

# INC NEWS

IRISH NATIONAL CONGRESS

Estd. 1989

COMHDHÁIL NÁISIÚNTA NA hÉIREANN

## IMPERIALISM & INDEPENDENCE 1914-22

In 1914, what was initially called the Great War broke out. Subsequently, it came to be known as the First World War or World War One (WW I). In fact, what occurred was the onset of the first Global Inter-imperialist War (or GIW I). The second GIW (or GIW II) took place between 1939 & '45. In either instance, the assertion that what was entailed was a struggle for democracy is sheer humbug. However, GIW II is a subject for analysis on another occasion.

In 1914, the relevant chain of events began when the Austro-Hungarian Empire attacked Serbia in July following the assassination in Sarajevo the previous June of Arch Duke Ferdinand, heir to the imperial throne in Vienna. The Russian Empire then sided with Serbia, and the German Empire supported the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The latter two entities came to be described as the Central Powers. Pursuant to the Franco-Russian Alliance of 1894, the French Empire (legalistically styled in metropolitan terms as a 'republic') was next engaged in war with the Central Powers and the British Empire joined the French and Russians in August. (It had guaranteed Belgian neutrality in the Treaty of London of 1839 and had concluded the Entente Cordiale with France in 1904 and a Convention with Russia in 1907 - these overall developments are sometimes referred to as the Triple Entente.) When GIW I started, Rus-



sia, France and the UK were to be called the Allies. Thus far, the conflict was yet another European one. As for 'poor, little catholic Belgium', which was invaded by the Germans on 4th August 1914, it was also an imperialist state, although its subjugated territories lay outside Europe, mainly in Africa and, to a small extent, in China.

In 1914-16, other European countries were to become embroiled on one side or the other. Italy was the largest, while smaller states such as Montenegro, Bulgaria and Romania were also drawn in.

Outside of Europe, in the same period, the Ottoman Empire and the Japanese Empire joined in the conflict, again adopting different stances. In 1917, the most significant new participants were America and China, while, in that year and the next, a raft of countries from Southern Europe, Africa, Asia and Latin America, simply jumped on the band wagon.

Of course, the War did not only involve sovereign states and their overseas dominions (such as Canada, Australia and New Zealand), it witnessed fighting in the overseas colonies of empires. It was also waged across the globe on the high seas.

But, within these parameters, the question arises as to the real geopolitical dynamics of the conflagration.

Austria-Hungary was concerned to strengthen and extend its control of the Bal-

kans, while Russia, equally so concerned with that region, was determined that it should not do so. France, still smarting from the defeat of the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71 and the loss of Alsace-Lorraine, continued to fear continuing German might, now enshrined in the Second Reich in Europe and increasingly evident in Africa and Asia. Britain was worried about the Reich as well in the same respects, but especially as regards the growth of German naval power. Italy later joined the fray with its sense of 'Italia irredenta' vis-à-vis Austria, while the Ottoman Empire was fearful of greedy Russian, British and French designs on its empire and Japan was anxious to expand in the Pacific. Towards the end of GIW I, America entered the fray after Germany announced unrestricted marine warfare, in particular to isolate the UK - a major trading partner of the US - and sank a number of American ships. (America had already established its own imperialist character, as demonstrated in its seizure of Mexican territories in the 19th century, and its colonial interests in the Caribbean and the Philippines enduring into the 20th.) China joined the Allies with a view to regaining the Shantung peninsula, originally the site of a German colony, which had been seized by Britain and Japan; it also still had its eyes on Tibet.

The outgrowth of GIW I saw the emergence of several new, independent states: in Northern Europe - Finland, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania; in Eastern and Central Europe - Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary; in Southern Europe - Yugoslavia (i.e. South Slavia comprised chiefly of Slovenes, Croats and Serbians) and Albania. (However, independence was not always matched by post-imperialist democracy.) In Western Europe, the most notable development was the establishment of the Irish Free State in 1922.

The armed struggle for Irish independence had begun in 1916 with the Easter Rising. Several attempts have been made to denigrate it. Firstly, the question of mandate has been posed. The fact is that the mandate for

national insurrection derives from foreign occupation. Even if some or many of one's fellow nationals acquiesce in colonial bullying, that does not bind one to do so as well.<sup>1</sup> Apart from that, it has to be remembered that the United Kingdom of 1916 was not a proper democracy as, in round terms, 70% of adults (i.e. persons aged 21 and more) did not have a vote for parliament. When the suffrage was extended to all adult males in 1918 and some adult females (the latter did not get the same suffrage as males until 1928), the First Dáil was elected and the War of Independence began.

Returning to 1916, a number of assertions have been made about the Rising that are dubious, to say the least. To begin with, much is made of the derision to which captured rebels were subjected by some of the citizenry of Dublin as they were led off to prison. However, it does not take a genius to suspect that supporters of the Rising were afraid to come out on the streets in the face of the British army, while relatives of husbands and sons who had been lured into the service of British imperialism felt free to do so.

In fact, there is evidence to support this conclusion. A member of the Canadian press, sent to Dublin after the Rising broke out, wrote a book about his experiences. In this, he said: "I have read many accounts of public feeling in Dublin in these days. They are all agreed that the open and strong sympathy of the mass of the population was with the British troops. That this was so in the better parts of the city, I have no doubt, but certainly what I myself saw in the poorer districts did not confirm this. It rather indicated that there was a vast amount of sympathy with the rebels, particularly after the rebels were defeated. The sentences of the Courts Martial deepened this sympathy." And further on he stated: "People were leaning from their windows waving triangular flags and handkerchiefs. 'They are cheering the soldiers,' I said to my companion. ... As the main body approached I could see that the





soldiers were escorting a large number of prisoners, men and women, several hundreds in all. The people were cheering not the soldiers but the rebels.”<sup>2</sup>

Another attempt to diminish the Rising (as touched on by the author just quoted) is by reference to General Maxwell, commander of British forces during the episode. It is often suggested that had it not been for his execution of rebel leaders, opinion in Ireland would not have swung behind them and their cause. Thus rebel heroism and popular patriotism is reduced to the stupidity of a British general.

1916 is of course also the year of the Somme where many Irishmen perished in battle with the Germans. Furthermore, the Somme is the symbol of the tens of thousands of Irishmen who fell throughout GIW I. An effort is increasingly made to equate the fate of these men with those who died in the Rising and the War of Independence. While it is a matter of human compassion and deep sadness that Irishmen met their end at the Somme, in Flanders and elsewhere between 1914 and '18, the fact remains that they were imperialist cannon fodder rather than national freedom fighters. Their subjective drive may have varied from seeking to enhance their income, to a search for glory, to an idealistic belief that they were fighting for democracy

in general or Irish home rule in particular. But the objective reality is that they were simply the instruments of British imperialism.

With regard to the promise of home rule at the war's end, it was well short of national independence, both as regards partition and the limited powers to be granted to two devolved administrations north and south.

While the Irish Revolution of 1916-22 did not lead to a desired all-Ireland republic, it brought much more than 'home rule' to 26 of the island's 32 counties in the shape of the Irish Free State, and inspired anti-colonial movements throughout the world. In particular, it began the end of the British Empire.

1. For example, although it can never be capable of proof, one way or the other, one wonders if a majority of the French people actually supported the resistance between 1941 and '44 rather than the Vichy regime. But no democrat thus calls into question the validity of that resistance.

2. F A McKenzie, *The Irish Rebellion - What Happened and Why*, (C Arthur Pearson Ltd, 1916).

*Daltún Ó Ceallaigh, Eagarthóir, INC NEWS*

## REDMOND RIDES AGAIN

Most of the major political and social events which took place in Ireland during the early years of the 20th century, along with the men and women involved, which helped shape the Ireland of today, are now subject to a retrospective scrutiny as part of what has become known as the Centenary of Commemorations. The 1913 Lockout, the Third Home Rule Bill, the formation of the Irish and National Volunteers, the outbreak of the First World War, the Easter Rising, the War of Independence, the 1918 General Election, the First Dáil Éireann, the Treaty and the Civil War are some of those seismic events which are being commemorated in this decade of commemorations. Revisionists are at full gallop in attempts to confer a respectability on some of those events and the people involved. John

Redmond, and his pro-Great War speech at Woodenbridge has been singled out for favourable retrospective analysis.

John Redmond, leader of the Irish Parliamentary Party in 1914, was without question an Irish nationalist and fervent advocate of Home Rule. However, and, unlike his predecessor Parnell, he was a zealous admirer of the British House of Commons and sought only limited Irish self-government, considering it undesirable that Britain and Ireland be separated as he had no wish to see the dismemberment of the British Empire. Despite the fact that Redmond opposed physical force, he nonetheless enthusiastically encouraged young Irishmen to enlist in the British army in 1914 in return for the promise of Home Rule. It was a participation which fostered the delu-

sion of self-government. Redmond was loyal to the institutions and customs of Westminster, loyal to the House of Commons and more loyal to Britain's cause than Ireland's at the outbreak of the Great War. He believed if Irish nationalists matched their northern counterparts in the 36th (Ulster) division in enlisting for service in France, a united Ireland, albeit still firmly under British rule, might be the reward.

In his historic speech at Woodenbridge in September 1914 in which he was prepared to buy Home Rule with the blood of young Irishmen, he called for them to join the war effort, which in turn split Ireland and the Irish Volunteers, the latter rejecting Redmond's call to aid the war effort, leaving the larger National Volunteers, which remained under Redmondite control. It was from the Irish Volunteers and the IRB that plans for the Easter Rising were to emerge. The Third Home Rule bill, although formally passed in 1914, was suspended for the duration of the war. It is noteworthy that when the Third Home Rule bill was passed in the House of Commons with an amendment allowing for the temporary exclusion for six years for four Ulster counties with Protestant majorities, the House of Lords changed the amendment to permanent exclusion for all nine Ulster counties.

An ardent admirer of Redmond and the version of Home Rule that was on offer in 1914 is former Taoiseach John Bruton. His unequivocal support for Redmond and the Third Home Rule bill, despite the benefit of historical hindsight, is on a par with his display of obsequiousness during the visit to the Irish State by Prince Charles in 1995. Home Rule, the old reliable weapon used to attack those of 1916 who secured our independence, was aptly described by Roger Casement as "a promissory note payable only after death" or, more accurately, after the deaths of 35,000 Irishmen fighting for supposed freedoms that were being denied to their own land. Mr Bru-

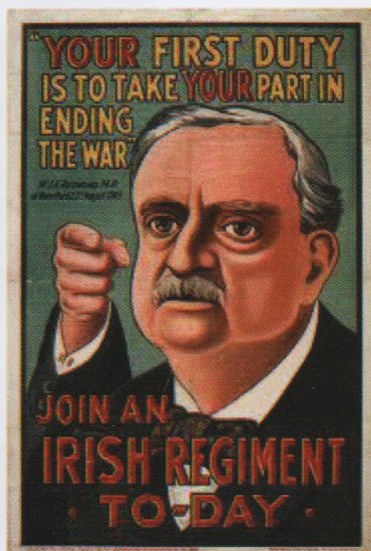
ton apparently finds no contradiction between his support for Irishmen being part of the mass-murder of millions of people in the Great War, and his trenchant opposition to Irishmen using force to rid this country of that same imperial power whose only 'right' to govern Ireland was a result of the military conquest of Ireland.

These young men were told by Redmond that they were fighting a just war, undertaken in defence of small nations and oppressed peoples. Redmond was referring to Belgium, which in fact was a ruthless colonial power that practised slavery and genocide in Africa and was responsible for the slaughter of up to ten million Congolese during the brutal reign of King Leopold. Indeed, Arthur Conan Doyle compared the vile exploitation of

the Congolese by the Belgians with British colonialists in Nigeria. Also, Mark Twain described Belgium as a colonial regime that "abandoned its civilising mission for plunder, slave labour, rape and mutilation". The brutal treatment of the indigenous people of the Congo, as their Belgian masters looted and plundered copper, rubber, ivory and other minerals, may have outraged civilised society in England on foot of the reports dispatched home by Roger Casement, but not enough, appar-

ently, to prevent John Redmond from urging young Irishmen to fight alongside British and Belgian imperialists against Germany. John Redmond's version of Home Rule was no more than being allowed to participate in your own colonisation. It was an exercise in supplementing the despised Act of Union with a measure that gave the Irish people the delusion of self-government.

John Bruton ignores the widespread opposition, not just in nationalist Ireland, to Home Rule. Half a million Ulster Unionists signed a covenant to use "all means necessary, including civil war" to resist an act of parliament giving Home Rule to Ireland. Furthermore, the leader of the Conservative party during this period, Bonar Law, in undeniably





seeditious language, showed his utter contempt for the democratic institutions he was elected to uphold by stating "there are things stronger than parliamentary majorities". When faced with this opposition to Home Rule, Prime Minister Asquith failed to uphold and defend an Act of his own Parliament. As the Home Rule crisis worsened, General Sir Henry Wilson extracted a verbal promise from the Secretary of State for War, Colonel Seely, that army officers be given the option of resigning their commissions rather than be sent north to coerce Carson. This was nothing short of a threat to mutiny. In the general election of 1918, probably the key defining moment in modern Irish history, John Redmond's Irish Parliamentary Party was swept from power by an electorate who espoused

separatism and emphatically rejected Home Rule. John Bruton ignores this 'wholly constitutional and parliamentary' decision of the Irish people.

Calls have been made for a memorial to be erected to honour Redmond at Woodenbridge during this Centenary of Commemorations. May I suggest a site more appropriate than Woodenbridge would be the Cenotaph in London in recognition of his abject support for King and Empire at the expense of young Irish lives at Flanders, Mons and Ypres in 1914.

*Tom Cooper, Cathaoirleach, INC*

## Bonfires of Bigotry

Every July, rain or shine, as part of the annual Orange 'Hate Fest', tens of thousands of northern Catholics are forced to leave their homes in fear of the cultural phenomenon known as the '11th Night'. Across unionist areas, in scores of towns and cities in the north of Ireland, hundreds of 'towering infernos' are built, most surmounted with the tricolour of the Irish Republic, which is ritually burned, sometimes alongside effigies of unionist hate figures or victims of loyalist paramilitaries.

Apart from being a source of air pollution, a magnet for underage and binge drinking, anti-social behaviour and sectarian intimidation, these bonfires are also frequently a danger to neighbouring properties, which stretches the already limited resources of the emergency services. From 6 pm to 1 am on 11th July 2013, there were 184 calls to the fire brigades across Northern Ireland, 42 of which were directly bonfire-related and some of them resulted in attacks on fire crews by drunken 11th Night revellers.

Normally, frugal unionist politicians see money as no object when it comes to the cost

of cleaning up the mess left in the wake of these 'orange nights of culture'. In 2009, the cleanup and repair of damage to public roads cost northern ratepayers (Catholic and Protestant) over £200,000, over £20,000 of that being spent in Belfast alone.

Although former DUP environment minister Sammy Wilson assures us that global warming is a myth, recently in Belfast there have been attempts to make loyalist 11th night bonfires more 'eco-friendly'. Since 2009, Belfast City Council has financed a scheme to provide 'beacons' where only wood would be burned; community groups can avail of a grant of £1500 as long as no paramilitary flags are displayed and, since 2010, community groups can claim an extra £100 for their bonfires if no tricolours are incinerated.

Nationalist community leaders have recently taken steps to curtail any offensive or anti-social aspects to the decreasing number of anti-internment bonfires held each August. In 2013, a loyalist mural, which was stolen and placed on top of a republican bonfire, was returned to its loyalist owners as a gesture of good will.

Nowhere else in Europe would the annual ceremonial burning of hundreds of the national flag of a peaceful neighbouring state go virtually without comment. The DUP South Antrim MLA, Paul Girvan, told U105 Radio in September 2010 that he had no problem with burning tricolours and that it was part of his

'cultural tradition'. Can you imagine if, every Bastille day, the union jack was burned across France or if, every St George's day, the flags of Pakistan, Jamaica or Nigeria were burned in Leeds and Luton. Understandably, there would be harsh diplomatic protests and predictable riots in the streets. But, in the north of Ireland, this systematic and deliberate incitement to hatred has been allowed to become an integral part of 'unionist culture'. To such an extent that it hardly draws comment from British Secretaries of State, unionist politicians, Protestant clergy and, indeed, the supine and spineless Irish government that allows this annual, outrageous affront to our national flag to continue without a word of protest.

It was only when our 'loyalist brethren' began to expand the scope of their cultural expression by burning the Polish national flag, and election posters of assembly candidate Magdalena Wolska, did the issue grab media attention.

The British Government seems to be in a state of denial over its legal obligations to prevent and punish such flagrant incitements to hatred. In April 2007, Britain along with 26 other EU countries signed a declaration to punish those responsible for incitement to hatred on the grounds of colour, race, nationality or ethnic origin with terms of imprisonment of between 1-3 years. Britain itself enacted a similar 'Religious and Racial Hatred Act' in 2006. The British state and the PSNI's current unwillingness to prosecute those who seek to incite hatred by burning the tricolour is in stark contrast to the eagerness with which the police broke into a Sinn Féin office on Divis Street in Belfast on 1st October 1964 during the general election campaign to remove a tricolour at the behest of Rev Ian Paisley and Unionist Westminster candidate, Jim Kilfedder, so as to prevent 'incitement' of the loyalist population. Surely, if the police were so eager to remove a tricolour from the Falls Road then, they should be equally keen to do the same from bonfires on the Shankill today.

Perhaps one reason why the British state turns a blind eye to such naked sectarian provocation is the fundamentally sectarian foundations of the British Constitution itself,



which forbids the monarch, his/her spouse or any of the great office holders of state from being a Catholic, and automatically grants seats in its upper house to Anglican bishops. From 1606 until its repeal in 1859, the 'Observance of the 5th of November Act' made the celebration of 'Guy Fawkes Night' compulsory. Guy Fawkes' night was accompanied across Britain with the same anti-Catholic attacks and anti-social drunken anarchy that we associate with 11th of July in the north of Ireland today. Effigies of the Pope (sometimes filled with live cats!) were burned on bonfires from 1625 on; the effigy burning still takes place every 5th of November in Tom Paine's home town of Lewes in Sussex. A strange, traditional practice in a country which prides itself on its secular and progressive outlook.

The Irish government and the Department of Foreign affairs also have a responsibility to defend our national flag from such blatant and repeated disrespect. The Secretary of State For Northern Ireland, the British Government and the PSNI have a duty to prevent such incitement to hatred and disrespect for the national flag of a friendly neighbouring member of the European community.

The Irish Republic is the second largest source of tourists to Northern Ireland; in 2012, 430,000 such visitors spent an estimated £70 million. The Irish Republic is also the North's second largest market, accounting for 28% of Northern Ireland's exports, worth an estimated £75.7 million in 2011. The Irish Government must highlight these facts to compel the Northern Executive and the PSNI to take firm steps to uphold European law and punish those who incite hatred and disrespect for our national flag. *Paul McGuill, Rúnaí, INC*



## SELF-CENSORSHIP & BIAS IN THE MEDIA



Independent Ireland has never been a stranger to draconian censorship. In the first four decades after independence, film and book censorship was used to enforce strict morals on the public by fostering and supporting a national identity based around Catholic morality and teaching. Although the main focus was on moral censorship, political censorship was also introduced against those who had lost the Civil War. Public Safety Acts and military tribunals were set up. The *Irish Press* was prosecuted for seditious libel in 1931.

Many liberal politicians and journalists who would have strongly opposed moral censorship embraced political censorship enthusiastically when it was introduced in response to the outbreak of the northern conflict in the early 1970s. In October 1971, the Minister for Posts and Telegraphs, Fianna Fáil's Gerry Collins, issued a directive under Section 31 of the Broadcasting Act 1960, which prohibited RTE from broadcasting anything that could be interpreted as supporting the aims and activities of organisations 'which engage in, promote, encourage or advocate the attaining of any political objective by violent means.' This amendment to the Act resulted in the sacking of the RTE Authority and the imprisonment of broadcaster Kevin O'Kelly.

When Conor Cruise O'Brien became Minister for Posts and Telegraphs in the Fine Gael-Labour coalition, he broadened Section 31 to completely deny republicans access to radio or television. This led to a total distortion and imbalance in the coverage of events in the North - a specific political analysis was missing. There were frequent interviews with unionist politicians, including Ian Paisley and Bill Craig. The latter was interviewed on RTE's *This Week* programme on 12 May 1974 during which he described the spate of sectarian murders of Catholics as 'understandable' and 'excusable'. The national broadcaster incredibly allowed members of the UVF and UDA to air their views at length on the *Seven Days*

programme on Friday, 21 June 1974, five weeks after the Dublin and Monaghan bombings. The programme-makers at that time were clearly aware that one or other organisation had carried out the bombings. The *Sunday Independent* of 23 June 1974 remarked that 'Brian Farrell [had] devoted most of his programme to publicising the views of the UVF'. Neither loyalist organisation was proscribed at that time. However, RTE was prohibited from giving coverage to the IRA, because it was illegal in the State.

Cruise O'Brien tried to extend the ban to the print media and had, in particular, Tim Pat Coogan in his sights. However, he failed in this attempt although some newspapers adopted the dominant ideology of the time, becoming increasingly anti-nationalist in their coverage of events in the north.

The broadcasting ban provided cover to those who wished to silence any critical questioning of Britain's role in Ireland. Workers' Party members in RTE were enthusiastic advocates of the ban and their attempt to control coverage of the North was successful because of the confluence of their aims with the Government's fear of the consequences of permitting exposure of northern nationalist views and grievances. Major stories of national significance went unreported - allegations of British involvement in the 1974 Dublin and Monaghan bombings were left unexamined, while miscarriages of justice such as the Birmingham Six were ignored.

The most disturbing aspect of the ban was that it led to self-censorship. For instance, Niall Meehan stated, in an article in the *Sunday Business Post* on 16 August 1992, that when the existence of the Hume-Adams document was announced on RTE News, the newsreader reported that Hume was in the US and therefore unavailable for interview. However, the newsreader did not tell his audience that RTE could not interview Adams because of the ban - Adams was simply not mentioned.

In March 1993, RTE was found by the Supreme Court to have been operating an illegal system of self-censorship. This related to the case of Sinn Féin member, Larry O'Toole, who had been prevented from speaking on air

about a trade union dispute in which he was the spokesperson. Jenny McGeever, a journalist on RTÉ's *Morning Ireland*, was sacked from her post for inadvertently including some words from Martin McGuinness concerning the funeral cortege of the Gibraltar Three.

It is 20 years since Section 31 was allowed to lapse by Minister Michael D Higgins in January 1994. However, the culture of that era is still alive and well in RTÉ and some of the print media. The mindset of some journalists remains rooted in the self-censorship of the past.

This attitude was highlighted when Martin McGuinness entered the race for the Presidency in 2011. During the campaign, Miriam O'Callaghan chaired a *Prime Time* debate, with all candidates being interviewed. She asked McGuinness how he could square with his God the fact that he was involved in the murder of so many people. She stated as a fact (and, indeed, used the word 'fact') that he *was involved* 'in the murder of so many people'. While it could be considered appropriate to ask McGuinness if he had been involved in murders, it was framed as a fact and not a question and was therefore unfair. The presenter asked the other candidates if they would have a problem with Mr McGuinness becoming President. She did not ask this question regarding any other candidate or, indeed, ask McGuinness for his view on the other candidates' suitability.

Another more recent example occurred in the wake of the publication of the Smithwick Tribunal report. Smithwick found that, on the balance of probabilities, a Garda in Dundalk Station had colluded with the IRA in the murders of RUC Chief Superintendent Harry Breen and Superintendent Bob Buchanan. This led to a highly subjective *Prime Time* programme where a report with the emotive title 'Colluding with the Enemy' was presented. Both the report and the studio interviews afterwards used the emotive device of referring to the two police officers by their first names. There were expressions of 'shock-horror' by the presenter at Smithwick's far from definitive finding.

Sadly, RTÉ's current affairs department continues to ignore the systematic collusion

of the British security forces (including the former RUC) with loyalist paramilitaries. This collusion has been exposed by, among others, the reports of John Stevens and Desmond de Silva. More recently, Anne Cadwallader's best-selling book, *Lethal Allies*, demonstrates solid evidence of definite collusion in 120 murders carried out by one gang comprising loyalists acting in concert with RUC and UDR members. Where is the *Prime Time* programme on the findings of this book?

RTÉ is far from being the only culprit in which a one-sided view of the northern conflict and post-conflict issues is still being presented. In a recent TV3 two-part programme on Sinn Féin such bias and partial reporting was all too evident. The basic premise of the programme was to probe Sinn Féin's suitability for political office in light of the party's growing popularity south of the border and its history and role in the conflict in the North of Ireland.

Government Ministers, Alan Shatter and Ruairí Quinn, among others, were invited to give their predictable opinion of Sinn Féin with the help of leading questions from the presenter. The impression was given implicitly that Republican groups were responsible for all deaths during the 'Troubles' - no reference to killings by loyalists or British forces and no mention of collusion.

Some organs of the print media are even worse. The *Sunday Independent*, in particular, is infamous for its one-sided, biased and often vitriolic coverage of all things republican or nationalist. There are weekly attacks on the Sinn Féin leadership and often unsubstantiated claims of criminality by former members of the IRA. The British Government and unionist parties are rarely criticised. Other organs of Independent News and Media present a similar focus.

Anti-nationalist bias and censorship in the media, which fosters a partitionist mindset, must be challenged. It is essential that members and supporters of the INC should protest about biased articles and programmes in order to try to achieve a more balanced reporting of all issues pertaining to the North.

Mark Urwin, INC Coiste Náisiúnta