was, and remains, a non-starter, but Drapier hopes Des Hanafin at least will soon be back in mainstream politics.

Few people remember that Des lost his Senate seat last time out by a mere quarter of a vote — yes, a quarter of a vote — so the recent publicity should be helpful.

As to Des's High Court challenge. Drapier sees little hope of it succeeding. Drapier was always uneasy about the funding issue and said so here and elsewhere, but he doubts very much if their lordships (the judicial ones this time) will now annul the entire referendum. Drapier remembers that different Taoisigh in the 1970s and 80s used to refer to the then Supreme Court as "Disneyland" given the unpredictability — from a political perspective — of judicial behaviour.

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ON THE question of the peace process breakthrough, John Bruton will not have a better moment than last Tuesday's press conference at Downing Street. He was totally in control and determined that the British were not going to put any spin or twist on what had been agreed. That had happened too often in the past, and there was not going to be any repeat this time. In fact, it was Bruton who dominated the press



John Bruton: this was the week he came of age as Taoiseach

conference and sent out a clear signal that he and **Dick Spring** were the driving forces.

The whole thing to Drapier underlined the depth of maturity that now characterises Anglo-Irish relations. **Garret FitzGerald's** Anglo-Irish Agreement of 1985 has stood the test in that the structures and relationships are able to withstand the most enormous pressures and differences and stay intact. Difficulties do not necessarily mean crises, and each side clearly has so much to lose by a breakdown that such almost becomes unthinkable.

That said, there is still a fair old deficit on the trust side as far as some of the British officials are concerned. There was far too much leaking, some of it downright lies, especially the guff about a split between the Taoiseach's Department and Foreign Affairs, and Drapier never ceases to wonder at the way some of the British media allow themselves be used by their government to put a spin on a story — or even to "float" a story with no basis in fact.

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In any event, Niamh Bhreathnach cleared this particular hurdle easily enough, though Drapier doubts if we will see her legislation before Easter. But at least it's on the way.

— The chairman of the Anti-Divorce Campaign, Mr Des Hanafin, referring to the AG's statement that the first family would not lose constitutional protection after divorce and remarriage.

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Anois
ar díol inniu
TOYOTA!

[The Irish Times, Saturday, December 2, 1995, page 14 continued]

THE IRISH TIMES
13 D'OLIER STREET, DUBLIN 2
SATURDAY, DECEMBER 2, 1995

RHYMING HOPE AND HISTORY

As President Clinton leaves Dublin this morning, he can look back on a week of extraordinary political events, beginning with his speech to the American people that won him support for his policy in Bosnia, and ending with an Irish crowd cheering him to the echoes in the centre of Dublin. For a practising politician, hoping for re-election next year, the combination of a foreign-policy success and an appeal to an ethnic audience is particularly sweet. All the more so since it comes in the middle of the bitterly fought battle over the domestic budget to which the Cathaoirleach of the Dail, Mr Seán Treacy, referred in his elegantly-turned address when introducing the president at Leinster House yesterday afternoon.

It was a good week for Mr Clinton. It was also a good week for the Bosnians and for the people of this island. There can be no conflict between the two concepts. Indeed, in relation to Irish concerns, the fact that the US president visibly grew in stature is a double benefit: he is no longer a remote figure, dispensing visas and political patronage in Washington, and he has intervened as a rigorously impartial catalyst in London, Belfast and Dublin, at a crucial moment for the peace process. If his achievement this week enables him to speak with greater authority to the Irish community in the United States, so much the better.

The overriding message he conveyed was that negotiating peace entailed risk, and that this risk must be taken by politicians from all the political groups and traditions. The notion that peace imposes a duty of leadership on those entrusted to speak for different factions in the community is not, of course, new. Lack of real leadership is one of the major components of communal strife and the perennial impasse in Northern politics.

* * *

But to identify risk-taking as the hurdle that must now be jumped by the political leaders who are hesitating to move forward, is a particularly apposite contribution now. The French philosopher, Pascal, after listing the compelling arguments for and against the existence of God, declared that the best course was to gamble that he did exist. The same challenge confronts those who doubt the viability of dialogue and negotiation unless they have managed to control the conditions first. This applies with equal force to Mr Major, who reiterated his insistence on the priority of arms decommissioning yesterday, to the unionists who, in varying degrees, resist talks with Sinn Féin — and Sinn Féin and the IRA who have shown themselves to be no less inflexible.

In these circumstances, the agreement between Mr Bruton and Mr Major this week to get the twin-track mechanism under way in spite of their continuing differences, was not only wise but also the only decision possible if the peace process was not to founder. Mr Clinton's visit has provided the necessary lift, and the separate sets of invitations sent out yesterday to the political leaders in the North by the Tanaiste, Mr Spring, and the Northern Secretary, Sir Patrick Mayhew, are welcome. The next step is for the leaders to accept the invitations.

LETTERS to the EDITOR

POST REFERENDUM

Sir, — Question: What was the highest mountain in the world before Mount Everest was discovered?

Answer: Mount Everest was always the highest mountain in the world.

Q: What was the constitutional position before the Supreme Court delivered its judgment?

A: The constitutional position was precisely the same before the Supreme Court judgment.

It was the Government's responsibility to investigate and establish the constitutional position before launching its one-sided campaign. By its action it reversed what would otherwise have been the outcome of the referendum and it is now seeking a fool's pardon!

The result should be overturned. Don't take my word for it — ask the Supreme Court. — Yours, etc.,

PATRICK E. WHITE,
Kilquade, Greystones,
Co Wicklow.

PS The above should not be taken as an indication of how I voted — merely one citizen's view of the legal position.

* * *

Sir, — It was timely of Noel Browne (November 23rd) to remind us of that little epigram, "How odd of God to choose the Jews". Perhaps Dr Browne recalls the lines added later by an anonymous anti-racist: "But not so odd as those who choose/The Jewish God but not the Jews." It is a thought that Mr Richard Greene of Muintir na hEireann may care to ponder. — Yours, etc.,

C. A. INNES,
Corbawn Grove,
Shankill,
Co Dublin.

* * *

Sir, — If there is to be a challenge to the referendum result on the basis of the State's finance for a Yes vote, there is something else that ought also to come into consideration, that is the influence for a No vote this time and in 1986 of 75 years of State-financed Catholic education.

But I doubt if Mr Hanafin or Mr Justice O'Hanlon will want any of that any more than they will call for a refund from the bishops if the constitutional challenge to State salaries for Catholic chaplins in schools is successful. — Yours, etc.,

PAT CARROLL,
Old Cabra Road, Dublin 7.

* * *

Sir, — I was under the impression that a basic tenet of a democracy meant that the people are sovereign. Over 1.6 million people have expressed their views; certain groupings don't like the outcome so there may be a challenge to the result in the courts. The situation is perhaps comparable to many previous elections in other parts of the world where, the incumbent dictator on finding the result has gone against him, ignores it and declares it null and void. The challenge in Ireland may be altogether more cerebral and decidedly more civilised, but there are disturbing similarities. Will we keep going until we get the "right" result?

I watched RTE's referendum coverage on Saturday night. Once the results from the final two constituencies had been declared, a distinguished panel proceeded to engage in mental gymnastics around the legal and constitutional possibilities of a challenge to the result. Finally, one journalist asked for some commonsense to be displayed. It strikes me that, in our efforts to move away from the old certainties, we are in the process of replacing the respect originally shown to the Catholic Church with a misplaced deference to the "constitutional expert". — Yours, etc.,

JOSEPH DEMPSEY,
Pine Avenue,
Westminster Park,
Foxrock, Dublin 18.

FÁS AND ARTS FUNDING

Sir, — Your columnist, Mr Luke Clancy, "Straight from the Arts" (November 23rd) notes the very significant level of FÁS support for the arts, as demonstrated in the new Arts Council Report "Views of Theatre in Ireland 1995". Surely a good news story? FÁS and many in the arts community believe so, but Mr Clancy chooses instead to worry over FÁS's level of expertise in awarding funding "on artistic criteria". Let us be clear; we do not in FÁS purport to be arts experts. Our funding decisions are based primarily on the validity and value of the employment experience offered to unemployed people by up to 3,000 project employers covering a wide range of sectors ranging through social services, tourism, local development and of course the arts.

Furthermore, it is a pity that models of career and personal learning".

Singling out the Down to Earth Theatre Company is also unfortunate. This is an excellent local initiative whose only crime, apparently, is that its promoters had the vision and commitment to, secure State funding through FÁS for an exciting project which gave 80 otherwise unemployed people a chance to contribute to local development through the medium of community arts.

Of course there are issues to be considered and discussed. Again, the Arts Council report generously acknowledged the close co-operation already existing between FÁS and the Council and FÁS's responsiveness to the arts sector over the years including our participation in the Cultural Sector Forum. This report can only strengthen and deepen

RICH AND POOR

Sir, — The two reports from Saint Vincent de Paul published this week, one for the north and one for the south, make sad reading.

It seems that, in economics, we have a diverging twin-track approach with cuts in business and wealth-taxes for the well-off and cuts in benefits, pay and working conditions for the poor. And politicians and media pundits wonder why we are afflicted by growing crime, vandalism and drug abuse!

I urge the coalition Government here to stop imitating the disasterous "free market" policies of the Tories by implementing, in the next budget, a substantial redistribution of wealth to reverse the growing gap between rich and poor. — Yours, etc.,

SEAN MARLOW,
Ballymun Sinn Féin,
Willow Park Road, Dublin 11.

SLIGHTLY CONFUSED

Sir, — Some thoughts on describing physically disabled people. As a disabled person, I'm slightly confused.

Are we the disabled? Or the disabled community? Or people with disabilities? Or handicapped people? Or physically challenged? Or disabled people?

How can we be the disabled? I'm not "a disabled".

The disabled community. Is our community disabled? Are we a community?

People with disabilities. Are they the same as people with parrots, or people with umbrellas or people with suitcases? I am a person in my own right, not a person "with a disability". It reminds me of "here comes the president with his wife", which we've lost here in Ireland. We get "the President and Mr Robinson".

Handicapped? I don't play golf. Physically challenged? Someone who is physically challenged is somebody who plays soccer and is too clumsy.

I am a disabled person. We are disabled people. — Yours, etc.,

CONOR O'REILLY,
Alden Road,
Bayside,
Dublin 13.

BROADCASTING GREEN PAPER

Sir, — In relation to Michael Foley's article (November 24th), concerning IBEC's Audiovisual Production Federation's response to the Green Paper on Broadcasting we take issue with the heading 'RTE Policy Hindering Job Creation says Report'.

This heading misrepresents the main thrust of our recommendations and does not reflect the views contained in the report on broadcasting commissioning policy. The report's recommendations are set in the context of an overall review of future funding

An Irishman's Diary

ONE of the more problematic relationships in life has to be with one's old school. Primary school is one thing, but truly few institutions have the same capacity to inspire intense emotion as one's secondary school. There are those who hate to remember it, and some who hate to forget it. Rarely do the twain meet — you will not find the former at school reunions!

George Bernard Shaw most definitely belonged to that former category. His feelings for Wesley College in Dublin, where he was a schoolboy from 1865 to 1868, vacillated between the purest, unadulterated hatred and mere, ordinary hostility. Then few boys of his generation felt differently about school. *Shades of the prison house* etc., as Wordsworth noted.

In 1945, during Wesley's centenary year, and when he was a mere 89, Shaw replied as follows to a request for a donation to the school fund: "There is absolutely nothing to be said for the old Wesleyan Connexional (as it used to be called) . . . an ordinary dwelling house overcrowded with boarders . . . No apparatus of any kind. Primitive sanitation. Teaching meant asking questions (mostly from the Latin vocabulary) and reporting for caning by the head if they were not answered correctly. No lectures nor explanations of any kind. Overcrowded classes, leaving hardly time for one question per boy in each lesson. Co-education undreamt of. Dayboys *(sic)* and boarders reciprocally contemptuous. Everything that a school ought *(not)* to be: nothing that it ought. My curse on it. Forget it". George Bernard Shaw. Whew!

Not bad for a place he attended for a mere three years, 77 years before. In 1928, when a stripling of 72, he wrote of the school that "A more futile boy prison could not be imagined". All of which sentiments are reproduced faithfully and with commendable honesty, in *Wesley College 1845 — 1995, an Illustrated History*, written by Mr Ernest Armitage, and which has been published to coincide with the school's 150th anniversary.

Indeed it is an indication of how removed the Wesley of today is from the Dickensian institution of Shaw's remote childhood, that they can publish such damnation without qualm. The school has been through two reincarnations since. But Mr Armitage's *History* also lets us know that, when it suited the old grump, he could turn on the treacle just as good as anyone else. Albeit cleverly.

In 1901, he sent a telegram to an Old Boy's Union dinner at Wesley. "I shall never forget the old Wesleyan Connexional," he begins, (and you better believe it), "it laid the foundation of my strong views of the need for a root-and-branch reform of education, and of most other things" (loaded . . .don't you think?). "You are right in claiming me as a distinguished former pupil. I was distinguished as the idlest boy in the school (beautiful, beautiful). Any survivor from the 'sixties' will testify to my character. Friendliest greetings to all my fellow victims (!) — old masters and old boys both," George Bernard Shaw.



George Bernard Shaw in 1874, aged 18

But was Shaw just a cry-baby, a mammy's boy? Michael Holroyd, in his biography of GBS, speculated that the playwright's dislike of Wesley, "and later schools", appeared to have been because "they took him further away from his mother". Michael Holroyd is probably lucky that Shaw is dead, eventually, and not around anymore to unleash further verbal exocets. It might also be pointed out that Shaw mellowed, albeit in his 90s, albeit with qualification.

In his *Sixteen Self Sketches*, prior to his death in 1950, he wrote "The school now known as Wesley College, was no doubt a bad one, but it was, and still is among the best in the country." You could interpret that as a dire comment on Irish education standards, or as a begrudging compliment to his old school.

But George Bernard Shaw is not the only famous son of Wesley. Among that remarkable school's past pupils are former President Chaim Herzog of Israel; the current Church of Ireland Archbishop of Dublin, Dr Donald Caird; the late Senator Gordon Wilson; and the Minister for Equality and Law Reform, Mr Mervyn Taylor.

Though today a large multi-denominational school based at Ballinteer in Co Dublin, with more than 800 pupils from both sexes — 200 of them boarders — Wesley, as the name suggests, started out as a child of the founder of Methodism, John Wesley (1703 — 1781). He was in Ireland 21 times between 1747 and 1789, during which he set up Methodist societies throughout the country.

In 1844, it was agreed to form a Wesleyan Grammar School in Dublin, and what was described as "a large dilapidated dwelling house", at 79, St Stephen's Green, — on a site now occupied in part by the Department of Foreign Affairs — was leased, where the school later attended by Shaw was opened on October 1st, 1845. It taught theology, Greek, Latin and Hebrew, English literature, mathematics, natural science, commercial studies, and physical education. A fairly ambitious curriculum for a school with three full-time teachers, three or four part-timers, and 20 to 30 pupils.

Wesley soon gained a reputation for the classics, but as a place was said not to "have had much resemblance to the comforts and cheerfulness of the pupil's homes". An observation which might be described as understatement by GBS.

Due to increasing numbers and uncertainty about the lease, it was decided to build a new school at St Stephen's Green in 1872. It was completed by 1879, and remained there until 1969, when it moved to its present site at Ballinteer — a new campus-style building designed by architect Michael Scott. The old school at St Stephen's Green was demolished and replaced by offices.

It is not possible in this short space to do justice to the contribution Wesley has made to academic, sporting, and musical life in this country, but two areas deserve special mention, — its contribution to sport, especially to hockey and rugby, and to the arts. Old Wesley is probably one of the best known rugby clubs in the country, while *Lifelines* — an inspired collection, in four editions, of favourite poems from well-known personalities, in aid of the Third World — prepared by pupils at the school, has been one of the most successful publications ever in this country.

But the last word on the school should go to Dr Donald Caird, who has happy memories of his 10 years there. Considering his reaction to Wesley he said: "I think gratitude would be the only appropriate word to use, gratitude for the independence of mind, and for the fulfilment of personality to its natural limits, gratitude for the competence with which I was taught a wide range of subjects . . . Gratitude that the spiritual values which were always evident, but never paraded, allowed us to distinguish between false emotion and solid values of personal integrity and service; between pious platitudes and honest statements of true concern". GBS, please note. Wherever you are, you old heathen.

PATSY McGARRY

LIBRARY COPY
PRESERVATION

[The Irish Times, Saturday, December 2, 1995, page 15]

Clinton's visit has provided the necessary lift, and the separate sets of invitations sent out yesterday to the political leaders in the North by the Tanaiste, Mr Spring, and the Northern Secretary, Sir Patrick Mayhew, will hopefully start the initial process.

"We still have a long way to go", Mr Major said yesterday. In the enthusiasm of Mr Clinton's visits north and south, in the symbolic gestures and the moving moments like Catherine Hamill's account of her lost father, that patent fact did not disappear from sight. The president never put a foot wrong, and adroitly kept the political reason for his presence always to the fore. There is a danger on these occasions that the obligatory hocus will dominate. Mr Clinton's practical core agenda was not submerged.

As he said, quoting Seamus Heaney, "We are living in a moment where hope and history rhyme."

Dialogue in Algeria

With the swearing in this week of Mr Liamine Zeroual as president of Algeria, the stage ought to be set for serious negotiations to bring an end to the bloody conflict there in which some 40,000 people have been killed in the last four years.

Mr Zeroual secured 60 per cent of the vote on November 16th in a contest with four independent candidates. Although the Islamic opposition boycotted the election, they have been forced to respect the 76 per cent turnout. Right across Algeria's deeply divided political spectrum this high participation in the poll is regarded as a very significant factor, as important in its way as the size of Mr Zeroual's own majority.

Many people who would normally have refused to extend a legitimacy to the Algerian regime by participating in the election are reported to have done so to express their disgust at the rampant terrorism organised by the extreme Armed Islamic Group (GIA). In their response to the election the exiled leadership of the mainstream Islamic opposition group, the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS), said it is now willing to enter talks with the new president, whom it described as "the valid negotiator to lead the talks on the side of the effective power".

* * *

This recognition gives Mr Zeroual a mandate to talk, in addition to that conferred on him by the election result. He pledged himself yesterday to pursue peace and national reconciliation and mentioned the likelihood that parliamentary and local polls would now be organised. The best approach towards this would be to address the agenda suggested at the talks in Rome last year organised by the FIS and the secular opposition to the Zeroual regime. It should now be able to do so following these elections.

The agenda includes relaxation of repression against the Islamic opposition and a commitment by them to cease their campaign of terrorist atrocities prior to dialogue and negotiations; release of leading FIS personnel; and a comprehensive programme of social and economic reconstruction. In such a polarised society it will not be easy to initiate such a project, because this is bound to affect numerous vested and entrenched interests which have profited from the regime. There is very little option but to confront them if a further period of brutal conflict is to be avoided.

Any such initiative will be welcomed internationally — a reality which President Zeroual would be foolish to ignore. The Mediterranean conference organised by the European Union in Barcelona this week provides an admirable forum to address Algeria's problems. It seems likely that the French government, which under President Chirac has tended to extend comprehensive support to the Algerian regime, would now welcome moves to initiate a dialogue which could begin to include Islamic opposition forces, rather than

covering a wide range of sectors ranging through social services, tourism, local development and of course the arts.

Furthermore, it is a pity that Mr Clancy did not find space to mention the strong acknowledgment within the Arts Council Report of FAS's commitment to high standards in community employment projects and the significant improvements in quality such that nowadays, as noted in the report, "schemes aspire to high, modern, person-centred and FAS's responsiveness to the arts sector over the years including our participation in the Cultural Sector Forum. This report can only strengthen and deepen that co-operation in the interests of both unemployed people and the arts sector as a whole. — Yours, etc.,

TOM COSTELLO,
Director,
Programme Development,
FAS,
Upper Baggot Street,
Dublin 4.

PEACE PROCESS

Sir, — Twenty five long years of murder and destruction ended on August 31st, 1994 to the blessed relief of the vast majority of people on this island and indeed in Britain also. All that was achieved in 25 years of mindless slaughter by a small number of misguided nationalist and unionist activists, was the desensitising of a whole generation by the almost daily reports of killing and maiming.

Nothing, absolutely nothing, should be allowed to stunt the growth of this delicate plant we call The Peace Process. The gunmen on both sides in Northern Ireland, have thankfully given time for this seed to germinate, but it will surely die without urgent care and support. This support is primarily the responsibility of the British government under John Major's leadership. John Bruton, John Hume, David Trimble, Gerry Adams, even Bill Clinton can but support Mr Major's lead — he must act decisively and without delay.

The pressure Mr Major is experiencing from some shortsighted members of his own party and from unionists, to refuse direct inclusive talks before a surrender of arms, must be resisted. We all desire to see the bomb and the bullet taken out of the equation, but it must be accepted that confrontational situations in every sphere of life, from family rows, through management/union negotiations to situations like that in Ulster, results in those coming to the negotiation table bringing with them the baggage of threat or sanction. This type of baggage should never be used as an excuse to delay the start of meaningful talks. If it happens in this case it will be a disaster.

Mr Major's acknowledged courageous first steps to a possible lasting peace, taken with John Hume and Albert Reynolds, could ensure him a favoured position in the history books of our time. Millions of ordinary citizens in these islands pray for an urgent start to talks. We pray he does not let the "small men" divert him from giving the statesman-like lead that is so sorely and urgently needed at this time. — Yours, etc.,

AIDAN DEVON,
Hillcourt Road,
Glenageary,
Co Dublin.

Thinking Anew

The Advent Hope

The church's season of Advent is a time when in prayer even the faithful are glad of a "refresher course" to prepare them to receive and accept the only source of real hope and love into their lives again and again. As one says the Advent prayer one realises how up-to-date our church is in facing facts and conquering the prevailing moods of despondency and despair. It is in the power of the man who overcame evil and darkness that we invite His coming into our dark times — to "cast away the works of darkness and to put on the armour of light."

J. B. Phillips, in his translation of Saint Paul's words about hope (Romans Chapter 5, verses 3-5), shows that hope from Christ in us triumphs over circumstances: "We can be full of joy here and now even in our trials and troubles. Taken in the right spirit these very things will give us patient endurance; this in turn will develop a mature character, and a character of this sort produces a steady hope, a hope that will never disappoint us."

Among a wide variety of circumstances we know how difficult it is to crack the stubborn shell of those quite determined to cling to self sympathy. Most of us have experienced it at some time. Christ with His love and hope is asking to come in, but we prefer to "enjoy bad health".

In the adventure enjoyed by the initiative as unfailingly as gravity in bombarding us all the time with His faith, hope and love. He came. He comes, and He will come. Christ died; Christ is risen; Christ will come again.

In Advent we do more than acknowledge the fact that Christ's hope is coming to each of us all the time. We practice receiving His hope in prayer. Learning from Holman Hunt's famous *Light of the World* we open the door often to let Him in. As branches of the true vine we are careful not to let the living contact with Him wither.

As the weeks before Christmas pass, the sense of dependence upon the coming source of hope grows. Like the prodigal we can no longer bear to be separated from the hope and love of the home. That urgent crying out to welcome the essential life and love is expressed in the old collect on the Sunday before Christmas: "O Lord raise up (we pray thee) thy power, and come among us . . ."

Changing circumstances in the churches cannot diminish the proclaiming of the eternal gospel of faith, hope and love because "His Kingdom will have no end."

Crowns and thrones may perish,
Kingdoms rise and wane,
But the church of Jesus
Constant will remain;
Gates of hell can never
'Gainst that church prevail;
We have Christ's own promise,

tions and does not reflect the views contained in the report on broadcasting commissioning policy. The report's recommendations are set in the context of an overall review of future funding for broadcasting. There is no suggestion in the report that RTE's policy to date has hindered job creation. Rather, RTE along with other broadcasters, e.g., Teilifis na Gaeilge and TV3, have a major role to play in the development of future sustainable employment in the independent sector, provided that the overall funding of broadcasting in Ireland is expanded through public and private investment.

We acknowledge the otherwise comprehensive coverage of the report in the article. — Yours, etc.,

TOMMY McCABE,
Director,
Audiovisual Production Federation,
Irish Business and Employers Confederation,
Confederation House,
Lower Baggot Street,
Dublin 2.

RESCUE SERVICES

Sir, — Somethings never change, an observation borne out by your correspondent Mr M. D. Kennedy in his letter (November 29th) in relation to the lack of a proper 24-hour helicopter rescue service on the East coast.

On December 5th, 1991, I wrote to *The Irish Times* at the time of the *MV Kilkenny* shipping tragedy in Dublin Bay and pointed out the risks the city was running with the lack of such cover. At the time I also enclosed a copy of my letter to Ivan Yates, who was Fine Gael spokesman on Transport and most vocal in the Dáil about the lack of such cover. In his letter of reply he gave his assurance that he would continue to put pressure on the Government to provide a proper 24-hour rescue service at Baldonnel.

As the tragedy in Howth reveals, four years later the need is as urgent as ever but the Air Corps still does not have the proper equipment or the trained personnel to carry out the task. Why is this still the case? It is a shame that the last four years seem to have been wasted. — Yours, etc.,

MADELEINE O'ROURKE,
MRAeS, MCIT,
Wilfield Park,
Ballsbridge,
Dublin 4.

Social and Personal

29 South Anne Street — Lorcan Brereton Jewellers for antique and new diamond rings.

At Chantelle The Gables, Dunshaughlin & The Crescent, Monkstown. Winter wedding outfits from Antoinette and Louis Feraud in sizes 10-20. Also superb cocktail dresses and suits for the festive season.

Curves, Dun Laoghaire. A stunning exclamation mark of seasonal fashions for all occasions in sizes 12-26. 2803984.

Miss Paula Marren, DO MRO, Registered Osteopath, has joined Mr. Patrick Fahy, Mr. Teran Synge and Mrs. Pamela Synge in the practice at 1 Merrion Square, Dublin 2. Ph: 6616143.

Stunning and beautiful Christmas decorations and gifts at Flower Studios, Foxrock Village, D.18. Tel/fax 01 2896016. Open Mon. to Sat. 9.30 to 6pm.

In 1901, he sent a telegram to an Old Boy's Union dinner at Wesley. "I shall never forget the old Wesleyan Connexional," he begins, (and you better believe — Wesley, as the name suggests, started out as a child of the founder of Methodism, John Wesley (1703 — 1781). He was in Ireland 21 times between

Social and Personal

CATHY BROPHY — ANDREW BRYCE

Victor and Ina Brophy, Sutton, are delighted to announce the engagement of their daughter Cathy to Andrew, son of Bud and Gowan Bryce, Baily.

MR. J.A. BROWN — MISS T.K.E. CAIRNS

The engagement is announced between Jonathan, younger son of Mr. and Mrs. Matthew Brown of Irvine, Ayrshire and Tracey, only daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Brian Cairns of Midleton College, Co. Cork.

JONATHAN BUTLER — DENICE KEARNS

The engagement is announced of Jonathan, son of Pierce and Vivienne Butler of Killernan to Denice, daughter of Michael and Bridget Kearns of Leopardstown.

CAROLINE McNICHOLAS — ANTHONY HANDRICK

Caroline and Anthony, together with their families, are pleased to announce their recent engagement.

CLARE COSGROVE — BRIAN McMANUS

Art and Emer, University Lodge, are delighted to announce the engagement of their daughter Clare to Brian, son of Gerry and Valerie McManus, Donnybrook.

AMANDA COTTER — WILLARD SMITH

Derry and Lynda Cotter, Dundrum, Dublin, are delighted to announce the engagement of their daughter Amanda to Willard (Bill) of New York, son of Willard Senior and Barbara Smith.

BRONA DALY — RONAN COLUMB

Paddy and May Daly, Sandycove, Co Dublin, are delighted to announce the engagement of their daughter Brona to Ronan, son of Mel and Nora Columb, Kilternan, Co Dublin.

MICHÈLE HALL — DAVID McNERNEY

Edgard and Daphne Hall of Rathmichael, Co. Dublin, are pleased to announce the engagement of their eldest daughter Michèle to David, the eldest son of John and Catherine McNerney of Howth, Co. Dublin.

MISS V.A. McN. HEASLIP — MR. A.W. GRIFFIN

Mr. and Mrs. Kester Heaslip, Killiney, Co. Dublin, announce the engagement of their daughter Vanessa Alexandra McNichol to Mr. Andrew Wynn Griffin, son of Mr. and Mrs. John Wynn Griffin, Worcester, England.

ROGER HOEBERICHTS — PAT DELANEY

Eamon and Cathleen Delaney, Tobacco Meadows, Kilkenny Road, Carlow, are happy to announce the engagement of their daughter Pat to Roger of Ridgewood, New Jersey.

KEELEY AGAR — GRANT FISHER

Des and Val Agar of Calne, Wiltshire (previously of Dalkey, Co. Dublin), are very pleased to announce the engagement of their daughter Keeley to Grant of Bradford-on-Avon, near Bath, on

CAROL KIRWAN — SIMON O'LEARY

Simon of Sandymount and Carol of Mt. Merrion are pleased to announce their engagement.

JÜRGEN MANTEL — HELEN CASSIDY

A marriage has been arranged between Jürgen, younger son of Herr Robert and Frau Margarete Mantel of Aschaffenburg, Germany and Helen, youngest daughter of the late Judge and Mrs John Cassidy of Pontoon, County Mayo.

MR. AMBROSE McCANN — DR. LORRAINE CASSIDY

Hugh and Aedín Cassidy, Rathgar, Dublin, are delighted to announce the engagement of their eldest daughter Lorraine to Amby, youngest son of Dr. Marcella and the late Dr. Ambrose McCann of Caherdavin Cross, Limerick.

ANN MEAGHER — PHILIP COONEY

Ann and Philip, together with their families, are pleased to announce their engagement.

AOIFE MILLER — ADRIAN DUFFY

John and Mary Miller of Silchester Road, Glenageary, Co Dublin, are delighted to announce the engagement of their daughter Aoife to Adrian, son of William and Breda Duffy of Bohernasup, Ballina, Co Mayo.

POLLY MINETT — IVAN POWELL

Polly and Ivan, together with their families, are delighted to announce their engagement.

SINÉAD NÍ GHAORA — RICHARD MORTON

Pádraic and Annette Ó Gaora of Blackrock, together with Fergus and Liz Morton of Rathgar, are delighted to announce the engagement of Sinéad and Ricky. Go maire siad a nuacht.

CHARLOTTE PERCEVAL — ALEX NORRIS

The engagement is announced between Charlotte Philippa, younger daughter of Mr. and Mrs. A.R.H. Perceval of Temple House, Ballymote, Co. Sligo and Alex Earl, eldest son of Mr. and Mrs. Earl Norris of Corhownagh, Ballisodare, Co. Sligo.

AISLING REILLY — MICHAEL CORCORAN

Oliver and Maureen Reilly are delighted to announce the engagement of their daughter Aisling to Michael, son of Maurice and Betty Corcoran.

SUZANNE SLATTERY — HENRY DOWNING

Suzanne and Henry, together with their families, are delighted to announce their engagement.

NEILL G. SPOTSWOOD — ISABELLA STEFANUTTI

George and Maeve Spotswood are delighted to announce the engagement between their son Neill and Isabella, daughter of General Nevio and the late Dorina Stefanutti of Belluno, Italy.

CINDY CUMMINGS — CONOR O'FARRELL

Robert Cummings, Sequim, and Marolyn Fayerweather, Seattle, Washington, are delighted to announce the engagement of their

IN TIME'S EYE

FRISKY RIVER

When a river gets frisky and overflows its banks, the result is not always bad. Given that the water doesn't lie for too long. In the first place, overgrazed pasture gets a sort of mulch which could be beneficial. Another example: a plantation of some three to four hundred ash, just under a score of years old, and destined for fuel when the world's oil runs out, had a bad summer. Cracks developed in the ground. Soil fell away to reveal the surface roots. The undergrowth of weed languished and died out early, and the canopy seemed thinner than before. But lo and behold, for two days recently the trees stood in the midst of a lake of a foot and more of water. And that can only be good.

And oddly, or irrelevantly, in a patch of willow, well above the floods, a few hundred yards away, you would think from a distance a huge patch of white flowers had suddenly appeared. Not flowers, on inspection, but shaggy inkcap or lawyers' wigs or, correctly, *coprinus comatus*, which adds zest to the breakfast of a friend. Eat them on the day you collect them or next morning. Don't use the stems. And, if you don't know these mushrooms, don't try them. Floods bring, to the riparian owner, almost unimaginable amounts of wood in all shapes and sizes. Enough, when dried out, to keep your fire going for months. And not just piles of reeds, but haystacks of them. If you are into composting, maybe useful. From Bloomsbury Bridge on the Navan-Kells Road down to Martry Mill and beyond, there are lakes you never saw before, thanks to the Blackwater, into which flows the powerful force of the Borora. No one in danger, it is thought.

One big question mark. This is the time when the salmon are moving up to spawn. How could they, with the tearing, raging waters? They do, anyway, says Paul Bourke of the Central Fisheries Board. They hold up and wait. They are not to be frustrated from their destiny. Paul knows a small stream in Meath where you can actually watch the process. He has brought his children to see. He is not too worried about the ability of the salmon to defeat

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION PRES

[The Irish Times, Saturday, December 2, 1995, page 15 continued]

Herald INTERNATIONAL Tribune

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PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

For China, Coal Holds Promises And Perils

By Patrick E. Tyler
New York Times Service

TAIYUAN, China — Within a 300-mile radius of this energy capital, hundreds of thousands of coal miners are shredding subterranean seams thicker than ocean liners and hauling a black treasure to the surface to power the economic rise of China.

From the great forest of chimneys that punctures the haze of China's industrial landscape, a nimbus of carbon- and sulphur-based gases is billowing into the atmosphere.

It is mixing with the buildup of the century-long industrialization of Europe and North America and, many scientists say, it is contributing to the overall warming of the earth's atmosphere.

And as the evidence hardens that global atmospheric warming is a result of human activity, especially the production of gases from the combustion of coal, oil and natural gas, questions are growing about whether China can change course.

The country's heavy reliance on coal, along with its inefficient and wasteful patterns of energy use, will make it the largest single producer of climate-warming carbon dioxide by the second or third decade of the next century.

As it surpasses the United States and other industrial countries as a cause of the problem, China seems certain to come under strong international pressure to curb its reliance on its vast, cheap coal reserves.

And China itself may face serious consequences from global warming, as a rise in sea levels inundates coastal zones. Right now, many of its citizens are choking on the air pollution produced by the widespread burning of coal.

But coal development on a vast



Johnny Eggitt/Agence France-Presse

President Bill Clinton and Prime Minister John Major meeting Wednesday in London at the start of Mr. Clinton's visit.

After Jockeying, a Date for Bosnia Peace

Conference to Sign Accord Scheduled Dec. 14 in Paris

By Craig R. Whitney
New York Times Service

PARIS — France announced Wednesday that the Bosnia peace conference to sign the accord reached in Dayton, Ohio, earlier this month would take place at the Elysée Palace on Dec. 14.

The announcement was delayed until conference until Congress voted on the operation. But there were signs that frictions between Europe and the United States over various aspects of the accord could multiply once the 60,000 NATO peacekeepers, including 20,000 Americans, entered Bosnia to carry out the accords.

NATO will begin moving in soldiers Friday to prepare for the arrival of the rest

They added that the NATO operation, the largest in the alliance's history, would not be fully effective unless the high civilian official foreseen in the Dayton accords is designated quickly.

That is expected to happen at a conference that begins in London Dec. 8. Carl Bildt, a former prime minister of Sweden who has been the European Union's ne-

Ulster Factions Cool To Clinton's Appeal

Both IRA and Unionists Remain Stalemated Over Weapons Issue

By Richard W. Stevenson
New York Times Service

LONDON — Seeking to give additional momentum to the peace process in Northern Ireland, President Bill Clinton on Wednesday urged all parties involved in the province's sectarian conflict to accept the agreement reached late Tuesday by the British and Irish governments as the basis for forging a permanent settlement.

The nationalist forces seeking to unite Northern Ireland with Ireland, however, as well as the unionists seeking to keep the province part of Britain, expressed deep reservations about the plan.

Speaking at a news conference in London on the first stop of a European trip that will take him to Northern Ireland on Thursday, Mr. Clinton said the agreement "provided a mechanism for all of the parties honorably now to bring their concerns to the table and to be heard."

He said the British-Irish agreement was "the best opportunity I have seen to resolve all of these issues, and I think it should be embraced, and I hope it will be."

Despite the endorsement by Mr. Clinton, whose administration has taken an active role in trying to settle the differences that led to 25 years of violent conflict in Northern Ireland, the agreement's prospects remained uncertain.

The proposal called for an immediate start to "preparatory talks" involving the two governments and moderate and hardline parties from Northern Ireland, including Sinn Fein, the political arm of the Irish Republican Army, which until 15 months ago was waging a terrorist campaign seeking to oust Britain from the province.

The agreement said the preparatory talks should lead to full-scale negotiations involving all the parties by the end of February. But it sidestepped the most immediate impediment to further progress: the issue of whether Sinn Fein would be allowed to take part in the full-scale negotiations if the Irish Republican Army continued to refuse to turn in some of its store of explosives and mid-January, although they will not be binding on the British or Irish governments.

"I think it will be difficult because it's obviously an issue on which there are strongly held feelings on all sides," Mr. Mitchell said. "But I think there is a historic opportunity here."

Gerry Adams, the leader of Sinn Fein, said that the party would take several weeks to study the British-Irish proposal for negotiations and that Sinn Fein's "frame of mind would be a positive one."

But he said Sinn Fein's position that full-scale negotiations must take place without preconditions had not changed and that turning over arms was a precondition.

"If we cannot have all-party talks we cannot have a peace settlement, and if we cannot have a peace settlement we cannot have peace," Mr. Adams said in Belfast, where he and leaders of all the other major parties will meet with Mr. Clinton at a reception Thursday night.

David Trimble, the leader of the Ulster Unionists, the largest of the parties representing Northern Ireland's pro-British Protestant majority, also gave the British-Irish plan a cool reception. He said that if had been agreed upon primarily so that the governments would have progress to show Mr. Clinton when he arrived.

Mr. Trimble said he would never agree to take part in talks until the Irish Republican Army had agreed to start giving up its arms.

Despite the lack of endorsement by parties from either side, British, Irish and American officials all said Wednesday that they were optimistic that the plan could slowly lead to further progress.

They said the plan had been carefully put together to reflect the concerns of all the key parties. It raised the possibility, for example, of an elected assembly in Northern Ireland, an idea being promoted by Mr. Trimble. And it was careful to make it clear that Mr. Mitchell's commission would be completely independent of the British government, a demand of Sinn Fein.

"I applaud the prime minister [illegible]

[International Herald Tribune, Thursday, November 30, 1995 page 1]

and other industrial countries as a cause of the problem, China seems certain to come under strong international pressure to curb its reliance on its vast, cheap coal reserves.

And China itself may face serious consequences from global warming, as a rise in sea levels inundates coastal zones. Right now, many of its citizens are choking on the air pollution produced by the widespread burning of coal.

But coal development on a vast scale appears inevitable. China's dilemma is repeated, on a lesser scale, in India, Brazil and the rest of the developing world, where the diversion of scarce funds to meet global environmental goals is seen as a rich country's luxury.

For China's leadership, it is simply a question of capital — massive amounts of it. Already, Beijing's leaders face a daunting array of demands to build highways, railroads and modern industries to compete for export markets with the developed world and to provide the economic growth that China's expanding population will expect.

Some improvements will pay for themselves, but with its huge reserves of coal, China regards any energy alternative that costs more or requires more up-front capital as a threat to development.

"You try to tell the people of Beijing that they can't buy a car or an air-conditioner because of the global climate-change issue," said Li Junfeng, a senior energy researcher for the State Planning Commission in Beijing. "It is just as hot in Beijing as it is in Washington, D.C.

"If we reduce our emission of gases, it means we must reduce our energy consumption," Mr. Li continued. "When people get rich, they want to buy an air-conditioner or a car; that will increase energy consumption."

It already has.

Between 1970 and 1990, energy consumption rose 208 percent in China, compared with an average rise of 28 percent in developed countries during the same period.

More than 5 million Chinese are now engaged in the largest coal extraction enterprise in human history, feeding China's enormous thirst for energy and pushing toward fulfillment of the goal of quadrupling the coun-

See CHINA, Page 6

Conference to Sign Accord Scheduled Dec. 14 in Paris

By Craig R. Whitney
New York Times Service

PARIS — France announced Wednesday that the Bosnia peace conference to sign the accord reached in Dayton, Ohio, earlier this month would take place at the Elysée Palace on Dec. 14.

The announcement was delayed until Wednesday, diplomats said, because, among other reasons, the French were worried about the ability of the Clinton administration to win congressional backing for American participation in the NATO peacekeeping force.

U.S. officials in Brussels denied French suggestions that the Clinton administration had asked for a delay in setting a date for the conference until Congress voted on the operation. But there were signs that frictions between Europe and the United States over various aspects of the accord could multiply once the 60,000 NATO peacekeepers, including 20,000 Americans, entered Bosnia to carry out the accords.

NATO will begin moving in soldiers Friday to prepare for the arrival of the rest of the force, officials in Brussels said.

NATO military commanders have finished voluminous operational plans for the mission, mapping troop and equipment movements over a six-month program. Ambassadors from the 16 allied countries will give political approval to the plans no later than Friday, according to the officials in Brussels.

They added that the NATO operation, the largest in the alliance's history, would not be fully effective unless the high civilian official foreseen in the Dayton accords is designated quickly.

That is expected to happen at a conference that begins in London Dec. 8. Carl Bildt, a former prime minister of Sweden who has been the European Union's negotiator on Bosnia since last summer, is expected to be named to the job of senior civilian representative in Bosnia then. The job will also derive its authority from the United Nations Security Council.

France insisted on an overall coordinator for civilian relief and political efforts, but at American insistence he will have no authority over NATO peacekeepers.

Republican Army, which until 15 months ago was waging a terrorist campaign seeking to oust Britain from the province.

The agreement said the preparatory talks should lead to full-scale negotiations involving all the parties by the end of February. But it sidestepped the most immediate impediment to further progress: the issue of whether Sinn Fein would be allowed to take part in the full-scale negotiations if the Irish Republican Army continued to refuse to turn in some of its store of explosives and weapons. Britain insists the IRA must do so as a sign of its commitment to peaceful democratic politics.

The arms issue is instead to be studied by an independent commission headed by former Senator George J. Mitchell of Maine, who is a special adviser to Mr. Clinton on Northern Ireland. The commission is to make recommendations on the issue by

they were optimistic that the plan would slowly lead to further progress.

They said the plan had been carefully put together to reflect the concerns of all the key parties. It raised the possibility, for example, of an elected assembly in Northern Ireland, an idea being promoted by Mr. Trimble. And it was careful to make it clear that Mr. Mitchell's commission would be completely independent of the British government, a demand of Sinn Fein.

"I applaud the prime minister for taking this risk for peace," Mr. Clinton said in a speech to Parliament.

In a passage that won sustained applause, Mr. Clinton said: "It is always a hard choice, the choice for peace, for success is far from guaranteed, and even if you fail, there will be those who resent you for trying. But it is the right thing to do. And in the end, the right will win."

Dalai Lama and Beijing Clash Over Panchen Lama

By Seth Faison
New York Times Service

BEIJING — Battling the Dalai Lama for the soul of Tibet, Chinese authorities orchestrated an elaborate ceremony Wednesday to choose a 6-year-old boy as the approved reincarnation of the Panchen Lama, a position of critical importance to Tibetans.

The ceremony, a bizarre mixture of ancient Tibetan ritual and Communist Party protocol, was a telling indication of the delicate balance between the two forces that reign in the sparsely populated, but politically troubled region.

Conducted at dawn in the Johkang Temple in Lhasa, the ceremony was rebroadcast on Chinese state television. Inside the temple, an elderly monk rubbed the lips of a sacred golden urn in a circular motion before reaching inside to select an ivory lot bearing the boy's name — Gyaincin Norbu — out of three possible choices.

That came only after a senior Chinese official, looking out of place in a suit and tie, read a stern address to the monks to remind them that religious decisions are only valid with approval of China's government.

The boy, appearing in pajama-like garments of yellow silk, then performed his first official act by placing a ceremonial white scarf around the neck of the official, Luo Gan, who vigorously shook the boy's hand as if he were a fellow party dignitary.

The ceremony leaves Tibetans with rival 6-year-old Panchen Lamas — one blessed by the Dalai Lama, who despite China's best efforts is still revered in Tibet, and a second chosen by the party.

The succession crisis — with its competing efforts to say who inherited the spirit of the previous Panchen Lama, who died in 1989 — has drawn a battleground between the Dalai Lama and the Chinese government, which still uses tens of thousands of soldiers to rule Tibet.

The extraordinary six-year sequence of events leading to Wednesday's ceremony has been full of intrigue and recriminations. Fresh details emerged in a lengthy account by the official press agency.

The drama began in 1989, when a committee was formed by Beijing to find the reincarnation of the former Panchen Lama. Although widely suspected by Tibetan activists of being a puppet organization, it was headed by a respected Buddhist leader, Chatral Rinpoche.

From a field of 28 candidates, the committee selected a boy. Chatral Rinpoche informed the Chinese authorities last February that this was the long-awaited



Beijing's choice for Panchen Lama.

reincarnation of the Panchen Lama, and everything looked set for his approval.

But the authorities found out that the committee had passed the boy's name, Ged-

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Tutu Leads Investigation Of Apartheid-Era Crimes

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

PRETORIA — Archbishop Desmond M. Tutu became head of the country's Truth Commission on Wednesday, charged with the delicate task of investigating political crimes committed during the apartheid era.

The 17-member panel, announced by President Nelson Mandela's chief of staff, Jakes Gerwel, will gather evidence of apartheid-era crimes committed by government security forces and anti-apartheid groups such as Mr. Mandela's African National Congress. It will also recommend whether people who confess their roles in political crimes should receive amnesty.

Former white rulers, including Deputy President Frederik W. de Klerk of the National Party, fear that the commission will focus on the police and soldiers who killed and tortured blacks instead of dealing equally with both sides.

Mr. Mandela and other officials of the African National Congress have said that government forces from the apartheid era lacked the same moral defense as activists who tried to overthrow the hated system of white minority rule and racial discrimination.

"The appointment of the commissioners marks an important stage in this historic process of coming to an understanding of our past," Mr. Gerwel said at a news conference following a cabinet meeting that approved Mr. Mandela's choices.

Archbishop Tutu, the 1984 recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize, was named chairman of the panel, as expected, with Alex Boraine, longtime director of South Africa's Institute for Democracy, as deputy chairman.

Among the other members were Chris de Jager, a lawyer and rightist member of Parliament who is negotiating for a white homeland; Mary Burton, former president of the Black Sash anti-apartheid group; and Reverend K. M. Mqojo from KwaZulu-Natal Province.

Mr. Gerwel said the commission would start work "as quickly and as expeditiously as possible." The commission will have 18 months to investigate the human rights record of the former apartheid government, which fought to defend the system of racial domination by whites, and the mainly black guerrillas who waged war on it. It will have the power to award compensation to victims and grant amnesty to penitent offenders.

The panel of 10 men and 7 women includes 7 blacks, 6 whites, 2 of mixed race and 2 of Indian descent. Seven are lawyers, two are medical doctors, four are religious leaders or have been ordained as ministers, and two are social workers. *(Reuters, AP)*

Dow Jones	Trib Index
Up	Down
27.46	0.22%
5105.56	128.13
@ 4P.M.	@ 4P.M.

The Dollar New York	Wed. @ 4P.M.	previous close
DM	1.437	1.4333
Pound	1.5335	1.543
Yen	101.57	101.20
FF	4.941	4.9155

Newsstand Prices

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Denmark	14.00 D.Kr.	Oman	1,250 Rials
Finland	12.00 F.M.	Qatar	1.000 Rials

Just Picture It: Psychic Warriors at Work

Pentagon Stands by 'Remote Viewers,' CIA Has Doubts

By R. Jeffrey Smith
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — The Pentagon for years has been asking a group of psychics for help in military intelligence, according to U.S. officials.

When asked about such matters as the location of American hostages held by foreign kidnappers, the psychics responded by

no more public funds should be spent on it. But Pentagon officials involved in the program have defended it as an occasionally useful source of valuable military tips. A Defense Intelligence Agency summary of its accomplishments obtained by The Washington Post asserts that the government-funded psychics helped unmask a major Soviet submarine program in 1979 and discern the function of key buildings in foreign countries, among other tasks.

viewers" were on the government payroll at one time during the two decades in which the "Stargate" program has been under way, he said. From the mid-1980s to the early 1990s, the military spent at least $11 million on both the operational program and a separate scientific research effort, Mr. Hyman said. He added that he was uncertain how much had been spent before and after that period.

Evidence supporting "the operational value of remote viewing is not available, even after a decade of attempts," said the

AGENDA

NATO Deadlocked on Its New Chief

BRUSSELS (NYT) — Despite a month of deadlock between the United States and the European allies about who should be the next civilian leader of NATO, defense ministers of the alliance did not reach consensus on a candidate in meetings that ended Wednesday.

"My expectation is that there will be a secretary-general selected at the foreign ministers' meeting next week," Secretary of Defense William J. Perry said.

The NATO secretary-general's job has been filled since Oct. 20 by Sergio Balanzino, who was previously deputy. He has been acting secretary-general since Willy Claes, a former foreign min-

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Clinton Takes Appeal For Peace to London

Hope for Ulster and Bosnia

By Ann Devroy
Washington Post Service

LONDON — President Bill Clinton saluted "this hopeful moment" in the violent history of both Bosnia and Northern Ireland on Wednesday at the start of a European tour aimed at promoting U.S.-brokered solutions to both conflicts.

After a year of irritants and occasional angry exchanges between Washington and London over both Bosnia and Northern Ireland, Mr. Clinton and Prime Minister John Major joined together Wednesday in a common cause: making the case that taking risks to find peace may be momentarily politically unpopular but worth the effort.

Mr. Clinton arrived here only hours after Mr. Major and John Bruton, the Irish prime minister, announced an agreement aimed at launching negotiations among all parties involved in Northern Ireland to end a quarter-century of bloodshed between Roman Catholics and Protestants.

In a news conference with Mr. Major, Mr. Clinton referred to both the Northern Ireland effort and the international effort to implement the new peace agreement in Bosnia and noted that the United States and Britain had "helped shape this hopeful moment in our history." He said, "We have some more work to do, but I am confident that our people are up to those challenges and that that work will be done."

The central reason for Mr. Clinton's overseas visit had been to promote the peace process in Northern Island, an effort the White House began two years ago that helped produce a cease-fire 15 months ago. Tuesday's agreement between Mr. Major and Mr. Bruton was attributed in part to the effort to make progress on stalled talks before Mr. Clinton's arrival.

Asked what role the presidential visit played, Mr. Major said it "concentrated the mind."

The president will visit Northern Ireland on Thursday, the first American president to do so, to demonstrate how life there has changed for the better since the cease-fire and to call on the people of Northern Ireland to continue the effort to reach a political settlement with London.

In a day of speeches, ceremonial lunches and official meetings, Mr. Clinton adhered to the theme, meant for Americans as much as the British, that the effort to bring peace to Bosnia, like the Northern Ireland initiative, is difficult, delicate but worth the risk.

With 20,000 American troops poised to join the 60,000-member peace implementation force in Bosnia sometime after mid-December, the president laid out what he sees as the necessity for such a U.S. commitment in both his press conference and speech to Parliament.

The well-received speech, in which the president stressed the strength of U.S.-British ties through two world wars and all manner of political upheaval, included a plea for unity now. "We have fought our wars," Mr. Clinton said, "Now let us wage our peace."

This "hopeful moment" in Bosnia, Mr. Clinton said, "cannot be lost without grave consequences to the future."

The United States and Britain, he said, "must make the difference between peace and war in Bosnia."

Britain, like other European allies, has been critical of the U.S. role in Bosnia, complaining of a failure of U.S. leadership and refusal to commit ground troops to end the conflict.

With the signing of the peace accord in Dayton, Ohio, two weeks ago, however, the United States and Britain are now in tandem. Britain, which has had troops in the United Nations peacekeeping operation in Bosnia since its outset, will have 13,000 men in the new peace force.

Archaeologists Say They Erred On Jewish Site

Reuters

JERUSALEM — Archaeologists said Wednesday that they had misidentified a tomb recently uncovered in central Israel as that of the Maccabees, Jewish rebels who inspired the Hanukkah holiday.

In a terse statement, the Israel Antiquities Authority said a laboratory analysis showed that archaeologists had misread an ancient Hebrew inscription on the tomb.

Discovery of the burial site, during road-widening work, touched off protests by ultraorthodox Jews who accused the archaeologists of defiling Jewish graves.

On Sunday, tens of thousands of devout Jews chanted prayers in a Jerusalem square in a demonstration



CASTRO IN CHINA — Cuba's president, Fidel Castro, arriving Wednesday in Beijing to begin a nine-day visit to China.

Algeria Closes Last Jail for Militants

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

ALGIERS — Algeria's Interior Ministry announced that it had closed the last special prison for Islamic militants in the southern Sahara region and had released all prisoners there.

This shutdown was one of the main demands of the Islamic Salvation Front, known by its French initials FIS, and its allies.

Algeria's main Islamic opposition boycotted the Nov. 16 presidential elections, but since then some party leaders have made tentative overtures toward the military-backed government.

But hopes that those elections had brought to an end Algeria's spiral of bloody violence and civil unrest were dashed Monday after the assassination of an Algerian Army general, Mohammed Boutighane, 59, who was reported by the domestic press to be a close friend of the president.

In announcing the closure of the prison, a statement said militant detainees in Ain Amguel in the southern province of Tamanrasset had been freed and the camp closed.

Some 700 prisoners were being held at the prison, more than 1,200 kilometers south of Algiers.

Ain Amguel was one of several camps the Algerian authorities opened in 1992 when the conflict started, using its vast expanses of desert to isolate Muslim militant detainees and hold them indefinitely without trial. The fighting has cost about 50,000 lives.

Rights activists had branded the camps death-traps because of daytime heat, freezing nights, and harsh living conditions.

(AFP, Reuters)

TIBET:

2 Panchen Lamas

Continued from Page 1

hun Chokyi Nyima, to the Dalai Lama, who had relayed his approval. The authorities abandoned the boy and held the head of the search committee, denouncing his actions as "an out and out fraud."

The Chinese authorities hurriedly reassembled the search committee and began planning to select a different boy.

Seeing that the first boy and Chatral



Battle to Save Greek Leader

Case Is 'Difficult,' But Not Hopeless

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

ATHENS — Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou remained on mechanical support Wednesday, and doctors described his condition as "difficult" while denying reports that his brain and heart functions had been impaired.

"It is obvious that his condition is difficult and all efforts are being made to confront this," said Grigoris Skalkeas, vice president of the Onassis Cardiac Surgery Center.

He denied reports carried by nearly all Greek broadcast media that Mr. Papandreou was clinically dead. "His brain and his heart are functioning without problems," Mr. Skalkeas said.

The reports were attributed to an international broadcaster who later denied them to a local television station, but the speed with which they were carried was an indication of the confusion and fear surrounding Mr. Papandreou's condition.

Mr. Skalkeas said that Mr. Papandreou, 76, was undergoing sporadic dialysis to aid his kidneys in filtering blood. Mr. Papandreou, who was hospitalized Nov. 20 with pneumonia, was responding to medication, and Mr. Skalkeas said that doctors would try to take him off a respirator in the next two days. "He has to get off the respirator very soon to avoid secondary infections that at this point could be fatal," said a doctor at the surgery center who did not want to be identified.

As doctors struggled to keep Mr. Papandreou alive, his senior ministers met to discuss the 1996 state budget to be submitted to Parliament on Thursday. The meeting was led by Interior Minister Akis Tsohatzopoulos, who is considered a possible successor to Mr. Papandreou. *(AP, Reuters)*

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

[International Herald Tribune, Thursday, November 30, 1995 page 6]

on Sunday, tens of thousands of devout Jews chanted prayers in a Jerusalem square in a demonstration against the excavations.

The antiquities authority said that instead of the Hebrew letters Chet, Shin, Mem — which archaeologists had taken as the beginning of the word Hasmonean, the rebels' family name — the inscription read Chet, Nun, Yud, or Hani.

The statement did not explain the meaning of Hani or say whether archaeologists still believed the tomb contained the remains of Jews. A spokesman for the authority was not immediately available.

The tomb, which contained 23 ossuaries, or boxes for human bones, is near the site of the ancient town of Modi'in, where Hasmonean family leader Mattathias began his revolt against the Greeks in about 170 B.C.

the United Nations peacekeeping operation in Bosnia since its outset, will have 13,000 men in the new peace force.

Mr. Major reiterated Mr. Clinton's themes, warning that a "real and lasting peace" in Bosnia "is still a fragile prospect and we need to make sure that it doesn't in some fashion just slip away from us." He added that "I very much welcome the president's intention to contribute a large force to that cause."

Mr. Clinton, in his Parliament address, reiterated much of the case he made in an Oval Office address on Monday to build support for U.S. participation in Bosnia, arguing that a peaceful, united Europe is impossible without a Bosnian peace.

"We must help peace to take hold in Bosnia because so long as that fire rages at the heart of the European Continent, so long as the emerging democracies and our allies are threatened by fighting in Bosnia, there will be no stable, undivided, free Europe," he said.

assembled the search committee and began planning to select a different boy.

Seeing that the first boy and Chatral Rinpoche were in trouble, the Dalai Lama announced in May that the new Panchen Lama had been found. Today, in a statement, he stood his ground. But Beijing denounced the Dalai Lama's choice, even though the boy had originally been chosen by its own committee.

According to Robert Barnett of the Tibetan Information Network in London, the authorities purged uncooperative lamas in Tashi Lhunpo monastery, traditionally the seat of the Panchen Lama's power, detaining 32 monks. The first selected boy and his family have also apparently been detained.

The official press agency report offered this conclusion: "All pious and Buddhist disciples and all honest and selfless people who adhere to the truth will firmly oppose the nomination of the boy named by the Dalai Lama as the reincarnation of the Panchen Lama."

INTERNATIONAL RECRUITMENT

You will find below a selection of employment offers published in last Monday's International Herald Tribune
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Patrick E. Tyler/The New York Times

A coal scavenger peering through thick smog in Taiyuan, a mining center in Shanxi Province, southwest of Beijing.

CHINA: *Enormous Supply of Coal Represents Promises and Perils*

Continued from Page 1

try's economic output between 1980 and 2000. Last year, China's mines produced 1.2 billion tons of coal, more than any other country, and the numbers are only growing, perhaps nearly tripling to 3.1 billion tons annually by 2020.

China will be overtaking the United States then as the largest source of waste gases being pumped into the atmosphere.

Still, despite the possible economic cost, the Chinese have plenty of impetus to change.

Researchers at the Chinese Academy of Sciences now say that global climate changes during the next 30 to 50 years could cause a one-meter rise in sea levels that, when magnified by storm tides, would inundate an area the size of Portugal on China's coastal plain.

This area would include the important manufacturing centers of Shanghai and Guangzhou, forcing 67 million people to abandon their land and homes.

Equally vulnerable is China's straining agricultural base, which must nearly double its harvest to feed the Chinese who will be alive 30 years from now.

Though uncertainties abound in these projections, profound concerns about the potential impact of global climate change have mobilized China's scientific community and elevated climate research, monitoring and computer modeling to a high-priority national effort.

"We are paying a great deal of attention to this issue," said Sun Honglie, a senior government scientist in Beijing and a member of the standing committee of the National People's Congress, China's Parliament.

But for China's Communist Party leaders, the question of who should bear the burden of reducing the enormous volume of warming gases rising from the Americas, Europe and Asia draws a fiercely nationalistic response and quickly turns into the rancor-filled question of whether the West, led by the United States, is seeking to limit China's emergence as a great power.

"Developed countries discharge more carbon dioxide than developing countries on a per capita basis and the United States discharges 10 times more than China on a per capita basis," Qin Zhongda, the deputy chairman of the environmental protection committee of the National People's Congress, said last month during a news conference at the Great Hall of the People.

For many Chinese, the question of whether the rest of the world will accommodate China's coal-burning juggernaut is a question of equity, and the country's political leaders have been unwilling to enter serious negotiations about emissions.

"China has not recognized that they are going to have increasing obligations for the future," said Timothy E. Wirth, the State Department's undersecretary for global affairs. He visited China last year, seeking to broaden cooperation on strategies to combat climate change.

"We may have fouled the atmosphere in the past," he said, "and that's our responsibility. But we both are fouling the atmosphere for the future and that is both of our responsibilities."

China disagrees.

"Two hundred years after the Industrial Revolution, the world economy has greatly advanced and the developed countries are the main beneficiary," said Lin Zongtang, a former head of China's Aerospace Ministry and now deputy chairman of the environmental protection committee of the National People's Congress. "About 80 percent of the world's pollution is caused by developed countries and they should be responsible for these problems."

That means, Chinese officials say, that the developed countries should help pay for cleaner coal-burning technologies in the Third World, as well as helping to finance expensive hydroelectric projects, nuclear power stations and such alternative energy sources as wind and solar power.

China is working with the World Bank, Japan and the U.S. Department of Energy to fund projects that could improve the efficiency of power plants and develop alternative energy sources.

PSYCHICS: *Pentagon Stands by 'Remote Viewers'*

Continued from Page 1

that the intelligence community should have no part of such work. It is not clear how the proposal will be received in Congress, where a handful of lawmakers, such as Senator Claiborne Pell, Democrat of Rhode Island, who find the topic fascinating have long demanded that the military keep investigating paranormal phenomena.

Mr. Hyman and his co-author, Jessica Utts, a University of California statistician, said they disagreed about the likelihood that remote viewing was a bogus scientific effect. Ms. Utts, a former consultant to the Stanford Research Institute, which has performed work for the Pentagon on paranormal phenomena, said she believed the scientific research effort was worthwhile. "There is convincing evidence of a real phenomenon here," she said.

But Mr. Hyman noted that the experiments conducted by the Defense Intelligence Agency were graded solely by its officials and that independent experts had not replicated some of the key results. He said the experiments largely consisted of asking a "viewer" in one room to concentrate on a set of four photographs being displayed in another room and pick out the correct "target" photograph. While the viewers on average would be expected to pick correctly 25 percent of the time, in some studies their success rate was 30 percent.

The agency's summary indicates that the psychics in the operational side of the program were beseeched by the agency to divine the purpose of Soviet radar at Dushanbe, Tajikistan, in 1987, and by the Joint Staff to identify the function of a suspected Libyan training facility for PLO terrorists in 1989.

The U.S. Coast Guard asked them to find ships suspected of carrying drugs off the coasts of Florida and California in 1988.

Crisis for Gorillas Will Be Studied

Reuters

NAIROBI — Guardians of endangered mountain gorillas will meet here Thursday to plan better conservation methods after a year of crisis in which at least eight primates were killed in central Africa.

"Four gorillas were speared in Uganda in March and then four more killed in Zaire in August-September," said Annette Lanjouw, regional coordinator of the International Gorilla Conservation Program.

"Very little attention has been paid on what is being done to help protect the gorillas in this period of crisis," she said.

COPY PRESERVATION

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Daily Express

THURSDAY NOVEMBER 30 1995 WEATHER: CLOUDY (EIRE 50p) 35p



In her own words Barbara Whittome exclusively reveals her 2,500 mile epic journey across Russia

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Clinton praises courage of Major on Ulster deal

Tribute to a peace broker

US President backs all-party Ireland talks

By NICHOLAS ASSINDER
Diplomatic Editor

PRESIDENT Clinton last night gave powerful backing to the historic Ulster peace breakthrough brokered by John Major.

In a glowing tribute to the Prime Minister's courage in "taking a risk for peace", the U.S. leader spoke of his admiration for Mr Major.

Mr Clinton arrived in Britain in the morning and had talks at 10 Downing Street. He and his wife Hillary met the Queen at Buckingham Palace.

"I can't say enough to the British people how much I appreciate and admire the Prime Minister in taking this kind of risk for peace," said the President.

"This is not an easy action for him to take — not an easy action for Ireland's Premier John Bruton to take.

"Very often people who take risks for peace are not appreciated for doing so but we in the United States

Page 2 Column 2



SMILES AHEAD: The Queen shares a joke with Hillary Clinton at Buckingham Palace yesterday

Judge held in home loans fraud quiz

By BEVERLEY AUJLA

A JUDGE has been arrested in connection with an alleged mortgage fraud.

Richard Gee, 53, was questioned by detectives yesterday at Belgravia police station in London.

He was later suspended.

The fraud is alleged to have taken place between 1980 and 1989 when the twice-married judge was running solicitors J.B. Wheatley's.

The resident judge, who sits at Middlesex Guildhall Crown Court — opposite the Houses of Parliament — spent less than 15 minutes in the station.

He returned from a Caribbean honeymoon a few days ago to be met with a letter informing him he was to be arrested.

Bailed

Mr Gee was bailed to return to Belgravia police station in January. A date has not yet been set.

Judge Gee was appointed a circuit judge in February 1991.

He hit the headlines three years later when he appealed to the mother of an abandoned baby to claim her son before he was given away.

He has sat at a number of courts in London including the Old Bailey.

Until February 1991 he was the senior partner in a south east London-based firm which deals with both criminal and civil law.

Judge Gee, who no longer practises as a solicitor, remains on the official Law Society roll.

He studied at Kilburn Grammar School and graduated with honours from University College, London.

INSIDE: Weather Page 2, Opinion 8, Foreign News 14, Ross Benson 37, TV 59 - 61, Stars & Letters 62, Target & Crosswords 68, Business 76 & 77, Sport 78 - 88

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

[Daily Express, Thursday, November 30, 1995 page 1]

WEATHER

NGLAND and Wales will be dry with sunny pells. Eastern and southern counties will be rey and misty, but it should brighten later. oastal areas in eastern England will remain ull with a little drizzle. Thicker cloud and ain may reach the far south-west later.

Scotland and Northern Ireland will have a ne but windy day with broken cloud and unshine. The east coast of Scotland will be loudy and damp. A little rain is likely in parts f Northern Ireland during the evening.

Outlook: Showery rain slowly spreading om the west, mainly dry in the south-east.



istrict forecast

01, 02, 03, 05, 06, 15: Patchy mist or low oud breaking, then some sunshine later. ind SE moderate occasional fresh. Cooler. ax 11C (52F).

04, 07, 08, 11, 12, 13, 14, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, , 26: Generally dry with some good sunny pells. Wind SE moderate to fresh, locally rong. Max 11C (52F).

09, 10, 29: Mostly dry with some sunshine. tchy rain in the evening. Wind SE fresh ally strong. Max 11C (52F).

16, 17, 18, 19: Cloudy, a little coastal drizzle. ind SE moderate to fresh. Max 8C (46F).

27, 28: Rather cloudy, occasional showers. ind SE strong. Max 8C (46F).

OLIDAY WEATHERLINE

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rries/Tides

hannel, Irish Sea, Hebrides, North Sea: derate to rough. **High water London Bridge:** 22am, 8.07pm. **Liverpool:** 5.04am, 5.31pm. **eenock:** 6.12am, 6.34pm.

ghting up

ast	4.04pm-8.22am
ingham	3.58pm-7.55am
ol	4.06pm-7.53am
gow	3.50pm-8.22am
ton	3.56pm-7.43am
chester	3.55pm-8.01am
castle	3.45pm-8.06am

Sun and moon

SUN RISES 7.42 a.m.
SUN SETS 3.56 p.m.
MOON SETS: 12.20am
MOON RISES: 12.58pm

*Weather information is supplied by the Met. Office

ttest/Coldest

sterday: **Hottest** Penzance 14C (57F). **ldest** Benbecula 3C (37F). **Wettest** Newquay 2 ins. **Sunniest** Kinloss 3.9 hrs.

ound the world

DAY YESTERDAY. t = thunder, d = drizzle, fg = fog, s = sun sleet, sn = snow, f = fair, c = cloud, r = rain

sterdam	6	43	c	Malaga	18	64	f
ens	16	64	f	Malta	18	64	f
lin	1	34	c	Miami	27	81	f
pe Town	13	55	r	Moscow	-1	112	s
du	17	63	f	New York	16	61	f
blin	11	52	c	Nice	12	54	s
	15	59	r	Paris	3	37	c
neva	7	45	s	Roma	16	61	f
altar	17	63	f	Stockholm	-1	30	s
Angeles	20	68	s	Sydney	27	81	f
drid	10	50	c	Tel Aviv	21	70	s
orca	18	64	f	Tenerife	23	73	f

ound Britain

fast	11	52	c	Inverness	8	46	s
mingham	9	48	c	Jersey	9	48	f
stol	11	52	c	London	13	55	c
rdiff	11	52	c	Manchester	10	50	r
nburgh	10	50	r	Newcastle	10	50	c
sgow	11	52	c	Ronaldsway	10	50	r

Daily Express

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ow Jones Index 5089.02 up 10.92 (early)
Business starts on Page 74

r have a story please phone the Daily Express
171-928 8000 or News Desk on 0171-922 7072

CLINTON WALKABOUT IN WESTMINSTER SENDS THE ARMY OF

The Eagle causes a flap for minders with something up their sleeves



HOPES: President Clinton and John Major at No 10 yesterday

President's praise for peace-maker Major

From Page One

appreciate this work and hope very much that it will prove fruitful."

Disappointingly, Mr Clinton failed to back Mr Major's demand that the IRA must start handing over its weapons.

The President tonight meets Mr Adams and other Ulster party leaders during a visit to Belfast, the first by an American leader.

Standing alongside Mr Major in Downing Street, he made it plain he would not ask Mr Adams directly to order the terrorists to dismantle their arsenals.

The President urged the terrorists to accept the new "twin track" peace process hammered out on Tuesday night between the Prime Minister and Mr Bruton.

Pressed on the decommissioning of weapons, he said: "It is not for us to get into the details of the judgments that the countries and the parties will have to make.

"My message to the IRA is that the twin track process has provided a mechanism for all the parties honourably now to bring their concerns to the table and be heard. The message I will give in public is the same as the message I will give in private.

"The framework set out by Prime Minister Major and Prime Minister Bruton is the best opportunity I have seen to resolve all these issues and I think it should be embraced. I hope it will be." But hours later, the Prime Minister told the Commons he would not budge from his demand. In a blunt message to the terrorists, he told MPs: "If they mean peace, they don't need guns and Semtex.

"We cannot see a way of securing the necessary confidence to bring all parties to the negotiating table without a start being made to the decommissioning of illegal arms."

The President emphasised Mr Major's leadership over Ulster in an historic address to both Houses of Parliament.

Mr Major admitted Mr Clinton's visit had "concentrated the mind" and helped to break months of deadlock.

Weapons

But Ulster Unionists and Mr Adams dismissed the pact as a "fudge". Unionists insisted there was no way they would sit down to talks with Sinn Fein until the IRA started handing over weapons.

Under the deal there will be preparatory talks involving all political parties, leading to all-party talks by the end of February.

An international body is be established under the chairmanship of former U.S. senator George Mitchell to give advice on decommissioning the paramilitaries' weapons.

The two leaders also discussed the Bosnia peace deal which should see 20,000 U.S. and 13,000 British troops stationed in the region.

Outside Number 10, the President spoke of the "special relationship" between the U.S. and the UK as "unique and enduring".

Opinion: Page 8

THE large black secret serviceman with a face like Sidney Poitier was standing outside the Gothic sweep of Westminster Abbey when he suddenly addressed the left sleeve of his Brooks Brothers suit.

"Eagle now running 18 minutes, repeat figures one-eighter minutes, behind sked-dual. New ETA now tweeny of nine."

There was a static shriek from the sleeve and the fierce tension that had been wrapped around the big guy's face suddenly fell away.

He turned and smiled broadly at the formidable blonde in a sleek trouser suit whose eyes kept darting over the crowd that had gathered to welcome the Most Powerful Man on Earth.

Eagle is the secret service code-name for President Clinton (George Bush was Timberwolf) and a small army had been rushing around the transepts, past Poet's Corner, through the ancient pews and over Dr Livingstone's grave.

Suddenly, an artillery of flashbulbs went off and all the jacket sleeves started crackling. But the Eagle Hadn't Landed . . . and in strode John Major, fresh trim on his grey-white locks, and looking secure in his dark grey double breasted suit.

Norma was behind him, the low heels of her shoes loudly clicking on the Abbey's big grey stones.

Cavalcade

Then they waited. And waited . . . for the Eagle to arrive.

After 15 minutes, a feichiness started to appear around the edges of the Prime Minister's eyes.

He and Norma had now dried up of conversation and started staring at the wonders of the Abbey's vast arching ceiling.

Finally, from the inside, you could hear a few cheers and the fusillade of flashguns went off again as the presidential two-ton Cadillac, as long as the Grand Canyon and with more armour plating than a tank, curved into the cobbled square.

The cavalcade arrived complete with a white ambulance in which bottles of the President's blood-type sat in cooled boxes. Just in case.

CALLAN'S EYE

Clinton walked in at a rapid pace, hand extended to John Major like a greeter at a holiday camp. Peace returned to the PM's face. And Hillary Clinton switched on a smile that matched the TV lights.

Norma slipped in beside her and they started smiling and nodding together like wives.

The little line of choir boys started gently into Morning Has Broken and Mr President stood by the poppy-edged Tomb of the Unknown Warrior, head bowed with studied reverence.

Two young U.S. marines, sleek in their dark blue, helped Clinton lay a wreath that bore a simple message: "In grateful remembrance from the people of the United States of America."

He stood by it for 21 seconds and sighed.

Happy

Then the clergy and John Major took over, like a team of tour guides, pointing out this tomb and that.

Where Isaac Newton was laid to rest, where Gladstone slept, where Oscar Wilde and George Frederick Handel were remembered. Clinton kept nodding like a happy tourist because this was a planet away from those distant days when he dreamt of power back home in Little

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

[Daily Express, Thursday, November 30, 1995, page 2]

SECURITY MEN INTO FRENZY AS HIS WIFE CHOOSES TO ADOPT A MORE REGAL ROLE

Duchess Hillary sweeps in just like royalty



TIME FOR A CHAT: Hillary and Norma take a break from the glitter and ceremony of state for a nice talk between wives



By PHILIPPA KENNEDY

AMERICA'S First Lady has a habit of reinventing herself every few years. Yesterday Hillary Clinton came back as a duchess.

From the moment she swept down the steps of Air Force One at Heathrow in the pre-dawn gloom, she adopted the regal manner she thought England demanded.

Her notoriously difficult hair, freshly streaked, was swept into a semblance of the Duchess of Kent's old style before she had it cut.

She emerged from the full-length wool overcoat she had bundled herself in to reveal a brilliant peacock blue and heathery mix tweed suit with skirt just a mite too short for sturdy legs encased in unfashionable sheer black tights.

Her make-up was perfectly applied — pale foundation and deep spicy red lipstick which seemed to have set her mouth permanently in a beaming smile. Her nails were bare. Polish would have seemed frivolous.

As she and the President arrived at Westminster Abbey where Mr Clinton was to lay a wreath, it was clear that this was no "little woman standing by her man like Tammy Wynette".

From the first, she strode purposefully along beside the most powerful man in the world, not respectfully a few paces behind. The message was clear. She's up there beside him helping to run the world.

Norma Major, tall and elegant in cream, smiled her friendly smile and the two women talked animatedly. As Norma turned away for a second to acknowledge someone's greeting, the First Lady's laser-beam eyes swept her from head to toe.

Jaunty

The full-beamed smile was back in place as she listened to her husband address the House of Lords. Then it was on to the Palace after lunch.

As they swept through the gates in a limo with bullet-proof windows so thick as to be almost green, the band of the Scots Guards struck up a jaunty Gershwin medley which clearly matched the President's mood.

In the flesh they are both a surprise. She is shorter and stockier than she appears in photos. He is taller and better looking.

It's not hard to understand how he gets into trouble with women. He caught my eye and smiled. He looks like fun. She doesn't.

Even the way she holds herself, erect and determined, is a statement — and standing beside the Queen with her trademark handbag slung over one arm, Mrs Clinton's lack of such an obvious feminine prop was pointed.

As they disappeared inside for a tour of the State rooms with the Duke of Edinburgh as guide and an "audience" with the Queen, a cheeky hack from the White House Press corps pretended to read the First Lady's lips: "Oh look, Hillary has just said, 'I think I'd like to be a Queen too'."

It was a joke, of course, but you got the impression that was exactly what she was thinking.

Rock, Arkansas. Soon he was outside, waving and glad-handing it around the crowds.

The secret serviceman, sleeves shrieking by now, closed hard around him when it was clear he would *walk* to Downing Street.

Suddenly, the President caught sight of a big paper sign that said: "We Love Clinton! California Loves Clinton!" This would look good on NBC at home.

And he stopped to talk to Bob Mulholl and from San Diego and Jane Dolan from Chico. They fell into rapture.

He wove around the back streets as though running for office in Westminster and called out "Hi!" at an astonished old lady, heavy with two supermarket bags, whose mouth fell open.

There in front of her was the President of the United States and she leaned back against a newsagent's window as Clinton and his circus passed by.

"My husband won't believe me," she said. John Major glanced at her over his shoulder as he altered his pace to keep up with the President and gave her a jolly smile. A few hours later the procession returned to Westminster — this time to the glitter of the Royal Gallery where Lords jostled with MPs on their gilt chairs to hear him speak about "the special relationship".

He sat down on a plump-cushioned chair between the gold and black-robed Lord Chancellor, Lord Mackay, and Madam Speaker Boothroyd (glowing in her new perm).

Bowed

By now there was a tiredness around his eyes.

Then he gazed down and bowed his head in recognition towards Margaret Thatcher who nodded back regally.

Lord (Roy) Jenkins, the Chancellor of Oxford University where Clinton was a Rhodes Scholar, thought it was for him — and nodded back too.

Outside, they were straightening the big flags on the monster Cadillac.

And secret servicemen were talking to their elbows again.

GUARD ON CLINTON: Page 5



GLAD-HANDER: Clinton meets the enthusiastic throng yesterday

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

[Daily Express, Thursday, November 30, 1995, page 3]

£1m cost of guarding Clinton from assassins

Surface-to-air missiles part of giant operation

By JOHN TWOMEY and GERARD GREAVES

THE security surrounding President Bill Clinton's three-day visit could cost taxpayers up to £1 million.

British police joined 700 U.S. secret servicemen to guard Mr Clinton and his entourage as he travelled from London to Belfast.

The massive security operation — which has been planned for weeks — was launched as soon as Air Force One landed at Heathrow yesterday.

Marksmen armed with Heckler and Koch machine-guns formed a ring of steel around the airport's VIP complex as the President and his wife set foot on the tarmac.

The area had earlier been checked for bombs and concealed weapons. All staff entering the area were thoroughly vetted and searched.

Similar operations were mounted as Mr Clinton visited Downing Street, the Houses of Parliament and Buckingham Palace.

Plotting

As the President makes an historic visit to Belfast today, he will be protected by up to 3,000 members of the Royal Ulster Constabulary.

Despite the ceasefire, security chiefs feared extremists from both sides of the political divide may have been plotting an attack in the UK before he leaves for Dublin tomorrow.

The combined visit has involved what is believed to be the biggest security operation ever mounted for an American leader abroad.

Up to 500 American secret service staff began planning for his tour more than three months ago in a precision operation to protect him from possible assassins.

It includes provision for an agent to carry hand-held surface-to-air missiles, two specially scanned helicopters and a presidential golf cart flown in from America.

At the cutting edge, a roster of 100 agents liaise in three shifts to shadow Mr Clinton at his walkabouts in a tour they regard as even more delicate than his recent attendance at the funeral of murdered Israeli premier Yitzhak Rabin.

Their presence comes on top of the massive efforts of British security staff, the Metropolitan Police and RUC officers.

Weeks ago, experts from Washington flew in to Britain to join permanently British-based colleagues and begin preparations from the American Embassy in London's Grosvenor Square.

The team pored over hundreds of files, identifying both loyalist and Sinn Fein activists.

They searched through a mountain of intelligence for anyone in London, Belfast, Dublin and Londonderry who has ever threatened the President.

Back-up groups then began the painstaking task of tracing every suspect's current movements.

Pictures of any target not found were then printed and passed to the incoming bodyguards. The President's walkabout routes were inspected to the last detail and carefully mapped.

The close-range guard, drawn from an elite group of highly-trained agents, were issued with the maps and powerful American-made Glok 45 handguns, revered for their ability to "stop" attackers. A smaller number were handed Israeli-made Uzi machine guns. The entire team is connected on an intercom device made up of ear-pieces and microphones attached to their wrist watches.

Two guards in each squad give a running commentary of the President's movements to a central control unit while the rest study the crowd. They are trained to concentrate on the crowd's eyes and watch for any sign of anxiety or agitation.

Any suspect is immediately isolated by having his view of Mr Clinton blocked by a bodyguard. If a weapon is seen, the guards must shout "gun" and smother the President.

Spy helicopters were cleared before leaving for Britain, along with the golf cart, on stand-by if Irish foreign minister Dick Spring and Mr Clinton can fulfil their planned golf match.

Missile

But the most incredible aspect of the operation belongs to the agent who carries a hand-held Stinger missile. His job is to use the weapon, which looks like a heavy rifle, to prevent an air attack on Mr Clinton.

Meanwhile, 3,000 RUC officers will protect the President in Northern Ireland. Operation Venice will be in place for the 24-hour visit to Belfast and Londonderry.

Thousands are expected to turn out to see both President Clinton and Belfast-born rock star Van Morrison, who will be performing during the visit.



ON GUARD: An agent reaches into his coat as President Clinton greets children on his way to Downing Street yesterday

PC's night to remember



LAURIE: Invitation

HE is the London bobby that President Clinton never forgot.

PC Laurie Mullin showed the then-Governor of Arkansas, his wife Hillary and daughter Chelsea around the House of Commons six years ago. And in return Mr Mullin, 58, of Barking, Essex, was invited to the President's reception in London last night.

"It's marvellous that he remembers me," said Mr Mullin, a Commons policeman for 18 years. "I'm tickled pink."

THE BIG ISSUE: See Page 17

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PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

[Daily Express, Thursday, November 30, 1995, page 5]

NEWS LETTER

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Hands across the Atlantic as President flies in to Northern Ireland



WELCOME, MR CLINTON

TODAY the world's oldest daily newspaper welcomes the President of the most powerful country in the world to Northern Ireland, with this message:

We are proud of the fact that 11 of America's Presidents have hailed from Ulster stock: you are the first serving President to make the trip across the Atlantic in the opposite direction.

The part played by those pioneering Ulster folk in the formative years of the United States is well-documented. It is those same robust qualities which have helped bring this country through the dark years and which have brought us to the point where, for the first time in 25 years, we now have peace.

Your visit today will help build confidence, and create new and exciting economic opportunities for all the people of this small country. You are assured of a warm welcome wherever you go.

We hope that when you leave, you and your good lady will know more, and care more, about this country and its people and that the extraordinary, historical relationship between the United States and this part of the United Kingdom will be enhanced on both sides for years to come.

INSIDE TODAY: 16-PAGE PULL-OUT ON CLINTON VISIT TO ULSTER

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

[News Letter, Thursday, November 30, 1995, page 1]

[News Letter, Thursday, November 30, 1995, page 2]

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

IRA 'exiles' boy after car theft

By RICHARD SULLIVAN

THE IRA has banished a 15-year-old boy from the Province for two years.

Republican paramilitaries have told south Armagh schoolboy Patrick Donegan that, if he does not leave his home at Jonesboro, he will be kneecapped.

He is in hiding and his family are appealing to President Bill Clinton to intervene.

"When I asked the Provos when he could come home, they told me I could appeal the 'sentence' in two years' time," said his mother, Alice.

The trail of terror for Patrick began in January when he was beaten up by masked man.

He was on probation after being involved in the theft of a video recorder.

His mother said: "He stayed out of trouble until May when he took a car. There was nothing from the Provos so I thought everything was alright but they got in touch a fortnight ago."

She said her son was told that, if he did not get out, they would smash his knees with sledgehammers.

"I'm sick with worry. He's only a skinny 15-year-old boy. We have never spent a Christmas apart. I can't bear the thought of him not being here this year.

"The situation is worse now than it was before the ceasefire. I don't know what I would say to people who do things like this."

Mrs Donegan visited her son at his hiding place three days ago. She said he was "scared and alone".

"They (IRA) told us he was not allowed to stay anywhere north of Drogheda."

FAIT spokeswoman Nancy Gracey said she intended raising the case with Mr Clinton during a reception at Queen's University this evening.

"The president spoke about the continuning punishment beatings when he made a speech on St Patrick's Day in Washington."

More than 250 people have fallen victim to the paramilitary punishment squads since the ceasefires — 86 loyalist, 168 republican.

Monsignor Denis Faul accused the IRA of "sickening inhumanity" and revealed that he had brought the case to the attention of the US Consulate and the British and Eire governments.

"This is a gross interference with basic family rights and human rights.

Biting fiend strikes again

A FLESH-eating attacker has struck again in Londonderry.

Police are seeking a man who bit the ear off a man outside a city centre takeaway.

Detectives believe that he is the same man who bit part of an ear off Londonderry man John Love, 21, in a similar incident at the weekend.

Surgeons at Altnagelvin Hospital were unsuccessful in trying to sew the severed part of Mr Love's ear back on again.

In the latest incident, part of the left ear of Creggan man Jonathon McLarnon, 21, was bitten off.

Both incidents were outside the same Waterloo Place restaurant.

The attacker escaped while people searched for the missing part of the ear.

It was found but surgeons were unable to sew it on.

Police say that the man they are hunting is 5ft 11 ins and has short hair,

UN chief lashes

Divorce vote to be

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● *the Queen and Hillary Clinton – Buckingham Palace audience for American visitors*

Hillary relaxes in Royal splendour

THE secret serviceman touched his ear and spoke into his sleeve.

The President of the United States was about to arrive at Buckingham Palace to meet the Queen.

Bill Clinton and America's First Lady, Hillary, stepped from their long, black armour-plated Cadillac limousine onto the steps of the Grand Entrance.

The Queen and Duke of Edinburgh, waiting to greet the Clintons, exchanged handshakes with their VIP guests.

It was the first time President and Mrs Clinton had visited the Palace.

And, because of a rearranged schedule, the visit was to be briefer than first planned.

Originally, the president was to have lunch with the Queen, but had to cancel because he arrived in Britain a day later than initially intended.

So it was an 'audience' in the classical splendour of the 18th Century Room, with a view over the Palace gardens.

The Queen, Prince Philip and the Clintons sat on a settee and chairs upholstered in matching French silk, overlooked by three-quarter length portraits of King George III and Queen Charlotte, and paintings by Canaletto and Gainsborough.

Before the Royal audience there was a guard of honour to inspect and National Anthem to observe.

The Queen and Mrs Clinton stayed chatting – before and after the anthem – under the shelter of the Grand Entrance, while the men marched out into the Palace quadrangle.

The president stood to attention, hand on heart, as the Band of the 1st Battalion the Scots Guards played the Star Spangled Banner.

Accompanied by Prince Philip, the president strode along the rigid ranks of guardsmen in grey greatcoats, black boots with a mirror shine and well-groomed bearskins.

The crunch of their footsteps on the red gravel of the Palace quadrangle was soon overwhelmed by the boom of the military band.

Members of the White House Press corps, bussed into the Palace in two coaches, looked on, snapping pictures and scribbling notes for consumption back home.

President hails 'extraordinary relationship' between US and Britain

'We are united as never before'

THE Anglo-American special relationship was given new impetus today with the historic visit to London of President Clinton.

His arrival came only hours after John Major and Irish Premier John Bruton broke the deadlock over the Ulster peace process with a new deal, sparking renewed optimism a lasting settlement can be achieved.

Mr Clinton said the twin track agreement demonstrated the will for peace was more powerful than bombs and bullets.

And he went on: "It reminds us once again that with courage and resolve, bitter legacies of conflict can be overcome."

With speculation the communique had been hastily stitched up before Mr Clinton's arrival for the three-day visit to London Belfast and Dublin, the president and his wife Hillary immediately launched into a tight schedule starting with a wreath laying ceremony at the grave of the unknown soldier at Westminster Abbey.

Then Mr Clinton and John Major walked from the abbey to Downing Street amid massive security.

Later the president was welcomed amid pomp and pageantry to Westminster by the Prime Minister and Commons Speaker Betty Boothroyd.

Arriving to a fanfare of trumpets he addressed a packed Royal Gallery in the House of Lords.

Baroness Thatcher, who invited former President Ronald Reagan to speak to Parliament in the early 80s, was among the guests to hear Mr Clinton describe the links between the two countries.

Hailing the "extraordinary relationship", Mr Clinton said "it unites us in a way never before seen in the ties between two such great nations".

Recalling that he had been to Westminster many times before, he said he always "felt the power of this place, where the voices of free people who love liberty believe in reason and struggle for truth, have for centuries kept your great nation a beacon of hope for all the world".

Mr Clinton said: "For a long time I thought if my forebears had not left this country perhaps I might have gotten here on my own, at least to the House of Commons.

Army blows up package

THE Army's explosive experts were in action in Belfast last night, amid high security for today's visit of President Clinton.

Bomb disposal officers blew up a suspect package at a Great Victoria Street filling station — less than half-a-mile from the Europa Hotel where Mr Clinton will be staying.

They were called out later to deal with another suspect package on the Lisburn Road.

Mayor misses lights for Bill

A CO Down council has told its DUP mayor that he must attend a gathering with Bill Clinton tonight rather than switch on the Christmas lights in the main town in his borough.

Ards Council decided by one vote to send St Clair McAllister to a Belfast gathering with Mr Clinton and the Secretary of State rather than lead the switch-on of the Newtownards lights.

Mr McAllister told the council that the invitation from Sir Patrick Mayhew had arrived at short notice.

Several councillors, led by Ulster Unionist former mayor John Shields, felt the mayor's absence would be seen as a slight to the president.

Mr McAllister said that he would be representing the borough at two other ·vents involving Mr ·ton.

"I not snubbing any-

·cAllister's place at Newtownards n is to be taken Ulster Unionist lobert Gibson.

Trimble and wife among guests for dinner at No 10



DAVID TRIMBLE

PRESIDENT Clinton's cavalcade swept into Downing Street last night with Mr Clinton relaxed and smiling as he waved to crowds on the pavement.

As well as the usual fleet of stretched limousines, the presidential military ambulance was part of the entourage.

Ulster Unionist leader David Trimble and his wife were among the handful of guests who chose to walk rather than drive to the dinner.

Virgin tycoon Richard Branson was the last guest to arrive at No 10 before the Clintons. He walked alone from Whitehall to the black front door moments before the convoy arrived.

Most of the guests had arrived at least half an hour before.

They included film producer David Puttnama and newspaper proprietor Lord Rothermere.

Mr Clinton was unaware of a small protest picketing opposite Downing Street calling for America to end the blockade on trade with Cuba.

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PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

[News Letter, Thursday, November 30, 1995, page 3]

BOYD – November 29, 1995, (suddenly) at his home, 9 Lonsdale Gardens, Armagh, Robert John (Bobbie), dearly-loved husband of Margaret and loving father of Jackie, Ann, Dorothy, Beatrice, Roberta and Lorraine. Funeral from his home, to-morrow (Friday) at 2 p.m. to St. Mark's Parish Church for Service followed by interment in the adjoining Churchyard. Immediate family flowers only, please. Donations in lieu, if desired, for Chest, Heart and Stroke Association, c/o Jackson Stoops, Funeral Director, 44 Moy Road, Armagh. Very deeply regretted by his sorrowing Wife, Son, Daughters and all the Family Circle.

BROWNLEE – November 29, 1995, (peacefully) after a short illness at her daughter's residence, Annie, dearly-beloved wife of the late Johnny, 21 Knock Crescent, Ballygawley, and loving mother of Edward, Edith, Jackie, Anne, Jean, Joan and Lorna. Funeral on Saturday 2nd December at 1 p.m. from her late residence to Ballygawley Parish Church for service, followed by interment in the adjoining Churchyard. Family flowers only. Donations in lieu, if desired, to Ballygawley Open Door Club, c/o Mr Fred Martin, 185 Ballygawley Road, Dungannon. Very deeply regretted by her sorrowing Family and Family Circle. "Safe in the arms of Jesus."

GANT – November 28, 1995, (suddenly) at his home, 24 Lurganbuoy Road, Castlederg, Jack, dearly-loved husband of Emily and dear father of Max and Don. Funeral from his late residence to-day (Thursday) at 2 p.m. to Castlederg Cemetery. Family flowers only, please. Donations in lieu, if desired, to First Castlederg Presbyterian Church, c/o The Rev. R. S. Neill, The Manse, Drumquin Road, Castlederg. Deeply regretted by his loving Wife, Family and the Family Circle.

JACKSON – November 29, 1995, (peacefully) at her home, 7 Belvoir Close, Belfast, Margaret, dearly-loved wife of the late William and dear mother of Billy and Norman. Funeral service tomorrow (Friday) at 2 p.m. in Belvoir Park Presbyterian Church. Interment afterwards in Second Presbyterian Church Saintfield Churchyard. Family flowers only, please. Donations in lieu, if desired, to Belvoir Park Presbyterian Church, Building Fund, c/o S. D. Porter, Ballycloughan Road, Saintfield. Deeply regretted by her Son Billy, Daughter-in-law Thelma and Family; Son Norman, Daughter-in-law Constance and Family. "At home with the Lord."

Belfast, BT5 6PS. Lovingly remembered by all the Family Circle.

RICHARDSON – November 29, 1995, (peacefully) at Hospital, Madge, dearly-loved wife of Stuart, Coolkill, Dungannon. Funeral to-morrow (Friday) at 1.30 p.m. from her residence to Derrygortreavy Parish Church for service followed by interment in the adjoining Churchyard. Very deeply regretted. "In Heavenly love abiding."

RICHARDSON – November 29, 1995, (peacefully) at Hospital, Madge, dearly-loved wife of Stuart. Will be much-missed by her Daughter Pearl and Grandson Christopher (London). "Rest in Peace."

RICHARDSON – November 29, 1995, (peacefully) at Hospital, Madge, dearly-loved wife of Stuart. Deeply regretted by her Daughter Norma, Son-in-law Ted and Grandchildren Glenn and Nolan (Lisnacroy Farm, Benburb). "Peace Perfect Peace."

RICHARDSON – November 29, 1995, (peacefully) at Hospital, Margaret Jane (Madge). Deeply regretted by her Daughter-in-law Valerie, Grandchildren Jane and John, (children of her late Son Edwin), and Nephew Noel. Always loved and remembered.

RICHARDSON – November 29, 1995, (peacefully) at Hospital, Madge, much-loved sister of Edith. Deeply regretted. "The day Thou gavest, Lord, is ended."

the Family Circle at home and abroad, also Grand-Daughter Jennifer. At Rest. "Until we meet again."

Judge in mortgage fraud probe

A senior judge was arrested last night in connection with allegations of mortgage fraud.

Crown Court judge Richard Gee, who sits in London, was arrested by the Metropolitan Police, the Lord Chancellor's Department revealed.

Scotland Yard said a 53-year-old man had been arrested in connection with allegations of mortgage fraud between 1980 and 1989.

He was bailed to return to Belgravia police station in January.

A Lord Chancellor's Department spokesman said: "The Lord Chancellor, Lord Mackay of Clashfern, has decided that he should not sit as a judge until the outcome of the police investigation is clear."

chics accurately described that Jordan would be found in Wyoming near an Indian burial site.

"It was almost spooky," said Green.

US tour cancels show

A CASUALTY of President Clinton's visit is a concert by 200 young musicians from the City of Belfast School of Music orchestras.

Their performance which was to be staged at the Holy Cross Church, Ardoyne tonight at 7.45pm has been postponed.

A new date will be arranged in the New Year.

● Owing to the visit of President Clinton the Northern Ireland Blood Transfusion Service has cancelled its regular blood donation session in College Street, Belfast, today.

The centre will reopen tomorrow from 10am to 2pm.

dents Association, heard claims that police were warned about two men seen tampering with the peaceline fence before the killing.

Th unofficial inquiry was chaired by Guildford Four lawyer Gareth Pierce and a retired American judge, Andrew Somers.

In a 73-page report, the inquiry criticised the RUC, claiming that the failure of police action contributed to the ability of loyalist terrorists to breach the peaceline separating the Roman Catholic Springfield Park and Protestant Springmartin.

The report added that, at the very least, the peaceline interface should have been patrolled and secured, particularly after a warning from residents.

Mr Leckey made it clear at yesterday's hearing that he had not received the report issued by the unofficial inquiry.

He also expressed concern that there may have been evidence from witnesses at the inquiry who had not come forward to make statements to police or the inquest.

But he considered it

Papandreou, 76, who had open heart surgery in 1988, was taken to the Onassis Heart Centre with pneumonia nine days ago.

He swept to power as Greece's first socialist prime minister in 1981 and was returned to power in the last general election.

A group of senior members of the ruling Panhellenic Socialist Movement, which he founded in 1974, had questioned his ability to govern even before his latest illness.

They claimed he was at the mercy of his ambitious wife, Dimitra Liani, 40, whose role as chief of staff has prompted criticism of her political aspirations.

Drugs raid nets £40,000

DRUGS with a street value of £40,000 have been seized by police in Belfast.

Ecstasy worth £3[illegible] was uncovered during a search of premises in West Circular Road.

In a separate [illegible] Ecstasy valued at [illegible] was confiscated in east of the city.



THE secret serviceman touched his ear and spoke into his sleeve.

11.11

[News Letter, Thursday, November 30, 1995, page 4]

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INDEPENDENT

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Clinton puts the heat on Adams

ALAN MURDOCH
Dublin
and PATRICIA WYNN DAVIES

US President Bill Clinton leaves Ireland today after a triumphant visit that has given a powerful boost to the Ulster peace initiative and put Sinn Fein under pressure. As he addressed a crowd of 80,000 in Dublin yesterday the British and Irish governments invited all the Northern Ireland parties to begin the groundwork talks as the first step in the "twin-track" process. These talks will run parallel to the decommissioning discussions.

The letters from Sir Patrick Mayhew, Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, and Dick Spring, the Irish foreign affairs minister, expressed the hope that the meetings could begin at an early date. The warmth of the welcome for Mr Clinton on

Maeve Binchy, page 3

The Clintons arrival in Dublin yesterday drew huge crowds and, following his momentous visit to Londonderry and Belfast, sealed a personal political triumph. He delivered a passionate plea for a lasting solution to the troubles and an end to bloodshed.

He called on ther Irish people to stand firm alongside Premier John Bruton as he took the necessary risks in the search for peace. He later toasted his success with a glass of Irish stout in a Dublin pub bearing his mother's maiden name, Cassidy. He praised the two Governments' twin-track initiative as "a brilliant formulation which permits allows people to go forward ... without giving up any of the things they believe in and have to have. I am inclined to believe it will succeed. The lesson of the past 15 months is that people like peace. They want it to go forwards not backwards."

John Major yesterday acclaimed Mr Clinton's trip as giv-

Doctor in the House as university honours Blair



Legal eagle: Labour leader Tony Blair receiving an honorary doctorate in civil law at the University of Northumbria, Newcastle Photograph: Reuter

City frenzy over 'cure for cancer'

MORE INDEPENDENT ON SATURDAY

Buy the Independent today and get the Independent on Sunday for only 10p

See page 2

MAGAZINE
Dulwich College, the school that lost its head

Frank Sinatra: bad attitude at 80



[Independent, Saturday, December 2, 1995, page 1]

Maeve Binchy, page 3

that the meetings could begin at an early date. The warmth of the welcome for Mr Clinton on both sides of the Irish border has put Sinn Fein under pressure and leaves its leader Gerry Adams with little option but to co-operate with the proposed arms decommissioning body, headed by Washinton's trouble-shooter, former Senator George Mitchell.

Despite Sinn Fein reservations, the President was forceful yesterday in backing the chance of success of the twin-track approach. Praising Mr Bruton's courage in sealing the accord, he warned against those who found it "easier to stay with the old grudges and habits."

But the fragility of the peace process was highlighted by the continuing hesitation yesterday by Mr Adams when asked if his party endorsed the twin-track approach. He repeated his prediction that his party "would respond positively."

past 15 months is that people like peace. They want it to go forwards not backwards."

John Major yesterday acclaimed Mr Clinton's trip as giving a "huge boost" to the cause of peace. "Can anyone who witnessed President Clinton's remarkable visit to Northern Irelandseriously contemplate a return to bombing and shooting?" the Prime Minister told the Conservative Women's Conference in Westminster.

Mr Bruton admitted the President's visit to Britain and Ireland created the opportunity for London and Dublin to reach a breakthrough. .

His endorsement came as the membership was announced of the new international body. As expected, it will be chaired by former US Senator George Mitchell, 62; The other two will be the chief of staff of the Canadian armed forces, General John de Chastelain, 58; and Mr Harri Holkeri, 58, who was Finland's premier from 1987 to 1991.

Legal eagle: Labour leader Tony Blair receiving an honorary doctorate in civil law at the University of Northumbria, Newcastle Photograph: Reuter

City frenzy over 'cure for cancer'

TOM STEVENSON and TOM WILKIE

The City has whipped itself into a frenzy in the belief it can cash in on the holy grail of medical research – a cure for cancer. In their scramble not to miss out on the billions to be made from a cure, investors are brushing aside warnings from the medical establishment that it is too early to tell if a breakthrough has been made.

In spite of caution from researchers and clinicians, shares in an almost unknown company, British Biotech, have nearly doubled in value in two days. One buyer was said to have paid £25 a share, five times what British Biotech's shares fetched just a couple of months ago.

British Biotech, an Oxford-based research company with a raft of potential therapies for cancer and arthritis, has only reported "positive interim findings" from clinical trials of the new drug Marimastat, involving 94 patients in advanced stages of cancers in the lower bowel, ovaries, prostate or pancreas. There was some evidence that tumours may have shrunk in about one-third of patients.

Hectic dealing in British Biotech shares put a value of more than £800m on the company in spite the fact that it has never made a profit. Share dealers shrugged off a £10m loss on Thursday morning to send the stock soaring from £10 a share to £16.75 last night.

Analysts were finding it hard to contain their enthusiasm for the company, which triggered the City's buying binge on Thursday by publishing a set of promising results from tests. One said: "The share price has huge potential. It could be bigger than Glaxo in the 1980s."

From modest research beginnings, Glaxo grew to become Britain's largest company, worth more than £30bn, mainly because of the success of just one treatment, the Zantac anti-ulcer drug. Earlier this year, Glaxo launched an unprecedented £9bn hostile bid for Wellcome, maker of the Aids drug Retrovir.

But senior cancer researchers and clinicians greeted with scepticism claims that the new drug could be a billion-pound cancer cure. Professor Gordon McVie, director of the Cancer Research Campaign, said: "I'd doubt it, based on the results so far. There's no way you can say that on 94 patients."

Marimastat is scientifically interesting because it acts against a different target compared to existing cancer drugs, according to Dr Fran Balkwill, a principal scientist with the Imperial Cancer Research Fund. It also has the advantage that it can be taken orally, at home, rather than injected in hospital. But Dr Balkwill added: "We must be extremely careful not to raise false hopes. This is an early first step along a very long path. It does something, but whether it will benefit patients in the long term – we cannot say that this is a new cure for cancer."

Ann Barrett, Professor of Oncology at Glasgow University, said: "It is too early to say from these results if it helps patients and there is reason to be sceptical because often good effects in phase two trials are not borne out in phase three."

Prof McVie said preliminary results were encouraging and spoke highly of British Biotech's expertise. The company has not yet compared the drug's action against existing treatments that will come with phase three – randomised trials involving large numbers of patients to assess if the drug does improve on current therapies.

Shares scramble, page 4



The guilty world of second-hand couture

Leeson heads for jail after guilty plea on two counts

STEPHEN VINES
Singapore

Nick Leeson, the 28-year-old derivatives trader who brought down Barings bank, was expected to be jailed in Singapore today after admitting charges of deception and cheating.

Leeson appears to have struck a deal with the Singapore authorities that will reduce the time he will spend in prison. His lawyer, John Koh, said yesterday he had "mentally and emotionally prepared himself for imprisonment".

Events have moved fast in the week since Leeson returned to Singapore after abandoning his fight against extradition from Germany. Yesterday all aspects of the trial, apart from the sentencing, were completed in the space of five hours.

Mr Koh told the court his client had assisted the authorities with their investigation into the Barings collapse "on a daily basis" since his return.

In return, the government has set aside nine of the 11 charges against him and amended a more serious charge of forgery. Instead of facing a maximum prison sentence of 14 years, he faces a sentence of no more than eight years.

He is charged with cheating Barings' auditors, Coopers and Lybrand, by telling them he had enough money to cover his trading activities and with deceiving Simex, the Singapore International Monetary Exchange, and persuading it to release more than £76m.

Mr Koh said Leeson was sorry, and "contrary to speculation, there are no secret profits. Our client has no assets." Proceeds from a £450,000 book deal for his memoirs "will go to the agent, the ghostwriter, English and German lawyers and Singapore counsel". Mr Koh revealed that Leeson's wife, Lisa, suffered a miscarriage at the end of January.

Leeson has apologised for casting any doubt on Singapore's legal system

Leeson points finger, page 5

BSkyB faces inquiry into 'monopoly' on sport and films

MATHEW HORSMAN
Media Editor

UK competition authorities yesterday struck at one of Rupert Murdoch's most lucrative operations, vowing a wide-ranging inquiry into the activities of the satellite broadcaster BSkyB.

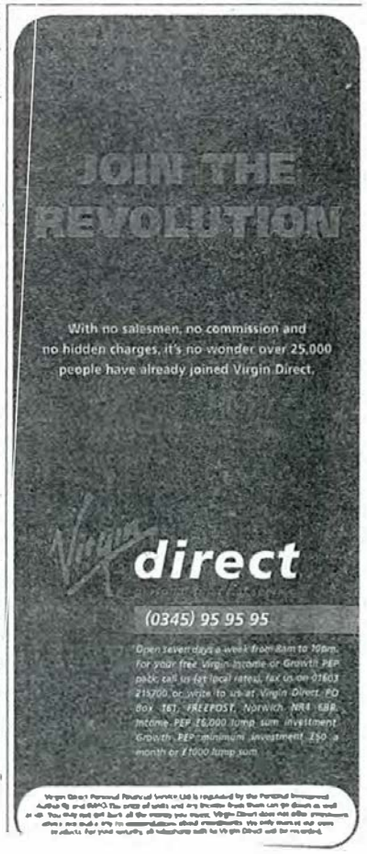
The move by the Office of Fair Trading (OFT) was heralded by smaller cable companies, which have led a loud and public campaign aimed at convincing regulators in the UK and in Brussels to rein in BSkyB, the nation's most profitable television broadcaster, and 40 per cent owned by Mr Murdoch's News Corporation.

At stake are BSkyB's supply arrangements with the cable industry, under which 28 TV channels, including Sky Sports and Sky Movies, are distributed wholesale at prices set by BSkyB. Small cable operators complain that the company's near-monopoly on film and sport for pay-TV, as well as its control of conditional access technology used to scramble and unscramble television signals, constitute an abuse of a dominant position.

BSkyB chief executive Sam Chisholm promised full co-operation with the inquiry, but sharply criticised the complaining operators, suggesting they were using the regulatory process to further their business, rather than competing in the market place.

The OFT said yesterday it would also look at BSkyB's exclusive deals to broadcast sport, to determine whether they should be referred to the Restrictive Practices Court. Under an agreement with the Premier League, BSkyB has the right to match any price for television rights offered by competitors.

The Premier League has received legal advice that the clause is not enforceable. BSkyB countered that the clause was introduced at the request of the Premier League when the current £304m contract, due to expire in 1997, was signed three-and-a-half years ago.



IN BRIEF

New Nato chief
Spain's Foreign Minister, Javier Solana, was named Nato's new Secretary-General. Page 12

Ecstasy girl's funeral
A moving funeral service was held for Leah Betts, who died after taking ecstasy. Page 7

MP denies attack
The Tory MP David Ashby denied to a libel jury that he had threatened to kill his wife with a carving knife, and accused her of being obsessed with media attention. Page 5

England slump
Robin Smith hit 52 as England were bowled out for 200, 132 runs behind South Africa, in the Johannesburg Test. Page 28

Today's weather
Generally mild and dull, with drizzle in some areas. Page 2

48
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Epic manuscript sold for £276,000

CLARE GARNER

The original handwritten manuscript of Erich M Remarque's celebrated anti-war novel, *All Quiet on the Western Front*, was sold for £276,500 at Sotheby's yesterday.

The document had only recently come to light after remaining for decades in the possession of the author's first wife. It has copious deletions and revisions and includes a previously unknown episode initially written for the opening of the novel, which caused a sensation when it was first published in 1929.

The manuscript was bought by Julia Rosenthal, an international dealer acting on behalf of a German buyer in Osnabruck, – Remarque's birthplace.

Ms Rosenthal, who is based in Oxford, said after the sale: "This is a key work of the 20th century and it is particularly fitting that it should have come to light in a year when attention is so focused on war. The appearance of this manuscript will enable the definitive text of the novel to be established. It is a dream of a manuscript."

Dr Stevin Wharton, Sotheby's expert in continental manuscripts, said: "The existence of this text was unsuspected until very recently.

"Its appearance is a literary event of major importance and we are very pleased with the price it realised."

The novel recounts the experiences of a young private in the trenches in the First World War, and depicts the horrors in a stark, realistic style. It was one of the books burnt publicly by the Nazis in Berlin in 1933, and Remarque himself remained *persona non grata* in Germany for another 50 years. It has been translated into 45 languages and sold an estimated 50 million copies world-wide.

■ Giuseppe Verdi's working manuscript for *Otello* fetched £188,500 at the same auction.

CROSSWORD 2,28 GAZETTE 18 | Independent | BOOKS 6-8 BRIDGE 27 CHESS 27 COUNTRY 11 LISTINGS 14,15 MONEY 23-26 MOTORING 22 PROPERTY 10 TRAVEL 17-20

[Independent, Saturday, December 2, 1995, page 1 continued]

news

A city confers its freedom on the president



Local brew: President Bill Clinton samples the stout in Cassidy's bar in Dublin yesterday

Photograph: Maxwell

Alan Murdoch sees the President and Hillary receive a rousing reception

US President Bill Clinton received a tumultuous reception from a huge crowd gathered in Dublin's city centre yesterday when he arrived at a rally where he received the freedom of the city of Dublin before giving the keynote address of his 24-hour visit to the Republic.

Some 100,000 people were jammed in to College Green, outside the old Irish parliament building, now the Bank of Ireland, and the surrounding streets.

Mr Clinton and his wife Hillary – who arrived an hour late for the event – waved repeatedly as they took their places behind a bullet-proof screen.

After the charged euphoria of Londonderry, the welcome outside Trinity College was relaxed and festive.

After Irish musicians warmed up the young crowd, Mr Clinton appeared to a huge roar, fanfares from the Army band, and a sea of Stars And Stripes before the freedom of the city was conferred on him. He joked of trying out its special privilege of tax-free status.

The President said he would have loved his mother – whose maiden name was Cassidy – to have seen the welcome, adding she would also have enjoyed the fact that Ireland had almost 300 racing days.

His deftly crafted speech touched past and present, tragedy and success in the Irish experience. He recalled the westward voyage of refugees from Ireland's Great Famine 150 years ago, "when the crops rotted black in the ground", and claimed, through starvation or emigration, a quarter of its population.

"The famine explains the extraordinary generosity of Irish people," he said, noting their widespread Third World aid.

"I know well that the immigration from your country to the shores of mine helped to make America great," he said.

"But I want more than anything for the young people of Ireland, wherever they live on this island, to be able to live out their dreams close to their roots in peace and hopour and freedom and equality."

Applauding the flowering of modern Irish culture he said "I believe if you want to grasp the global culture you need to come to Ireland", he said citing James Joyce and Roddy Doyle, Neil Jordan and Jim Sheridan, U2 and the Cranberries.

Moments, such as a pint of a dark, cool Irish drink in a pleasant old bar, were nevertheless replete with reminders of earlier past political earthquakes.

Mr Clinton went down the narrow Victorian passage of Amiens Street and Cairnden Street, once known to British soldiers as "The Dardanelles" because of the numbers of them shot there by Fenian snipers.

The evening state banquet in Dublin Castle's State Rooms was served up just yards from where in November 1920 soldiers tortured and shot Irish prisoners in reprisals for the original Bloody Sunday.

[Independent, Saturday, December 2, 1995, page 2]

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

and a people rejoice in the spirit of peace



Irish welcome: Top left, schoolgirls rush to greet the President in the Falls Road, Belfast; below left, RUC officers keep the crowds back in west Belfast; main picture, the presidential car tours east Belfast Photographs: AP/Reuter/John Voos

Maeve Binchy, the novelist, finds joy on the streets of Dublin and hope in Irish hearts

There might not have been quite so many people in Dublin's College Green had we not seen the huge party that turned out for Bill Clinton in Belfast and Londonderry. The Dubs will not be outdone.

The rain lifted from the skies when Air Force one approached Dublin Airport and Ireland's most popular radio

Stop complaining about the traffic restriction and the roads being closed off, stop bellyaching about the hundreds of secret service men in mackintoshes speaking into their wrists and peering through sunglasses for terrorists on the

appreciate that he's doing something for peace.

The President met the leaders in the government Buildings while Hillary Rodham Carter spoke to an invited audience Irish women in Ireland's national Gallery.

Aoife" the 12th Century liaison that cemented the whole unfortunate and confused relationship between the two islands, the wife of the President of America urged the women of Ireland to be courageous in carrying out all the hopes and

And then it came to the bit that the people of Dublin could join in, the part where the President was made the 63d Freeman of Dublin City.

Standing in front of the magnificent building that once held the parliament of a united Ire-

faced his public. There were thousands and thousands there, office workers on very long lunch-times, families from the suburbs who had brought children in by bus and train to see a bit of history. They said to each other that he was taller,

ever and ever, his face so familiar suddenly relocated in familiar streets was heavy.

But there were huge other things like a pint of Guinness in Cassidys pub and an address to both Houses of the Irish Parliament, a state banquet, he

Did they like him? Almost certainly and universally yes. The average Dubliner is cynical but not as they went home from the Friday afternoon in the fresh air.

A man taking his children home by the hand through the happy streets gave the man his due. He sees himself as a peacemaker, and don't we need those

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

[Independent, Saturday, December 2, 1995, page 3]

Dubs will not be outdone.

The rain lifted from the skies when Air Force one approached Dublin Airport and Ireland's most popular radio show hosted by Gay Byrne urged the listeners to go out and give the man a proper welcome.

ing about the hundreds of secret service men in mackintoshes speaking into their wrists and peering through sunglasses for terrorists on the roofs of what we know to be perfectly blameless buildings. Go in there, show the man that we

ers in the government Buildings while Hillary Rodham Carter spoke to an invited audience Irish women in Ireland's national Gallery.

Standing under the famous Daniel Maclise painting "The Marriage of Strongbow and

tionship between the two islands, the wife of the President of America urged the women of Ireland to be courageous in carrying out all the hopes and dreams of these days; the work of peace was too important to be left to the elected leaders.

join in, the part where the President was made the 63d Freeman of Dublin City.

Standing in front of the magnificent building that once held the parliament of a united Ireland and Britain for a few short years at the end of the eighteenth century, Bill Clinton

office workers on very long lunch-times, families from the suburbs who had brought children in by bus and train to see a bit of history. They said to each other that he was taller, and greyer and better-looking than he looked on television.

He could have stayed for

familiar streets was heavy.

But there were huge other things like a pint of Guinness in Cassidys pub and an address to both Houses of the Irish Parliament, a state banquet, he couldnt stay all that making jokes with dubs and waving to their children.

fresh air.

A man taking his children home by the hand through the happy streets gave the man his due. He sees himself as a peacemaker, and don't we need those badly?

Maeve Binchy is a columnist for the Irish Times

First Lady lambasted over 'pointless women's meeting'

VICKY WARD

At the start of the President's European tour, Hillary Clinton told the 22 distinguished women who had coffee with her in the plush environs of the US ambassador's dining room on Wednesday morning that the only way to deal with criticism is not to take it personally. "Women spend too much time worrying about other people's approval and not whether or not they approve of themselves," she said. Hours later she needed to put those words into practice.

Mrs Clinton's London coffee morning was not deemed a success either by most of the women "delegates" chosen to attend it or the right-wing British press who gave it almost as much critical press attention as her husband's speech on the Irish peace process to Westminster. The *Daily Mail*, which even devoted a leader to the subject, are indignant at the selection of what they see as an unrepresentative bunch of lefties to exchange views on women's issues.

The guests, who included the *Independent*'s associate editor Polly Toynbee, Gillian Shephard, the Secretary of State for Education, Baroness Blackstone, Labour's foreign Affairs spokeswoman in the Lords, and Georgina Henry, deputy editor of the *Guardian*, were unsure as to who had actually chosen them, or indeed why. Most were rung by US Embassy staff only the night before, and the maximum notice was 48 hours.

Some, like Lola Bubbosh, the deputy editor of the *Literary Review*, thought there must be some mistake when they were told Mrs Clinton wanted to canvas the opinions of British women on British women's issues – Ms Bubbosh is American.

There was no written format to the meeting, and no obvious chair. After Mrs Clinton had met everybody individually – she was introduced to Mrs Shephard first and, after enquiring what she did, commented: "That must be an important job," – Baroness Blackstone kicked off the discussion. Mrs Clinton said little throughout, "but" says one source "she nodded a lot".

Not all of Mrs Clinton's guests saw the point, however. "Most meetings end up with some agenda of some kind, some purpose," said one unattributably. "But none of us knew where this discussion was going."

A spokesman for Mrs Clinton said the First Lady "does this every time she goes abroad and there is time".

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In the Sunday Review

Kids' stuff: fashion for the under-fives

Star wars: the astrologers' battle to succeed Patric Walker



In Real Life

Ben Thompson meets Patsy Kensit

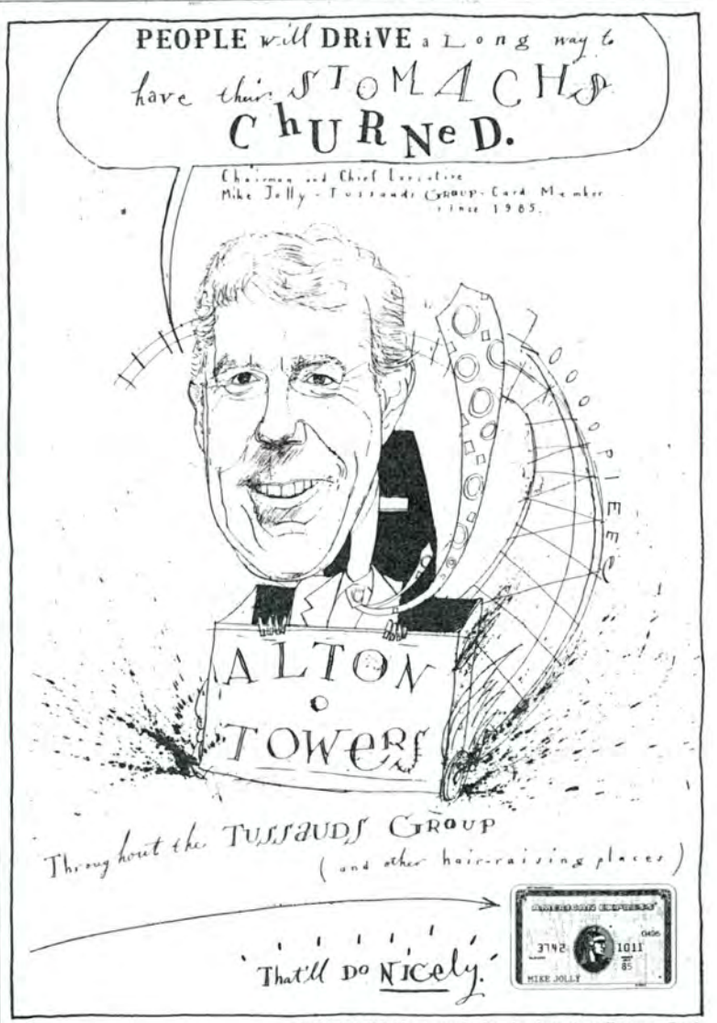


No laughing matter: women comics and anti-men jokes

Plus

What to buy her? Best books for Christmas





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PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

[Independent, Saturday, December 2, 1995, page 3 continued]

[Independent, Saturday, December 2, 1995, page 16]

S TO THE EDITOR

does Hirst's udderless cow mean?

bara Spring
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the values of both artist and critic? I am having real trouble in suspending my disbelief, and await the explanation from the pundits hopefully, in order that understanding may awaken appreciation.
Yours sincerely,
BARBARA SPRING
Saltash, Cornwall
29 November

From Mr Paul Gaynor
Sir: As one of the protesters at the Tate Gallery this Monday who temporarily prevented people exercising their right to view two dead carcasses, I must express my disappointment at the moral bankruptcy of the judges of the Turner Prize and the winning artist.

However you view the exhibit, given the chance, it increased the demand for dead animals by two, created unnecessary suffering and death and cheapened the life of a mother and child.

Apparently the judges were impressed by the artist's ability to deal with the issues of life and death. To give a more cutting edge to the subject, may I suggest that in his next piece he merely directs people to their local slaughterhouse where they can really experience the horrors awaiting the 750 million animals that we kill every year to satisfy our craving to consume animal flesh.

A true artist should be able to represent life and death, not be the cause of it. Justice may yet be done should the artist be reincarnated as a dairy cow.
Yours sincerely,
PAUL GAYNOR
Office Manager
People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals
London, NW1
28 November

From Mr W. K. Harper
Sir: In her eulogy of Damien Hirst's work (29 November) Louisa Buck says "he produces images that lodge themselves in the psyche ... at the same time mundane and massive ... spectacle with profound meditations ... his work grabs you by the throat ... it proves that art can be funny, poetic and profound ... it is as simple or as complex as you want it to be." All this in praise of a blown-up textile pattern or perhaps an arrangement of Smarties done in an idle moment? Very profound.

Incidentally, how does a calf preserved in "deadly poison" have "eternal life"?
Yours sincerely,
W. K. HARPER
Tunstall,
Stoke-on-Trent
9 November



child divided': How does a calf preserved in poison have 'eternal life'? Nick Turpin

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sanctuary for eating a packed lunch. High-quality organists abound, despite a decline in church-going and therefore career opportunities.

More than in any other city in the world, a plethora of glorious music on fine organs in superb historic settings awaits the visitor to London, and not just in the City itself. From SW1 (Westminster Cathedral) to NW1 (St Marylebone Parish Church), W1 (Grosvenor Chapel) to SE1 (Southwark Cathedral), you can catch an organ concert each day of the week.
Yours faithfully,
CATHERINE ENNIS
Organist, St Lawrence Jewry
next Guildhall
London, EC2

Off the Budget

From Mr William Rice
Sir: I wish to express my disgust at the Budget proposal to reduce the amount of housing benefit paid to those, like myself, who are under 25 and live in private rented accommodation.

The proposal is designed to be an incentive to work. I visit the job centre twice a day, every day, and have applied for countless jobs without success. I am not unemployed by choice. To anyone under 25 the message is clear, ensure you've got a job, because if you dare lose it, the state will clobber you.
Yours faithfully,
WILLIAM RICE
Port Glasgow

to the Editor, Independent, One Canada Square, Canary Wharf, London E14 5DL
: letters@independent.co.uk) and include a daytime telephone number.
h and clarity. We regret we are unable to acknowledge unpublished letters.

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First Lady 'hatchet job'

From Baroness Blackstone and Ms Elizabeth Symons
Sir: We wonder whether Polly Toynbee ("What have they done to Hillary?", 30 November) was at the same meeting we attended at the American Embassy on Wednesday.

Her report was a serious misrepresentation of an interesting and stimulating discussion. What Ms Toynbee describes as "buzz words" are real issues to many women, as those on zero-hours contracts and pitiful pay for part-timers know all too well. A wide variety of views was expressed, put with both determination and humour. It was a conversation in which Mrs Clinton freely participated, demonstrating a reflective intelligence and considerable knowledge of the issues.

Had Polly Toynbee listened to the conversation, instead of trying to dictate it through her own agenda of questions to Mrs Clinton, she might have had a clearer understanding of what was going on.

Journalists who attend meetings of this kind, and then do a hatchet job on their host, are the cause of the "anodyne views" and "carefully manicured" words that Polly Toynbee deplores.
Yours faithfully,
TESSA BLACKSTONE
Master, Birkbeck College
ELIZABETH SYMONS
General Secretary
The Association of First Division Civil Servants
London, SW1

From Mr J. T. Turnbull
Sir: Commiserations to Polly Toynbee on her disappointment that her coffee morning with Hillary Clinton didn't turn out to be the feminist whinge-in she had hoped for. She responded by pouring scorn on the First Lady for the unpardonable sin of admitting to loving her husband, and castigated her for challenging the feminist dogma that single parenthood is a good thing (even while admitting that she is right).

This was followed by the interesting argument that sisters shouldn't speak the truth in case it played into the hands of the pro-family opposition! But perhaps Ms Toynbee could have struck a blow for social and sexual equality by refusing the invitation to a reception where the guest list was based on privilege and gender.
Yours faithfully,
J. T. TURNBULL
London, SE3

Duty to the truth

From Ms Anna Freeman
Sir: Virginia Ironside (Dilemma, 30 November) perpetuates the lie that Father Christmas isn't a lie but a myth, and indeed that myths aren't lies at all. It may be all right for parents, and adults in general, to repeat myths that they believe are true, such as God and heaven; but it is surely wrong to repeat myths that we know are false. I find it shocking that any responsible person should seriously argue in favour of telling children deliberate lies.
Yours faithfully,
ANNA FREEMAN
Leighton Buzzard

DAVID AARONOVI

Love thy whinger

Stop! Restrain yourself. Bottle it up. If thy neighbour offends thee, forget it. Should he nick your dustbin, offer him your compost heap. Otherwise you risk becoming one of those whose minor irritations turn inexorably into savage hatreds, whose lives are devoted to petty acts of aggrandisement and revenge.

Almost every day we read of neighbours who fall out because of the noise made by pet rabbits or, in one famous case, the intolerable racket made by next door's breeding hamsters (was there, perhaps, a bewhiskered Meg Ryan equivalent, given to crying out "Eeeee, eeee, eeeee" at the point of rodentine climax?).

This week we have had the latest instalment in a 16-year hedge battle between pensioners Charles Stanton and Michael Jones. Back in 1971, when Edward Heath was Prime Minister and T. Rex were in the charts, Mr Stanton planted a row of fast-growing conifers at the bottom of his garden. Mr Jones watched as, over the years, the plants grew to 25ft, blotting out the sun's rays and casting his own garden into Stygian gloom.

In 1979, friendly discussion having failed, Mr J took action and solicitor's letters were exchanged. Meanwhile the cypresses shot above the 30ft mark. Eventually, Mr S grudgingly consented to the trees being reduced to 22ft, thus safeguarding his privacy against all but the lankiest of giraffes.

But six years ago, the dispute took a new twist. Mr J decided that 15ft was a better height, took the saw into his own hands, and lopped off a further 60 inches. And then another 48 inches.

Maggie went, the Gulf war was fought, Yugoslavia imploded. Over in Bournville, injunctions were being granted and courts were giving rulings. Peace broke out in Ulster and finally, on Thursday, Mr Stanton lost his last case. He now faces a bill for £50,000 in costs.

If Mr Jones has shown remarkable persistence, Mr Stanton's behaviour represents one of the Psychological Wonders of the modern world. It is

QUOTE UNC

Words can be sexy and eyes can be s
see naked bodies writhing around al
a growing number of film actresses wi

I cannot remember when I last sa
important nowadays to have a lot of
public – **Viscount Daventry**, *Lord L*

The cut is nonsensical, totally irra
Stephen Daldry, *artistic director o*
London, on the £5m cut in the Arts t

The trouble with being off the drink
the next morning what you did the ni
off the drink there's nothing worth t
before – **Richard Harris**, *actor and*

I could play Camilla Parker-Bowles
Joan Collins, *when asked if she wou*

It was as if Brady and Hindley had go
20 years – **Howard Sounes**, *author of*

Marriage, not cohabitation, is the ins
of the good society and let us not be re
– **The Archbishop of Canterbury**

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

[Independent, Saturday, December 2, 1995, page 17]

It was all a matter of nuance, but Dr Carey saw the opportunity for firm leadership and grabbed it with both hands: the public beating he administered to the report was quite unprecedented, and left the Bishop responsible hoarse with pain and anger in his response.

Dr Carey himself has been married since the age of 24; he once told an interviewer that it was "unimag-

every minute.

As Archbishop, he carries on exactly like the go-getting vicar he was when he first impressed a powerful evangelical clique in Durham in the Seventies. Indeed, a recent church report described his office as "vicar to the nation" as well as "world spiritual leader". It is both a grandiose and a shrunken vision that may turn out to fit a flounder-

he still refers to himself as an East Ender, and his appreciation of old-fashioned working class communities and their values shines through all his comments on society. He failed his eleven plus and left school at 15 with no qualifications.

At the age of 18 he became a committed Christian in an old-fashioned evangelical church, where the worship was straight from the prayer

now their confidence with power and modernity: their churches have the newest computer systems. They don't expect to be in decline, even when they are: they believe that the right combination of technique and prayer will put the church back on the road to growth.

What they don't believe in is soft-headed accommodation to modern secular trends, however close to

is bereft of these faults, and their concomitant virtues. He knows what he wants for the church and for the nation: "We have to get back to the kind of basic standards which come from a strong christian tradition and strong churches which are making their contribution to the life of our nation." Here is the certain trumpet. Will anyone be listening?

gramme (there is also a highly successful spin off magazine) is 10 years old next year. It is something of a mystery to the TV executives who can't quite comprehend how the mix of high street bargains, designer frocks, and wedding dresses picks up some eight million viewers – 39 per cent of the audience share on Sunday afternoon.

When Jeff Banks, then running his successful Warehouse

fon elite who tend to sneer). Ten years ago, the woman in the street would not have known who John Galliano was. Now, the designer is recognised in the street by autograph hunters. And while the postbags at the *Clothes Show*'s Birmingham office keep on piling up, Jeff Banks' vision has paid off. On the fashion catwalk at the NEC, the music explodes, the models sashay and the crowds roar.

A formula for reviving Irish spirits

Bill Clinton's visit was a great excuse for a great party. But it meant more, says **David McKittrick**

Belfast, as somebody once remarked, is not at all a typical Irish city: it has more in common with the Scottish or northern English cities that sprang up with the industrial revolution, and shares many of their characteristics.

In one of its aspects it is tough, dour, grumpy, with a take-it-or-leave-it attitude, a city of no airs and graces – personified, in fact, by Van Morrison, who this week served as the warm-up act for Bill Clinton at its city hall.

That facet has been to the fore ever since the paramilitary ceasefires of 1994, which were greeted with a mixture of relief and caution. It took the presidential visit to liberate another of the city's aspects, at last allowing it to show its warm, welcoming, even joyous face.

In doing so, the visit not only provided the occasion for a release of goodwill but also consolidated and cemented the peace process. It was more than just a great party: it may turn out to be a truly historic turning point, for in a single day almost all of the lingering doubts about the peace were swept away.

Many trials and obstacles will have to be surmounted in the months and years ahead, but this week's events have immeasurably strengthened the process. The preceding weeks had produced a series of ever-gloomier assessments from republicans, and latterly from security sources. Both elements warned that the process was becoming unstable as the arms decommissioning impasse dragged on. Tuesday night's Anglo-Irish summit, since over-shadowed by the Clinton visit, did much to relieve the pressures. Even in the absence of agreement between Dublin and London, its carefully balanced formula set up an international body on decommissioning and moved towards talks. It was, in effect, an offer that, politically, Sinn Fein and the IRA could not refuse and, for the moment at least, it dispelled most of the dangerous tensions.



Clinton in Northern Ireland: the signs are that US involvement will reassure all parties Photograph: F. Spooner

While the ingenious intricacies of the summit communiqué have supplied a technical framework for the next few months, the Clinton visit delivered an extraordinary injection of momentum, enthusiasm, fresh heart and new spirit. His message that the violence was over for good was radiated back to him from the thousands who stood in the cold to hear him and cheer him.

On 31 August, on the first anniversary of the IRA cessation of violence, the streets in front of the city hall were empty: no one felt able to celebrate. On Thursday night, with Clinton as the catalyst, tens of thousands clapped, cheered, waved their US flags and finally allowed their feelings to come out into the open.

The fact that the crowd was made up of both Catholics and Protestants is a tribute to Clinton's political skills. Throughout 1994, his name was mud with Unionists as, in the face of stiff British opposition, he granted Gerry Adams visas to visit the States and allowed him to fund-raise there (a boon that has netted Sinn Fein hundreds of thousands of dollars and has probably made it Ireland's richest political party).

Clinton's is the first US administration to make a serious study of the politics of Northern Ireland, and certainly the first to intervene in them. No American president had ever visited Northern Ireland before this week, JFK deciding in 1963 not to venture north of the border.

This was largely because American administrations were perceived as pro-Irish nationalists. Indeed, many saw Clinton in this light in 1994. Since then, however, his position has evolved considerably: he has made particular efforts to mend fences with London while, as he demonstrated in Dublin yesterday, remaining on good terms with the Irish government.

His warmest praise was reserved for SDLP leader John Hume, who clearly has a major input into American decision-making. But Clinton has also made a special effort to build bridges to Unionists, offering special access to Unionist leader David Trimble and establishing relations with loyalist paramilitary groups.

Keeping all sides in the conflict reasonably happy is no easy task, but the tumultuous welcomes he received in Belfast and Londonderry showed he has succeeded in doing so. (His coolest reception, from the Rev Ian Paisley, is regarded as pretty much par for the Paisley course.)

Clinton's popularity was not earned by retreating into anodyne generalisations about peace. The most important messages in his speeches this week were that the violence must be over for good and that formerly violent prodigals should be welcomed into politics. He declared in Belfast: "You must be willing to say that those who renounce violence are entitled to be part of the democratic process."

In emphasising this last week he voiced no criticism of the British government but made it clear that his approach is the speedy construction of an inclusive settlement. In doing so he places more emphasis on the need for dialogue than London has displayed.

In his approach Clinton is of course hopeful of netting Irish-American votes, but his analysis goes much deeper than that. He, like Dublin, believes that the best way to deal with republicans is to draw them ever-deeper into the political net. He believes his decision to allow Adams into the States was vindicated in that it helped facilitate the IRA ceasefire.

The appointment of his close friend and ally George Mitchell as head of the decommissioning body is an indication that the US will remain a major player in the peace process. Many Unionists and many in Britain may have instinctive reservations about continuing US involvement, but the fact is that it is here to stay. This week all the signs were, from the people on the streets of Belfast, that they wholeheartedly approve of the fact that their peace process has become an international issue.

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By H. Darr Beiser, USA TODAY

Shula: 'I have to get my team back up,' 1B

No. 6 UMASS UPSETS No. 1 KENTUCKY 92-82 1B

MARCUS CAMBY SCORES 32

▶ COLLEGE BASKETBALL, 5B

MIAMI'S SHULA, 65, ISN'T SET TO MAKE A GRACEFUL EXIT

OUSTER 'IS NOT SOMETHING I'M THINKING ABOUT,' 1B

USA TODAY

INTERNATIONAL EDITION

THURSDAY

IRS TELLS TRAVELERS DON'T WORRY ABOUT TAX

AGENCY WON'T ENFORCE FREQUENT-FLIER LAW, 7B

JESSE JACKSON JR. LIKELY TO REPLACE MEL REYNOLDS

CIVIL RIGHTS LEADER'S SON WINS ILLINOIS PRIMARY, 3A



By Beth A. Keiser, AP

Jackson: Jesse's son wins election, 3A

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1995

NEWSLINE

A QUICK READ ON THE NEWS

DOLLAR: Closing quotes in London for key currencies: Pound at $1.5379 from $1.5488; U.S. dollar at 1.4353 marks from 1.4320; 101.45 yen from 101.19. Table. 9B.

▶ Gold closes in London at $389.40, from $388.30.

NATION OF USED CARS: Blockbuster founder getting into used-car business with visions of high-volume, low-pressure stores across the USA. 10B.

MODEL KILLED: Death of calendar model, whose body was found in shallow grave, raises question of whether photographer charged with murder is serial killer. 3A.

JAPANESE ECONOMY: Government says reforms could give boost; economists dispute view. 10B.

HOSPITALIZED: James Brady, left, injured in 1981 assassination attempt on former president Ronald Reagan, is hospitalized in fair condition after cardiac arrest during dental visit. Brady, 55, was "having a dental procedure and basically went into cardiac arrest," said Christine Tea, night nursing supervisor at Fairfax Hospital in Virginia. 4A.



By Wilfredo Lee, AP

Brady: Family is 'optimistic'

'VISIBLE WOMAN': First detailed three-dimensional image of woman's body is going on-line, joining "Visible Man." Body was sliced thousands of times and images processed by computer. 9A.

HYPE & GLORY: Eight politicians join together in Sunday morning conference calls to discuss forging a middle-of-the-road political force that might unite behind a 1996 independent presidential candidate. 2A.

▶ Former Sen. David Durenberger of Minnesota sentenced to one-year probation and fined $1,000. 4A.

U.S. lauds N. Ireland pact

London welcomes president



By Fiona Hanson, AP

How do you do: President Clinton and British Prime Minister John Major, background, are greeted by London schoolchildren Wednesday, the first day of Clinton's five-day trip to Europe.

Dispute looms over disarming IRA fighters

By Bill Nichols
USA TODAY

LONDON — President Clinton heads to Northern Ireland Thursday to help sell a last-minute agreement aimed at spurring new peace talks to end nearly a quarter-century of sectarian violence.

Clinton lavished praise on British Prime Minister John Major and Irish Prime Minister John Bruton for the accord reached Tuesday, which broke weeks of deadlock and begins a path toward negotiations between all parties in February.

The deal also would establish an independent commission, headed by former Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell, to study the issue of disarming the Irish Republican Army and other paramilitary groups.

"The twin-tracks process has provided a mechanism for all of the parties honorably now to bring their concerns to the table and be heard," said Clinton, who was making the first stop of a five-day European tour.

He said the deal reached by Major and Bruton "is the best opportunity I have seen to resolve all of these issues, and think it should be embraced."

But initial reaction towards

▶ GOP split on Bosnia plan, 4A
▶ U.S. team arrives in Bosnia, 4A

NATO-led force ready to roll into Bosnia

By Steve Komarow
USA TODAY

BRUSSELS — Defense Secretary William Perry and NATO colleagues approved a plan Wednesday to move into Bosnia and said the West's big guns were ready to roll in Operation Joint Endeavour.

"This is a sound plan, carefully crafted to send a strong, able force," Perry said.

The mission, still a political hot potato in the USA, took on an air of inevitability here as details fell into place.

[USA Today, Thursday, November 30, 1995, page 1A]

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mistic' sliced thousands of times and images processed by computer. 9A.

HYPE & GLORY: Eight politicians join together in Sunday morning conference calls to discuss forging a middle-of-the-road political force that might unite behind a 1996 independent presidential candidate. 2A.

▶ Former Sen. David Durenberger of Minnesota sentenced to one-year probation and fined $1,000. 4A.

CBS STRATEGY: The TV network's entertainment chief says it will stop pursuing young adult viewers and concentrate on quality. 9A.

▶ CBS golf announcer under fire for comments. 1B.

TODAY'S DEBATE: Seizing criminal's assets. In USA TODAY's opinion, "Supreme Court has the chance to rein in forfeiture laws that presume citizens guilty." 7A.

▶ "Forfeiture of assets tainted by criminal conduct is a cornerstone of the fight against organized crime and drugs," says Bruce Fein. 7A.

▶ Woman goes to Supreme Court over seizure of car. 3A.

MONEY: Changes would prevent employers from dipping into employees' 401(k) savings. 9B.

SPORTS: NASCAR to hit the global oval next year. 1B.

▶ Tom Kite selected Ryder Cup captain. 1B.

LIFE: Dolls get new lease on life. 9A.

WEATHER: **Asia/Pacific:** Windy, high seas eastern Japan; sunny Koreas, northern China. **Europe:** Cool central, east; cloudy west. **USA:** Sunny, colder Northeast; milder lower Midwest; fair Southwest. Color maps. 10A.

Compiled by John O. Buckley and Elaine Harshman

COMING FRIDAY: Technology buff George Lucas made a movie about the future called *Stars Wars*. Now, he's experimenting with the future of movies. Also Friday: a look at the maddening rail strike in France and the mess it's creating for travelers.

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USA SNAPSHOTS®

A look at statistics that shape the nation



By Fiona Hanson, AP

How do you do: President Clinton and British Prime Minister John Major, background, are greeted by London schoolchildren Wednesday, the first day of Clinton's five-day trip to Europe.

Schroeder will retire from House

By Ward Marchant
The Associated Press

DENVER — Rep. Pat Schroeder, the dean of women legislators in Congress, said Wednesday she will not seek re-election to a 12th term.

Schroeder, a Colorado Democrat who has served 23 years in the U.S. House of Representatives, said she was leaving Congress because "I feel it's time to move on to tackle new challenges."

Schroeder has "been able to spend a majority of my adult life in the House of Representatives," she pointed out in a written statement.

"This year my age hit the 55 speed limit. Thank goodness Congress lifted it to 65."

Considered a liberal, she has fought Republicans on issues such as abortion rights, the environment and spending on education and social welfare.

Schroeder becomes the latest in a long line of veteran lawmakers deciding to walk away from Congress.

Fifteen other Democrats have said they are leaving, and two others have resigned. Five Republican representatives have decided not to seek re-election next year.

Schroeder is Congress' most senior woman and served in the House leadership. She is the first woman to be appointed to the Armed Services committee is ranking Democrat on that committee's subcommittee on military installations and facilities.

COVER STORY

Immigration law may force IRA men out of USA



By Robert Deutsch, USA TODAY

New Jersey is home for now: Former Irish Republican Army member Noel Gaynor longs to stay with his wife, Colleen, and daughters, Brady Alice, left, and Sinead.

By Richard Willing
USA TODAY

BLOOMFIELD, N.J. — Noel Mary Gaynor's first war was on the streets of Northern Ireland, and it carried a high price. A policeman was shot dead, and Gaynor, an Irish Republican Army soldier who helped set up the ambush, spent 13½ years in prison.

To Gaynor, it all seems long ago. Today, he's retired from the IRA, working in construction and living quietly in this New York suburb. His life no longer turns on driving the British out of Northern Ireland but on avoiding being deported there himself.

"This is my cause now," he says, sitting in his modest living room and gesturing toward his American wife and their two small daughters. "To be a taxpayer, a hard worker, an average American Joe. To keep my family together."

This week, as President Clinton visits Ireland and Northern Ireland to try to make the fragile peace permanent, the pending deportation cases of Gaynor and 10 other former IRA men or supporters are an awkward distraction. When the peace process took a sudden leap forward Tuesday night, that became especially true.

Two of the wives plan to follow Clinton through Ireland this week to publicize the deportations. A congressional delegation, including several lawmakers who have urged Clinton to intervene, will meet the president there.

Meanwhile, family members and friends of the possible deportees plan a demonstration Saturday at the New York

Please see COVER STORY next page ▶

ble and be heard," said Clinton, who was making the first stop of a five-day European tour.

He said the deal reached by Major and Bruton "is the best opportunity I have seen to resolve all of these issues, and think it should be embraced."

But initial reaction towards the pact from both sides of the Northern Ireland conflict was chilly. Protestant leaders were particularly upset that their key demand — that the IRA must disarm before its political arm, Sinn Fein, can take part in talks — was not tackled.

"The essential issue is that there must be decommissioning and there will be no talks with Sinn Fein until that happens," said David Trimble of the Ulster Unionist Party, a pro-British Protestant group.

British officials, however, insist decommissioning remains a prerequisite for negotiations and they say Major, with the commission, is trying to begin a new dialogue on the issue.

Clinton carefully stayed away from taking sides on the issue, saying "it is not for us to get into the details of the judgment that the countries and the parties have to make."

He spent a whirlwind day here, which included a speech to Parliament in which he promised U.S. help in enforcing the peace plan in Bosnia.

Thursday, Clinton planned to visit Belfast and Londonderry, marking the first visit by a U.S. president to Northern Ireland. He was to meet with leaders from all sides of the conflict. He heads to Dublin on Friday, meets with U.S. troops in Germany on Saturday, and finishes his trip on Sunday with a stop in Madrid for a U.S.-European Union summit.

▶ Mending U.S.-U.K. ties, 4A

guns were ready to roll in Operation Joint Endeavour.

"This is a sound plan, carefully crafted to send a strong, able force," Perry said.

The mission, still a political hot potato in the USA, took on an air of inevitability here as details fell into place.

A vanguard of more than 1,500 allied troops, including up to 700 Americans, is expected to begin work in Bosnia by early next week. They would install power, water and communications equipment, repair roads and airfields, and erect heated tents.

The main 60,000-troop international peace force — one-third American — will go in after a peace agreement is signed in Paris on Dec. 14.

Clinton will visit Saturday with Bosnia-bound U.S. troops from the 1st Armored Division stationed in Germany.

NATO ministers approved Wednesday a U.S.-Russian deal that would put 1,500 Russian troops under command of a U.S. general in Bosnia.

Perry also emphasized the U.S. commitment to help the Bosnian government build a stronger military, if the rebel Bosnian Serbs don't reduce their weaponry within the first six months, as required by the peace pact.

"The imbalance of arms ... was a significant causative factor in this war starting almost four years ago," he said. "We don't want to leave Bosnia a year from now with that imbalance still existing."

Also, U.S. Air Force chief of staff, Gen. Ronald Fogleman gave the most detailed look so far at the U.S. "exit strategy," saying the United States planned a phased withdrawal of its 20,000 peacekeepers, leaving a small force at the end of the estimated one-year mission.

On guard in Sarajevo



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PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

[USA Today, Thursday, November 30, 1995, page 2A]

COVER STORY

Ironically, peace may injure cases

Continued from 1A

headquarters of the Immigration and Naturalization Service. The 11 pending deportations, they say, are an all-time high for former Irish republicans.

The INS insists it is following ordinary procedures and that the men have not been singled out. They are being pursued, it says, because they did not disclose their records for IRA-related crimes when they entered the USA, usually on tourist visas, during the past 10 years.

The men say their IRA crimes, which range from arms possession to murder, were "political offenses" and should not be held against them, given their steady jobs and clean records here.

Though most of them arrived in the country illegally, they have since married Americans or legal residents and have fathered 23 American children among them.

They want badly to stay. Were it not for their IRA records, almost certainly they would be allowed to.

"These are hard-working men who, without exception, never cost the American taxpayers a quarter," says Michael Dowd, a lawyer who represents one of them.

But Clinton may be reluctant to intervene.

The president has cast himself as a conciliator in the conflict between warring Catholics, many of whom want to unite the six counties of Northern Ireland with the neighboring Irish republic, and Protestants who wish to remain part of Great Britain. Helping the ex-IRA men now could harm his credibility.

"There are many who feel the forgotten victims are not the IRA, but the victims of violence," says the Rev. John Dunlop, a Presbyterian minister in Belfast.

The greatest irony may be that no one outside the immigration bureaucracy seems to want the men sent back.

▶ Not the British authorities, who say the ex-IRA men have completed their sentences and are free.

▶ Not the mostly Protestant Irish "loyalists," often the targets of IRA violence.

The men, meanwhile, are permitted to work while they fight deportation. Similar cases have taken 12 years.

In New York, Charlie Caulfield and Kevin Crossan work as carpenters; Robbie McErlean rehabs floors. Brian Pearson is a carpenter in nearby Pearl River, N.Y.

In St. Louis, Francie Broderick, wife of potential deportee Matt Morrison, supports the family as a social services administrator while her husband studies nursing and minds the couple's two children.

Morrison, a college student in Northern Ireland, served 10 years after a companion fired from a car at a police guardpost. His wife estimates that the family has spent $50,000 on his immigration case.

"It's Kafkaesque," says Niall O'Dowd, publisher of the *Irish Voice*, a weekly aimed at Irish immigrants in the USA. "The bureaucracy grinds on, seemingly without reference to any other form of reality."

Gaynor's story is typical.

He was born in Lurgan, a town of about 9,000 Catholics and twice that many Protestants. His family, though Catholic, was "completely not political," he remembers. A favorite uncle was a soldier in the British army.

An apprentice carpenter, he had difficulty finding work. In 1969, Gaynor attended "civil rights" rallies for improved housing and job opportunities for Northern Ireland's Catholic minority.

This, he says, caused security forces to "kick in our door" and beat his father with a rifle butt. He joined the IRA "so as not to have to just lie down and take it."

The next years were rough. Gaynor was repeatedly arrested by police and British army patrols. He was often beaten, he says, once having seven teeth kicked out.

In December 1973, IRA riflemen set up an ambush on a Lurgan street. Gaynor's role, according to British government records, was to stand in the street and alert the shooters "when he saw any potential security force targets." A passing policeman was shot. An informer tipped off police, and Gaynor was arrested and tried in a special anti-terrorist court. In 1977, he was convicted of murder and sentenced to life in prison.

"I'm sorry a police constable had to die," Gaynor, 41, says today. "I'm also sorry boys had to die who were my mates, boys from the other side, boys (who were soldiers) from England and Scotland and Wales."

"That's guerrilla warfare. We didn't ask for it. The British gave us no choice."

In prison, Gaynor began to correspond with Colleen Connelly, an Irish-American from Olean, N.Y. She visited him and they fell in love. When Gaynor was paroled in early 1990, he came to the USA on a visitor's visa and the couple married. When asked on his immigration form whether he had ever been convicted of a crime, Gaynor answered "no."

The other IRA alumni, often using their British passports, pretty much did the same thing when they entered the USA. Their reasoning: Convictions for IRA activity were not crimes, but "political offenses."

"Right or wrong, that's quite understandable, given what the men had been through," says Rep. Thomas Manton, D-N.Y., who is lobbying for the men. "They had been considered political prisoners (in Northern Ireland), not criminals, and this is how they think of themselves." The INS, however, doesn't see it that way.

"To make false statements when you enter is to violate terms of your visa," INS spokesman Russ Bergeron.

The men, he said, never would have been admitted had they disclosed their convictions because "terrorist activities" are not "political.'"

Irish-American activists are outraged. They note that Gerry Adams, president of Sinn Fein, the IRA's political wing, once was denied entry into the USA because of his terrorist background. Now, Adams is among those scheduled to greet Clinton in Northern Ireland on Thursday.

"The Irish freedom struggle is recognized as political in the White House, in Congress and everywhere but at the INS," says Martin Galvin, a lawyer for three of the men.

Adds the Rev. Sean McManus, a Catholic priest who heads the Irish National Caucus in Washington: "This is a clearly stated effort to harass and hound Irish people in this country. . . . Why is the government spending such time and resources targeting people the British have a beef with?"

But INS, through spokesman Bergeron, insists that it is following the "ordinary procedures" the law requires. And the British dismiss claims of their involvement as preposterous.

"There's no reason for us to do anything; the men have served their sentences," says Peter Bean, spokesman for the British Embassy in Washington.

Immigration law may be the highest hurdle. The 1990 Immigration Act bars individuals who give "material aid" to illegal armed struggles. It was written with the PLO in mind but has been applied to IRA activity. Federal judges have ruled that former IRA men can be denied political asylum because their group persecutes Northern Irish Protestants.

"Absolutely, positively untrue," says Gabriel Megahey, a crane operator in the Bronx and another potential deportee.

It is unclear how the cases will come out. In similar cases in the past two years, U.S. courts have found that ex-IRA men or sympathizers would risk death if they were returned to Northern Ireland. Both times, the INS then offered residency. But the cease-fire in Northern Ireland makes it harder for the men to claim that they would be endangered if sent back.

While the dispute rages, the men keep a low profile.

"They say one man's freedom fighter is another man's terrorist," Gaynor says.

"Well, this man is a laborer and a husband and a father and would hope to be let stay that way."



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USA TODAY International
535 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10022
Telephone: 212-715-5426 Fax: 212-207-8982

Editorial headquarters — 1000 Wilson Blvd., Arlington, Va. 22229.
Telephone: 703-276-5820 Fax: 703-247-3282

David Mazzarella, President Gannett International, 212-715-5427
John M. Simpson, Editor, USA TODAY International, 703-276-3601
Larry R. Marshak, Deputy Editor, USA TODAY International, 703-276-5840
Barbara L. Krasne, Vice President & General Manager, 212-715-2051
Thomas R. Betes, V.P. & Managing Director/Europe & Asia (London) 44-171-734-4004

Europe/Middle East Headquarters (London): John Hirsch, Vice President Circulation, Ian Harris, Advertising Director, Anil Dasani, Operations/Finance Dir., —

Asia/Pacific — Lydia Ko, Advertising Dir. Chris Horn, Circulation Dir. Raymond Suen, Operations/Finance Dir., USA TODAY Intl. Corp., 5 Canton Road, Rm. 522, Ocean Centre T.S.T., Kowloon, Hong Kong. Tel: 852-2730-6556, Fax: 852-2736-8503
Singapore: Tel: 65-297-2933; Fax: 65-296-5446
Tokyo: Tel: 81-3-3243-8377; Fax: 81-3-3275-8975

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ABC

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

returning refugees will be safe.

EGYPT ELECTIONS: Violence marred Egypt's parliamentary elections, with four people killed, at least four wounded by gunfire and 95 others injured in fights between supporters of the government and opposition parties. The opposition claims the government of President Hosni Mubarak rigged the vote against its chief challenger, the fundamentalist Muslim Brotherhood. At a dozen polling stations around the country, arguments over alleged vote tampering erupted into battles with fists, sticks and guns. Opposition claimed government supporters stole and stuffed ballot boxes, and the wife of one candidate voted four times.

OKINAWA BASE: Japanese Prime Minister Tomiichi Murayama issued an order to Okinawa Gov. Masahide Ota to sign documents needed to force unwilling local landowners to renew the lease of their land to U.S. bases. Ota has repeatedly said he would not follow either of the administrative advice or order. He is backed by Okinawan people's wishes to reduce U.S. bases there following the Sept. 4 rape of a schoolgirl for which three U.S. servicemen are on trial. If Ota refuses the order, Murayama would have to go to court. Also Wednesday, Okinawa police are not expected to press charges in the case of a woman who claims she was raped by an American man near a U.S. base last week. A police spokesman said investigation into the woman's allegations will continue because she has not recanted.

AMERICAN STABBED: An American working for Taiwan's largest computer manufacturer was stabbed to death at his Taipei home allegedly during a quarrel with a neighbor. Philip Demiller, 45, of Pontiac, Mich., was a technical document writer at Taiwan's Acer Inc. Police arrested a neighbor, Lu Hui-mei, who confessed to stabbing Demiller after he complained she was making too much noise.

BUSH IN INDIA: Former president George Bush said in a speech in New Delhi that a $368 million sale of arms to Pakistan will not disturb the military balance between Pakistan and India. Bush met with Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao and spoke to Indian businesspeople.

ALSO . . .

▶ **HIV MURDER:** The former owner of a German plasma-testing lab went on trial for murder in the deaths of three people treated with AIDS-tainted blood products. Guenter Eckert is also charged with 5,837 counts of attempted murder. Eckert did not test 74,541 blood units out of 85,464 units delivered by a plasma company.

▶ **POLISH ELECTIONS:** Poland's president-elect Aleksander Kwasniewski, his election victory under legal challenge, left for an overseas vacation without explaining why he had claimed wrongly to have a university degree. Meanwhile the Polish supreme court is looking into 600,000 complaints by Poles who say the vote should be annulled because Kwasniewski misrepresented his qualifications.

Compiled by Smita P. Nordwall

trict that I'm getting . . . it's not going to be, I think, in any re- commander in chief. So despite criticism from be responsible, too. Meanwhile, hearings opened dent Bush. Contributing: Susan Page

U.S. pushes peace plans

Clinton repairs ties in Britain, heads to N. Ireland

By Bill Nichols
USA TODAY

LONDON — Christmas came early Wednesday for President Clinton, as a last-minute peace initiative for Northern Ireland handed him another foreign policy triumph to trumpet at the start of a five-day European tour.

The official line among some British officials was that Clinton's impending arrival had only a peripheral influence on the timing of the agreement reached late Tuesday in which Britain and Ireland agreed to restart the stalled peace process.

The deal allows for all parties in the Northern Ireland conflict to begin preliminary talks, while an independent commission, headed by former Senate majority leader George Mitchell, studies the issue of disarming the Irish Republican Army.

"The fact that the president ... was coming concentrated the mind," allowed British Prime Minister John Major.

But some in the British press called the 11th-hour agreement a "Made-in-the-USA" pact, and Clinton and his traveling party were clearly ebullient over the news.

As Air Force One left Washington en route to London Tuesday night, Clinton gave national security adviser Tony Lake a bottle of champagne to celebrate the breakthrough.

Lake and Nancy Soderberg, one of his senior aides, have worked for months trying to help find a path toward full-fledged peace talks on Northern Ireland.

Throughout a 20-hour day of speeches, meetings and ceremonial events, the president who first came to Europe two years ago having to prove his foreign-policy mettle won praise. "Wonderfully delivered. Just perfect for the occasion," said former prime minister Margaret Thatcher of Clinton's speech to a joint session of Parliament.



By John Cogill, AP

Preparing for the president: Ciaragh Conway sorts through American flags in Dublin in preparation for the visit of President Clinton.

That speech marked Clinton's other priority in his London visit, to continue rallying support at home for his decision to send 20,000 U.S. troops to enforce the peace treaty in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Clinton thanked Britons for sending thousands of peacekeepers to the Balkans. "In this new world our lives are not so very much at risk, but much of what makes life worth living is still very much at stake," Clinton said. "We have fought our wars. Now let us wage the peace."

He also was careful to reinforce his regard for "the unique and enduring relationship" between Britain and the United States, a relationship questioned because of Clinton's troubled relationship with Major, whose Tory party aided Republicans looking for dirt in records of Clinton's Rhodes Scholar days at Oxford. The move colored the two leaders' early meetings.

Clinton's decision in January 1994 to override longstanding State Department policy and grant a U.S. visa to Sinn Fein leader Gerry Adams helped cement the current truce in Northern Ireland, but it angered London, particularly Major.

Clinton, accompanied by first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, also met with Queen Elizabeth and Prince Philip and toured Buckingham Palace and attended a dinner at No. 10 Downing Street hosted by Major.

IN WASHINGTON

Durenberger gets 1-year probation in fraud case



AP

Durenberger: Pleaded guilty in fraud case

Former Sen. David Durenberger of Minnesota was sentenced Wednesday to one year probation and fined $1,000 on five misdemeanor charges that he stole public funds by abusing his congressional expense account. U.S. District Judge Stanley Harris refused a Justice Department request that Durenberger, a Republican, serve home detention. Durenberger had pleaded guilty to the five charges. In 1993, Durenberger was indicted on felony fraud charges. He was accused of hiding his ownership of a Minneapolis condominium to improperly collect reimbursement from the Senate for nights he stayed there. He was denounced by the Senate and didn't seek re-election.

SENATE RUN: Massachusetts Gov. William F. Weld said Wednesday he will run for the U.S. Senate, challenging incumbent Democratic Sen. John F. Kerry. "I believe I am most useful in a fight," Weld said. "Right now the fight that matters most to the people of this state is in Washington."

BUDGET BATTLE: White House and congressional negotiators were to meet Wednesday and every day this week to seek compromise on how to balance the federal budget by 2002. The two sides left their first meeting without agreeing on how many negotiators will represent each side.

LOBBYING MOVES: Ending decades of gridlock, the House on Wednesday sent President Clinton a bill that would force thousands of Washington lobbyists to register and to disclose their clients and how much they are paid. Clinton has said he will sign it into law. The lobbying disclosure bill would overhaul a patchwork of laws dating to 1946.

RESIGNATION: Rep. Jan Meyers, R-Kan., the only woman to head a House committee, said that she would not run for re-election in 1996. After serving 12 years, Meyers, 67, said she wants more time with her family.

GORE COSTUMES: Vice President Al Gore has been billed $8,365 by the Walt Disney Co. for tailor-made *Beauty and the Beast* Halloween costumes for himself and wife Tipper, *The Washington Post* reported Wednesday. The Democratic National Committee will pay the tab, the paper said.

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Republic of Ireland 45p
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HUMANITY IS SCORCHING THE EARTH
Top scientists say that global warming is already destroying the planet, page 3



ROB REINER SHOOTS THE PRESIDENT
Section Two



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See page 21 for Token

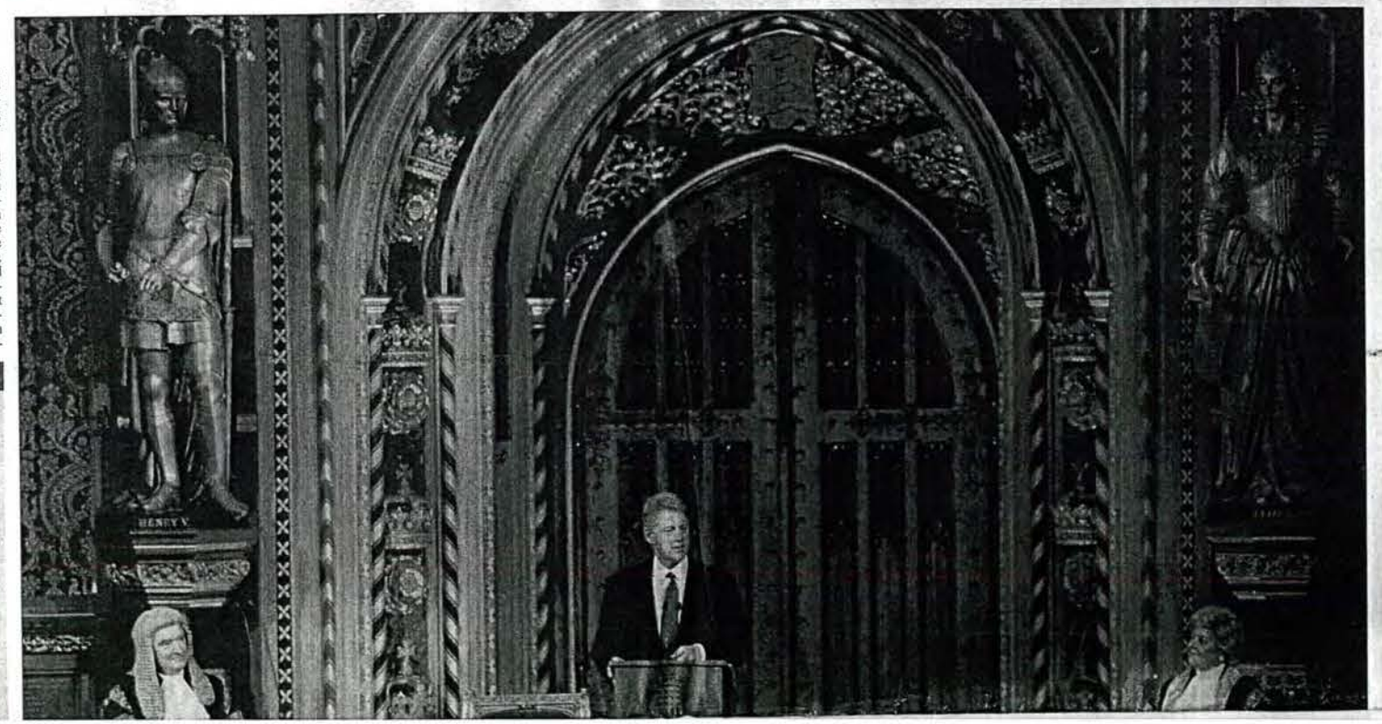
Clinton: 'Take risks for peace'

COLIN BROWN and DAVID MCKITTRICK

President Clinton began an historic visit to Britain and Ireland yesterday by praising John Major and John Bruton for being prepared to "take risks for peace".

Mr Clinton, who is expected to meet Gerry Adams, the Sinn Fein president, at a reception in Belfast today, gave a clear signal that he believed Sinn Fein and the other parties to the twin-track peace initiative should also take risks for peace.

On a day when he underlined the "extraordinary relationship" with Britain, the President carefully sidestepped the outstanding gap between Dublin and London over the British de-



Inside

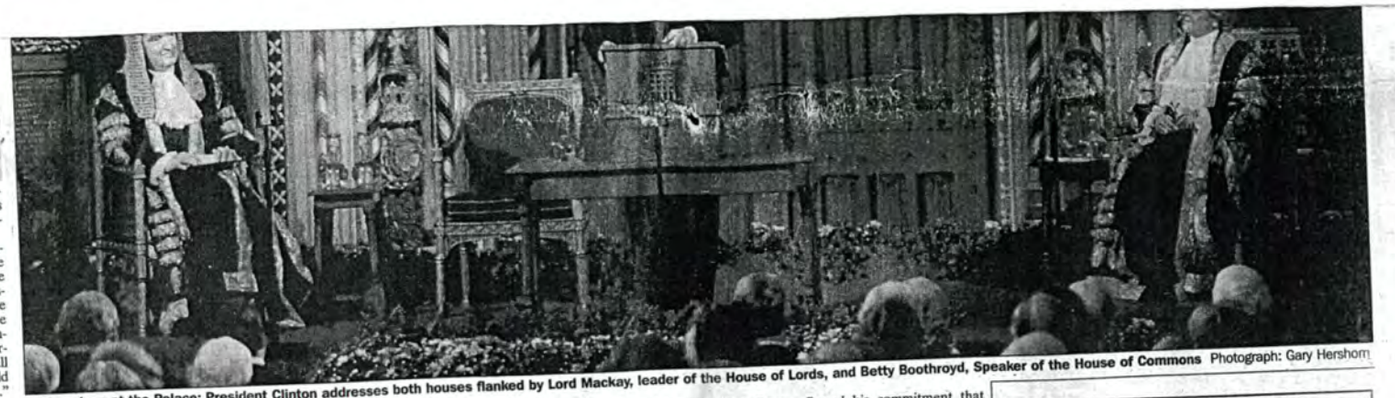


'What have they done to the woman who was once one of the brightest lawyers of her generation, one of the team that impeached Richard Nixon?'
– Polly Toynbee

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PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

of her generation, one of the team that impeached Richard Nixon?'
– Polly Toynbee Interviews Hillary Clinton
page 19



An American at the Palace: President Clinton addresses both houses flanked by Lord Mackay, leader of the House of Lords, and Betty Boothroyd, Speaker of the House of Commons Photograph: Gary Hershorn

mand that the IRA should begin decommissioning its weapons before joining all party talks.

Standing alongside John Major outside Number Ten, he said: "The message I will give in public is the same as the message I will give in private. The framework set out by Prime Minister Major and Prime Minister Bruton is the best opportunity I have seen to resolve all these issues and I think it should be embraced. I hope it will be."

Praising John Major in unusually warm terms for reaching the summit accord and for British action in Bosnia, Mr Clinton said: "I cannot say enough to the British people how much I appreciate and admire the Prime Minister for taking this kind of risk for peace. This was not an easy action for him to take...Ireland is closer to true peace than at any time in a generation and risks taken by the Prime Minister and the Irish Prime Minister are the reason why."

The President – who as a student once complained about the class system in Britain – also addressed both Houses of Parliament, with Baroness Thatcher in the audience, and made it clear that the United States intended to remain a major power player in Europe. In the glittering Royal Gallery, Mr Clinton won warm applause when he said the US would never again "go down the road" of isolationism.

He later met Tony Blair, the Labour leader, for private talks at the US Embassy. "They had extremely friendly talks, and the President asked Tony to tell him about New Labour," said a Labour source. Mr Clinton made it clear he admired the support for Britain's foreign policy which Mr Major received from Mr Blair, something he wished he had in Washington.

Mr Clinton discussed with Mr Major US plans for more co-operation between the European Union and the US for tackling global terrorism, and drug trafficking; the case for Russia to be drawn more into European affairs; and for Nato to be expanded to take in some of the former Warsaw pact countries.

The President and Prime Minister dismissed their officials for a tete-a-tete at Downing Street lasting nearly an hour before a further hour of talks. Mr Major told colleagues they had devoted most of their time to discussing Ireland. Officials did not deny that Mr Major was keen to secure Mr Clinton's support to put pressure on Sinn Fein behind the scenes.

It was suggested that US pressure played a crucial role in bringing concessions from Ireland for the summit on Tuesday, although that was denied yesterday by sources in Dublin.

The initial response from the republicans was noticeably conciliatory. At a Falls Road press conference yesterday, Sinn Fein president Gerry Adams said his party would not make a definitive response for some time, but he repeated several times that Sinn Fein would be approaching the communiqué with a positive attitude.

He said: "Clearly what we got last night was a fudge."

His comments are seen as confirming the calculation of the two governments that the republicans would not reject the document out of hand.

Both prime ministers yesterday acknowledged that they remained at odds over the disarmament issue. Mr Major reaffirmed his commitment that Sinn Fein cannot join the all-party talks until the IRA begin disarming. "It is not dogma. It is a matter of practicality," he told MPs. Mr Bruton said the issue should be part of the talks process.

The summit accord was seen as a carefully phrased compromise by both sides, which puts off that crucial issue until later. The aim of both sides is that the momentum will now force the parties to co-operate, and bring about IRA disarmament.

Clinton's speech, page 2
Leading article, page 18

Mortgage fall heralds cut in interest rates

DIANE COYLE and DONALD MACINTYRE

Britain's biggest mortgage lenders took home owners by surprise yesterday with the announcement that home loans will fall to within a fraction of their lowest level for 20 years.

The move cuts about 0.3 per cent off the average 7.99 per cent standard mortgage rate, and means a saving of around £12 a month on a £50,000 mortgage. The move came amid increasing market confidence that Kenneth Clarke, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Eddie George, the Governor of the Bank of England, will cut interest rates after their next meeting on 13 December.

The pound matched its recent all-time low against other currencies, while share prices hit a new record.



Kenneth Clarke: confident

Calls for a reduction came as the Chancellor played down hopes of an imminent fall in base rates. Mr Clarke said yesterday: "I am not going to start playing fast and loose with interest rates on the basis of political pressures."

But his Cabinet colleagues acknowledged an interest rate cut along with the rise in living standards promised by the Chancellor could prove critical to Tory fortunes.

Mr Clarke fuelled Tory hopes of a second pre-election tax-cutting budget next year by saying it is "pure blind obvious" the election "will either be towards the end of 1996 or in the beginning of 1997". Employers also urged the Government to cut interest rates immediately by half a percentage point.

In a change of policy, Sir Bryan Nicholson, president of the Confederation of British Industry, said: "The CBI believes that conditions are now right for a sustainable reduction in interest rates."

Halifax Building Society, the UK's largest lender, with 1.9 million home buyers, pre-empted speculation of a base rate fall by announcing its own mortgage reduction to 7.74 per cent from 1 January for existing borrowers. New borrowers will benefit immediately.

Gary Marsh, a spokesman for the Halifax, said: "We wanted to give the housing market some help as soon as possible".

Abbey National reacted by dropping the cost of its own home loans according to the amount borrowed. Loans of £100,000 will face charges of 7.69 per cent while those borrowing less than £59,999 will pay 7.79 per cent from January.

Most other building societies followed with reductions between 0.2 and 0.3 per cent. Northern Rock said that it would bring the cost of its loans for its 500,000 borrowers to a new low of 7.59 per cent.

Budget aftermath, pages 8-10
News analysis, page 17
Market report, page 21

IN BRIEF

Reform for Scotland
Scotland's 72 MPs are to get a new power to cross-examine the Prime Minister and senior Cabinet colleagues over controversial Scottish issues. **Page 2**

Council turmoil
Labour suspended the leader and deputy leader of Walsall council, claiming they led a "party within a party". **Page 5**

Teachers' burden
Teachers taking early retirement are putting a huge strain on the public purse as their numbers reach record levels, it is reported today. **Page 7**

MP denies claim
David Ashby, the Tory MP, yesterday denied in the High Court that he frequented one of London's "oldest best known gay pubs". **Page 7**

Troops for Bosnia
The first troops in the Nato-led peace Implementation Force are likely to arrive in Bosnia early next week, after Russia and Nato yesterday proclaimed an "historic" agreement between them. **Page 11**

Lama selected
The Chinese government presided over the Communist Party-controlled selection of a reincarnated Panchen Lama, the second most holy figure in Tibetan Buddhism. **Page 14**

Rail strife deepens
French railwaymen, who have been on strike since last Thursday evening, hardened their action, halting all mainline and suburban services. **Page 13**

'Right to die' claim
A woman who suffered brain damage and has no hope of recovery and should be allowed to die "peacefully and with dignity", Scotland's first "right to die" legal case was told. **Page 4**

Today's weather
Most of the UK will be dry with sunshine. **Section Two, page 25**

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DIAMONDS MAY BE FOREVER...



...ARTHRITIS NEEDN'T BE

There are many forms of arthritic and rheumatic disease which affect men, women and children in Britain today, causing unrelenting pain and disability in hands, wrists and joints throughout the body.

The Arthritis and Rheumatism Council for Research celebrates its Diamond Jubilee in 1996 and is the only major UK charity financing medical research into osteoarthritis and rheumatic diseases at most university hospitals and medical schools in the UK.

There is real hope that with continued research these destructive diseases can be beaten. With your help we can continue the battle to find a cure.

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news

IN BRIEF

Budget launches petrol price war

A new petrol price war started yesterday with major retailers promising to hold fuel at pre-Budget prices.

The supermarket giants Tesco and Sainsbury's said they would not raise prices until Monday. Shell said it was setting no time limit on its freeze and Texaco has also resisted raising prices yet. But Esso said it had increased prices in line with the Chancellor's 3.5p duty increase, raising 4-star to an average of 62.2p a litre and unleaded to 56.1p a litre. BP was due to pass on the tax rise to customers from midnight last night.

Missing girls found

The two schoolgirls, Natasha Jones, nine, and Louise Dixon, ten, who had been missing since Sunday, were yesterday found safe near their homes on the Saffron Lane estate in Leicester, police said.

School fees scheme

Bright children will be eligible for government-funded places in fee-paying schools from the age of five - instead of from 11 as at present - starting next September, financed by an extra £11m in the Budget. Around 250 schools are expected to join the scheme, which costs £104m.

Father wins custody

Peter Malkin, who served eight months in prison for abducting his son, Oliver, from his ex-wife, in November 1993, finally his battle for custody at the High Court Family Division. Oliver, 14, will return to his father following his mother's death from cancer last month.

£1.5m for charities

Three of Britain's biggest charities will today share £1.5m worth of National Lottery cash. Barnardo's gets £600,000 for regional projects helping children in poverty, Arthritis Care gets just under £500,000 to help unemployed sufferers and Oxfam gets more than £450,000 to develop its work with the poor in Britain.

Birdsong goes sour

A man tired of the noise made by more than 100 budgerigars kept by his nextdoor neighbour won a ruling from Medway magistrates to have them removed. The aviary was just 5ft from the house where Alick Houghton, 68, lives in Gillingham, Kent.

Correction

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President's visit: Special relationship is hailed as model 'for the ties that should bind all democracies'

Together we can show the world – Clinton

STEPHEN GOODWIN
Parliamentary Correspondent

President Bill Clinton yesterday buried past strains in his dealings with John Major's government in a ringing reaffirmation of the special relationship between Britain and America.

Addressing MPs and peers in the gilded splendour of the Royal Gallery in the House of Lords, Mr Clinton hailed the "extraordinary relationship" between the two countries.

He announced that a new guided-missile destroyer was to be named the USS *Winston Churchill* in honour of the alliance and dwelt on the shared challenge of Bosnia.

Britain and America had a responsibility to answer the request of warring parties to secure peace, he said. "Without our leadership and without the presence of Nato there will be no peace in Bosnia.

"I thank the United Kingdom that has already sacrificed so much for its swift agreement to play a central role in the peace implementation. With this act Britain holds true to its history and to its values. And I pledge to you that America will live up to its history and its ideals as well."

Mr Clinton and his wife Hillary arrived in the Royal Gallery to a fanfare of trumpets. Mr Major, most MPs and many peers were present. In a front row were all three surviving former prime ministers: Baroness Thatcher, Sir Edward Heath and Lord Callaghan.

Recalling visits stretching back to his days as a student at Oxford 20 years ago, the President said: "Always I have felt the power of this place, where the voices of free people who love liberty believe in reason and struggle for truth, have for centuries kept your great nation a beacon of hope for all the world."

Relations between the Government and the Clinton White House have been less warm than with his Republican predecessors. Mr Clinton bitterly resented Conservative help with the George Bush campaign and there have been strains over Washington's early acknowledgement of Sinn Fein.

But yesterday Mr Clinton, in a 26-minute speech, emphasised the two country's common heritage – though in a light passage he said that when there were difficulties he would walk out on to the Truman balcony of the White House and look at the burn marks left from the siege of Washington by the British, "just to warn myself that I dare not let this relationship get out of hand again".

America and Britain had emerged from the Second World War with the resolve to prevent another like it, he said. They had bound together with other democracies in the West and had stood firm throughout the "long twilight struggle of the Cold War".

Recalling the origins of the special relationship when President Roosevelt and Winston Churchill met on the deck of HMS *Prince of Wales* in 1941, he went on: "Other times and other places are littered with the vows of friendship sworn during war and then abandoned in peacetime. This one stands alone, unbroken, above all the rest, a model for the ties that should bind all democracies."

Turning to Northern Ireland, where he will be today, Mr Clinton said the new twin-track peace initiative provided an opportunity to begin a dialogue in which all views were represented and all views could be heard. "I applaud the Prime



Hands across the water: John Major and Bill Clinton outside 10 Downing Street yesterday Photograph: John Voos

peace. It is always a hard choice, the choice for peace, for success is far from guaranteed and even if you fail there will be those who resent you for trying."

To loud applause, he insisted: "But it is the right thing to do and in the end the right will

Mrs Clinton, mouthed the words: "Thank you."

Underlining a continued trans-Atlantic commitment, he said the US would work for a broader peace, supporting a Europe "bound together in a woven fabric of vital democracy co-operation". Nato would remain the "sword and shield" of democracy while helping nations formerly behind the Iron Curtain to become part of the new Europe.

"Nato will grow and expand the circle of common purpose

Peace, which is already having a remarkable impact on member countries, and then with the admission of new democratic members," he said.

"It will threaten no one, but it will give its new allies the confidence they need to consolidate

Discreet charm of the men in their macs



JIM WHITE

When the President of the United States decides to walk from Westminster Abbey to Downing Street, he does not walk those mean streets alone.

The discreet back-up team he has brought with him is in close attendance – the long, black bullet-proofed limo with the registration plate reading "Washington DC: A capital city!", the US Air Force field ambulance with its emergency plasma supplies, the marine in shiny shoes carrying a briefcase containing the nuclear trigger. Not to mention the 700 secret service agents talking up the sleeves of their cream macs shipped in from Washington for the duration. Indeed Kenneth Clarke, so keen on Tuesday to promote his aim of making Britain the enterprise centre of Europe, would have been thrilled to see such a ringing endorsement of British manufacturing: never before have so many Burberry raincoats been visible on the streets of Westminster.

Everywhere the macs were, providing a human shield when the President and the Prime Minister made a statement in the middle of Downing Street, squeezing into the President's limo for the slow glide down Whitehall to the Houses of Parliament, stopping a press photographer from snapping Mrs Clinton when she arrived at the Foreign Office.

Indeed security was so tight that rumour has it Mr Clinton was obliged to show some sort of identification when he went to Buckingham Palace in the af-

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

[Independent, Thursday, November 30, 1995, page 2]

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Birdsong goes sour

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Correction

In the *Independent* yesterday we inadvertently published a photograph of Mr AJP Butler, Chief Constable of Gloucestershire Constabulary, with an article concerning Mr Tony Butler, Director of Services at Prison Service headquarters. We apologise for the error.

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BACK ISSUES

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Turning to Northern Ireland, where he will be today, Mr Clinton said the new twin-track peace initiative provided an opportunity to begin a dialogue in which all views were represented and all views could be heard. "I applaud the Prime Minister for taking this risk for peace. It is always a hard choice, the choice for peace, for success is far from guaranteed and even if you fail there will be those who resent you for trying."

To loud applause, he insisted: "But it is the right thing to do and in the end the right will win." Mr Major, sitting next to Mrs Clinton, mouthed the words: "Thank you."

Underlining a continued trans-Atlantic commitment, he said the US would work for a broader peace, supporting a Europe "bound together in a woven fabric of vital democracies, market economies and security co-operation". Nato would remain the "sword and shield" of democracy while helping nations formerly behind the Iron Curtain to become part of the new Europe.

"Nato will grow and expand the circle of common purpose – first through its Partnership for Peace, which is already having a remarkable impact on member countries, and then with the admission of new democratic members," he said.

"It will threaten no one, but it will give its new allies the confidence they need to consolidate their freedoms."



Hands across the water: John Major and Bill Clinton outside 10 Downing Street yesterday Photograph: John Voos

Minister made a statement in the middle of Downing Street, squeezing into the President's limo for the slow glide down Whitehall to the Houses of Parliament, stopping a press photographer from snapping Mrs Clinton when she arrived at the Foreign Office.

Indeed security was so tight that rumour has it Mr Clinton was obliged to show some sort of identification when he went to Buckingham Palace in the afternoon; already duped once, the Queen wanted to be sure she was not about to have tea with a DJ in disguise.

And it was security that was the central theme of Mr Clinton's address to the parliamentarians assembled in the Royal Gallery of the House of Lords. Security for Ireland, security for Bosnia, the President talked about the kind of things which if delivered might provide security for the Clintons in the White House. Earnestly he urged his audience to strive for peace.

The Clintons must have been happy with their day in London. They met the Queen, the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod and the Marquess of Cholmondeley. But, given his precarious position back home, the person the President would have been most thrilled to shake hands with was the American tourist he encountered on his walkabout. Allowed by the macs to stretch out her hand, she yelled: "Yes, Bill, Bill! Vote Clinton '96". And an American network camera crew caught every word of it.

Creative fudge that unleashes the logjam

Analysis

Tuesday's late-night Anglo-Irish summit and subsequent communiqué may go down in diplomatic history as an object lesson in how to make a fair number of bricks when faced with a distinct lack of straw.

The two governments were at an impasse on the crucial question of decommissioning. London said some arms must be decommissioned before substantive negotiations could begin; Dublin's view was that this pre-condition was in danger of testing Gerry Adams and the republican movement to the point of destruction.

A summit scheduled for September had been postponed amid some acrimony and ever since neither side showed any side of budging. There have been more and more reports that the IRA might abandon the process and return to terrorism.

Tuesday's communiqué has been dismissed as a fudge, but there is a case to be made that it was an ingenious and creative means of facing up to the basic disagreement and making the most of it. Some aspects of it are hard for Sinn Fein to swallow, but there is enough in it to make a resort to violence in the immediate future all but inconceivable.

It is difficult to judge just how real was the risk of a return to violence. Frustration and anger are certainly evident in the republican camp, but this did not make a return to violence inevitable. Republican strategists are aware that even one bomb would destroy all the relationships they have painstakingly built up with important political elements in Ireland and the US. The fact is that Sinn Fein has little choice but to accept the communiqué as the basis for the next phase of the peace process. They are not in a position to stay out of talks; and they are not in a position to boycott an international body on arms decommissioning.

Furthermore, the preparatory talks about talks give the appearance of being a serious exercise rather than the type of desultory encounters often seen in the past. With the commission they will be able to raise any matters they wish. They can be expected to make the case that security force weapons should be taken into account, as well as illegally-held guns, and to argue that the British government's stand on decommissioning is unreasonable.

Of critical importance to the republicans is the fact that the Taoiseach, John Bruton, did not break with them on the decommissioning issue and endorse the British position. Sinn Fein had been worried that he might abandon them in favour of strengthening his relations with Mr Major and the Unionists.



On the Unionist side the communiqué will pose a dilemma for David Trimble, the recently-elected Ulster Unionist party leader. Mr Trimble has had a well-received honeymoon period, winning widespread approval for his willingness to meet a wide range of political leaders, including Mr Bruton.

The communiqué contains a nod in his direction by including his suggestion that an elected body could play a part in negotiations. He now faces the choice of proceeding on the basis of the communiqué, thus extending his honeymoon period, or of a retreat to the laager.

That laager is already occupied by the Rev Ian Paisley's Democratic Unionist Party, which has pledged itself not to take part in talks while the IRA remains in existence. The achievement of the communiqué is to apply such pressures, on both republicans and Unionists, on the basis not of agreement between the governments but of disagreement. The weakness is that it has not resolved the decommissioning issue: that still lies ahead, and still retains the capacity to de-rail the entire process.

In the meantime, however, it has established a breathing-space. Perhaps the most significant point in the communiqué may yet turn out to be the sentence which says that preparatory talks could cover the decommissioning issue. This throws the issue open for all parties to make an input – something which could either solidify the logjam or loosen it.

David McKittrick



Scottish MPs get power to question ministers

PATRICIA WYNN DAVIES and JOHN ARLIDGE

Scotland's 72 MPs are to get a new power to cross-examine the Prime Minister and senior Cabinet colleagues over controversial Scottish issues in a Government bid to meet the clamour for devolved Scottish democracy.

Long-awaited proposals unveiled by Michael Forsyth, Secretary of State for Scotland, will also give the Labour-dominated Scottish Grand Committee a new right to debate and vote, sitting in Scotland, on both Second and Third Readings of Scottish legislation. Similar plans are being considered for Bills be-



Forsyth: 'Better legislation'

The package would be little more than a rubber stamp for

There will also be fuller use of Special Standing Committees, as was the case with last session's Children (Scotland) Bill, to hear evidence from Scottish people and organisations prior to Scottish Bills embarking on their committee stage.

While arguably bold, most of Mr Forsyth's statement was received with scornful laughter by Opposition MPs.

Mr Robertson dismissed the plans as "a con trick, nothing more, nothing less" claiming the the ministerial appearances would be "away-day trips for the Cabinet, from the grouse moor to the Grand Committee", while the "tarted up" committee would be a toothless talking shop. "What the people of

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ONE CANADA SQUARE CANARY WHARF LONDON E14 5DL
TELEPHONE 0171-293 2000/0171-345 2000 FAX 0171-293 2435/0171-345 2435

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The Clinton peace process

The Anglo-Irish rush to compromise before Bill Clinton's arrival yesterday recalls the old story about an occasion when Jesus was spotted wandering towards St Peter's on a donkey. "Holy Father, Holy Father, what should we do?" beseeched the panicking cardinals. "Look busy," was the pontifical reply.

There was no way that John Major and the Irish premier, John Bruton, could reasonably explain to the US President why, after 15 months of peace, all-party talks had not yet begun. And Britain, ever anxious to emphasise its sovereignty over Northern Ireland, was not prepared to let Mr Clinton gain the credit for making a breakthrough. Hence the 11th-hour deal and handshake on Tuesday night just before the US leader set off on his trip.

But the agreement is more than just a cobbled-together political fudge. The stalemate in the peace process has at last been broken. Preparatory discussions can now look at developing a framework for all-party substantive negotiations, scheduled to begin at the end of February. In the meantime, an international commission will tackle the decommissioning issue.

Most important, the relationship between London and Dublin – the rock upon which a political settlement will be built – has been secured. For several months, a worrying rift had been growing. The British government has been adamant that some arms must be given up before all-party talks could commence. Dublin is equally convinced that the IRA cannot meet such a precondition without splitting the Republican movement.

The joint communiqué recognises these differences but ensures that they do not halt political progress, at least for now. Though neither the Unionists nor Sinn Fein jumped for joy at what was agreed, the initiative serves as a safety valve for what was becoming an explosive situation.

Those who predicted that the IRA was on the brink of restarting its military campaign were probably exaggerating. Even extreme Republicans have little stomach for a return to a conflict that achieved little over 25 years. But a poisonous atmosphere had developed, as demonstrated by the bitterness of the summer marching season. In such an environment, disturbances can easily spill over in generalised communal violence. There was an urgent need for a release of tension.

The long-term problems have not gone away, though. Divisions between Dublin and London remain. It is difficult to see how the British government or the IRA could alter their stance on decommissioning without losing credibility. So, at this stage, it looks like the process will falter again early next year if the IRA refuses to hand over arms before constitutional talks.

The solution to this problem is not clear. Both sides must give a little. But the involvement of George Mitchell as chairman of the international commission bodes well. He is the former majority leader in the US Senate, well used to brokering deals with the apparently irreconcilable. He is also Clinton's man: the President will want to see the peace process healthy when he goes to the polls in search of Irish-American votes next November.

In short, the political leaders have bought themselves a little more time, the second peaceful Christmas in succession. They will have do a great deal more than this if hopes for Northern Ireland are to be matched by reality.

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PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

She was one of the leading lawyers of her generation. But now the First Lady is a Stepford Wife

What have they done to Hillary?

Two dozen "prominent British women" were rustled up overnight. Would we be available for coffee and a discussion with Mrs Clinton at 9.15 yesterday morning? She wanted to talk about problems facing professional women – or so the message said. Well, that is an invitation not to be sneezed at, murmured confidentially late night down the phone from the head of embassy personnel.

The first question was, who were the other 23 selected "prominent women"? Some had no trouble earning the sobriquet – Lady Blackstone,



Hillary Clinton and Gillian Shephard, who shone in warmth and humanity by comparison Photograph: PA

POLLY TOYNBEE

the Labour baroness without whom no conference or committee is ever complete; Gillian Shephard, the most senior woman in the Cabinet; Sue MacGregor of the *Today* programme; Sue Slipman, erstwhile patron saint of single parents, now head of the Training and Enterprise Councils; Deborah Warner, the distinguished theatre director. There were two of us journalists from the only liberal broadsheets, no Tory press. A clanger of a non-PC note was struck in the list of participants: "Sarah Ebanja – Hailing from south of the Thames where most persons of color live, Ms Ebanja is a local government official with one of the lower-income sections of the London community."

We eyed one another with fascination over orange juice, in the opulence of the ambassador's Regent's Park palace. As we awaited the First Lady's entrance, we tried, unsuccessfully, to guess the rationale for this curiously arbitrary grouping. And wasn't there something oddly uncomfortable about a lot of achievers gathering together to whinge about women's failures?

Mrs Clinton, we were told, conducts one of these meetings in every country she visits. We were, in other words, a necessary photo-opportunity in her itinerary, as the cameras rolled in for her opening remarks. In royal blue polo neck and hair swept into a chignon that said "serious", she entered the room and pressed our flesh, each woman getting the firm handshake and the long, intimately significant look. This woman is a professional. Or at least a professional First Lady. But is she still a professional in her own right?

"There is a special relationship between our countries and I think that is especially true on a personal level," she started out, a pensée straight from the Handbook for First Ladies Visiting Britain. She wanted to "trade thoughts or ideas you might have about common interests, particularly among women ... we have so much more in common than the things that separate us." And there was more from the same little book, handed down no doubt from Tricia, to Betty, to Rosalyn, to Nancy, to Barbara to Hillary. Bone china cups clinked, petit fours went uneaten.

What had they done to her? The men with the mind-machines have captured her at last, sucked the life and guts out of her, fashioned her into the only acceptable model – a fully fledged First Stepford Wife. She sits stiffly, like a mannequin, her head nodding up and down mechanically, her expression glazed, half smiling, hardly changing, her views anodyne, her words as carefully manicured as the lawns outside the window. What have they done to the woman who was once one of the brightest lawyers of her generation, one of the team that impeached Richard Nixon? What have they done to the woman who set out so boldly to bring radical reform to the whole American health-care system? Was it the disastrous defeat of that project, and the catastrophic mid-term elections that finally drove her back to the hearth?

Aficionados of her truly dreadful column – "Hillary Clinton – A View from the White House" – in the London *Evening Standard* will not be surprised to hear that the Stepford doctors have had their way with her. (Except for those readers who still think, as I did at first, that her column must be a pastiche from the pen of some wicked satirist). One of last month's columns might have made Nancy Reagan blush: "On Wednesday my husband and I will celebrate our 20th wedding anniversary. I know it sounds corny, but we love each other more now than when we married." You don't want to know the rest. It gets worse.

Talk was at first desultory. After all, what did we have to say that we had not all said a thousand times before? But dutifully we rambled round the usual buzz words – glass ceilings, child care, paternity leave, the long-hours culture, men's refusal to change, zero-hours contracts and the pitiful pay of most part-timers. What could we say that she had not heard wherever her travels take her? But now and then a little light glimmered in her glassy eyes. She talked of the backlash against women, the rush for traditional family values, the confusion exploited by a small but well-financed group of fundamentalists. Fine.

But when Sue Slipman asked her about single mothers, it triggered a Stepford response: "There really is a reality to that problem," she said. "Whether you like it or not, children of lone parents don't do as well in school, they get in trouble with the law, and more often need assistance with behavioural and emotional problems. I am writing a book about children, on this subject. It's a problem feminists are going to have to confront." She went on to say, "Divorce is a bad deal for women and children. I think divorce should be made harder. It's gotten too easy for women and men." Many women, she said, do not like it when she delivers these home truths.

Herbert Morrison it was, I think, (Peter Mandelson's grandfather, incidentally) who once said: "Don't tell me what's in the motion, just tell me who put it up." Much of politics is like that: to understand the real issue, you need not only the bare words on the page, but also their origin and real intent before you know what's going on. There is nothing so exceptional in what Hillary Clinton says about the economic disaster of divorce for women and children. But it is the fact that she is saying it that sends out alarm signals. Read her lips,

> She began with a pensée straight from the Handbook for First Ladies Visiting Britain

this plays straight into the family-values, cookie-baking, home-making lobby in whose image she is now moulded. She may be right – but that is beside the point. Her book sounds as though it will be written by the same hand and brain that pens her column.

Gillian Shephard, interestingly, was not keen to jump in on this theme. Sitting beside the Prozac First Lady, she shone in warmth, humanity and common sense by comparison – despite a routine, but not particularly heart-felt, defence of some of the Government's harsher policies. (Her, alas, off-the-record murmured comments about sexism in the Cabinet warmed the cockles of those few of us who heard them.) But then it is a far easier thing to be a politician in your own right than Caesar's wife.

Hillary Clinton still attracts an encyclopaedia of invective: "Doesn't this exhaustively combative, unbearably confident little blonde know when she's beaten?" wrote Ann Leslie (not an uncombative woman herself) in the *Daily Mail*; pushy ideologue; protean schemer; Lady Macbeth; and even, according to Newt Gingrich's mother, bitch. How does she feel about the attacks on her? She replied in straight Stepfordese: "I don't take criticism personally. No matter what you do, you never satisfy your critics. You can spend too much time worrying about whether people approve of you, when what matters is whether you approve of yourself."

Can she be de-programmed? Perhaps, but rescue for the author of a nauseating description of a secret husband and wife midnight dip in the moonlit White House pool may come too late.

year!"

- ❑ And you agree: "Spot on, partner!"
- ❑ Next morning you get six cards and your partner says, "Maybe we ought to send cards, you know."
- ❑ Your partner says, "I can't think what to get you for Christmas this year."
- ❑ You say, "I haven't even started thinking about yours yet."
- ❑ You say, "We mustn't leave it too late to get a tree this year."
- ❑ Your partner says, "Gosh, yes! Do you remember the year we left it until Christmas Eve and you went down the Portobello Road just as the market was packing up; and all they had left were either 20ft or 2ft high trees, so you bought a 20ft one to trim down a bit, and by the time you had got it evened out, it was down to 2ft!"
- ❑ And you say, "No, I don't remember that."
- ❑ You buy some wrapping paper from the place near the bus station where it is tremendously cheap, and you feel that at least you have done something towards Christmas.
- ❑ Your partner says, "I've just remembered that Aunt Joan doesn't like figs."
- ❑ And you say, "So?"
- ❑ And she says, "Well, I was thinking of having kumquat, fig and apricot stuffing in the turkey this year."
- ❑ And you say, "So?"
- ❑ And she says, "Well, Aunt
- ❑ But you don't.
- ❑ Because it suddenly occurs to you that you may well have discussed this with her already, just like Christmas, and you have forgotten all about it, and she couldn't take the idea that you have forgotten TWO vital conversations.
- ❑ The next day your partner suddenly says, "I suppose we ought to have a serious talk about where we spend New Year's Eve this year."
- ❑ You are so relieved that you haven't forgotten another vital conversation that you are tempted to answer, just as a joke, "But darling, we discussed this all years ago – don't you remember?"
- ❑ But some sixth sense tells you not to.
- ❑ You get a Christmas card from Pat and Bob.
- ❑ It says, "Hi! See you in the New Year?"
- ❑ But you don't know anyone called Pat and Bob.
- ❑ You know someone called Pat and someone called Bob, but you don't think they've ever met.
- ❑ This shouldn't worry you, but it does.
- ❑ So during the next few days both of you keep saying things like, "Might it be Pam and Bob?" Or "Could it be Pat and Rob ...?"

More of our Advent article tomorrow!

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MADRID

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File N. Ireland

WOMEN'S INFORMATION DROP IN CENTER PARTICIPANTS

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Joyce McCartan - Founding Member Chairperson (WIDIC). In 1986, th WIDIC was formed by Ms. McCartan and Mena Loughran in response to the needs of the area. The stated aims of the Center are to develop cross-community links; promote the work of other community organizations, create leisure, recreational and educational opportunity and promote local community economic development.

Sally McErlean - Founder of the West Belfast Parent & Youth Support Group (WBPYSG) which is an organization made up of locally-based groups who support the needs of adolescents and their parents. There are currently eight groups in the WBPYSP. The organization was formed in 1984 to provide networking support for member groups and to seek the development of statutory policies and practices appropriate to the needs of the adolescents and parents. They aim to provide diversionary activities for those young people deemed to be at risk in their community. Because of the service the umbrella provides, they have grown in strength as an inter-agency partnership. Their service has become more diverse as time has progressed and they have begun to meet greater community needs. For example, they work with young single parents, social education, peer education, outreach work, preventive programs and personal development programs.

Annie Quinn - Founding Member, New Beginnings. Annie, a single parent, has worked voluntarily throughout the troubles to create facilities for those in the Short Strand community. She is particularly concerned with the young people of the area, single parents and the elderly. She wants to get them out of the proverty trap. She recently set up the New Beginnings group for single parents and has been striving to attract funding to get an office and facilities for the groups she provides for. She has also been working for many years with those who are suffering from mental illness in the area and addresses health issues. Presently she is producing a video on proverty to get social policy changed. Annie has recently become involved in education and is currently taking a course in NVQ. (This week her 25 year old son found his first job.)

Ailish McIntrye, B.Ed. (Hons) 1988 - Founder of Money and Relationship Counselling (MARC) which was set up as a specialist debt agency to relieve the burden of stress and debt for the client, heighten public awareness of the magnitude of the problem, to remove the stigma of debt, to influence government thinking and to encourge financial and commercial bodies to co-operate in providing a solution.

Although the organization is based in the city centre as a neutral and central location, the group also has a home visiting program and uses the Women's Information Drop In Centre as a local base to meet clients. Within the past few years, the group has extended to Coleraine where it has another office and just this year has set up Business Debtline which meets the needs of small business owners who find themselves in financial difficulties. Ailish is currrently in the process of carrying out a Masters in Counseling at Jordanstown University.

Rita Weatherall - Founder of Bangor Women's Group. Rita worked in the Bangor area for many years with the specific aim to create facilities for local women and is especially concerned with the young people in the area. She has been involved in local politics in Bangor and currently acts as a representative for the area. She has set up personal development classes for women, including computers/info technology, assertiveness classes, self-defense. Rita has also hosted programs on eating disorders, rape youth and various other issues.

Mabel Frye - Founder of South Belfast Cultural Society and a representative of South Belfast Age Concern (SBCS) SBCS deals with elderly and youth and aims to make provisions for young people who have lost their identity.

Mabel spent 25 years of her working and married life in the Washington, D.C. area (Alexandria, Va.) and as a widow came back with her family to live on Donegall Road, where she gradually became involved in community work in the area. She is currently working with the elderly and is trying to get funding for her work.

Mary Fox - Co-Coordinator, Footprints. Footprints opened five years ago because of high unemployment and the troubles. The Centre offers opportunties for young people. This program has a cross-commercial venture with women's groups. The 200 people on the register for education classes ranges from 17-60 years of age. Two of Mary's children have attended the University.

Marie Annett - Annadale Crescent Residents Association - Because of her concern regarding the Annadale Flats and the low standards of accommodations Mary and the residents became involved within the community. They have taken over half the community centre in their neighborhood. They want jobs (real jobs) and have real concerns about government training programs which leave people only on the dole and cuts their dignity. Their program targets 17-40 year old.

Laura Leonard - 26 year old Catholic girl brought up during the troubles in West Belfest. In 1991, she went to work for an organization called "Making Belfast Work", orginally known as the "Belfast Action Team". She joined the overseas unit to help co-ordinate the overseas progam for the long term unemployed youth. Funded under the "Wider Horizons Program" of the I.F.I. (International Fund for Ireland). The criteria element for this project is 3 tier involving Catholic, Protestant and Southern youth taking in both cross border and cross community. The program has proved to be very sucessful in both Europe and in the U.S., providing much needed full-time employment on return.

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
TALKING POINTS FOR JOYCE MCCARTEN WOMEN'S INFORMATION DROP-IN
BELFAST, NORTHERN IRELAND
NOVEMBER 30, 1995

- Your leadership, commitment and efforts are an inspiration to me and women everywhere and a model for all of us.

- Though many of you and others have suffered personal losses, you have channeled your grief into making better lives for others. You've been working patiently, quietly and courageously to bring peace to each other's hearts, to your families and to your communities. You have helped break the cycle of violence. As mothers and family builders, you have managed to put aside religious differences to underscore all that you have in common.

- You have found that there are fundamental issues - job training, working with at-risk youth, debt counseling - that when dealt with properly can bring hope to communities and prevent violence.

- You are dealing with and finding solutions to many of the same problems we face in my own country. I have sat with mothers in America who have lost children to random and senseless gun violence. So we can learn from each other.

- I'm very grateful for this opportunity to exchange ideas and solutions to these issues.

- Your work and efforts must continue and your role in cementing the peace will continue to be crucial.

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File: Ireland

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
International Trade Administration
Washington, D.C. 20230

Office of the Assistant Secretary for Market Access and Compliance

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FROM: Virginia Manuel TEL: 202-482-5853
Senior Advisor FAX: 202-482-5444
E-mail: Virginia_Manuel@ITA.doc.gov

DATE: 12/7/00

TO: Ruby Shamer **FAX:** 456-6244

TEL: _____ **NO. OF PAGES:** _____
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MESSAGE:

Ruby - I have a call into Laura Schneider to gather the attached (additional background for the speech). I'm talking to you ex. case. I don't get their fax #. Thank you!

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Office of Assistant Secretary for
Market Access and Compliance
U.S. Department of Commerce
14th & Constitution Ave., NW, Room 3868
Washington, D.C. 20230

Community-based organizations from Northern Ireland look to New Community



Community leaders from Northern Ireland visit New Community Corporation
Click to enlarge

"This certainly isn't a holiday for us, far from it."

- Sammy Douglas
Greater East Belfast Partnership

A contingent of community development workers from Northern Ireland travelled to Newark to take part in an intensive two week training experience at New Community Corporation. This program, a part of the American Management & Business Internship Training (AMBIT) initiative, seeks to pair groups in and around Northern Ireland with American companies in order to explore and create economic development opportunities.

"THE TROUBLES" MEET "THE DISORDERS"

Thirteen individuals from Belfast and the surrounding area spent the first day of training in NCC's Martin Luther King Room, making introductions and discussing their goals for the trip. Despite the distance across the ocean,


Fidelma Carolan from the Fermanagh Women's Network

Newark and Northern Ireland share some remarkable similarities. Much of the talk around the table alluded to the thirty years of "troubles" in Northern Ireland, and thirty years since the Newark Summer Disorders. Devastating unemployment and an undereducated work force are two of the issues that both groups have been grappling with for some time.

"Our group works with politically motivated ex-prisoners and their families," said Kelly Robinson from the LINC Conflict Transformation Program in Belfast. "In so many cases, women were forced into the head of household position, and they are still dealing with those issues today which involve training and education, as well as dealing with their feelings of self-worth."


Edna Gillian of New Community Estates makes a point at the Leadership Awards Dinner

AMBIT supports the Clinton Administration's policy of furthering the peace process in Northern Ireland by fostering economic development in the region. This initiative was established by the US Department of Commerce's International Trade Administration, in collaboration with the International Fund for Ireland.

"We've been so encouraged by the support of the U.S. administration," said Sammy Douglas, of the Greater East Belfast Partnership, "especially from Virginia Manuel, assistant secretary of the U.S. Department of Commerce."

"President Clinton has helped create the conditions for long-term peace in Ireland," he continued. "When President Clinton was in Belfast, he said 'We in the US are partners for peace, security and prosperity in Ireland.' I would like to add another: partners in community development."


Sr. Eileen McNally, SSJ, NCC's Director of Resident Organizing

Through AMBIT, interns from Northern Ireland and the border countries of Ireland have the opportunity to experience intensive training with US businesses and organizations and develop lasting relationships and partnerships. Originally designed as a partnership between individuals in Northern Ireland and US corporations, New Community Corporation is the only community development organization involved in the program. After a week at NCC, Sammy Douglas, the self-described "shop steward" of the group reflected on the program. "We are impressed with the way New Community does things--the skill of the operation and the risks you take," said Mr. Douglas. "In some areas of Northern Ireland, there is 40% unemployment. Young people have no hope, and we are trying to give them

a sense of identity, of power, of belonging."



"I believe in the motto 'No change, no chance," he continued. "We are being introduced to new ideas and innovations here in Newark."

Throughout the two week period, the group met with NCC's executive team, public and private partners, and visited NCC operations to get a sense of all that New Community is about.

Geraldine Donaghy, from the Newry Confederation of Community Groups, said that one of the goals of her visit was to "discover ways to engage the local community and make people feel less alienated." At the New Community Neighborhood Center, the visitors from Northern Ireland joined over a hundred residents of NCC Housing for the Leadership Dinner for Resident Organizing.

The meeting was led by Sr. Eileen McNally, SSJ, Director of Community Organizing, who challenged the resident leaders to engage the issues: "What is New Community Organizing about ? What is the larger picture?"

For the next two hours, the Irish visitors were part of a spirited--at times intense--discussion of resident life in Newark and how people "can have a say in the decisions that affect their lives." Fidelma Carolan even helped serve the chocolate chip cookies to the group, as the grass-roots give-and-take swirled unabated.



While waiting in line for the buffet dinner from the NCC World of Foods, Sammy Douglas reflected on the visit to New Community. "I suppose we've been very surprised--very impressed--by the skills of the operation," he said. " New Community is certainly making a positive

impact on the lives of so many people. We're here to see if these ideas are transferable."

"The hospitality of the people of Newark has overwhelmed us," he added. "We're the 'blow-ins' from the United Kingdom. This certainly isn't a holiday for us, far from it. In our country, we're involved in a peace process, and we're learning many new things and facing many new challenges and opportunities"

While the similarities between Newark and Belfast were a constant backdrop to the visit, there are differences. When Mr. Douglas was asked if he wanted peach cobbler, he replied, "Never heard of it before."

On the larger issues, the international presence that New Community has established, based on the track record of over 30 years of inner-city successes, will only increase:

If the situation were reversed, Mr. Douglas was asked, and 15 of the New Community residents in this room were in Belfast, would they have anything to learn?

"Yes, they would," he replied, "whether it's South Orange in New Jersey or South Belfast in Northern Ireland, the problems are the same for people trying to have a better quality of life. Striving for Community and Economic development are the same in both places.

But the food would be decidedly different. Instead of turkey, macaroni and cheese and collard greens, the NCC residents in Belfast would be enjoying Ulster Fry or a Bowl of Champ.

Never heard of it.

"Ulster Fry is sausages, beef, fried egg, mushrooms & bacon." said Mr. Douglas. "And a Bowl of Champ is potatoes and scallions with a big knob of butter in the middle, served with a glass of buttermilk."



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New Community Corporation
233 West Market Street
Newark, New Jersey 07103
Tel. 973-623-2800
Fax 973-623-3612
email: info@newcommunity.org