

An Phoblacht REPUBLICAN NEWS



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EXCLUSIVE IRA LEADERSHIP INTERVIEW WHY WE SHOT BRADFORD

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● The raving Rev. Robert Bradford, MP, who was shot dead by the IRA last Saturday, mixed extremist sectarian politics with fundamentalist religion. He is shown here waving a bible while addressing a Royal Black Preceptory meeting in Ballygowan, County Down, in August of last year. Even the microphone is bedecked in a union jack. See centre pages for 'Hate-monger and sectarian bigot prayed for typhoid in H-Block'

IRA STRIKE HARD

Abnormality and instability
of 6-county state exposed

THE crisis caused by hard-hitting IRA operations, last week, and in particular the execution of loyalist extremist Robert Bradford, has sent the so-called loyalists on a rebellious collision course with the British government which, in terms of shaking and sickening British public opinion (as IRA bombs in London are successfully doing), should knock about two or three years off the British occupation of Ireland!

A number of developments coming roughly together were given added impetus by Bradford's killing.

The latest British attempt at

patronising the nationalist desire for re-unification, an attempt to square the circle with something cosmetic — an Anglo-Irish council — again met with fierce loyalist opposition, mostly mounted by Ian Paisley who, before Bradford's death provided him with a more emotive cause for mobilisation, intended to mount large protests next Monday anyway.

Also, in the last two weeks there have been almost daily IRA gun and booby-trap bomb attacks on the RUC and UDR which have taken a heavy toll, particularly in border areas.

These forces have come under increased attack, and they and other loyalists know it is simply because the British government's Ulsterisation policy has pushed them into the front-line.

CRISIS

These demoralising attacks have caused a loyalist crisis of confidence in the British administration's 'security policy' and there are now daily calls for the deployment of the SAS and for the sett-

(continued on next page)



● Television cameras flash pictures around the world as plain-clothed RUC men are nearly overwhelmed by Paisleyites attacking direct-ruler Jim Prior at Bradford's funeral, thus internationally exposing the instability of the sectarian six-county statelet. See centre pages for 'Massive loyalist reaction'

IRA STRIKE HARD

(continued from previous page)

ing up of a 'third force'.

This 'third force' would be yet another loyalist paramilitary group, ostensibly for defence, but which would be armed and would be the military wing of Paisleyism, and possibly the vehicle of an embryonic rebel loyalist army, unofficially drawing from the RUC and UDR.

The execution of Bradford; direct-ruler Jim Prior's advice to outraged loyalists to 'keep calm' and 'not fall into the IRA trap'; and Thatcher's declaration in Westminster last Monday that the London/Dublin talks would continue, capped loyalist anger, which was seen by the cameras of the world desecrating the funeral of their dead leader by attacking Prior and his RUC bodyguards before and after the funeral service.

No plastic bullets were used to drive off the mourners, as at hunger-striker Joe McDonnell's funeral, and Prior experienced at first hand, and the British people saw on television, the loyalist monster, which they have created, and which they support to the tune of £1,000 million a year, threaten to make 'Ulster ungovernable'.

In response to this the British administration — whose rule is now under loyalist as well as republican threat — announced that all RUC leave is cancelled, with the RUC Reserve being fully mobilised, and that the six hundred troops of the British army's Spearhead battalion were being flown in for deployment in border areas.

Official Unionist leader James Molyneux, upon hearing this news, got 'cold feet' and called for a two-week postponement of next Monday's loyalist 'day of action' and was immediately attacked in bitter terms by two party colleagues who are now obvious contenders for the party leadership, John Taylor and Harold McCusker.

SPLIT

So a split has developed in the Official Unionists; while Paisley, who talks of growing unity within 'the unionist family', who set the pace for the memorials to Bradford, who monopolised the eulogies, and who has been striving for the establishment of a 'third force' since the failed DUP/UDA loyalist stoppage of May 1977, intends to press ahead with his campaign. It would appear that the eventual outcome of his campaign, if Britain remains firm, is to break the union with Britain and its 'treacherous ministers' and to establish an independent loyalist state.

However, despite the completely indiscriminate sectarian killings of innocent Catholics, and the threat to disrupt the local councils, and the calls for capital punishment of republicans, and military repression of the nationalist people, the loyalists are fairly confused over what they can actually achieve and they are actually damaging British rule in Ireland.

The British government is also at a complete loss, although its traditional response is to capitulate to loyalism. Whether or not it ditches the Anglo-Irish council will be commentary enough on where it proposes to go from here.

But, as far as republicans are concerned, the British must go home, and, whatever the consequences, the IRA will continue to strike hard against whatever forces stand in the way of Irish reunification and independence, be they demagogic politicians, loyalist gunmen, or British imperialist targets in the occupied six counties, London, or elsewhere.

..WAR NEWS... WAR NEWS... WAR NEWS...WAR N

THE IRA's shooting dead of leading loyalist politician and prominent propagator of anti-Catholic sectarian hatred, Official Unionist MP the Rev. Robert Bradford, last Saturday, in south Belfast, is the most telling blow delivered by the IRA, in any single operation against a prestigious loyalist in the last twelve years.

The previous night, Friday 13th November, the IRA struck again in London, in their fourth bomb attack in the capital in five weeks, when the Wimbledon home of the British attorney-general, Sir Michael Havers, was blasted, severely damaging it — it was empty at the time.

Meanwhile, IRA attacks against the British occupation forces in the six counties continued to be mounted with effectiveness, resulting in several deaths and casualties, following hard on the heels of four attacks on the UDR in forty-eight hours.

STATEMENT

The IRA issued a statement on Monday through the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau in Dublin amplifying the motivation behind recent attacks.

The full text of the statement, signed by P.O'Neill, is:

"The establishment's reactions, in many instances totally hypocritical, to the execution of Robert Bradford, MP, will be compared by many people with the lack of any response from these quarters to the killing of civilians by British or loyalist paramilitary forces, or to the death at the hands of British politicians of Bobby Sands, MP.

"Armchair generals who whip up anti-nationalist murder gangs, responsible in the past for the assassination of ordinary civilians as well as the deaths of political activists like Miriam Daly, John Turnly, Noel Little and Ronnie Bunting, cannot expect to remain forever immune from the effects of their evil work.

"That the UDR and RUC have recently been in the front-line of IRA resistance is simply an indication of how the British government (under 'Ulsterisation') have pushed them into that position while protecting their more regular units.

"The IRA are committed to resisting British crown forces whenever and wherever possible. We do not carry out actions for sectarian reasons.

"Our motivation is based purely on the need to secure a withdrawal of the British presence from this island and to resist those who actively collaborate with the British war machine. This we will continue to do, as and when the opportunity arises.

"The ludicrous and hypocritical statements from Hume, FitzGerald and O'Leary — individuals who have consistently failed to give any worthwhile leadership or protection — will be treated by the nationalist people with the contempt they deserve.

"The IRA are closer to grassroots nationalist opinion than any of these so-called representatives. We are confident that their sabre rattling 'civil war' and 'military dictatorship' speeches will fool no-one, not even their own party hacks."

STRABANE AMBUSH

The IRA mounted four attacks on the UDR from the evening of Sunday week, November 8th, to Tuesday 10th November, in counties Fermanagh and Armagh.

That same Tuesday evening, the IRA also mounted a bomb ambush near Strabane, on the Derry/Donegal border, but regrettably the ambush had to be aborted.

Early that evening, in a large-scale operation, a dozen masked IRA Volunteers, armed with rifles and shotguns, commandeered a farmhouse near Castlefin in County Donegal, just fifty yards from the River Finn, which forms the border at that point.

Volunteers planted 1,000 lbs. of

BRADFORD

IRA again bomb



● The remains of Robert Bradford being removed from the scene of the ambush. A military policeman looks on somberly

explosives, packed in eleven beer kegs, behind a hedge on the Urney Road, near Strabane, on the Northern side of the border, and a command wire was laid across the river. The ambush spot was only a short distance from a border vehicle checkpoint operated by the UDR and RUC.

Shots were fired at the checkpoint, but the bomb ambush had to be aborted, and the active service unit made good their escape in commandeered vehicles shortly before 10 p.m.

All Volunteers returned safely to base.

It took the British army two days, until Thursday afternoon, to defuse the bomb.

BANBRIDGE AMBUSH

An RUC Reservist in County Down was severely injured on Thursday week, November 12th, when an IRA booby-trap bomb exploded underneath his car. The full-time reservist lost both his legs in the bomb attack in Banbridge.

The RUC man was leaving his Kensington Avenue house, at 7 a.m., to go on duty in the local barracks when a small bomb planted by IRA Volunteers exploded underneath his car.

He had reversed his car out of his driveway and was just starting to drive down the steep incline of Kensington Avenue when the bomb exploded, devastating the car, and throwing him out of it, severely injured.

DERRY ATTACKS

The IRA's Derry Brigade carried out three attacks on British soldiers

in the city in just over twenty-four hours.

A soldier was injured on Thursday afternoon, November 12th, in a booby-trap bomb attack in the heart of the Bogside.

He was one of a patrol lured by the IRA into carrying out a search of private garages at Garton Square, off Westland Street. The soldier accidentally triggered the bomb, which wounded him in the face, legs and arm. Two other soldiers were treated for minor cuts and shock.

Another soldier was injured on Friday evening, November 13th, in another booby-trap bomb attack; this time in the city centre.

The explosion, at Castle Gate, happened at eight o'clock when a group of soldiers was closing the security gate in the ancient city walls, and triggered the booby-trap bomb.

Castle Gate links Magazine Street inside the city walls with Waterloo Street in the Bogside. Eight plate glass shop windows were smashed by the bomb blast.

The soldier was not seriously injured but unfortunately a civilian passer-by, a woman from Letterkenny, was seriously injured. Claiming responsibility for the ambush the IRA's Derry Brigade apologised for this unfortunate and unintentional injury.

About ninety minutes after this ambush, at 9.30 p.m., Volunteers from the Derry Brigade swung into action again.

Two military policemen on mobile patrol on the Old Strabane Road, on the edge of the Bogside, came under fire from a Volunteer near Annie's Bar, who fired a single

high-velocity shot at them.

Both soldiers were wounded, although not seriously. One received minor wounds to the leg and the other a gunshot wound to the back of his head.

Enemy fire was not returned.

After all three attacks the Volunteers involved returned safely to base.

LONDON BOMB BLAST

IRA Volunteers planted a bomb at the home of the British attorney-general, Sir Michael Havers, in Wimbledon, south-west London, last Friday night, November 13th. The attorney-general is the chief law enforcement officer in Britain.

The bomb exploded at 11.20 p.m. devastating his flat, which was empty at the time.

The IRA claimed responsibility for the attack in a statement, issued through the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau in Dublin, and signed by P.O'Neill.

After the explosion a woman police constable on guard duty outside the flat in Woodhayes Road was treated for shock. A wide area of Wimbledon village was immediately cordoned off by the police.

Sir Michael Havers' London flat is a few yards from Wimbledon Common. It has a round-the-clock police guard and a small police hut is sited just inside the front gate.

The road is always kept clear of parked cars for about fifty yards on either side of the flat. There is also electronic surveillance around it. Nevertheless, the IRA penetrated all these security measures, planted their bomb undetected, and made good their escape.

(continued on next page)

NEWS... WAR NEWS... WAR NEWS... WAR NEWS... WAR NEWS...

SHOT DEAD

London



■ The Wimbledon property, where British attorney-general Sir Michael Havers (inset) has a flat, and where the IRA beat police security to successfully plant a bomb. Security measures include a permanent police guard in a hut plus electronic surveillance

(continued from previous page)

An hour after the explosion the police and fire engines were still on the scene, but the area cordoned off had been reduced to about one hundred yards on either side of the house.

The blast rocked neighbouring houses, including that of Mrs Anne Dennistoun-Sword, who told pressmen: "There was the most enormous explosion. It was absolutely frightening. We were sitting in our drawing room just thinking about going to bed. Suddenly, I thought I was living in another war." (Perhaps someone should tell her she is: the Irish war brought to London.)

The impact of the daring IRA attack against such a prestigious target in London was somewhat overshadowed by the next morning's successful attack on loyalist MP Robert Bradford in Belfast.

Nevertheless, Havers' narrow shave began a major row in London establishment circles over the inadequacy of security precautions laid on by the police to protect prominent English politicians and other likely IRA targets.

The bomb, left outside Havers' ground-floor bedroom window, would almost certainly have killed him had he been at home.

On Saturday night, Havers and his wife flew back to London from an international legal conference in Madrid.

Before leaving Spain, he admitted: "If we had been at home we would both have been killed. The blast completely wrecked the rear of our apartment. The bed where we would have been asleep has simply disappeared."

Over the weekend police kept

the area around the Wimbledon flat sealed off. Detectives made house-to-house enquiries, and using tracker dogs, combed the surrounding grounds and sifted through the wreckage in search of bomb fragments.

On Sunday it was revealed that British premier Margaret Thatcher has demanded a report on how an IRA active service unit could successfully breach carefully planned police security measures to plant the bomb. And Scotland Yard spokesmen refused to discuss press enquiries that light-sensitive beams positioned around the flat did not scan the back garden, where the bomb was planted. The open playing fields of King's College School are at the back, providing easy access.

Police security arrangements for leading politicians, the British royal family, and other potential targets were urgently increased over the weekend following the IRA operation. And Scotland Yard officers publicly expressed their concern at the IRA's effectiveness in the capital.

Sir Michael Havers, who visited the wrecked flat on Saturday, spent the rest of the weekend at his country home near Newmarket, the address of which is also in 'Who's Who'.

It was only by chance that Havers was not spending Friday night at the flat when the bomb went off. On Thursday he flew home from Madrid to take part in a Westminster vote and the next day returned to Spain.

The blast was the fourth successful IRA attack in London in just over a month, each time hitting a different type of target using a

different type of bomb, demonstrating IRA sophistication and flexibility.

The first attack occurred on Saturday 10th October when an Irish Guards' coach was ambushed outside Chelsea barracks with a command-wire detonated remote-control bomb.

The second was on Saturday 17th October, in Dulwich, when the Royal Marines' Commandant General Sir Steuart Pringle was blown up by a booby-trap bomb, and severely wounded.

The third was on Monday 26th October against commercial targets in prestigious Oxford Street, when a police bomb expert was killed.

Last Monday, November 16th, police launched the biggest search operation ever mounted in the London area in an effort to locate the active IRA Volunteers and their bases, and as a publicity stunt designed to show they are doing something, however futile.

Scotland Yard announced that more than 300,000 lock-up garages and similar premises in the London area would be visited by thousands of policemen — some armed.

BRADFORD KILLED

South Belfast loyalist MP, the Rev. Robert Bradford, was shot dead by the IRA just after 11.30 a.m., last Saturday morning, November 14th.

Bradford was shot dead in a community centre at Finaghy, on the southern edge of the city, where he was holding a monthly advice session. The twenty-eight-year-old caretaker of the centre, Ken Campbell, was also shot dead when he foolishly attempted to tackle the armed Volunteers.

The IRA's Belfast Brigade, in claiming responsibility for the execution of Bradford, pointed out that he was "one of the key people responsible for winding up the loyalist paramilitary sectarian machine in the North." The IRA warned: "Let Mr. Tyrrie and the UDA know well the cost of killing innocent nationalist people."

Bradford had been in the building in Benmore Drive about twenty-five minutes when the IRA launched their attack with a five-strong IRA active service unit in a commandeered car pulling up outside the building.

A Belfast Brigade spokesman has revealed exclusively to 'An Phoblacht/Republican News' previously unpublished details of the attack including the firearms carried: one sub-machine gun and four short arms, including two revolvers (.38 'specials') and a .45 automatic.

Two Volunteers dressed as workmen in blue boiler suits, carrying a short plank of wood, and carrying concealed short arms, approached two men standing at the doorway of the community centre having a cup of tea. One of the men was caretaker Ken Campbell, and the other — unknown to the IRA active service unit — was Bradford's plain clothed and armed RUC bodyguard.

The Volunteers dropped their plank, pulled out their guns, and forced the two men to kneel on the ground outside the door.

With the driver remaining alone at their car's wheel, the two other armed Volunteers — the first with a short arm and the second with a sub-machine gun (to cover the rest) — came quickly up the pathway to the community centre.

The first entered the hallway, looked into the kitchen and then walked into the small room that Bradford was using as an office. The Volunteer shot Bradford, with his .38 'special', half-a-dozen times in the head and chest at point-blank range, killing him instantly.

Simultaneously, at the front door, caretaker Ken Campbell foolishly attempted to grapple with the Volunteers, one of whom shot him through the head, killing him instantly.

Meanwhile, to cover a possible bolt-hole for Bradford, another Volunteer had gone round the side of the building, which he entered through a second entrance and passed by Bradford's body before swiftly emerging through the front door hard on the heels of his comrade. (It was this Volunteer's back route into the building which must have confused eye-witnesses, leading to inaccurate media speculation on how many Volunteers were on the operation.)

All four Volunteers quickly made good their escape and climbed into their get-away car, with the armed RUC man at the doorway still not getting the courage to reach for his gun.

When the RUC man did raise his head, a single shot fired by the Volunteer with the sub-machine gun encouraged him to quickly put his head down once again.

Then as the IRA's car sped away, the RUC man — presumably in order to redeem his status as a bodyguard — opened fire in the general direction of the disappearing vehicle.

An off-duty RUC man passing by, who saw what was happening, also opened fire on the car, but none of the Volunteers was hit.

The commandeered car was abandoned by the active service unit in Andersonstown, near to where it had been taken earlier that morning, and the Volunteers returned safely to base.

Within minutes of the successful attack, local 'Downtown Radio' interrupted their normal programme with a news flash to announce that Bradford had been killed.

Whilst greeted with acclaim by the beleaguered nationalist people, the daring attack was to herald an avalanche of loyalist and other hostile political reaction (see centre pages) plus reprisal shootings of random Catholics by loyalist assassination gangs (see page 5).

RUC UNDER FIRE

IRA attacks continued this week, with the British front-line forces — the UDR and RUC — continuing to bear the brunt, with three fatalities and one seriously injured within two days.

An example of this Ulsterisation policy was revealed on Monday when it was confirmed that a British army unit, the military police, have been replaced in Newry by the RUC, 'as part of the continuing process of the normalisation of policing', according to British army headquarters.

An RUC man was shot and very seriously wounded in an IRA gun attack in Newry town centre on Tuesday, November 17th, at about noon.

Two armed Volunteers mounted the ambush on a commandeered motor cycle. They shot the part-time RUC Reservist in the head and chest as he was getting into his car in the cathedral car park in Water Street.

The Volunteers returned safely to base.

Also, last Tuesday, an RUC man died in hospital as a result of an IRA ambush two months ago.

The part-time RUC Reservist had been shot and critically wounded by the IRA in Ballygawley, County Tyrone, on Friday 18th September.

UDR MEN KILLED

A UDR soldier was shot dead by the IRA at Maguiresbridge, County Fermanagh, on Tuesday evening, November 17th.

The part-time corporal was ambushed by IRA Volunteers who shot him four times in the chest and he died immediately.

One week previously, also as a result of IRA operations in County Fermanagh, one UDR soldier had been fatally wounded at Donagh, near Lisnaskea, on Monday 9th November, and another UDR soldier had been seriously injured at Five-miletown, on Tuesday 10th November.

A former UDR soldier, a corporal, was shot dead by the IRA's Derry Brigade on Wednesday afternoon, November 18th.

The soldier had only recently resigned from the regiment. He was driving his car when ambushed by an active service unit in a commandeered van. The ambush took place in the vicinity of the village of New Buildings, three miles from Derry city, on the road to Strabane, at about 5 p.m.

The Volunteers returned safely to base.

CROSSMAGLEN AMBUSH

Earlier on Wednesday, the IRA mounted a gun attack on a British army foot patrol in the South Armagh village of Crossmaglen.

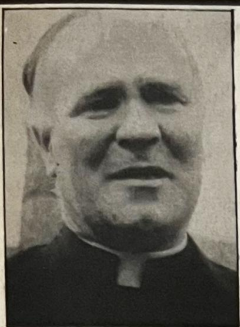
The scene of the ambush was Dundalk Road. One soldier was seriously wounded by a bullet which hit him in the leg and travelled upwards into his body.

Enemy fire was returned and one civilian, driving a tractor, was seriously injured as the frantic British troops fired wildly about them.

The Volunteers returned safely to base.

The British army did not deny responsibility for the civilian injury.

Typically, SDLP man Paddy O'Hanlon, amongst others ever-eager to be anti-republican, jumped the gun, and, upon hearing initial news reports, blamed the IRA for the civilian injury, whereas, in fact, British gunmen were to blame.



Fr. Faul's treachery

FR. DENIS FAUL of Dunganon has again emerged as a good friend of the British with his televised statement last Friday that it is people's duty to tout on the IRA.

Fr. Faul, who has previously earned political credibility for himself amongst the nationalist people as a defender of Catholics' civil rights, especially of political prisoners' rights, treacherously emerged as British premier Margaret Thatcher's best friend at the end of the last H-Block hunger-strike when he led an offensive by the Catholic hierarchy to undermine the prisoners' resistance through encouraging distressed relatives to intervene.

REGRETTABLY

Regrettably, last Friday evening, on the BBC television 'Nationwide' programme, Fr. Faul was drawn even further into the pro-British stance. He explained his fear of the effective emergence of republicans into the political arena but said it must make the IRA more vulnerable than ever to nationalist public opinion.

"Are you asking people to do something in practical terms? Are you asking them to tell the authorities if they know something?" the interviewer asked.

"Everybody has a duty to tell the authorities if they know anything about the commission of murder," asserted Fr. Faul, going down the Betty Williams touting trail, "that's any citizen's duty: to uphold the law."

But, even according to Fr. Faul's own previous assertions on Northern injustice, surely not a duty to uphold 'the law of an occupier, the unjust and sectarian British law and Orange order current in the six counties'?

Fr. Faul was interviewed on BBC's 'Nationwide' to reinforce an outspoken attack that he had made on the IRA in a public statement, two evenings previously, on Wednesday week, November 11th, in the wake of IRA ambushes against UDR soldiers in counties Fermanagh and Armagh.

WRONGLY

Fr. Faul wrongly claimed in his attack that the IRA have no mandate to wage war against the British, and stated that republicans must be excluded from any future political settlement. "If this possibility is denied them," he said, "then that removes the reason for their unbecoming actions."

Fr. Faul set himself a time span of six months to two years to bring the nationalist people round to his anti-republican way of thinking.

Strongly rebuking him a Sinn Féin spokesman said:

"Fr. Faul is wrong if he thinks his campaign will alter the support for the IRA among the oppressed nationalist community. He has only to recall earlier crusades by Catholic clerics, including excommunications and bishops' pastorals, and he has only to consider other colonial situations where the people resorted to force to find freedom, to realise how futile his campaign is."

"Fr. Faul said that there can be no future for any political group which is connected with violence. On this basis the political system in the North which has been, and is, overwhelmingly based on violence — as Fr. Faul's own pamphlets show — has no future."

"In reality, Fr. Faul's crusade is a political attempt to halt the slide of opinion in the nationalist community towards republicans, whose politics the Catholic hierarchy obviously oppose, in favour of the middle-class and collaborationist leadership of the SDLP."

PATRICK HILL HIGHLIGHTS 'BIRMINGHAM SIX' FRAME-UP

ALBANY JAIL HUNGER-STRIKE *Two on the blanket in England*

THE jailing of six innocent Irishmen for the Birmingham bombings in November 1974 has come to the fore once again with a hunger-strike by one of them, Patrick Hill, in Albany prison on the Isle of Wight, which last weekend reached its fourteenth day.

The decision by Hill, a thirty-two-year-old Belfast man, to go on hunger-strike follows the refusal by the British House of Lords to allow another of the six, Gerard Hunter, to sue the policemen who tortured confessions out of the men following their arrest on the night of the bombings seven years ago.

In a statement, Patrick Hill has said that he considers this to be a rejection of the last possible legal hope he had to have his wrongful conviction overturned. His statement, since he went on hunger-strike, contains full details of his treatment following his arrest, including beatings by police and then by warders at Winslow Green prison in Birmingham.

At the trial of the six, the prosecution claimed that the beatings had been meted out by the warders after the confessions to the police. But, at a later trial of some of the warders, they were acquitted on grounds which included the contention that they were already battered and bruised on arrival at the prison.

FORENSIC

Lawyers for the six, in spite of Patrick Hill's despair of legal moves, are still hoping to re-open the case on the grounds of new evidence revealed in February 1980 by John Yallop, one of Britain's leading forensic scientists, who has thirty years of experience at Woolwich Arsenal.

Yallop has shown that his own



● PATRICK HILL
third week on hunger-strike

test for traces of nitro-glycerine explosive on hands — the 'Yallop Thin Layer Chromatography' test — and the other standard 'Greis' test — could have produced the same results from cigarette smoke and several household products as from handling explosives.

Hill, in fact, is one of two of the six who in later statements described how they sat awake throughout the small hours of the night smoking nervously and waiting to be interrogated.

Next morning, a test for nitro-glycerine was said to show the presence of explosives on his hands, but when repeated the result was negative.

In the early days of his hunger-strike, Patrick Hill has received relatively little publicity, but the plight of the 'Birmingham Six' continues, as does that of other victims of police frame-ups in Irish bomb cases.

These include: Judith Ward, convicted of the M62 coach bombing; Patrick Armstrong, Gerard Conlon, Paul Hill, and Caroline Richardson, convicted of the Guildford and Woolwich bombings and still imprisoned even though the Balcombe Street men publicly claimed the actions at their trial; and Annie Maguire, Patrick Maguire, Sean Smyth and Patrick O'Neill, who were sentenced along with the two Maguire children and the late Giuseppe Conlon, who died in prison, for supposedly running a bomb-factory in London.

The forensic evidence used to convict them was also exposed as meaningless by Yallop last year. And even at their trial he gave evidence that his tests had not been carried out correctly. Nevertheless, they were convicted and remain in prison.

BLANKET

Meanwhile, a blanket protest by two Irish republican prisoners in England is continuing. Michael Murray, from Dublin, and Patrick Hackett, from Tipperary, are demanding repatriation to a prison in the North.

Michael Murray is now in his fourth year 'on the blanket', having begun his protest in October 1978 when in Wormwood Scrubs. He began his protest in the punishment cells there after refusing to do prison work.

Since then he has been trans-

ferred to Hull prison, but throughout has been in solitary confinement with no association, no exercise, no books, papers, nor radio, and only a blanket to cover himself with. Because of his refusal to wear prison uniform, he is not allowed any visits.

Michael Murray is serving twelve years on explosives charges imposed by a Birmingham court following his arrest in November 1974.

Patrick Hackett is serving a twenty-year sentence which was imposed in 1976 after his arrest following a premature bomb explosion in London in which he lost his left leg and right arm.

He began his blanket protest on January 1st 1980, also in Wormwood Scrubs, and has since been moved to Wakefield. For the first year he also suffered the same solitary confinement conditions as Michael Murray, with the added refinement of gross ill-treatment through the removal of his artificial limbs from his cell for long periods on a number of occasions.

He was transferred to the prison hospital in November 1980, where he remains in solitary confinement but is allowed some books, the occasional newspaper and a radio.

Nevertheless, Patrick Hackett is subjected to constant petty harassment.

Last month he was refused a visit to the dentist because he would not wear prison uniform. He is only allowed to walk as far as the hospital landing for exercise due to 'shortage of staff'. And recently, letters of condolences sent to him following the death of his grandmother were not given to him.

H-Block men punished

PRISON officials at Long Kesh have taken the opportunity to punish protesting prisoners now that the spotlight has been removed from the H-Blocks with the ending of the hunger-strike.

This week, three prisoners in H5-Block were put in solitary confinement for four days for speaking in Irish, and a fierce attempt is being made to break the only protesting prisoner in H8-Block, 'Clinky' McGlinchey. He was put in H8-Block following his capture while attempting to escape from the political status Long Kesh cages, and has refused to carry out prison work.

In retaliation he is repeatedly sentenced to three days' solitary confinement: each time he returns from the boards, the next day he is again charged and goes to the boards for another three days.

In H6-Block the republican O/C tried to rotate the men whom the prisoners appoint to orderly duties, but two men were sent to the boards for giving up these posts, and their personal belongings have been removed from their cells as if to suggest that they will be sent to one of the non-protesting blocks after their punishment period expires.

The men are also worried about an attempt by the administration to gradually erode the resistance to offering some, but not all prisoners, acceptable forms of work. Former hunger-strikers Laurence McKeown, Matt Devlin and Paddy Quinn were declared medically fit enough to 'carry out' 'light work', that is, to assist republican orderlies etc. The prisoners

are worried that the Brits could propagandise upon such participation, projecting that the former hunger-strikers are now fully conforming.

Warders in H4-Block also suggested that four men from each wing could paint the cells and the wings — but this would also create an anomalous situation where some political prisoners, a minority, would be receiving privileges and remission, whilst others would still be subject to penalties.

MCALISKEY

Meanwhile, assistant prison chaplain Fr. Denis Faul has mounted a campaign against republicans and in support of the SDLP; and the body to which he urged the prisoners to throw their fate — the 'Help the Prisoners Committee', chaired by Cardinal O'Fiaich — has excluded Bernadette McAliskey of the National H-Block/Armagh Committee from its meetings.

Bernadette McAliskey states that she has been informed that certain unnamed members of the committee had objected to her presence and 'felt that they could do the job better in her absence'. She had not been properly informed of the decision nor allowed to discuss the matter with the committee.

"To have been so shabbily treated in this underhand way by the 'Help the Prisoners Committee,'" said Bernadette McAliskey, "is a reflection of their integrity, honesty, and good manners."



Loyalists slay random Catholics

BY PETER HAYES

THE response of the loyalist paramilitary gangs, this week, to what they correctly perceive as a real threat to British rule and to their own ascendancy, has been typical after last weekend's IRA execution of hate-monger Robert Bradford — an operation which clearly demonstrated the IRA's unwavering determination to win.

Tragically the reaction has left two young Northern Catholics slain in the street at random, and another seriously injured.

Thomas McNulty, aged eighteen, from Short Strand, in Belfast, was shot dead in the early hours of Sunday morning, November 15th.

Peader Fagan, aged twenty-two, of Lurgan was shot dead in the early hours of Tuesday morning, November 17th.

And a few hours before the first fatal shooting, nineteen-year-old Stephen Murphy, from Oldpark, in Belfast, was seriously wounded on Saturday evening, November 14th.

SHORT STRAND

The first fatal attack, in which Thomas McNulty was shot dead, happened at about 2 a.m. on Sunday morning in the nationalist Short Strand enclave in east Belfast.

Thomas McNulty had just left his cousin's home in Clyde Street, where he had been having a drink and listening to records, to travel the short distance to his own home in Madrid Street, when he was approached by two men on a motor-cycle who opened fire on him.

He ran down Lisbon Street, which is only yards from his home, but the assassins pursued him, and, as they drew alongside, fired again.

According to an eye-witness (who understandably wishes to remain anonymous):

"When they fired the second time Thomas' whole body seemed to stiffen and he collapsed rigidly forward, landing face down."

"The pillion passenger, a tall heavily-built bloke, then tugged the driver by the shoulder and there was an exchange of dialogue. He then, very methodically, got off the bike and, approaching the body, fired at point-blank range into Thomas' head, before remounting the bike."

The assassins then coolly turned into Madrid Street and drove off towards the loyalist Woodstock Road.

Anger in the beleaguered nationalist area of Short Strand, at the ease with which these gunmen had struck their deadly blow, was intensified because concrete-filled barrels protectively placed by locals

at the end of Thompson Street and Clyde Street, only three weeks previously (following the loyalist assassination of sixty-nine-year-old Mrs. Mary McKay in the nearby Markets area), had subsequently been removed by the British army and UDR, thus providing Sunday morning's attackers the easy access to, and freedom of movement inside, the area, which they needed to kill young Thomas McNulty.

LURGAN

The second fatal attack, in which Peader Fagan was shot dead, happened at about 12.30 a.m. on Tuesday morning in Lurgan's predominantly nationalist Lurgantery estate.

Peader Fagan, of Luke Street, was shot dead as he sat chatting with a friend in a car in Levin Road. A Ford Capri car drew alongside and gunmen inside opened fire.

Peader Fagan died in the hail of bullets and his companion was hit in the arm, but was not seriously injured.

The dead man's father, Gerry Fagan, who has been the county secretary of the Armagh GAA board for the last twenty years, told how his son had spent Monday evening with friends before the assassins struck.

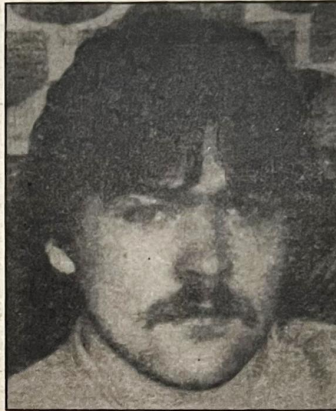
"Peader and two pals went to a friend's house in Levin Road. They had tea and toast and played tapes," he said.

"Afterwards they left and got into the car when they were fired on. The third chap ran back into the house."

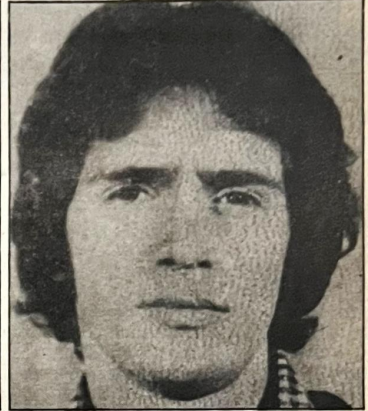
The loyalists' victim, Peader Fagan, was a keen Gaelic footballer and had played for Clann Eireann in Lurgan and for the County Armagh minor team before having a cartilage operation.

OLDPARK

The very first, fortunately non-fatal, loyalist gun attack last weekend had taken place in north Belfast last Saturday evening, when Stephen Murphy, from Oldpark Avenue, was critically wounded in the neck and stomach, by a gunman armed with a rifle.



● THOMAS McNULTY, shot dead in Belfast



● PEADER FAGAN, shot dead in Lurgan



● The central figure of the group of women on the right is the mother of loyalist assassination victim Thomas McNulty being comforted in her grief. The opposite side of the road is the spot where he was killed

Shortly after 7.30 p.m., a car entered Oldpark Avenue from the Cliftonville Road and parked on waste ground about one hundred yards off the street.

Two men, one with a rifle, got out and walked back down Oldpark Avenue, stopping outside the Murphys' home, which may possibly have been selected because the front door was lying open.

They knocked on the inner door and when Stephen came to answer, the gunman opened fire with the rifle critically wounding him.

As the loyalist assassins made their get-away, they were pursued by Stephen's brothers — eighteen-year-old Paul and thirteen-year-old Damien — but the boys were only able to watch as the gunmen reached their car which sped off in

the direction of the Crumlin Road.

Stephen Murphy was rushed to hospital where he remains critically ill. Sadly, doctors believe that should he survive he may be permanently paralysed.

MENTALITY

The reactionary and racist mentality of loyalism, and the total lack of room for republicans to compromise with it, is shown nowhere more clearly than by such brutal killings and wounding of innocents, struck down solely in order to terrorise the nationalist people into submission, when the loyalists see republicans daring to raise their heads in resistance.

As it happens, a classic example of this mentality — of viewing Catholics as 'sub-human' or as

'animals' — was provided just before the momentous events of last weekend, on Thursday week, November 12th, after the funeral of the former UDR soldier killed by the IRA in Armagh two days previously.

The un-Christian Rev. John Batchelor, rector of Killylea and Drumsollen, said: "The IRA must be put down, like the animals that they are, before there is any more talking. If we do not move now, it will be too late. Surely," he added, "there is enough loyal determination to set in train actions that would eradicate the IRA."

It was, in fact, precisely such racist and sectarian incitement to hatred against Catholics which was deliberately fostered by the late Rev. Robert Bradford himself.



● A typical result of British army 'peace-keeping'

Reckless shooting

BRITISH troops' typical disregard for their own 'yellow card' instructions on when to open fire has led to yet another civilian death in the North.

Driving unchecked through a vehicle checkpoint remains in practice a capital offence even when soldiers' lives are not endangered and despite military regulations which specify 'hot pursuit' in such circumstances.

Thirty-year-old Ian Aiken, of Coshquin, Derry, drove his Chrysler Alpine car through the permanent British army border checkpoint on the Buncrana Road near Derry city, just before 11 p.m. on Thursday week, November 12th.

A soldier fired a single shot at the car, which crashed just south of the border at Bridge End.

Ian Aiken, a Presbyterian, who was home on holiday from a research job in South Africa, and who was alone in the car, was taken to hospital, but was found to be dead on admission. The shot fired at him had missed, but he died from injuries received in the consequent crash.

This is yet another case where reckless shooting by a British soldier has led to the death of an Irish civilian — the wonder is that the British army did not claim that they mistook a brandy bottle, subsequently found in the car, for a gun.

Massive

loy

BY PETER ARNLIS

REACTION to the IRA's execution of loyalist extremist Robert Bradford was most acute within the loyalist community and sparked off a crisis, the ramifications of which have not yet been fully felt, but which could lead to a degree of unionist unity not in existence since the unionist monolith fractured after Stormont collapsed in 1972, and which could eventually lead to a challenge to British rule in the six counties.

Clearly there is not enough fire in loyalist bellies yet and the latter challenge would at this stage be restricted to civil disobedience aimed at securing an end to the London/Dublin dialogue and Anglo-Irish council proposals, an increase in military repression, further deployment of the SAS and the introduction of capital punishment, and the restoration of a loyalist assembly at Stormont.

Official Unionist MP for Armagh, Harold McCusker, said that they could never be safe until a loyalist was 'in charge of security for the province'.

However, the role of the 'rebels' has left some loyalists feeling very uncomfortable; and already differences have emerged between the Official Unionist leader James Molyneux and two of his colleagues, over his suggestion that they postpone for two weeks next Monday's 'day of action' (which Paisley decided upon without consultations), in order to see what measures the British administration will implement to combat the IRA.

The reaction of the British government, which is the object of this loyalist venom (although the sectarian violence is being directed against innocent Catholics), has been initially to take some steps - cancellation of RUC leave and the dispatch of six hundred paratroopers from Britain - whilst reiterating that dialogue with Dublin will continue and that there can be no room for 'private armies' (a reference to Paisley's attempts to establish a 'third force').

One can only surmise what the reaction of the British public is to the activities of 'their fellow citizens in Ulster', but, if the British newspapers are anything to go by they must feel outraged at seeing one of their government ministers punched, jostled, humiliated

and prevented from attending Bradford's funeral.

Paisley's spectacle of shouting abuse at British premier Margaret Thatcher (using unparliamentary language, no less!) had already received widespread coverage and when someone gets round to informing them that the show costs them £1,000 million annually, quite a few jaws will fall open and eyebrows will be raised.

MYTH

The Irish establishment's reaction to the killing was also typical.

Churchmen and media alike were fulsome in their condemnation and SDLP delegates, on Saturday, when news reached their annual conference, and Leinster House, on Tuesday, both stood for a minute's silence.

The myth that Bradford was the first MP in the North to be killed was peddled widely, despite the fact that Bobby Sands was an MP. SDLP delegates had the gall to represent the attack as 'a cynical attempt to overshadow our annual conference'!

On Sunday morning, Prior cut short a weekend stay in London and flew back to Belfast for a 'security review' with RUC chief Jack Hermon (whom Paisley had singled out for special attention) and the British army commander, General Richard Lawson.

Afterwards, Prior appealed to the loyalists to leave it to the British army and RUC 'to take what action they can' and not to 'play into the hands of the enemy'. He also stated, as did Free State premier Garret

FitzGerald on RTE that day, and as Thatcher was to do in Westminster on Tuesday, that the London/Dublin talks are to continue.

On Saturday afternoon, one of Prior's junior ministers, Nicholas Scott, had displeased a delegation of Official Unionists by giving 'a most inept performance' explaining the 'security situation'.

ANGERED

Prior's advice, which was rejected by Free Presbyterians, Church of Ireland and Methodist ministers, and by an editorial in the Belfast 'News Letter', further angered loyalist opinion, especially as IRA attacks on RUC and UDR personnel continued relentlessly.

This was one of the reasons - apart from probable Paisleyite orchestration - why Prior received such a 'warm welcome' when he arrived at Dundonald Presbyterian church on Tuesday for Bradford's funeral service.

On Sunday night in Belfast Paisley warned from the pulpit of his Free Presbyterian church, before television cameras, and, of course, before the most respectable well-fed looking congregation ever seen on 'Songs of Praise', that before midnight next Monday 'our enemies', 'the representatives of treachery in the government', would be taught a lesson by the loyalists.

And so it was that Paisley chose the time and nature of protest (expected to take the form of a general strike) for next Monday, which the Official Unionists were forced to fall in behind.

His Democratic Unionist Party also organised, with Protestant ministers and the Official Unionists, the cenotaph commemorations throughout the six counties on Tuesday, when Bradford was being buried, and was behind the organising of the paramilitary-style parade which marched through Enniskillen last Monday. The masked and hooded men who engaged in friendly banter with the RUC were obviously no strangers to the law!

DOMINANCE

Calls for loyalist unity, over which Paisley has been attempting to establish dominance for some time, came from several quarters with Euro-MP and Official Unionist, John Taylor, appealing for a reaction which would make the killing of Bradford 'the turning point in the war against the IRA', and that 'unionist leaders must now unite'.

The paramilitary UDA, who were directly named in the IRA's Belfast Brigade statement of responsibility for the Bradford operation, have found themselves catapulted again into prominence - not because of their murderous activities - but because it has been presumed by political observers (though without substantiation) that, without their collaboration, Paisley could not mount a significant strike or road-blocking operation. Thus the UDA are feeling pretty important.

But their bad experience with Paisley during the last attempted stoppage in May 1977, when he disowned the UDA murder of a Protestant bus-driver who went to work, and his general abandonment of loyalist prisoners, made them adopt an initial aloofness and measured response, which if it is maintained, will collapse when Paisley brings out his own 'third force' in Newtownards next Monday. They have probably been responsible for the Belfast and Lurgan shootings of innocent Catholics.

The UDA's Derry battalion called upon 'all loyalist politicians to set aside party differences and to unite to set up our own Ulster government, and with the support of



● A section of the massive crowd which gathered at Belfast Catholic fanatic Robert Bradford

all loyal Ulstermen to take the necessary action to save our country.'

On Monday, Official Unionist sources indicated that their councillors in five border areas were considering suspending local government activity and party leader James Molyneux gave the Brits an ultimatum that if there were no new 'security measures' announced by Wednesday that a 'third force' would be established. The unionist Frontier Councillors Association also joined in DUP calls to ostracise Stormont officials and British government ministers.

During the service for Robert Bradford, which Jim Prior had difficulty getting in to and out of, the Reverend Roy Magee, amid clapping and 'Amens', called for the introduction of the death penalty and said that the Brits and RUC should 'be allowed to take the initiative and end this war'.

Prior sat alone in a pew and was hissed throughout the sermon. When it was over his problem was how to get out.

He stalled for half-an-hour and when he appeared at a side entrance missiles and abuse were hurled at him. His car had to be backed up to the door before he ignominiously sped off. That night, the full mobilisation of the RUC and the introduction of six hundred more British soldiers was announced.

Official Unionist leader James Molyneux whose colleague John Taylor let it be known that he 'took flight' to London an hour after Bradford's funeral, called upon loyalists to suspend next Monday's protest, and was so out of step with loyalist opinion as to trip himself up. Taylor said that 'no self-respecting unionist could agree with such short-term measures', thus putting a question mark over Molyneux's continued leadership.

ATTACKED

Prior has now been attacked by all shades



● The immediately tragic side of loyalist reaction: the funeral of loyalist assassination victim Thomas McNulty in Short Strand, Belfast, on Tuesday morning

alist



Anti-loyalist city hall on Tuesday afternoon during the two-hour loyalist work stoppage to mark the funeral of anti-



Confident Ian Paisley (left) with his party colleagues, the wizened John McQuade (centre) and the colourful Peter Robinson, leaving Westminster on Monday, after their stage-managed suspension from the British House of Commons for five days

loyalism. At a service on Tuesday the Church of Ireland rector of Tynan appealed to the British government to 'give us a secretary of State concerned about our problems, not concerned with his own ambitions to become prime minister', and on Wednesday afternoon the Northern bishops of the Church of Ireland joined with loyalist politicians in calling for tougher security measures.

Whether the British government can resist loyalist pressures, and what happens if it does resist, remains to be seen, although loyalists are suffering a major psychological identity crisis. On Wednesday, Prior, who had recovered from his composure, appeared firm.

"Private armies," he said, "have no place in society. Nor does the law recognise the distinction between one private army and another."

And Paisley also appeared firm, demanding the 'flushing out of republican enclaves' (and we know exactly what that means), dismissing as 'white-wash' Prior's mobilisation of crown forces, and claiming to have fifty thousand loyalists behind him (some with gun licences).

So, the contradictions of British imperialist rule in Ireland lay bare for all the world to see, and the crisis of loyalist confidence in Britain's handling of republican resistance is damaging and eroding their ostensible loyalty and cause — the union with Britain.



HATE-MONGER AND SECTARIAN BIGOT Prayed for typhoid in H-Block

ROBERT BRADFORD was born in Limavady, County Derry, of Belfast parents in 1941, but was reared near Sandy Row in Belfast.

In his mid-teens he showed an aptitude for soccer and signed-on for a short time as a professional apprentice with Sheffield Wednesday in England. However, he returned to Belfast and enrolled at Queen's University for theological studies. In 1964 he entered the Methodist clerical orders and was ordained in 1970.

In his early ministerial days he was a 'British Israelite' and believed that the Anglo-Saxon and Celtic peoples were descended from the lost tribe of Israel.

"These people, according to the Bible," he said, "would be attacked from within and without. This attack would be physical and ecumenical. The troubles in Northern Ireland plus the cosmic drive of communism, and the international situation seem to vindicate this view."

Bradford joined the Ulster Unionist Party, the Orange Order, and the Apprentice Boys, and was first involved with loyalist paramilitaries when the UDA opposed the Housing Executive's allocation in July 1972 of homes in Horn Drive, Lenadoon, to Catholic families intimidated out of other areas of the city.

Bradford's church mission was based at Suffolk, close to Lenadoon, and the UDA's threatened opposition resulted firstly in a confrontation between the Catholic refugees and the British army and secondly in the breakdown of the IRA/British bi-lateral truce.

FASCISTIC

Even prior to this, Bradford had shown himself to be a reactionary and staunch Protestant fundamentalist, condemning divorce legislation introduced in Britain in 1967, and throughout his political career condemning Irish nationalists and homosexuals with equal fervour.

In the early 'seventies he was attracted to the fascist Vanguard Movement launched by William Craig.

In the 1973 Assembly elections he stood as a candidate of the loyalist coalition (which included Paisley's Democratic Unionist Party) but was pipped at the post by the equally right-wing and raving William Beattie, one of

Paisley's Free Presbyterian ministers.

METHODIST

In February 1974, he stood in the Westminster elections for the South Belfast seat and upon victory was pressed to resign from the Methodist church. He subsequently joined a fringe American Methodist church, more to his political taste.

In 1975, he joined the Official Unionist Party but in recent years appeared restless with the relatively moderate leaderships of Harry West and James Molyneux. He was clearly moving towards Paisley's Democratic Unionist and indeed urged Official Unionist co-operation during Paisley's 'Carson trail' rallies. Paisley monopolised Bradford's funeral on Tuesday, and eulogised and mourned him as though he was a member of the DUP!

Like Paisley, Bradford mixed sectarian politics with religion.

In 1979 he and Paisley staged a joint protest at Westminster and walked out of a religious service because a Catholic priest was allowed to take part. 'Vermint' and 'nests of rats' were inter-changeable terms he used when speaking of the Catholic people of the nationalist ghettos.

DANGER

In May 1978, he used the privilege of the British parliament to name eight Catholic security

staff workers at Belfast's Royal Victoria Hospital, alleged that they were IRA sympathisers and infiltrators, and placed their lives in danger.

During the 'no wash, no slop out' protest in the H-Blocks he once called for people to "pray for a long hot summer and pray that typhoid breaks out in the H-Blocks, for that will solve the H-Block issue."

He was also largely responsible for the closure of the republican press centre at 170 Falls Road, Belfast, and put political pressure on the Housing Executive to evict Sinn Féin and 'An Phoblacht/Republican News' from their Belfast headquarters.

DEAD

In a radio interview he once said that if SAS men were to leave IRA members dead in ditches he would make no complaints about it. On BBC television on August 13th 1979 he complained that the Brits did not storm a 15,000-strong republican demonstration in Casement Park when four armed IRA Volunteers appeared. "If there had been any trouble in trying to arrest the four or five gunmen or the woman, no-one there could have been categorised as an innocent bystander," he said.

In January 1980, he advocated the summary executions of captured IRA men as 'spies, saboteurs and traitors'.

Earlier this year he was euphoric over the deaths of republican hunger-strikers (though he called for prison reforms for imprisoned loyalist paramilitaries).

Bradford was a fanatical exponent of capital punishment, and the IRA carried it out last Saturday.



Derry opening

A RENOVATED republican resource centre has been opened in Derry city at 15 Cable Street, incorporating meeting rooms and offices.

The premises house Derry Sinn Fein's headquarters, open each weekday from 9.30 a.m. to 4.30 p.m., and a republican advice centre open daily from 10 a.m. to noon to deal not just with the many complaints concerning Brit/RUC harassment and arrests, but also social problems, such as housing, social security and unemployment benefits, etc.

The telephone number is Derry 68926.

Other offices are at the Creggan shops (telephone 66453), the Shantallow shops, and 19 Corrody Road in the Waterside.

Derry Sinn Fein

A NEW-LOOK comhairle ceantair emerged from Derry Sinn Fein's AGM last week, younger and more geographically representative of the city, with officers from Creggan, Shantallow, Waterside, and the Bogside/Brandywell.

Veteran republican Sean Keenan retired as chairman after years of dedicated work because of prolonged ill-health, and was voted honorary chairman for life, with a new chairman being elected.

Others elected are:- vice-chairman: Paddy Hegarty; secretary: Rose Hogan; organiser: T. Hassan; treasurer: Mark McLaughlin; and PRO: Martha McClelland.

Dundalk opening

THE new republican centre in Dundalk, which houses the constituency advice centres of prisoner TD Paddy Agnew and local Sinn Fein county councillor Fra Browne, as well as Sinn Fein meeting rooms and a bookshop, was officially opened last Saturday, November 14th, by Sinn Fein president Ruairi O Bradaigh. Sinn Fein general secretary Joe Cahill was also in attendance.

Paying tribute to those responsible for refurbishing the building and creating the new centre, Ruairi O Bradaigh urged local republicans to use it as a solid base for hard political work among the people of Louth.

Fra Browne outlined the barriers which he faced as a councillor attempting to effect some change to economic and social hardships in Louth, and identified youth unemployment as the most critical current problem.

The opening ceremonies on Saturday included the presentation of a tri-colour by the Sinn Fein president to the local flag of na Fianna Éireann, which was hoisted above the centre. During the afternoon a ballad session was held in the centre's meeting hall and in the evening there was a showing of the film 'The Patriot Game'.

Department heads

THE various Sinn Fein department heads were appointed by the ard comhairle at its first monthly executive meeting, on Sunday 8th November.

Already elected members of the ard comhairle appointed to positions were:- Education: Paddy Bolger (Dublin); and Foreign Affairs: Richard Behal (Kerry).

Co-opted to the ard comhairle were: Economic Resistance and Trade Union Affairs: Dave Farrell (Dublin); Regional Government: Joe O'Neill (Donegal); Women's Affairs: Rita O'Hare (Dublin); and National Organiser: Jim Gibney (Belfast).

Also appointed (to non-ard comhairle positions) were: Youth: Liam Connolly (Dublin); Prisoners: Marie Moore (Belfast); Agriculture: Joe Gallogly (Leitrim); Culture: Aine Ni Murchu (Dublin); and Director of Publications: Danny Devanny (Belfast).

CENTRALISED PAY DEAL MANOEUVRES CONTINUE

Trade unionists on the defensive

BY KEVIN BURKE

THE efforts to resurrect the pay-deal talks in the twenty-six counties by the Coalition government in the early days of this week may at first sight have seemed a weakening on their part in the face of 20% to 25% cost-of-living increases sought by the National Busworkers Union, and similar claims by bank officials, construction workers, and, indeed, even the gardai.

But Wednesday's recommendation by the Labour Court in Dublin that the busworkers should only get a 7.7% increase comes as a blow to workers whose standard of living has dropped by three times that amount in the year.

It is unlikely to satisfy the busworkers who have been threatening a twenty-six county wide strike in support of the claim, and to whom other public-sector workers have been looking for a lead.

The Labour Court recommendation of 7.7% is a mere 1.2% above the 'Three Wise Men's' revised-down recommendation, last month, and adds strength to the employers' and government's hand, who it is thought are now ready to bargain for a centralised pay-deal which would eventually emerge with a maximum 12.5% over fifteen months.

RISING

The rising unemployment figures are also being used as a threat to workers in an effort to secure acceptance of lower wage increases. Last month's figures, the highest ever at 129,211, are equivalent to 138,500 in the worst winter month, when seasonal adjustments are accounted for. Even small increases in the numbers out of work in the next three



Following their release after a night in jail for picketing, seven workers from Ault and Wiborg outside the Four Courts in Dublin on Tuesday week, November 10th

months will mean there will be over 140,000 unemployed by January.

Weighing in with his contribution during the week was Bishop Kavanagh of Dublin, whose salary and standard-of-living is undisclosed. He described efforts to maintain real wage levels by pay claims of 20% as 'not only heartless but brainless in present circumstances'. He went on to blame the sufferings of the poor on wage-earners who were 'privileged' to have jobs. No mention anywhere of wealth-owners, property speculators, bank profits and the like.

JAILING

But perhaps the most worrying aspect for trade unionists in recent weeks has been the jailing of the Ault and Wiborg picketers last

week, for defiance of a court injunction. The men, after a night in jail, agreed to abide by the injunction and were freed. This week they agreed to abide by a renewed court order.

Tara mineworkers were also in court this week when another injunction was put on them, restricting their picketing at the mine.

There has been extensive use of court orders in recent months, but the jailing of the Ault and Wiborg workers was the first such action since 1966 when a number of ESB employees were jailed for picketing electricity installations in defiance of emergency legislation.

Overall then, workers are on the defensive, but with another stringent budget promised by the Coalition in January, there is no realistic alternative but determined resistance.

'Feasta'-léirmheas

POBAIL nua Ghaeilge ag teacht ar an bhfód i gcathair Bhaile Átha Cliath, sin é an t-ábhar spreagúil is bonn le dhá alt a foilsíodh in FEASTA le déanaí. Déanann Máire Nic Ghiolla Phádraig agus Liam Mac Mathúna cur síos achomair iontu seo ar thorthaí an staidéir a dheimhneadh do chuid Chonradh na Gaeilge ar ionad na Gaeilge sa chathair.

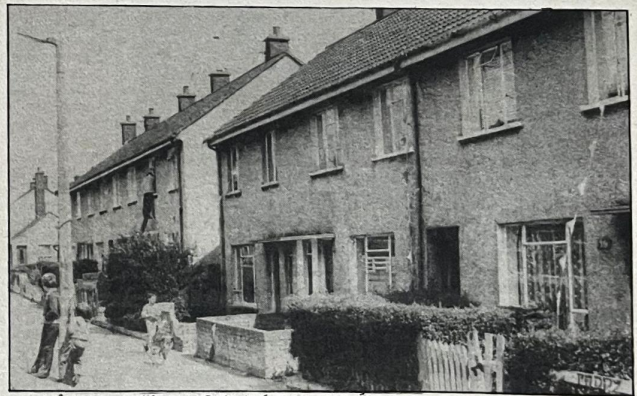
Tá dáileadh na gcainteoirí Gaeilge sna bruachbhailte éagsúla rianaithe acu agus tá fás institiúidí lánGhaelach áitiúla ar nós naíonraí, bun scoileanna, iar-bhun scoileanna, seirbhísí eaglaise agus imeachtaí rialta sóisialta scrúdaithe acu.

Deir an dá údar gur ar dfríú ar dhaoine aonair is mó a bhí iarrachtaí ghluaisneacha na Gaeilge go dtí seo, á spreagadh chun Gaeilge a fhoghlaim is a úsáid. Maíonn siad go bhfuil an t-iondán ann chun cabhrú le pobail a labhraíonn an Ghaeilge a chruthú i gceantair i mBaile Átha Cliath.

STRAITÉIS

Cé go bhfuil líon substaintiúil Gaeilgeoirí i gceantair áirithe sa chathair nior mhór straitéis ar leith chun struchtúir a thógáil a d'fhágadh ar chumas daoine an Ghaeilge a úsáid go nádúrtha i ngnáthimeachtaí an tsaoil. Tá iniúchadh déanta ag na húdair ag ghrúpaí áirithe eiteacha agus creidimh ar éirigh leo a bhféin-ídiacht a chaomhnú chomh maith le páirt ghníomhach a ghlacadh i saol na tíre i gcoitinne.

Is dóigh le Máire Nic Ghiolla Phádraig agus Liam Mac Mathúna go bhfuil teor le fáil ó na grúpaí seo faoi shlite ina bhféadfaí pobail labhartha Gaeilge a bhunú is a chosnú i mBaile Átha Cliath. Ba é bfearr go mbeadh teaghlach



Tá sé i gceist go gcuirfear mionGaeilchtaí ar bun i mBaile Átha Cliath

Ghaeilch, scéimeanna tithíochta mionGaeilchtaí, scoileanna agus seirbhísí lánGhaeilch mar ghnéithe de na pobail nua Ghaeilge ach bheifí ag bráth go mór ar rannpháirtíocht daoine a d'úsáidfeadh an Ghaeilge mar dhara teanga.

LEATHNÚ

Chuirfí tábhacht mhór leis na pobail Ghaeilge a leathnú agus le réims na seirbhísí a bheadh ar fáil dóibh a iomlánu. Is beag a bheadh idir an oibríocht agus comórtas Ghloir na nGael sna blianta tosaigh.

Dearbhaíonn údair an dá alt in Feasta gur

grúpaí teaghlacha is daoine aonair sna ceantair éagsúla a chaitfeadh an scéim a thionscnamh agus a chur i gcrích. Ach chomórú a dhéanamh ar iarrachtaí ar son na teanga i gceantair áirithe, is dóigh leo go gcruthófaí de réir a chéile pobail nua Ghaeilge lasmuigh den Ghaeilchta.

Creideann an dá údar gur gníomhaíocht dhearfach mar seo is fearr a rachaidh i bhfeidhm ar mhuintir na Gaeilchta agus a d'áiteodh orthu gur bhí dhá dháil cloí leis an nGaeilge mar theanga phobail sa saol atá romhainn in Éirinn.

NEWCASTLE CONFERENCE REINFORCES SDLP INACTIVITY & INEFFECTIVENESS

British propaganda fuelled

SDLP leadership's collaboration weakens nationalist resistance and prolongs the war

BY PETER ARNLIS

WHILE the SDLP's annual conference in Newcastle, County Down, last weekend, was naturally over-shadowed, if not blacked-out, by the IRA's execution of loyalist leader Robert Bradford (news of whose death led to a minute's silence), the conference still provided good copy for the British propaganda machine, and, of course, it was faithfully and extensively reported in the Irish press.

The media, and in particular the 'Irish News' in the six counties, have, by guaranteeing the SDLP coverage of their least utterances, ensured an effective camouflage for that party's inactivity on all fronts bar that of collaboration.

An emergency motion was unanimously passed on Friday night condemning the IRA in the most self-righteous language. (They jumped the gun, so to speak. Had they waited until Saturday morning they could have fully vented their hypocritical wrath.)

SPLITTING

The grassroots of the SDLP fail to realise how their leadership's disastrous policies actually prolong the war in the North by their support for the British presence and their recognition of the sectarian loyalist veto over Irish unity.

They fail to appreciate that power-sharing, or any 'internal six-county settlement', is unattainable. The SDLP represent no effective defence of nationalist interests and are over-reliant on Free State lobbying of Britain, and by splitting the nationalist community they weaken its ability to proudly stand up for itself, if not physically defend itself.

The SDLP reserve their especially moral denunciations for the republican armed struggle but merely seek inquiries from the British government when its British soldiers murder civilians. But then, of course, the SDLP is not in political competition with the Brits but it is with the republicans.

Pressmen were told by party officials grinning from ear to ear that they were sporting for an opportunity to take on Sinn Féin. At least they had recovered sufficiently from the traumas of the year to put on a good face!

KILLED

The SDLP are of many uses to



● SDLP deputy-leader Seamus Mallon being confronted by H-Block campaigners at the party's annual conference at Newcastle

the British occupation forces in Ireland. They support British propaganda which attempts to portray IRA military attacks on uniformed or out-of-uniform UDR and RUC men as attacks on Protestant civilians or Protestant milkmen or postmen.

However, if an IRA Volunteer (who in civilian life was a milkman) is killed in action by the RUC or UDR, the IRA does not claim, nor would the SDLP make the ridiculous claims, that he was killed because he was a Catholic. Even if that Volunteer was singled out and killed on his milkround he would have been murdered for being a republican, and not for being a Catholic, and certainly not for being a milkman!

The SDLP's use of the 'sectarian' tag is a one-way traffic aimed at blinding themselves, nationalist people, and international opinion, from the real nature of the struggle, aimed at discrediting the IRA and, when they know such allegations are deceitful, aimed at ingratiating themselves with the British and Free State administrations.

But they have failed to mobilise opinion against the IRA, and oppressed nationalist people see republican attacks against their oppressors as legitimate acts of war.

HUNGER-STRIKE

The SDLP's over-reliance on others was seen clearly throughout this year. During the hunger-strike

the British were continually urged by the SDLP and the Catholic hierarchy (and nowadays Fr. Faul) to appreciate the role of the SDLP in moderating nationalist opinion.

In fact, the SDLP were more concerned with saving their political careers and credibility than with saving the lives of the hunger-strikers. The Brits completely ignored them.

From their Carrigart weekend think-in in mid-September it emerged that the SDLP suspect that Free State premier Garret Fitzgerald would settle with the loyalists over their heads and would surrender in substance what the SDLP already surrender by implication.

This contradiction was apparent last weekend, when party chairman Sean Farren said that the present London/Dublin dialogue and the proposed council should lay the basis for 'a political solution'. Party leader John Hume said that they 'would insist that the results of such talks would have to be ratified in two separate referenda — one in the North and one in the South.'

GUARANTEE

The SDLP called upon the British to end the guarantee to the loyalists of their constitutional veto, but Free State premier Garret Fitzgerald during the talks balked from doing so (and is actually crusading to abandon articles 2 & 3 of the Southern constitution which claims jurisdiction over the North!).

But even were that guarantee to

end, the SDLP and the Free State government would immediately re-install it again with a guarantee to the loyalists that there could be no Irish unity without their consent!

In other words they would undertake to uphold the guarantee which Britain presently assures. Not surprisingly the loyalists suspect an insidious attempt to beguile them.

On the other hand, the republican position is crystal clear: the Brits have no right to be in Ireland; partition must end; and the people (ex-loyalists included) of the entire island must decide their sovereign destiny.

Loyalists need not harbour any suspicions about republican intentions when they can have definite convictions!

BULLETS

On other issues, last weekend's SDLP conference condemned the British use of plastic bullets in the North but amazingly only on the grounds that 'individual police officers seemed to be free agents in deciding when to fire'.

'In the absence of any control they should be banned,' said Michael Canavan, the party's law and order spokesperson, showing his true colours.

The party also passed a motion opposing any return of increased powers to the North's twenty-six district councils, but rejected a motion condemning the party's decision not to fight last August's Fermanagh and South Tyrone by-election which Owen Carron won.

WHAT'S ON

**EDDIE CARMODY
COMMEMORATION**
Friday 20th November
BALLYLONGFORD
Co. Kerry

**SINN FEIN MEETING
COMHAIRLE ATHA CLIATH**
Annual General Meeting
7 p.m. Tuesday 24th November
5 Blessington Street
DUBLIN
Three delegates must attend
from each cumann

BALLAD SESSION
Featuring 'Shandy'
8.30 p.m. Wednesday 25th November
Donaghadee Inn
RAHENY
Dublin
Organised by An Cumann Cabhrach

FUND-RAISING SOCIAL
Featuring the 'Glensiders'
8 p.m. Thursday 26th November
Spinning Wheel
Mary Street
DUBLIN
Organised by
Finglas H-Block/Armagh action group

45 CARD DRIVE
9 p.m. every Thursday
European Hotel
COBH
Co. Cork
Organised by
H-Block/Armagh Committee

BALLAD SESSION
Christy Moore and guests
Friday 27th November
Sunnybank Inn
BRAY
Admission £2.50

**IRISH SOLIDARITY
MARCH & RALLY**
11.30 a.m. Saturday 28th November
Assemble Craigavon Rd./Invercraig Pl.
DUNDEE
Scotland

**MANCHESTER MARTYRS
MEMORIAL MARCH**
2 p.m. Sunday 29th November
Assemble St. Patrick's church
Oldham Road
MANCHESTER
March to rally at
Moston Cemetery
Organised by Sinn Féin (Britain)

**SINN FEIN MEETING
COMHAIRLE CUIGE LAIGHÉAN**
Annual General Meeting
2.30 p.m. Sunday 29th November
West County Hotel
Chapelizod
DUBLIN
All Sinn Féin cummains in Leinster
must send two delegates

ANNUAL SALE OF WORK
An Cumann Cabhrach
Anonach na Nollag
Friday/Saturday/Sunday
4th/5th/6th December
Mansion House
DUBLIN

**SINN FEIN MEETING
COMHAIRLE CUIGE MUMHAN**
2 p.m. Sunday 6th December
NENAGH
Co. Tipperary
Each cumann to send two delegates

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Speaking tours

SILE Darragh, who completed a full five-year sentence last August as a political prisoner in Armagh jail, is currently on a speaking tour of Canada and Quebec, which so far has attracted significant media interest.

On the day after her arrival, Saturday 7th November, she attended a picket outside the British consulate in Montreal, jointly organised by the Wolfe Tone Society and the Quebec-Ireland Committee.

In the following week she gave several interviews to Montreal-based radio stations on her experiences in the Armagh women's prison and of life in the tiny nationalist enclave of Short Strand in east Belfast. These interviews included ninety minutes on CISC, fifteen minutes on CSAD, an hour on CHON, Quebec's most popular radio station, and one with Centreville radio.

Sile Darragh has also made a video programme for Montreal University's political science department, and met with officials of the Quebec French teacher's union CEQ, who invited her to address their annual conference which will be attended by delegates of over seventy thousand teachers.

In addition to this, Sile Darragh has been addressing audiences at daily showings of the film 'The Patriot Game'.

Meanwhile, Sean Sands, brother of the late hunger-striker Bobby Sands, MP, is still touring universities and colleges in the United States and last week was speaking at the prestigious Yale University along with British barrister Richard Harvey and Martin Galvin of Irish Northern Aid.

Other venues during the week have included Seton Hall, Amhurst University and Massachusetts University.

As a student of his tour, many sections of 'Students for a United Ireland' have now been formed.

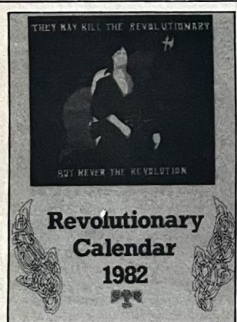
Flannery funeral

THE funeral took place on Tuesday week, November 10th, of Peter Flannery of Shinnone, County Tipperary.

Peter joined the IRA as a young man and was on active service during the Tan War and the Civil War, during which he was interned in Tintern concentration camp. Throughout a long life-time he remained true to his republican principles and will be sadly missed by his family and friends.

Peter Flannery was a brother of Michael Flannery, one of the founders of Irish Northern Aid in the United States, who is currently facing charges of purchasing arms in New York for the IRA.

Among those present at the funeral were several veteran comrades of Peter's including Jack Maloney, Danny Glesne and Ned Shea. Go ndeanna Dia trocraire an anam.



A WELL-PRODUCED, glossy and recommended revolutionary calendar, each month illustrated by a Belfast wall mural in full colour, has been produced by the Republican Movement. The calendars are available at 80p each, or £6 for ten, plus postage, from John Connolly, 2a Monagh Crescent, Turf Lodge, Belfast, telephone Belfast 620768.

DRAW RESULT

Sinn Féin and their raffle
First prize of £1,000: M. Woods, Drogheda. Consolation prizes of LPs to Anna McGowan, Strabane; Una Ni Giolla Chomhaill, Anagaire; Hughie McEvoy, Warrenpoint; and A. McDonnell, Castlebar.

Burke's at the back

BY KEVIN BURKE

EVERY so often that tired old story is trundled out that today's IRA Volunteers are somehow bringing shame on yesterday's IRA Volunteers, who apparently gave their lives to ensure that a hundred or so self-seeking craw-thumpers could sit in comfort sixty years later in a Dublin parliament and recall how the IRA of the Black and Tan era went out to fight with rosary beads in one hand and a feather duster in the other.

Of course, sixty years later it is easy for them to mythologise what the reality of a war against a colonial occupying power actually means and what it has always meant. But, on the other hand, many IRA veterans have maintained that their successors today are far too squeamish.

The Black and Tan war really did mean that the IRA went out and ambushed and killed British soldiers. It meant that they went out and killed RIC men — 'fellow Irishmen'. It also meant that they shot civilians who associated with these people and left their bodies on the roads with 'Spies and Informers' — Beware' pinned on them.

It meant that old unionist landlords were taken out and shot, and old Protestant clergymen, and their stately homes burnt to the ground. It meant that a labourer in Wexford who filled in a trench dug in the road by the IRA was shot dead.

It meant that a seventy-year-old lady taken hostage in Cork was shot in the head when an IRA man was executed. It meant an ancient magistrate was taken off a train at Dun Laoghaire and shot. It meant a British army recruiting-sergeant who was shot and injured and lying in hospital was brought out by the IRA and finally dispatched.

It meant that men like Cathal Brugha formulated plans to bomb and machine gun cinemas in England, and on one occasion to plan to machine gun the government benches in the House of Commons.

But what it meant most of all was that yet another generation of Irish men and women had risen up once again and was showing that it was prepared to resist the centuries-old brutal oppression of their country and fight back hard against the foreign military oppressor and his planted native allies.

This weekend brings the sixty-first anniversary of an occurrence which today's politicians, particularly Fine Gael ones, would do well to recall and study.

Sunday 21st November 1920 was only a few weeks after the deaths on hunger-strike of Terence MacSwiney and two of his comrades. It was a few short days after Lloyd George had announced in London that he 'had murder by the throat in Ireland'.

Early that morning a squad of IRA Volunteers, following the orders of Michael Collins, shot dead fourteen British agents in Dublin. Shooting them dead in bed, up against bedroom walls, or in one case halfway out of the bedroom window, in a number of cases as their wives looked on.

That afternoon, the Black and Tans went up to Croke Park and opened fire on a crowd watching a football match killing thirteen and wounding seventy.

That evening, three IRA Volunteers, picked up on the Saturday night and tortured all day for information on Collins' men, were shot dead in Dublin Castle.

The following day's newspapers make interesting reading:

'Daily Express': "... a wholesale slaughter of servants of the crown, followed inevitably by confused shooting by troops."

'Daily Mail': "Even from the restrained official account of Sunday's ghastly murders there stands out enobling a hideous scene, the heroic conduct of the women whose husbands, torn from their wives, met a cruel fate at the assassins' hands."

'Daily Telegraph': "Homicidal blackguardism..."

'Evening Standard': "... the suggestion that the commission of these detestable crimes should give the government pause in the steps it has been taking to crush a criminal organisation is surely as absurd as it is immoral."

'The Irish Times': "Every good Irishman will read with shame and horror the story of wholesale murder which we print this morning. Yesterday was Dublin's most dreadful day since Easter Week 1916. Nearly all the

Sixty-one years ago



● Six members of Collins' 'Squad' — not too popular with the British and Irish establishment sixty-one years ago this weekend

murdered officers had been engaged in the administration of justice...

"It may be that the assassins hoped, by these desperate deeds of blood, to impede the law and to terrorise its servants. If that was their hope it was, of course, futile.... A country whose capital can be the scene of fourteen callous and cowardly murders one Sunday morning, has reached the nadir of moral and political degradation."

And so on. Much on the deaths of fourteen British agents, little or nothing on the massacre in Croke Park, definitely nothing about the murders in Dublin Castle.

A few days later in Westminster, when the Under Secretary of State for Ireland described the 'cruel and savage massacre of murdered officers', he made no mention of Croke Park. Joe Devlin, MP for West Belfast, rose and attempted to raise the matter. Immediately another MP jumped on his back, whilst others shouted 'Kill him, kill him!'

That was all sixty-one years ago this weekend. What has changed?

...

The current issue of the London fortnightly magazine 'The Leveller' carries an interview with Barbara Cogan, lead singer and guitarist with the successful rock band 'The Passions'.

Speaking of a gig in May immediately after



● 'The Passions' — one 'political' rock-band prepared to comment on the North

the death of Bobby Sands at which she was reported to have 'expressed strong views' on the North she says:

"That night I couldn't get Bobby Sands off my mind. I was thinking, what am I doing here.... stood on stage entertaining this bloody audience of English people — half of whom don't give a shit and half of them think 'seems him right he was a terrorist'. I got so angry and it came out."

Asked whether she had ever felt like writing about the North, Barbara Cogan replies:

"I have, it's called 'Ireland's War'. It was written after Airey Neave was blown up, 'I don't grieve for Airey Neave...' It was recorded and is somewhere around the Polydore building."

'The Passions' will be doing a 'Troops Out' benefit concert before the end of this year in London.

...

Another magazine I came across this week is the August edition of 'Soldier of Fortune' which carries an informative article about the British army's Ulster Defence Regiment.

One folksy little piece contained therein concerns one Hank Cummings, an ex-Para from England with a strong Newcastle accent who now lives in Belfast with his wife and two boys and is a regular member of the UDR.

Big moustachioed Hank, or 'Big Hank' from the Anti-Tanks, as he was known in the old days, sums up his peace-keeping role in the North:

"It's real soldiering. We don't sod about with blanks or pretend war. We are always in it, and we know that any second we could walk into an ambush. We also have our own contacts and often we take the war to the IRA too. I couldn't go back to peacetime soldiering now."

...

Since the shooting death of Robert Bradford we have had to watch not one but two 'Today Tonight the Workers Programmes' on RTE pandering in usual grovelling fashion to loyalist hypocrisy. (And it is only Tuesday as I write this.) But there seems to be one omission from their coverage of the shooting: we have not had a recall of similar successful or unsuccessful attacks against leading unionist politicians.

Could it be that the 'Sticks' in RTE's current affairs department are trying to forget that it was a group who styled themselves the 'Official IRA' who shot dead Senator Jack Barnhill in Strabane in 1971, and just failed to kill John Taylor in February 1972?

Of course the much-depleted 'Officials' now confine themselves to more political activities, such as the occasional 'fund-raising' events held in selected twenty-six county banking institutions.

IN bitterly cold and then wet weather, with the wind biting hard enough to make one's teeth chatter, and with the winter's early darkness descending, a solemn ceremony to commemorate the twenty-fourth anniversary of the Edentubber explosion was carried out on a lonely County Louth mountainside, last Sunday afternoon, November 15th.

The annual commemoration was fairly well attended, with five to six hundred present to mark the tragic deaths on November 11th 1957 of four IRA Volunteers and a civilian, in a premature explosion which was the worst single disaster in the whole of the 1956 to '62 IRA border campaign.

IRA Volunteers Oliver Craven, aged nineteen, of Newry; Paul Smith, also nineteen, of Armagh; and George Keegan, twenty-nine, and Patrick Parle, twenty-seven, both of Wexford; and forester Michael Waters, fifty-five, were blown to pieces when a home-made landmine went off, just before the four IRA men set out from the forester's cottage to cross the Louth border a few yards away.

PARADE

Last Sunday's parade assembled at the nearby Border Inn on the Dundalk to Newry road and set off along the main road towards the border, fifty minutes late, with the cloud-draped Carlingford Mountains forming an impressive backdrop.

A colour party of Fianna led the parade at a brisk pace — which was just as well, most of the participants having been kept waiting in the freezing cold — and they were followed by about fifty uniformed Fianna marching neatly in step, several wreath-bearers, and the banners of various comparatively local Sinn Féin cumann including Killeavy, Crossmaglen and Cullyhanna in South Armagh, Lurgan in North Armagh, and Newry.

As the disciplined three-abreast marchers approached the border they took a sharp uphill turn along an unapproved road where the signpost indicated four-and-a-half miles to Narrow Water — a timely reminder of recent IRA glories.

After only a few minutes on the road, the parade reached the permanent memorial to the dead men — a large stone Celtic cross, with flags, a familiar sight from the main road to cross-border travellers.

Having reached their destination the marchers huddled together in a small country laneway to hear and view the proceedings chaired by Clement Geaney, who paid tribute to the supreme sacrifice paid this tragic year by the ten H-Block hunger-strikers.

After a decade of the Rosary,

Edentubber commemoration

BY PETER HAYES



● The Border Inn, on the Dundalk to Newry Road, was last Sunday's assembly point for the annual Edentubber commemoration, at which the oration was delivered by former blanket man John Connolly (inset)

wreaths were laid by various local branches of the Republican Movement, and 'The Last Post' was played by a lone bugler.

ORATION

As the rain began to steadily fall, Clement Geaney introduced recently released blanket man John Connolly, from Belfast, the bulk of whose oration reads:

■ We are all here to pay our respects to the men who died at Edentubber and I think as republicans we should draw strength from their sacrifice and we all must remember the reason why they died and we must continue until the struggle is over.

1981 has already gone down in history due to the sacrifice of the brave men inside, and of the Volunteers and the ordinary people on the outside.

We must all remember that 1981 has rekindled the desire for freedom throughout the country and everybody here has a part to play in it. It is very important that no-one turns their back, everybody has a part ...

ELECTION

The recent Sinn Féin and this made a decision to contest local government seats in the six counties. This is a decision for the benefit of the Republican Movement in general. Favourable election results will be beneficial to the armed struggle which will continue until the British government gives a declaration to

the Irish people that the occupation of the six counties will cease; and I think the efforts of the Volunteers in the last few days have proved beyond reasonable doubt that there will be no let-up in the armed struggle; if anything, it will be intensified at every opportunity.

It is very important that the Republican Movement, who serve the interests of the people, gain from any climate that is created through situations like we have seen in the H-Blocks of Long Kesh. It is very unfair and very wrong that parties such as Fianna Fáil, Fine Gael, and, in the six counties, the SDLP, come to power on the backs of the people.

They have continuously come to power on the backs of the people and when through the hunger-strike they were most needed they turned their backs completely on the people. Everyone should remember that not one of those parties did anything constructive to save the lives of the men in Long Kesh.

So it's up to the people to put the people who are concerned in the position, that is Sinn Féin, who will be contesting the elections. The IRA are the army of the people and Sinn Féin must come to rise as the voice of the people.

The British government will be embarrassed when we win seats. We must make our cause known to the world. We have seen the damage that Bobby Sands, Kieran Doherty, Paddy Agnew and the rest of the people who were

elected did to the British government and it is up to us to keep pushing that issue.

It is very beneficial to the Volunteers who are active in the armed struggle that we come to the fore. It is also a political war and we'll have to fight when it is beneficial to contest these elections.

SUMMIT

I'll go on to say this about these summit talks: that we have to expose situations like this.

It's up to every republican to be active everywhere. Neither FitzGerald nor Maggie Thatcher has any right to decide what future will be in store for the Irish people. It is up to us to contest it. They will have nothing to lose, but some people here and some people in other parts of this country might die because of their decision.

So it's up to us to go forward with the Movement in general and give full support behind the Movement. FitzGerald and the rest of these Free State Brits must be exposed and must be smashed.

It is not enough to send the British soldiers home and have the British government disengage from the six counties. What they are now trying to do is to create a false situation through the Ulsterisation policy where it gives them a tighter grip on the twenty-six counties.

That's what these talks in general are all about and it's up to everybody to understand what has happened so that no-one can con you.

PLATFORM

The situation in Long Kesh has put the struggle on a platform where it has never been before. Now if we're not to lose that platform everybody has to work and work very hard. It's a long hard road before we're going to end the struggle, but the Republican Movement has the capability to make this the final chapter in the struggle against the British and everybody must recognise that fact.

We must expose FitzGerald for what he is and the rest of the Free State parties. Their actions prove where their support lies.

We have Sean McKenna, taken from this very county, abducted by armed SAS men. Even when he was lying dying on hunger-strike his case went unnoticed. That kind of action proves where the sympathies of the Free State establishment lie.

Paddy Agnew, the TD from this very area, captured in Irish territorial waters — his case has also gone unnoticed ...

Young men today are prepared to lay down their lives so that young children will not have to carry on the struggle as some old men here today, now sixty or seventy years of age, as young men, had to fight and other young men now fight. Let's hope to God that this is the final struggle and that no more young children will have to die.

IN MEMORIAM

CROSSEY, Michael. (10th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol. Michael Crossey, Oglagh na hÉireann, North Armagh, who died while on active service duty on November 22nd 1971. Thug sé a raibh aige ar son saoirse muintir na hÉireann. Never forgotten by his friends and comrades in the Republican Movement, North Armagh.

McADEE, James. (7th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer James McAdae, who died on active service, in England, on November 14th 1974. Never forgotten by Mike Sheehan and Doreen Golden, Sinn Féin POW department, Dublin.

Sympathy

GUILFOYLE. Dearest sympathy to Patrick Guilfoyle in Wormwood Scrubs on the death of his father, Sean, aged 75, who died in hospital in Wolverhampton on October 17th. RIP. Deeply regretted by his friends at home and abroad, especially Blitty, Margaret, Paul, Kevin, Sean, Richard, Billy and Marie, and all the POWs in Wormwood Scrubs.

O'BRIEN. Castlebellingham. H-Block Action Group regrets the death of their esteemed member Peter O'Brien following an accident and offers deepest sympathy to his family circle.

O'BRIEN. The Heaney/Duffy Sinn Féin cumann, mid-Louth, regrets the tragic death of Peter O'Brien and tenderes deepest sympathy to his family and friends.

BIRTHDAY GREETINGS

DOWD, Brendan. (Leicester). Birthday greetings from Doreen Golden and Mick Sheehan in the Sinn Féin POW department, Dublin.

GAVIN, Jimmy. (Portlaoise). Birthday wishes to our dear brother Jimmy, from Treasa and the girls in London.

GAVIN, Jimmy. (Portlaoise). Birthday greetings, we think of you all the time. Best wishes from Terry and John.

HAYES, Sean. (Garratt). Birthday greetings from Doreen Golden and Mick Sheehan in the Sinn Féin POW department, Dublin.

KIND, Sean. (Portlaoise). Best wishes, Sean, on your twenty-first birthday. From the Tony Aherne Sinn Féin cumann.

McCOMB, Eugene. (H-Block). Best wishes on your birthday Eugene, on November 24th. "No power on earth can stop the progress of a people determined to be free." Love from Kathleen.

McCONVILLE, Gerard. (H-Block). Happy birthday, Gerard. We are thinking about you all the time. We are with you every day and all the way, God bless you. Love from mother, father, Bobby, and Frankie.

McCONVILLE, Gerard. (H-Block). Birthday greetings to my brother Gerard. With all our love and best wishes from sister Ann, Jimmy, Brenda, and Siobhán.

McCONVILLE, Gerard. (H-Block). Happy birthday, Gerard. From your loving sister Mary (Armagh), and Junior. The battle is half-won. We must rid ourselves of the ruling class who exploit us daily, then we can form a true socialist state where workers and children can share equally and freely. Love and care is with you Denis, slán leat go raibí maí.

McFEELEY, Denis. (H-Block). Happy birthday, Denis. Keep your heart and head high. We are working hard for you and all the prisoners. Girls are powerful. Lots of love and care, Caitlín.

McLARNON, Perry. (H-Block). Best wishes on your twenty-first birthday, Perry. Love and God bless. From the McCool family Gerry.

McLARNON, Perry. (H-Block). Birthday greetings, Perry, on November 16th. Wishing you everything you are wishing yourself on your birthday. From Alana, NORNEY, Paul. (Wormwood Scrubs). Best wishes on your twenty-fourth, from all the lads: Paul, Moussey, Dean, Nixon, Box, Stewart, Michael Fin, Gribby, Charlie, and Johnny.

NORNEY, Paul. (Wormwood Scrubs). Happy twenty-fourth birthday, Paul. Wishing you all the very best. Love from your sister Lillian.

NORNEY, Paul. (Wormwood Scrubs). Wishing you all the best Paul on this your twenty-fourth birthday. Always thinking of you. Love from your brother Stephen and sister Alison.

NORNEY, Paul. (Wormwood Scrubs). Congratulations, Paul, on your twenty-fourth birthday. They may have you in their keepings, we have you in our hearts. Thinking of you always. God bless you. From your sister Bernadette.

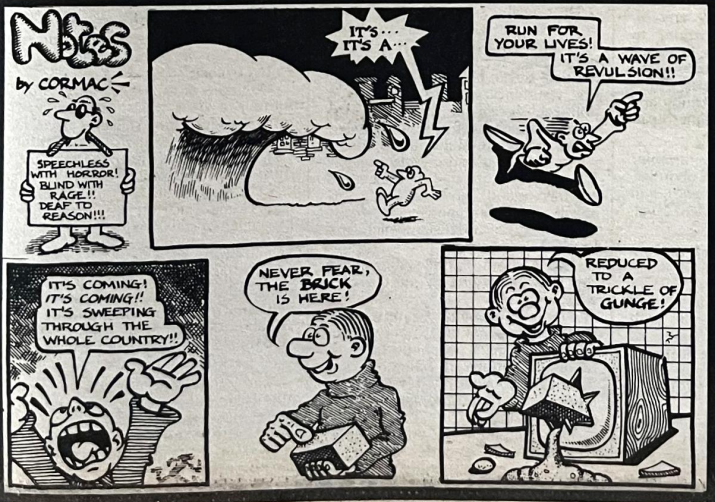
Join Sinn Féin

ANYONE interested in joining Sinn Féin should contact their local cumann; head office at 44 Parnell Square, Dublin; or 51/53 Falls Road, Belfast.

I am interested in becoming a member of Sinn Féin.

NAME

ADDRESS



**EXCLUSIVE
IRA
LEADERSHIP
INTERVIEW**

IRA: WHY WE SHOT BRADFORD

Civil war allegation refuted

A spokesman for the Irish Republican Army, authorised to speak on behalf of the leadership, was exclusively interviewed by 'An Phoblacht/Republican News' earlier this week on why the IRA shot dead loyalist MP Robert Bradford, a prominent motivator of sectarian attacks on Catholics; on the hypocritical political reaction to his death; and on false allegations that the IRA are trying to start a civil war.

Q: WHY was Robert Bradford singled out for attack by the IRA?

A: Mr Bradford was one of the ultra-reactionary loyalists who was vitriolic in his sectarian and racist outbursts against nationalism in any organised form.

Such people are responsible to a considerable degree for motivating the series of purely sectarian attacks on ordinary nationalists, and while they do not personally pull the trigger they provide the ideological framework for the UDA and UVF gunmen who do the murdering.

In addition to this, his calls for the military suppression of resistance in the nationalist ghettos, his advocacy of summary executions of captured republicans, and his gloating and ghoulish comments after republican hunger-strikers died, calls all of which grew out of a racist mind, singled him out in a way even differently from the aristocratic Strongmen whom we executed in January of this year.

In the face of continued loyalist paramilitary attacks on non-combatant nationalist civilians, and against an onslaught by the official paramilitary forces, the RUC and the UDR, (and, of course, the British army), the nationalist people in the six counties feel the need for some sort of highly discriminate and well-apportioned retribution.

But because of the obvious dangers of, and the British interest in, the struggle being side-tracked into a degenerate series of 'retaliatory' attacks, the Irish Republican Army is mindful also to avoid any involvement in what would correctly be seen as sectarian attacks. Therefore, any response to loyalist murder campaigns must be aimed at the god-fathers and armchair generals who orchestrate and encourage such campaigns.

At the end of the day, Bradford, because of his role, can clearly be seen, and no doubt he saw this himself, as an enemy of the struggle for



democracy and independence in this country.

The responsibility for his death lies with the British government (but for reasons different to those given by Paisley), because for decades the British have given the loyalists the ascendancy position which they have enjoyed and which they have ruthlessly defended.

They don't need IRA attacks on the UDR in Fermanagh or South Armagh, hunger-strikes, or any so-called republican provocation, to attack innocent nationalists. Loyalists attack the nationalist people when they feel that their privileges, ultimately represented by the Union and continued partition, are being threatened.

And that is why any attempt to reform or change the six counties, or end partition, by any means, will result in a sectarian and violent loyalist response.

Q: What do you think of the immediate response to his death?

A: The outbursts at Bradford's death from establishment politicians, North and South, contrast sharply with their response to the deaths of ordinary civilians or to the deaths of political activists such as John Turnly, Miriam Daly, Ronnie Bunting, and Noel Little.

It is too early to predict the effect within the loyalist camp but it has, at least for the moment anyway, put the loyalist leadership on a direct col-

lision course with the British government — Paisley's threatened action next Monday and his suspension from the British parliament last Monday, and the UDA's ironic call for abstentionism from Westminster, are just a few examples.

This helps to destabilise the six counties even further. All the contradictions within the British/loyalist statelet are clearly in the open.

Historically, the loyalists have only been in a privileged position, and the British government has only been able to dominate the Irish political scene, because the nationalists were never given the strong political leadership and the protection which would have enabled them, firstly, to stand up to forces whose whole purpose is to prevent the unity and progress of the people of this island, and, secondly, to enable the Irish people to smash the system of privilege which the loyalists have enjoyed.

Q: What about the allegations that the IRA are trying to start a civil war?

A: It is interesting to note that these allegations come only from those politicians who purport to represent nationalist opinion. That their view coincides with the British army and RUC propaganda line speaks for itself.

The situation is quite simple. If a civil war, as they suggest or allege, is to be a consequence of the

execution of a British MP then it must be an inevitable consequence of any struggle for a united Ireland — an end to which Hume, Haughey and FitzGerald allegedly subscribe.

As I said earlier, loyalists don't need the IRA as an excuse — although it is a convenient excuse — for sectarian attacks. The existence of an Irish nation striving for independence and sovereignty, and which it has been their historic and contemporary task to prevent, is their excuse, or reason, for being sectarian and upholding sectarian privilege through sectarian violence.

Robert Bradford energetically subscribed to and propagated this ideology.

What we are saying is that even were it possible to obtain real advancement and progress — and we mean real, and not just superficial or cosmetic progress — towards Irish independence and unity, by peaceful means, as Hume and FitzGerald pretend, then there would still be a vicious loyalist response to that progress as there is to the progress threatened by our armed struggle, which has actually far more chance of achieving freedom.

That is the lesson of 1912 when the loyalists armed themselves illegally, but with the support of senior British politicians, to resist a peaceful and lengthy constitutional attempt to achieve a measure of Home Rule.

We are not intent upon promoting a civil war, but we will not abandon our struggle because of the threat of it. British imperialism and one of its symptoms, loyalism, must be stood up to.

Let everyone, including FitzGerald and Hume, face it. The only way by which a civil war situation can be avoided is by nationalist surrender, or by the maximum unity amongst nationalist forces plus an international sympathy, which will prevent the Brits from encouraging, or collaborating in the establishment of a loyalist independent six counties or re-partitioned North.

The IRA does not believe that the Irish people wish to surrender their right to national sovereignty and unity. And we, who are involved in a life and death struggle, do not intend to surrender either.