

# Phoblacht

Sraith Nua Iml 14 Uimhir 7 (Britain 45p) Price 40p

Thursday, 13th February 1992

# 116



# Volunteer **Joseph MacManus**

IRA Volunteer Joseph MacManus who was killed in action in Fermanagh, was laid to rest in his native Sligo town on Saturday, February 8th. Full report pages 8/9.

AS ANOTHER 600 British troops were sent to the Six Counties by the British government and as British Prime Minister John Major met the leaders of the SDLP, the Democratic Unionist Party, the Official Unionists and the Alliance Party in London the first such meeting for 16 years the IRA spelt out what it called "the central issue giving rise to this conflict".

Collowing the killings of eight nationalists in

Following the Killings of Fig. 1 and Ormeau Road betting office and by an RUC man — believed to be a member of the UFF — at Sinn the British govern-Féin's Falls Road office, the British govern-ment's principal task was to be seen to be doing something about the crisis. First it announced that it was sending another battalion of the British army to the North and then John Major hosted the Downing Street meeting with the so-called "four main parties". Sinn Féin, the fourth largest party in the Six Counties, was of course excluded.

Both British government moves were based on lies. Attempts to present the dispatch of another 600 troops to the North as in some way a move to protect nationalists will be viewed with the deepest cynicism by them.

They know that more troops mean more ment in their areas and that the crown

narasment in their areas and mar the crowd forces' collusion with loyalist death squads helps to sustain the loyalist murder campaign. The announcement of yet more "talks about talks" have the same propaganda pur-pose. Once again they will, if they ever get going, fail to address the real issues.

Republicans are clear about the loyalist death squads and the deployment of more troops. This week the IRA said it would not be drawn into sectarian conflict as the British would wish and urged all nationalists to remain calm and vigilant, a call repeated by Sinn Féin leaders Gerry Adams and Martin McGuinness.

The extra troops bring the strength of the crown forces to over 30,000 — around one to every 20 nationalists in the Six Counties. The every 20 nationalists in the Six Counties. The British army is now at its greatest strength here since 1979 but British military policy is increas-ingly seen by many observers to be running into trouble given the British defence cuts pro-posed for the 1990s. The British army's reduc-tion of their infantry battalions from 55 to 38 is based on the prediction that the 'containment' commitment in the Six Counties will tenain commitment in the Six Counties will remain static. This prediction has taken a serious set-back. The deployment of over 2,000 more

British troops since November and the possi-bility of having to send more in the near future means that these will have to be pulled out from their other commitments.

It is clear to all observers that for its part, the IRA is determined to put those British forces under maximum pressure and to extract a high political price from the British govern-ment. That was underlined by an IRA bomb in Whitehall on Tuesday which once again brought the heart of the British administration to a standstill.

As the Downing Street meeting got under way the IRA said that it was "a cynical and cos-metic exercise which will do nothing whatsoever to address the central issue giving rise to this con-

"The people of Ireland and Britain deserve better. The long and sorry history of failed attempts by Britain to stabilise its rule in Ireland and the bloody history of failed British efforts to crush resistance to its rule clearly show that no solution will be found in persisting with the failed and bankrupt policies of the

past.
"Partition, the British presence, support for unionism, the denial of the Irish people's right to determine their own future free from outside inter-ference are at the heart of this conflict.
"It is these issues that must be meaningfully addressed if we are ever to move forward."

Sat 22nd and Sun 23rd February

# Whitehall brought war news to standstill

ON THE DAY which saw the British Prime Minister John Major meeting John Hume, Ian Paisley, Jim Molyneaux and John Alderdice, the IRA again proved its ability to strike at the heart of the British administration in London.

Despite intensified special police patrols and the latest sophisticated hi-tech surveillance, the IRA managed to plant a bomb in the heart of the British government on Tuesday, February 11th. In the statement claiming respon sibility for the attack, the IRA said: 'Yesterday, and for the second time within four weeks, an active service unit of the IRA succeeded in breaching very heavy security around the seat of British govern-ment administration in Whitehall to plant a 51b Semtex device.

"Propagandist bluster from senior British politicians claiming that such attacks will not disrupt their administration are a clear indication of just how wortion are a clear malication of just now wor-ried they are by such attacks. Throughout yesterday morning the heart of British administration was paralysed and the attendant disruption will serve to focus their attention on their Irish war which for 23 years has disrupted and marred the

lives of everyone within the Six-County

### ■ CROWN FORCES UNDER FIRE

Crown forces' personnel came under a series of grenade and gun attacks throughout the greater Belfast area. On Thursday morning, February 6th, an improvised grenade was lobbed at a joint RUC/British army patrol on the Ardoyne Road in North Belfast. Three RUC members were reported injured. Also in North Belfast, an IRA active service unit opened fire on an RUC check-point in Corporation Street, on Wednesday, February 5th.

The IRA admitted responsibility for e grenade attack on collaborators at H&J Martins on the Ormeau Road, on Wednesday, February 5th. In its state ment claiming responsibility, the IRA

said that despite numerous attacks the firm continues to engage in work for the crown forces.

An incendiary device exploded in the C&A city centre store in the early hours of Friday morning. Although the sprinkler system managed to extinguish the fire, extensive water damage was caused amounting to thousands of pounds. For the fourth time in four nonths the IRA planted a 5lb bomb in Belfast's Central Station. The bomb was placed on the roof of the station on Monday, February 10th. The resulting explosion started a fire which caused extensive damage to the ticket

### ■ MORTAR & GRENADE ATTACKS

The East Tyrone Brigade, IRA, claimed responsibility for grenade and gun attacks in Coalisland and Dungannon. On Sunday evening, February 9th, Volunteers opened fire with assault rifles on the RUC barracks in Coalisland. In the second attack Volunteers fired a horizontal mortar at an armoured vehicle as it drove along the motorway on the outskirts of DunganThe North Antrim Brigade, IRA, claimed responsibility for the mortar attack on Portglenone RUC Barracks on Sunday, February 9th.

The attack began when Volunteers drove up to the barracks in a commandeered vehicle. They then parked the van and made good their escape. Minutes later the mortar was launched but the warhead was deflected by a steel surround protecting the main observa tion post windows and exploded above the pill-box .

### ■ IRA CALL FOR "CALM AND VIGILANCE" 'We will not be diverted'

Following the recent murderous attacks upon the nationalist community in Belfast by loyalist death squads and crown forces personnel in which ten people were killed the IRA issued the following

"In the wake of the recent m tiple murders of innocent catholics the IRA urges the nationalist community to remain calm and vigi-lant. The attacks of the last week, like others before them, seek to spread fear and terror in our community. Their aim is to demoralise nationalists and to deflect attention away from Britain's central role in this war by drawing people into futile sectarian conflict

ple into futile sectarian conflict
"The IRA states categorically that it
will not be drawn into sectaria millings
which suit only the British and we call in
thick suit only the British and we call in which sun only the british and we call on all individuals and groups within our community not to be pushed down that

f.
"Our war is with the British forces "Our war is and underwrite and sus. and with those who underwrite and tus-tain those forces in their occupation of part of our country. We will not be div



# Call for no retaliation

PROMINENT SINN FEIN LEADERS have called for calm following two weeks of slaughter in Belfast in which ten nationalists were killed, and warned against any group contemplating retaliatory action. "Such actions", said Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams, "have no part in any struggle which claims to be repub-

ommending the 'great dignity' of the families of the victims in their tragic losses Adams also offered reas-surance to Protestants in our community. Describing himself as "sensitive to the fears among Protestants that they may have inflicted upon them the horror which was inflicted upon the people of the Falls and Ormeau Roads", Adams said he shared their concern and that "there was no desire among nationalists and republicans that the Protestant people should be made to suffer for the actions of British-sponsored murderers".

Reiterating his opposition to retal-

iatory sectarian attacks, Adams said that it was his firm intention to oppose those who may be contemplating such actions. He continued:

"I appeal to everyone who has any influence with these people to ensure that they have no doubts about nationalist and republican opposition to sectarian attacks."

Endorsing Adams' sentiments, Sinn Féin Ard Chomhairle member, Martin McGuinness said that there was a real probability that a group of people who emanate from the nationalist community intended carrying out a retaliatory attack in response to last week's murders. He continued:

"I must warn this group that any action which targets the Protestant community will be totally unaccept-able to republicans. They should also be aware that the recent IRA statement that they will not be drawn into sectarian warfare is widely supported within the nationalist community.

Describing the use of 'pseudo' or 'counter-gangs' as being in line with the strategies of British counter-insurgency Adams said that such infiltra-tion and control may extend to other groups and that he was concerned that, "the recent spate of sectarian killings were set as the sectarian killings were not caused by the polari-sation of our community but that there was also an element of counter-insurgency influence". Adams concluded:

"For all these reasons I appeal for vigilance and calm."

# Moore and Spratt "UFF members"

SEVERAL HOURS before details of the Falls Road killings by a member of the RUC emerged and the RUC public relations department swung into a damage limitation exercise, a caller to the local West Belfast paper the Andersonstown News said that the killer was a member of the RUC man and a member of the UFF.

elephoning for the first time at 3.45pm., two and a quarter hours after the shooting, the male caller, who refused to give his name, said that he could tell 'the full story'. He claimed that the RUC murderer, Alan Moore had been a close friend of Norman Spratt, a member of the RUC who had been shot dead in a domestic incident in the early hours of Thursday, January 30th. This fact was later confirmed by the RUC. The claim by the caller that the two members of the RUC, prior to Spratt's death, worked together in the same DMSU squad in West Belfast was

also later confirmed by the RUC.

The caller said that after Spratt's The caller said that after Sprat's funeral, Moore had returned to the graveyard to fire a volley shots over the grave". Both were in the UDA together and it was his idea of a final salute". The graveyard incident was also later confirmed by the RUC.

Describing the Falls Road killing as a follow-up to the death of Spratt, the caller said that they were both UTF.

caller said that they were both UFF members. He continued:

"This will really open up matters. It involves the Inner Circle, everything, it's really coming apart."



David Charles and a 2 . A language

### News



# Sinn Féin defies bans and censorship

"This is the Ard Fheis that Sinn Féin was to be prevented from holding." So said Sinn Féin Chairperson Tom Hartley at a Dublin press conference to launch the clár for the party's ard fheis.

"When Sinn Féin was barred from holding its ard fheis in the Mansion House, that act was the culmination of a long and heavily financed campaign of propaganda originating in London aimed at blaming republicans for all that has happened in the North over the last 22 years. It is as if we have no history before 1969. It is worth noting that the last time Sinn Féin was barred from the Mansion House was when Dáil Eireann was suppressed by the British government during the Tan War. We have come full circle."

Hartley was accompanied at the

press conference by Sinn Féin General Secretary Lucilita Breathnach, Director of Publicity Rita O'Hare and Women's Officer Máiréad Keane. Hartley said that it was worth not-

Hartley said that it was worth noting that the leader of the Labour Party whose Dublin city councillors were to the forefront in the Mansion House ban, issued a statement last weekend calling for significant "compromise" on the North. That "compromise", said Hartley, would be "paid for dearly by northern nationalists".

"Sinn Féin is a legal, open, democratic political party. We represent those people most affected by the war in the North. Whether those southern politicians who ban and censor us like it or not, we are the biggest nationalist party on Belfast City Council and the fourth largest party in the Six Counties. That is democracy. It is about time that both the London and Dublin governments realised that the oppressed vote for the representatives chosen by them and not those chosen for them by those who think themselves their betters. That is democracy."

Hartley went on to say that the new Taoiseach Albert Reynolds had a real opportunity and duty to "pursue the stated aim of his party", and ensure that the root cause of the conflict in the North is addressed.

"Yesterday in London John Major met the leaders of what are called the four largest parties in the North. Sinn Féin is the fourth largest party but it was not represented.

was not represented.

"The meeting took place with no public reference to the fact that Peter Brooke could not deny that the Conservative Party would do a deal with the Unionists if they failed to get a majority in the forthcoming British elections.

"It is time for real talks including all representatives. That is the only basis for a way forward and a lasting peace", he said.

Lucilita Breathnach announced that the Sinn Féin Ard Fheis would be held in Dublin on the weekend of February 22nd and 23rd. She introduced journalists to the Political Report, prepared for the conference by the party's Ard Chomhairle which contains motions that will be debated by delegates along with motions submitted by cumainn and comhairlí ceantair from around the country.

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The main subjects targeted by the report include the failed Brooke Talks, the current campaign against Articles Two and Three of the 1937 constitution, the British governments shoot-to-kill operations in the Six Counties, the assassination campaign directed against republican activists, extradition, environment and health. Two new documents 'Women in Ireland' and Towards a Lasting Peace' will be debated at the art fir is.

Rita O'Hare explained that Towards a Lasting Peace was being presented to the Sinn Felin Ard Fheis by the Ard Chomhairle as a discussion document. Its main purpose is to inform debate within the party and the wider public debate about how best to develop a strategy for peace in Ireland.

strategy for peace in Ireland.

Måiréad Keane spoke of the document Women in Ireland which she said covered a wide range of issues relating to the lives of Irish women.

Asked about recent talk of intermment Tom Hartley said that such talk was the "most enormous admission of failure that a British government could make".

Sinn Féin comhairle ceantair chairpersons and secretaries should contact Head Office (Phone 726100/726932) from Monday, February, 17th to obtain full details of the ard fheis.

Buses from central Dublin have been organised to bring delegates and visitors to the ard fheis. The departure times are as follows:

Saturday, February 22nd:
9am Parnell Square
10.30am Connolly Station
1.15pm Parnell Square
3pm Parnell Square

Sunday, February 23rd: 9.45am Parnell Square

# Jobless figures climb again

UNEMPLOYMENT FIGURES in the 26 Counties increased by almost twice the EC rate over the past year. Along with Spain, it had the highest unemployment rise in the EC. Despite this, the 26 Counties received permission on Monday, February 10th, to join the club of those states who fit the low inflation, low borrowing criteria for the move to the final stage of the EC's plans for monetary union.

The new record figures of 276,700 on the dole were announced just prior to Albert Reynolds' appointment as Taoiseach and will continue to grow over the next two years according to an EC report just published. The EC Commission's economic report pro-



• CHRISTY BURKE

jects that the total number of jobless will rise by 1.2% this year and a further half per cent in 1993.

Condemning the latest figures Mike Allen, General Secretary of the Irish National Organisation of the unemployed, said:

"What greater challenge could Albert Reynolds face than to seriously tackle this national scandal? Words will not be enough. While the faces of those in the government benches may change, their policies in tackling unemployment are likely to stay. Albert Reynolds has a responsibility to change those policies."

"Mr Reynolds believes that unemployment is a two-edged sword, but we know that it is us who are being cut to ribbons", said Eamon O'Reilly, chairperson of the INOU.

The organisation went on to say that with an increase of 7,500 in January, 1992 is "starting in the same way as 1991, the year in which



ALBERT REYNOLDS

unemployment increased faster than in any year since the creation of the

"We call on Albert Reynolds as his first act as Taoiseach to set up a National Forum on Unemployment."

Sinn Féin Dublin City Councillor Othristy Burke said that the rising unemployment figures were a scandal and that the most serious attention by the government was needed to tackle the crisis.

"As far as the people whom I represent are concerned the 26-County economy has been an abject failure.



• Thousands like these who queued for hours on Monday for jobs in France's Disneyworld have been forced by the failure of the Dublin government's employment policy to emigrate

The problems of youth crime, drug and alcohol abuse and other problems besetting my constituents are all symptoms of the economic deprivation afflicting working-class communities over the years.

"I welcome Albert Reynolds' pronouncements that unemployment will be high on his agenda as Taoiseach, but I have to receive this with some amount of cynicism as we have over the years heard many such platitudes by politicians who do not live with the reality of unemployment and poverty. "A radical departure from the eco-

"A radical departure from the ecomore policies pursued by all of Albert Reynolds' predecessors is what is needed to improve life for the ordinary people of this country. This is something for which I wouldn't hold my breath."



# An Phoblacht

13th February 1992

### BE POSITVE - VOTE NO

THE MAASTRICHT TREATY on European Union was signed by the leaders of the 12 EC States on Friday, February 7th. The treaty is the third stage of a process which has its historic roots in the Treaty of Rome of 1957 and which has ever since been eroding the sovereignty of individual EC states.

The first stage of this move towards unity was the European Monetary System, the second the Single European Act and the completion of the internal market. This third and final stage which the people of the 26 Counties will get the opportunity to vote on this year (probably in June) by referendum, sees the Delors-led march continue towards full economic and mone-

The fightback against this blind drive to give away that limited sovereignty which the 26-County state has managed to achieve also began in earnest on Friday, February 7th, with the launch of a new body which will actively campaign for a No vote. The bandwagon can be stopped and Dublin can get off, was the message from the Platform for Employment, Democratical County of the Platform for Employment for Employment, Democratical County of the Platform for Employment for Employmen

acy and Neutrality group.

Included in the broad alliance of groups opposing the Union are Sinn Féin, CND,
Amárach Ireland 2000, the Green Party and Joe Noonan's Cork-based People First organisa-

from:
"Political union means the end of neutrality and an increasing association with a military alliance. Monetary union means higher prices, loss of control of our money supply and a transfer to Ecus (European currency units) which will make the transition to decimalisation in the 1970s look like child's play," said Anthony Coughlan of Amárach Ireland 2000.
One of the effects of signing at Maastricht is that Dublin has for the first time been formally invited to join the military alliance of the Western European Union. Coughlan encapsulated the fears of many that Dublin is being slowly but irrevocably drawn into this wider European military alliance and that on an economic level Ireland will become little more than a subsidised de-industrialised backwater on the periphery of Europe, a nice place for tourists to visit and jobseekers to leave.

While a cynic could say that this is just about the case already, it must be said that nearly 20 years ago when the 26 Counties joined the Common Market, it was promised that increased co-operation would bring a higher standard of living for all and more jobs. The EC has indeed brought wealth to Ireland but only to a select few. The economy may be expand-

has indeed brought wealth to Ireland but only to a select few. The economy may be expanding but try telling that to the 270,000-plus unemployed in the 26 Counties alone.

The EC brought the lure of the CAP funding for farmers, encouraged a thriving agriexport business and we now have an equally healthy computer and financial services sector. But while the Dublin stock exchange equity grew by 3.5% last year, unemployment rose by 16%, twice the EC average. Successive Dublin governments have refused to allow a full and wide-ranging debate on the advantages and disadvantages of EC union. In 1972 it was sold to the people as an easy and inexhaustible source of wealth, especially for farmers. In 1987 when the Single European Act came up for referendum in the 26 Counties, voters were warmed that whatever works the votes were the extractions to be a support of the country warned that whatever worries they may have there was no way back, that failure to vote in favour would mean being left out in the cold and losing out on all fronts. All the same there was a very substantial No vote, much more than in '72, with people obviously disillusioned

Now in 1992 the same argument will be used, with the sweetener that the breaking down of trade barriers and increasing co-operation across borders will help solve Ireland's persistent partition problem.

The Platform for Employment, Democracy and Neutrality wants a full two-sided debate with equal facilities for both arguments to be put properly. One of the features of the 1987 referendum was the one-sided coverage of the debate in the media. The campaign is confident that the 70%-30% losing margin of the SEA referendum can be turned around or at least greatly improved upon.

### PLUNDER AND PROMISES — THE ITIZEN'S CHARTER

PRIVATISATION, the plunder of public assets to facilitate the private purse, continues to shape British social policy in the Six Counties. This was the under-lying message of the so called 'Citizen's Charter' announced by British Secre-

tary of State Peter Brooke on Wednesday, February 4th.

Beyond the familiar rhetoric of greater efficiency and accountability, the charter has little to offer the ordinary people of the Six Counties. Promises of reductions in hospital waiting lists, greater parental access to information about the educational performance of schools and an improved public transport service sound well and good but starved of adequate public funding, the charter has more to do with British Tory Party electioneering than an indication of any real commitment to the maintenance, let alone improvement, of the public sector.

Furthermore, the continued adherence to a policy of privatisation expressed in the document, not only flies in the face of overwhelming evidence that 'contracting out' is detrimental to both workers and users, but is also being imposed directly against the will of Six-County citizens whose elected representatives, across the political divide, have expressed consistent opposition. In the Six Counties, where even the most basic of citizens' rights have been systematically denied, the shallow promises of the so-called Citizens' Charter ring all the more

The British government's refusal to address the real issues of civil rights is revealed perhaps most blatantly in the Charter's section on imposing strict standards of service within the RUC. Shoot-to-kill, collusion, sectarianism, harassment, torture in RUC interrogation centres — citizens appear to have no need of protection from these aspects of RUC 'standards of service': instead the Charter is to offer set targets for the time it takes for the RUC to answer a telephone call or deal with an inquiry at the reception desk.

Citizen's Charter, no thank-you, we still want our civil and national rights!

# News

# Being seen to be doing something ■ BY HILDA MacTHOMAS

THE BRITISH RESPONSE to last week's killings was twofold. First they sent another 600 soldiers to the North, bringing the troop level to 12,300, the highest since 1979. This move, which will increase the visibility of the military presence on the streets, is designed essentially to appease loyalists, and to provide in the words of British minister Peter Brooke "reassurance". This is even though unionist politicians cynically remarked that the British government had sent 500 troops last December and then sent them home again at Christmas, when no one was looking. Meanwhile, residents of nationalist areas can expect to be tripping over foot-patrols at every street corner.

he second aspect of the The second aspect of the British response was an invitation by British Prime Minister John Major to the so-called 'four main parties' — OUP, DUP, Alliance and SDLP — to come to Downing Street and 'Jeanes the 'Security Situation''. discuss the "security situation".

The meeting, which took place on Tuesday, received much advance coverage in the press and occupied the first slot on TV news programmes all day, along with a bomb alert Whitehall.

The northern politicians

went to Downing Street with well-publicised and widely dif-fering shopping lists. The DUP had released its blueprint for defeating the IRA last month, including border closure, cur-fews and 'rings of steel' around nationalist areas, ID cards for everyone, deployment of the SAS and internment. The Offi-cial Unionists, for their part, have been lobbying for intern-ment for several years now and their leader James Molyneaux went to argue its merits. He will have been opposed by both the

• PETER BROOKE

● PETER BROOKE

Alliance party and the SDLP,
not on the grounds that interning people is contrary to basic
human rights, but because it is
'counter-productive' — that is,
that it would give republicans a
propaganda weapon, or push
more people to join the IRA.
This is the view currently
shared by the British Labour shared by the British Labour Party, the current Dublin administration, and indeed the



# REYNOLDS WIELDS THE KNIFE AGAI

### ■ BY MICHAEL MORRISSEY

A NEW CABINET and a new 26-County Taoiseach were elected by the Fianna Fáil/Progressive Democrat coalition on Tuesday. It included eight new cabinet members and Albert Reynolds as Taoiseach. Who is the real Albert Reynolds — pragmatist, entrepreneur or a public representative committed to the public interest? Can he tackle the economic problems that have characterised the 26-County state since partition. Where does he stand on the Six Counties?

Mary O'Rourke, Rory O'Han-lon, Michael O'Kennedy, Brendan Daly, Ray Burke, Vincent

Brady, Noel Davern and Gerry Collins got their marching orders just half an hour before Reynolds

announced his new cabinet. That Reynolds would make such wholesale changes was seen as a radical departure. Many political commentators felt that the cabicommentators felt that the cabi-net sackings would deepen the alleged divisions within the par-ty. The cabinet Reynolds appoint-ed was presented in the print media as a settling of old scores. On the other hand, appointing Charlie McCreevy and Máire Geoghegan-Quinn could be seen as an attempt to heal the wounds of the nast. of the past.

Reynolds' new appoint-

### News

British government. The SDLP and Alliance will have also argued for the banning of the Ulster Defence Association, the group responsible for the Ormeau Road massacre last week.

But they were as unlikely to obtain the ban on the UDA as the unionists were to get internment: the British government, in spite of its invitation to discuss the "security situation", had already made up its collective mind and announced, through its minister Peter Brooke last week, that it would introduce "no extreme measures, the consequences of which we could not accurately predict."

What then, was the point of this meeting? The media profile it was given points once again to the British government wanting to "be seen to be doing something". One major thrust of British policy in the North has been to project, in Ireland, Britain and internationally, the conflict as an internal one and the British as the "honest browkers", with "no selfish economic or strategic interest" in Ireland. This 'honesty' and 'selflessness' was somewhat tamished throughout January, with the Nelson case reminding the public of the collusion between loyalist death squads and the British secret services, and with rumours that the

British Conservatives were planning to make a deal with the unionists in the event of a hung parliament after the next general elections — a deal which Peter Brooke refused to rule out in a TV interview on February 2nd.

John Major meeting, and being photographed, with the party leaders last Tuesday, and announcing to the cameras that there was complete unanimity of views on this most predictable subject, the ritual 'condemnation of terrorism', was an exercise in clawing back lost ground in the propaganda war.

It was also the British government's way of saying to the leaders of the four parties and more so to the public: the collapse of the Brooke Talks is the politicians' fault, and the recent events might not have happened had the Talks been a success — even though, as even David McKittrick recognised in last Sunday's Independent, Peter Brooke's "own skillful affectation of neutrality may have contributed to failure". In any case, last Tuesday's meeting was not about relaunching the defunct Brooke Talks, but it provided the British premier with the photo opportunity to prove that he could gather those four uncompromising Irish politicians and get them to

agree about something. Facing an election in which every vote will count, Major would have been foolish to let this one pass. Another British objective

Another British objective was to further marginalise the republican viewpoint, by excluding it from political discussions. It is worth stressing again that this aspect of British policy is aimed at criminalising the republican argument and is directly linked to last Wednesday's attack on the Sim Fein premises; and to the fact that the thrust of media comments and political reactions to the attack concentrated on the amount of stress the "security services" (sic) operate under; and to many unionist politicians keeping silent about the deaths of Paddy Loughran, Pat McBride and Michael O'Dwyer; and to the despicable comments of politicians like SDLP councillor clains like SDLP councillor Alisdair McDonnell who blamed the Ormeau Road killings on the IRA.

Last Tuesday's meeting fits neatly into a very consistent British policy on Ireland -ulsterising the conflict, criminalising the opposition, and playing to the audience, at home and internationally. It was definitely not, as some have written, an exercise in 'crisis management', no more than republican actions are born of 'despair'.



Major — Overseeing further militarisation of the Six Counties



• Woods, Reynolds and Haughey

ments were the first sure signal that the Haughey era was over. The media have been searching Reynolds' career for the themes that will frame his leadership of the party. The pictures presented are interesting and at times conflicting.

A lbert Reynolds was first elected to Leinster House in 1977. He had deposed the sitting Fianna Fáil TD Frank Carter. He came to Leinster House a successful businessman, a man who knew when it was time to sell out and move on. Reynolds moved from dance promoter to ballroom owner to meat processing to petfoods. At one stage he was the owner of the Longford Leader paper. His fortune is estimated at well over £2 million.

Haughey's election in 1979 as leader brought Reynolds to the cabinet table as Minister for Posts and Telegraphs. Up to his dismissal by Haughey in 1991 Reynolds had held four cabinet posts, which included Industry and Commerce, Industry and Energy, and Finance. It is only since Reynolds took over the Finance portfolio in 1988 that he was considered as a realistic successor to Haughey.

The fact that Reynolds has been a relatively successful businessman has been superimposed on his political record. So

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we are presented with the pragmatic teetotaller, who has taken risky though usually successful, decisions. This facet of Albert Reynolds is used to analyse Reynolds the public representative, who initiated in 1980 the capitalisation programmes for Telecom and the DART, who provided funding for Knock airport. Reynolds also closed Ardmore film studios and Avoca mines. This, according to received wisdom, implies that Reynolds does not waste public resources and has a business ability to spot a good deal or investment opportunity.

This is too simplistic a reading of Reynolds. In many ways Albert Reynolds was part of the 'entrepreneurial' group that Haughey surrounded him-self with in the '80s. Reynolds, like Smurfit, Goodman and Dermot Desmond, was a successful businessman. Throughout the time of the 'Golden Circle' scandal, Reynolds stayed relatively silent. It was only on his accession to the Department of Finance that he found a voice and it was following the same path laid down by the Fine Gael coalition and MacSharry before him. The pragmatism that is often pointed to came through. Reynolds presented two budgets in 1989 and '90. Total employment rose and unemployment fell during those years.

those years.

In 1991 the boom dried up and Reynolds was left with failed policies. Reynolds didn't pull the plug on Haughey over the economy; it was the Greencore and Telecom scandals and Haughey's other mounting troubles which gave Reynolds the opportunity to act. His dismissal from the cabinet and subsequent re-emergence as Taoiseach has diverted attention from the fact that, as Minister for Finance, he would now be presiding over record unemployment figures and a slowing economy. He can return to government successfully disassociating himself from these failures, or so we are led to believe.

Who is the real Albert Reynolds? He has criticised the EC for not enabling job creation. He has attacked the banks for not investing in the Irish economy. Reynolds has advocated a "private enterprise economy" — "Deep down in every one of us is some kind of entrepreneur or tradesperson or businessman". According to Reynolds "you create wealth first, then you distribute it".

Reynolds once claimed that "the opportunities are there for the Irish people to build this into the nation they desire". Now Reynolds has the "freedom" to create this environment.

This new scenario was also highlighted in Reynolds first press conference in Jurys Hotel when he outlined his plans for his 'new' administration. The events of that week put what the Dublin media called the 'Northern problem' onto Reynolds political agenda. On Thursday, February 6th, Reynolds said that there would be 'mo limits' to his efforts to bring peace to the North. He was, we were told, not in favour of dumping Articles Two and Three of the 1937 Constitution. In calling for an all-tendand conference (where Articles Two and Three would be on the table) excluding Sinn Féin, he showed his sloppiness by saying that the party could not talk until "they laid down their guns".

When Reynolds was dismissed from the coalition front bench he spoke of his freedom to speak out on issues. Between November and February we heard not one peep from Reynolds on the "Northern problem" and like all previous Fianna Fáil leaders history will ultimately judge him on how he handles the national question.

### News

# Pat McBride — a loved and dedicated republican

THOSE WHO KNEW Pat Mac Bride thought of him as a dedicated and hard-working republican "someone who would run to the ends of the earth if he believed it would further the republi-

Pat was adopted by John and Mary Keenan in 1966 at the age of 15, and he became their second son, brother to Malachy, Linda, Joanne and Cathy. He was loved by them and loved them in turn.

Pat was also loved by his girlfriend Bernie and their son Patrick. As with other aspects of his life he treated

those with whom he came into contact with a loving respect.

He became involved in the republi-

can struggle in the early 1970s and when he was arrested in September 1976 it came as no surprise to those Crumlin Road Jail where other republi-cans were being held. Pat immediately

joined with them in the struggle against the British government's policy of attempting to criminalise the repub-lican struggle.

Sentenced in 1977 to 12 years imprisonment Pat joined the blanket protest and endured numerous beatings from the prison screws. One such beating was particularly severe and it resulted in his ear-drum being rup-

Pat served a total of seven years in prison, but this period of hardship and torture did nothing to deter him. Upon

his release he immediately became active in the struggle again. He joined the local Sinn Féin cumann, where he was thought of by all as a diligent

Because of his involvement in the struggle he was targeted by the crown forces and those who opposed the republican struggle. His family and friends existed the surpher of the and friends related the number of times he was set upon by the crown forces and beaten, harassed and arrested. Indeed, a case of his is soon to be heard in the Strasbourg Court of Human Rights concerning the period of detention for people under the PTA.

One of Pat's foremost concerns in the Movement had to do with youth. He was especially active in youth work and organised numerous discos for local young people. He also worked in his spare time as a disc jockey.

his spare time as a usc jockey.

Pat had many friends both inside
and outside the Republican Movement Close friends described Pat as

"comething of a rascal" and being "something of a rascal", an ordi-nary guy who was fond of craic and who was a joker. Indeed it was reported that seconds before Pat was killed he was laughing and joking with some of the office workers in the centre. 'Typical of Pat" is how one friend

Pat MacBride, who began life as an orphan, was a man loved by his own family of Bernie and Patrick, by his family or Bernie and Patrick, by his adopted family, the Keenans, and by the republican family. All cherished him as their own. He will be sadly missed by them all. The Republican Movement extends sincers Movement extends sincere sympathy to his girlfriend Bernie and son Patrick and to the entire Keenan family.



• Pat McBride's son, Patrick, lavs a floral tribute at his father's grave



• The funeral cortege on its way to Milltown Cemetery

# Paddy Loughran — decades of service to the cause

OF THE THREE MEN shot dead by RUC member Alan Moore in the Sinn Féin advice centre on Tuesday, February 3rd, Paddy Loughran was the oldest and perhaps the best known.

For nine years Paddy had "done the door" in the Sinn Féin advice centre on the Falls Road. Those who used

the offices, be they republican activists from Belfast or from around the country, local people, journalists or people from other countries on fact-finding tours, knew him as a man who was always polite and respectful.

Paddy was born in 1931, a resident of Scotch Street in the Pound Loney area of Belfast. It was there that he spent most of his life and even when

the area was redeveloped he only moved a short distance to Clonard Street, the house from where his funeral took place.

In the early '70s Paddy was very active for the republican cause. He was one of the founder members of the 'Rocky' Burns/Charlie Hughes Sinn Féin Cumann and a founder member of the Charlie Hughes Band. He later became Chairperson of the Lower Falls Commemoration Committee and was the main motivator in collecting funds to have a plaque erected for all the IRA Volunteers who were killed in action during the course of the war. He was Chairperson of Sinn Féin in Belfast for a period during the '70s.

As a man, married with a family of eight, Paddy was described by friends as being of upstanding character, a tee totaller who nonetheless enjoyed noth ing more than to join his mates in the pub for a bit of craic. He was also very keen on sports and, until age prevented him, played football. Paddy was also a keep-fit enthusiast who did not allow age to deter him and in his leisure time he did quite a lot of walk-

As with other republicans Paddy endured the indignity of being con-stantly harassed, arrested and threatened by members of the crown forces This did nothing to deter him from his principled position that the British

have no right to remain in Ireland. To his wife Margaret, his sons and daughters, the Repu extends its heartfelt sympathy



Family and friends of Paddy Loughran at his house on the morning of his



Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams and party chairperson Tom Hartley shoulder Paddy Loughran's coffin

### Thursday, February 13th 1992 — LEATHANACH 7



# Days of agony as victims are laid to rest

FOLLOWING A FORTNIGHT in which ten nationalists were shot dead in a series of attacks by crown forces and pro-British death squads, Belfast was to witness a series of traumatic funerals as grieving relatives, friends, comrades and local communities took to the streets of Belfast to pay their last respects and to bury their dead.

On Wednesday, February 5th, 24 hours after the brutal attack by an RUC man on Sinn Fein's Advice centre on the Falls, the funeral of Pádraig Cléirigh, a North Belfast black taxidriver shot dead by the UFF at his home on Sunday night, had barely made its way from Milltown Cemetery when mourners heard of yet another sectarian atrocity, this time on the Ormeau Road.

Earlier in the week the first victim in this series of ten killings, Paul Moran who was shot dead on his way to work by a loyalist gunman, had been buried in Lisburn. Within six days, nine more nationalists had been killed, others were seriously wounded and nationalist communities throughout the city were once again struggling to overcome their fear and sorrow.

With the people of the Ormeau and Falls still reeling from the shock and disbelief at the attacks on their communities, the first funeral of one of the victims who died during the attack on the Sinn Féin advice centre took place on Thursday, February 6th. The children of Paddy Loughran wept as his Tricolour-draped coffin was carried from his Clonard Street home to St Paul's Church. Amid harrowing scenes of family grief the funeral cortege passed hundreds of silent people who had lined the streets, while traffic came to a standstill as a large crowd of several thousand mourners made their way up the Falls Road.

Throughout the journey, the coffin was flanked by a guard of honour of Sinn Féin councillors and party mem-bers. At one stage Sinn Féin President and local MP Gerry Adams helped to carry the coffin.

After Requiem Mass, in which Fr Owen O'Kane said that Paddy Loughran had died in "the most tragic and most regrettable circumstances", the funeral made its way to Milltown Cemetery where Sinn Féin Councillor Gerard McGuigan gave a graveside

Describing the dead man as an "unswerving republican dedicated to the cause of peace with justice in Ireland", McGuigan said that Paddy Loughran had also been a courageous man who had never submitted to Britain's reign of terror, whether in the form of raids on his home or harassment in the streets. He continued:

"His courage was never more evi-dent than at the time of his death when his actions and the actions of others in the advice centre, undoubtedly saved the lives of the other people in the

building at the time of the attack."

Describing the RUC killer as trained, bought and paid for by Britain, McGuigan went on to say that beyond the person who actually pulled the trigger, the people responsible for the triple murder were also the British government and political and church leaders here who have been engaging in a campaign to demonise Sinn Féin and its supporters.

Having laid Paddy Loughran to rest, less than 24 hours later the people of the Falls once again turned out to support two other families burying their loved ones. On the morning of Friday, February 7th, the funeral took place of Michael O'Dwyer, a local man who had been in the Sinn Féin centre, accompanied by his two-year-old son, seeking advice when the RUC killer struck. Carrying a single red rose and accompanied by her eldest son John Paul, Eileen O'Dwyer led mourn-ers behind her husband's coffin as the funeral cortege made its way to St Peter's Cathedral for requiem Mass. After the service Michael O'Dwyer was buried in Milltown Cemetery the grave of his mother who had died in a loyalist bomb attack over 15 years

Within an hour of the funeral of Michael O'Dwyer, the cortege of the third victim of the Sinn Féin centre shooting made its way from Riverdale to the nearby Church of St Michael the Archangel. Several thousand people gathered to pay their last respects to Sinn Féin activist Pat McBride, whose Diun rein activist Pat McBride, whose Tricolour-draped coffin was carried by senior Sinn Fein party officials and flanked by local Sinn Fein councillors as a guard of honour.

Mourners were led by Pat McBride's grieving parents, John and Mary Keenan, his partner Bernie and their two-year-old son Patrick Og. Following Requiem Mass, the funeral cortege made its way to Mill-

town Cemetery where the proceedings were chaired by Sinn Féin Councillor Máirtín O Muilleoir who described Pat McBride as "a decent and honourable man who hungered and thirsted for

Delivering the graveside oration, Sinn Féin Councillor Sean McKnight told the silent crowd how Pat McBride had tried to protect others by tackling the gunman when he opened fire in the small downstairs office on the Falls. He continued

"Who is Pat McBride? Was he a hero or a villain? The media would like us to believe he was a villain. Leaders of his church and so-called constitutional nationalists would like us to believe he was a villain. All those who have demonised and vilified Sinn Féin and its supporters would like us to believe he was a villain and they're the people who justified the murder of Pat McBride.

But we knew him differently. We knew Pat McBride as a happy, fun-lov-ing person, a man loved by his family, partner Bernie, his young son and his friends and comrades."

Commenting on the sterling work Pat McBride had done amongst the youth of the Lower Falls, McKnight reminisced about one of the first times

he met Pat during the run up to an election:

"He questioned me closely about the boundaries of the South Belfast and Markets constituency. Reassured that the town centre was within the constituency, Pat at once set off to plaster Belfast city centre, including the Headquarters of the Official Unionists, with Sinn Féin election posters. Pat left his mark on the city centre and it was a measure of his optimism for the future as much as his courage in taking the republican message into the heart of

Meanwhile, the nationalist commu-nity of South Belfast had gath-ered for the first funeral of one of the victims of the UFF gun attack on Sean Graham's bookmakers. The Ormeau Road came to a standstill as the funeral cortege of 60-year-old Jack Duffin de its way to the local chapel from his Lower Balfour Avenue home. Local people lined the route in silence as the coffin of the eldest victim of Wednesday's killings was carried by his sons to St Malachy's church for Requiem

Mass. As Jack Duffin was laid to rest, the silence which had descended on the area in the wake of the UFF attack did not lift as the community braced itself for four more funerals on the fol-

Overcome with grief, the mother of the youngest victim of the Ormeau Road killings, Kathleen Kennedy, collapsed in tears as the coffin of her 15year-old son James was carried from the family home in Hamilton Street. Thousands of people turned out to pay their respects to the schoolboy and three fellow victims, Peter Magee, William McManus and Christy Dol ty at two double funerals held on Sat-urday, February 8th. Grieving relatives were supported by friends and neigh-bours as the remains of their loved ones were brought to St Malachy's Church for Requiem Mass. Minutes after mourners set off to bury William McManus and Christy Doherty at Roselawn cemetery, the coffins of schoolboy James Kennedy and teenager Peter Magee, flanked by pupils from the local St Augustine School, were brought side by side into the chapel.



Pat McBride's funeral (above) and Paddy Loughran's funeral (below)





Michael O'Dwyer's coffin being carried from the church

# News



# Sorrowful homecomin for a brave young

Irishman

politics in this country. He saw the strokes. He saw emigration and poverty, unemployment and the war which has lasted for his entire life in the occupied area. And he wanted to change it."

These words spoken at the grave-side of Volunteer Joseph Mac-Manus summed up the ideals of the young Sligo man who died on active service with Oglaigh na hEireann in County Fermanagh on February 5th. The last farewell from his family and friends in Sligo and republicans from around the country who travelled to his funeral was a touching tribute to him as a man and as a freedom fighter.

It was a tribute that was largely ignored by the media, as indeed was his death, many republicans remarking how significant it is that such a loss is made so little of when an IRA Volunteer from the 26-County area is killed in action across the border. The very fact that any young person from the 26 Counties should risk their life in the struggle is obviously seen as too dangerous to report.
The body of Joseph MacManus

was brought across the border which he sought to abolish, to his home town of Sligo on Thursday evening, January 6th. There was a mass of riot-clad gardaí present as the body crossed the border at Blacklion, County Cavan. Hundreds of people filed past the body as it lay in state overnight with a republi-can guard of honour at the Macfamily home

Maugherabov, Sligo. On Friday afternoon, Volunteers of Oglaigh na hEireann fired a volley of shots in final salute to Joe at the the Republican Plot in Sligo Cemetery where he himself had marched with his comrades many times to annual Easter commemorations.

A huge crowd gathered outside the home on Friday evening for the removal to Sligo Cathedral. The coffin, draped in the Tricolour with a



 Volunteers of Oglaigh na h-Eireann fire a final salute to Joseph MacManus at the Republican Plot in Sligo Cemetery on Friday afternoon

black beret and gloves and the jersey of Corinthians Football Club, and flanked by an eight-person

republican guard of honour, made its way slowly to the church led by a lone piper. Friends and relatives

Joseph's parents Helen and Seán and brother Chris (right) bid their last sad farewell

took it in turns to carry the coffin. There was a large Garda presence all along the route to the cathedral and in the churchyard.

the funeral on Saturday was attended by a crowd of over 1,500 people. At requiem mass a haunting lament for Joe was played on the flute and at the end family members carried him out of the church to begin his last journey. The coffin was carried the entire way from the cathedral through the streets of Joseph's native town where so many who knew him were, as the priest officiating at the mass had pointed out, stunned at his death and sharing the grief of his loss with his family.

Following the prayers at the graveside in Sligo Cemetery, Sinn Féin Vice-President Pat Doherty began the republican ceremony by paying tribute to the MacManus family and recalling when he had last met Joseph:
"A few short months ago we met

by chance on a bus. We talked about a lot of things, about family matters some of my own children would be of the same age as Joseph. We talked of his involvement in sport and football, his involvement in school and the time he spent in the Regional College in Sligo. And in the course of the cor versation I realised that Joe had left the Regional College and I queried him as to why this was and he told me that he felt that it wasn't right that the people of the Six Counties had to suf-fer and endure British occupation on their own, that he felt that there was an onus on everybody in Ireland to play their part in the removal of those forces. Then I realised that Joe had left college so that he could play his part in that effort to remove those unjust and illegal forces. And when Joseph got off the bus a good few miles his own home town, I realised further that not only had he decided to commit himself in that direction but he had left home and he had left his par-ents to enable himself to be closer to the border and to involve himself, as he saw it, in the removal of those unjust and illegal forces.
"That is my last memory of

Joseph, a memory that I will always cherish. And the words that he used that day of very body in Ireland having a duty to perform their part and not to leave it just to counties should be remembered by very body assembled are today.

Doberty themseld for the many wreaths from friends and various branches of the Bepublican Movement to be laid on the grave. Following the recitation in Firsh of a decade of the marry, a body the sale for the sale crowd observed two minutes

The graveside pration was then delivered by Sinn Féin President and MP for West Belfast Gerry Adams. He sale Adams. He said:

"This past week has been a sad week for Ireland. And in Belfast espe-cially, my city cially, my city, as we dashed from tragedy to tragedy, from wake house to wake house, from hospital to hospital, someone, somewhere, said 'there's a Volunteer killed in Fermanagh'. We were in the midst of so much agony that it want to make the said there's a transfer of the midst agony that it want there are the midst of the midst hospital the said there are the midst of the midst hospital the said there are the midst hospital the said the that it wasn't until Thursday— after Ormeau Road, after the Sinn Féin office attacks—that I found out almost by accident that the Volunteer was Joe MacManus and I was as shocked at the shocked at that as by anything I had seen in my own town because I hadn't expected it.
"The MacManus family are my

friends. Many of us through the years when Joe and Chris were only wee lads, had our tea there, many a time had a bed there. Many a time until the spare room was sorted out I had Joe's bed or Chris's bed. And when we left, the MacManus family worried about us and were con-cerned about us. So when the news cerned about us. So when the news that Joe MacManus was the Volunteer who had been killed in Fermanagh came to me in West Belfast, my sorrow was personal. Oglaigh na hEireann had lost a Volunteer, the MacManus family had lost a son and a brother and I had lost a friend. "He was only 21. Intelligent

and a brother and I had lost a friend.
"He was only 21. Intelligent, good looking (though I never would have said that to him in the slagging that went on during the times that I was in and out of the house) a footballer. Funny enough he was born just after Jack Lynch said "We will not stand idly by" and just before Bloody Sunday. Bloody Sunday.

"Parents here will share and

"Parents here will share and acknowledge and appreciate the joy of a child. All the early days, his first day in school, the first steps he took, the first time he cursed, the girl-friends, maybe he was spoiled a bit, headstrong, a bit cheeky like all of us at that age, his first pint. And parents are bound to ask 'Is it our fault?' If Seán or Helen think for one moment it's their fault that their son moment it's their fault that their son as killed in Fermanagh, they're thinking wrong.

"Joe made up his own mind. He



of local people MacManus to Sligo Cathedral

will always is that he used ody in Ireland their part to the nation-Six Counties ed by every-

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at a Volunteer, ly had lost a son ad lost a friend 21. Intelligent, I never would in the slagging the times that I house) a footigh he was born ch said We will and just before

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people at the removal of Volunteer Joseph

saw the sham of politics in this country. He saw the strokes. He saw emigration and poverty, unemployment and the war which has lasted for his entire life in the occupied area. And he wanted to change it. So what could he do? If Sean or Helen have doubts they should ask them-selves that. What could he do? Could he join Fianna Fáil? Fine Gael? The PDs? The Workers Party? Of course he could. But he had integrity. And if Seán and Helen are to blame for anything, they are to blame for giving their son integrity.
"Maybe in these days of national

confusion, in these days of censorship, maybe many of Joe's non-republican friends don't understand — and that's fair enough. He had a secret life. I never guessed for a minute that he was a Volunteer. Pat Doherty only guessed because of a chance meeting on a bus. How could Mary, his girlfriend, know? How could the lads on the football team know? How could his social friends know? How could they understand today? But they do know one thing. Because they knew the man they know that he wasn't a terrorist. They don't even have to agree with him. They only have to look at their own acquaintance with him and they know, agree or disagree, that Joe MacManus was a freedom

"Last night I was in the Markets area of South Belfast. A man stopped me and he asked me when the funeral for the lad from Sligo was. And he said 'It's a pity you know, he didn't have to fight but we do.' So the republicans throughout this island and especially in the Six Counties know what Joe MacManus lived and died for.

"Pearse, often misquoted, had words for national confusion. Nuair a scríobh sé agus a dúirt sé:

'Mise Eire, Sinne mé ná an Cáilleach Béara, Mór mo ghlóir, Mé do rug Cúchulainn cróga.

Mór mo náire, Mo chlann féin a dhíol a

"Níor dhíol chlann MacManus nó Oglach Seosamh MacManus a máthair. And one of the reasons why a young man of 21 leaves this part of Ireland to go to the North is because 'a chlann féin' has sold their mother. One of the reasons why the agony of the Six Counties continues is because the Dublin government has done nothing of substance to

The Ormeau Road massacre is in line with the Dublin and Mon-aghan bombings, McGurk's bar— all milestones littering Joe Mac-Manus's life, and they won't be ended by meetings in Downing Street. They will only be ended when the conditions which spawned them are tackled. And that meeting, coming this week, like Peter Brooke's tenure at Stormont, is based upon the politics of deception and the politics of pretence. The politics of fooling people, in this case in Britain, that some thing is being done to solve the conflict in Ireland. It's the politics of the big lie. Joe MacManus, so young, refused in his youth to live the poli-tics of the big lie. But it's hardly surprising that the British can behave like this given that there is no pressure from Dublin for them to do anything else."

dams referred to the new Dublin Adams referred to the field building and premier Albert Reynolds' statement that he would put no limits on Republications. his effort to achieve peace. Republicans were "justifiably cynical" about such rhetoric:

'Much more than rhetoric is needed and Albert Reynolds must know this. For 70 years, and espe-cially the last 20 years, the British have produced various structures which have all failed to address the core issues which create the conflict which has us gathered here at this graveside as we have gathered many times in the last 20 years.

"What is required is a peace pro-cess which can demilitarise the situation. Such a process must be inclusive. That is what is desired by everyone but most especially the people who I represent. And that is what Mr Reynolds should initiate as part of the process of agreeing with the British how they should leave our country. He should tell John Major that the time has passed. The British must leave.

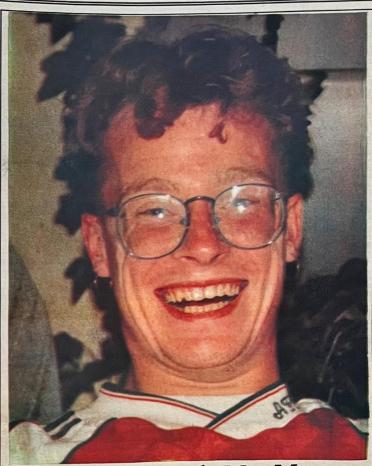
"I think the best tribute that can be paid to Joe MacManus is one which the family paid in a statement in their name. I'll read it to you now: 'Our son and brother, IRA Volunteer Joseph MacManus, was killed in action in Fermanagh on Wednesday, February 5th. We respect his decision to join Oglaigh na hEireann. He did not take that step lightly. Joseph believed as we do, that our country will never have peace until Britain leaves Ireland and its people are free to decide their own future. We are deeply proud of him. In our own personal grief we are also thinking of all those other families who have suffered and are suffering as

we are today. Seán, Helen and Chris Mac-

"I want to add my own support to that tribute and on your behalf and on behalf of all the people throughout the hidden Ireland, the prisoners, all active republicans, to offer our cómhbhrón, our condolences to Seán, to Chris and to Helen

and to Joe's girlfriend Mary.

"In the Six Counties where the republican family is stronger than in the 26 Counties, at a time like this the family of a dead freedom fighter can be assured that in the days and months ahead the repub lican family will gather around and watch over and mind and help that family. Here in Sligo, the republican family might not be as large perhaps as we would like it to be. But I am sure that you who belong to it will in the days and weeks and months ahead assist and help the MacManus family to get over their sad grief. I can also, I am sure, commit all of us here to keep moving forward until the day when Joe MacManus's comrades can lay down their weapons When our children can live a life free from foreign imperialism and occupation and when all of us can build in our lovely, beautiful country, a society which reflects all of our needs and all of our aspi-



# Volunteer Joseph MacManus

THE DEATH in action of another IRA Volunteer from the 26-County area — Jim Lynagh in 1987 — had a deep and enduring affect on the young Joe MacManus. According to his comrades it was shortly after attending the funeral in County Monaghan of Lynagh, killed in the Loughgall ambush in County Armagh, that Joe made the decision to join the ranks of Oglaigh na hÉireann. While the sacrifice of Jim Lynagh was one of the factors on the road to Joe volunteering his services to the IRA, it certainly wasn't the only one.

oe was born the first son of strongly republican parents ean and Helen MacManus, in Willesden, North London, where his father was working, in May 1970. The family moved back to Ireland when Joe was six years of age and he attended Scoil Ursula and St John's national schools in Sligo and Summerhill College where he sat the Leaving Certificate in 1988. He went on to Sligo Regional Technical College (RTC) to follow a business studies course which eventually he left to devote himself more fully to the

devote himself more fully to the national liberation struggle.

Joe lived his young life to the full and was very active in the field of sports. He won medals for St Mary's Gaelic Football Club, Sligo at all junior levels and only recently received a medal with Coolera GFC. He played a lot of soccer as well, playing at lot of soccer as well, playing at

senior level for both Collegians and Corinthians who recently won the Sligo Super League.

was an extremely outgoing lively character who made many friends in his short but active life. He is remembered by all who knew him as an easygo ing and popular socialiser. One person described Joe as being "so laid back that his head was

almost touching the ground".
His relaxed and happy-go-lucky nature possibly deceived those not aware of the more serious side of Joe's life. He was a voracious reader of history and politics and his understanding of Irish republicanism was deep and clear-sighted. He was involved in local Sinn Féin activities in Sligo for several years before his involvement with the IRA.

Joe's father, Seán, is a member

of Sinn Féin's Ard Chomhairle and served for four years as party chairperson. He succeeded the late John Joe McGirl as the Sinn Féin general election candidate in the Sligo/Leitrim constituency. The MacManus family home has often been the scene of Garda Special Branch raids over the years, giving Joe a firsthand insight into the nature of 26-County collaboration with British rule in Ireland.

Joe's reading of Irish history, his awareness of the turbulent situation in the occupied Six Counties, only a few miles up the road from his native Sligo, his knowledge of Irish republican philoso-phy, but above all his inherent integrity led him to throw himself fully into the fight for national liberation.

As he recently told Sinn Féin's Pat Doherty, he felt that the fight against British occupation could not be left to the nationalist peo-ple of the Six Counties alone. It was the duty, he said, of every Irish person to oppose it. Joe paid dearly for his bravery and integrity in the cause of Irish free-dom. The Republican Movement extends deepest sympathy to his father Seán, mother Helen, brother Chris and to his girlfriend Mary. I measc laochra na hEireann go raibh sé.

# Review

# Priorities and

MacNEII I

IT'S A MATTER OF PRIORITIES REALLY, priorities and values. The day after the Ormeau Road slaughter the English media were in no doubt as to what their priorities were

"All Party Support After Ashdown Admits Affair", said the Guardian. The news that a "Loyalist Attack Leaves 5 Dead" received about one tenth of the space on the front page. Inside, the Ashdown story got two full pages all to itself; analysis, comment, a full case history, a debate over the ethics of reporting private lives. No comment on the ethics of relegating the slaughter of five — two of them still schoolchildren to the back page.

followed suit. Ashdown top of the page, five murders below — below the fold, a newspaper way of saying 'not really a priority'. These were just two of the papers, but their reaction typifies the rest. And by the way, carried just below the Guardian's masthead runs the legend 'Newspaper of the Year'.

Some years ago, a newspaper in desperation for a lead story ran the following headline: "Small Earthquake in Chile, Not Many Killed". In the wake of the Ormeau Road killings, it was almost as if the British press was saying. "Shooting in Belfast, Not Many Killed".

In the days that followed we were treated to the usual sort of article that emanates from the English press at times like these, the sort that leans heavily on "hrases like "cycles of violence", "senseless killings" and, above all is characterised by a tone of utter perplexity. It's a tone that says, "Oh my God, what can we do?" — like the upstanding parents of

an irrepressibly delinquent child faced with evidence of their offspring's latest

Imagine if those killings had occurred in some sleepy home counties hamlet. Back page? Not a chance. The Irish media betray a fundamentally partitionist view in their reports on the North. When it comes to violence the attitude that it's 'over there', not our problem but 'the rest of us don't carry on like that'. We're just here to wring our hands and occupy the moral high

And yet when any attempt is made to put unity or withdrawal on the agenda the erring populace of the Six Counties are, with lightening speed, readmitted to the Empire Hands off, it's ours! Perhaps the most revealing comment was made by a BBC radio reporter the morning after Ormeau Road. "What can we do, send more troops?" Even the militaristic Nixon administration was eventually forced to concede that more troops would not secure victor

Curiously, the English media find themselves in a situation not unlike that faced by their Irish counterparts in the '70s. Outrage only goes so far. After that it's put up or shut up. To give Ireland the sort of coverage it is entitled to would invariably lead to difficult questions being asked by the public. So the North is relegated and cosier, more reader-friendly domestic issues take precedence, Ireland, unlike



Danger and stress take toll on RUC officers

Mr Ashdown's activities, is a foreign affair.

uriously enough, there was one voice of sanity amidst all the guff, and from a most unexpected quarter too - the southern economics-oriented paper, the Sunday Business Post (SBP). The SBP, on February 8th, contained an editorial which made the sort of observations and asked the sort of questions that have for years been confined to publications like this one.

Condemnation of the IRA is, it pointed out, all the ruling elites in both countries have to offer. Thus, it notes the disparity between that and the "scarcely concealed contempt" for ordinary Catholics that is the hallmark of the Northern statelet — as exemplified by the Nelson case.

Where, the SBP pertinently asked, are the sweeps of loyalist ghettos, the saturation security, the use of the SAS to 'take out' potential assassins? How are such killings carried out in such a highly secured area - under the noses of observation posts? And the most pertinent question of all. Where, in all this

"casual" slaughter of Catholics that has run for decades now, are the Dublin government? "To the shame of the Dublin administration, it has scarcely raised a finger to draw world attention to the

genocide being conducted against Belfast's small Catholic community." Of course, if the proposals to revoke Articles Iwo and Three of the 1937 Constitution is carried, then

almost casual process of

Dublin will henceforth be absolved of all responsibility for that and other communities like it. They will become British citizens and an exclusively British problem. Neat.

The SBP's contribution was clear and penetrating. It illustrated, by comparison, that when all is said and done the English media do not really consider the North a part of their state. What the SBP demonstrated was that all this is happening here, at home. Nearer to Dublin than, say, Cork or Kerry. This is not a foreign place, these are not foreign people. Why do we allow our government — whoever they may be this week - to act as if they are?

### IN BRIEF...

### Belfast justice groups in Dublin

THE REALITY OF LIFE for nationalists living under British occupation is being brought to Dublin with a visit to the city by a number of Belfast-based justice groups. The various groups, who are in Dublin for a series of meetings, appeared at a press conference on Wednesday, February 12th, to highlight several campaigns concerning the administration of justice in the Six Counties

They included the Voice of the Innocent and Beechmount rive, campaigns involving parents of teenagers harassed and brutalised in RUC custody, one of whom — Damien Austin — is currently the subject of an Amnesty International 'Urgent Action Order'.

They described some of the treatment including physical and mental torture they described some of the treatment including physical and mental torture. hey included the Voice of the Innocent and Beechmount Five, campaigns

They described some of the treatment including physical and mental torture received by ten West Belfast youths when they were arrested, detained and placed on remand by crown forces during 1991. All ten remain on remand in Crumlin Road Jail on trumped up charges of involvement in various incidents. The youths and their parents are strenuously contesting the charges against the charge them and say that their arrest and detention can only be seen as youth

Jim Neeson of the Casement Park Accused, which is campaigning on behalf of the 40 or so people convicted in showtrials after the killing of two undercover British soldiers at a republican funeral in 1988 also attended. Although the court has admitted that none of the accused carried out the killings, 40 people have been convicted and sentenced, five of them to life imprisonment.

Also at the press conference was a representative of Relatives for Justice,

which consists of family members of people shot dead by the state in controversial circumstances and shoot-to-kill operations.

### New campaign for Nicky Kelly

A new campaign is to be launched urging the Dublin government to hold an independent public inquiry into the case of Nicky Kelly.

Arrested in 1976, Kelly was subjected to torture at the hands of the notorious Heavy Gang then operating within the gardaí and signed a forced confession implicating himself in the Sallins mail train robbery. He was subsequently sentenced to

12 years in prison.
Following a major national and international campaign, including the intervention of Amnesty International and Church leaders, Kelly was dramatically released having served a third of his sentence

Upon his release the government publicly invited Kelly to take a civil action for false imprisonment and assault and battery against the state but six weeks later



NICKY KELLY

made a u-turn importing the infamous Lord Denning judgement from the British judicial system, to block his action

The Denning judgement, adopted from the Birmingham Six case implies

that:
"The public interest can sometimes be better served by imprisoning innocent persons rather than allowing a court case to proceed that might undermine an

Dublin City Council recently passed a motion calling on Mary Robinson to grant a Presidential pardon to Nicky Kelly.

The campaign has received assurances from a number of British politicians that they will raise the Kelly case at at the Dublin-London interparliamentary forum and in the EC parliament.

### Sectarian gun attack

A Catholic taxi-driver narrowly escaped death in a loyalist murder bid on Thursday, February 6th. The man was answering a call that brought him past the West Circular Road, a main route through loyalist districts of West Belfast, when gunmen fired on his car.

The attack falls into the pattern of sectarian attacks on taxi-drivers used by the loyalists in recent months. On this occassion, however, an initial call to the depot for a car was cancelled. When answering the second call for a cab the driver drove into the ambush as he drove along the Springfield Road. Five shots in all were fired at the car and its lone occupant who was uninjured.

This attack, coming in a particularly bloody week for nationalists, was a reminder of the ease with which these death squads operate and reinforce the need for nationalists to be vigilant at all times.





Daily Express &



# Reviews

# Radio Times John Hume is Right

■ BY DANNY MORRISON

DESPITE OUR DIFFERENCES I have to agree with John Hume's totally justified attack on the church leaders who do nothing but snipe from the sidelines, utter admonitions, fudgy recommendations and meaningless condemnations (which offer little real comfort to the bereaved) without ever once looking at the mote in their own eye.

o they really believe that photo-opportunities of themselves grinning at each other at every turn is going to lead to reconciliations?

Hume was speaking on Radio Ulster's Newsbreak when he suddenly and uncharacteris-tically turned on the church leaders. He said: "If you have specific advice for me or my party then give it to me. And do the same to the other parties. But stop pretending you are sit-ting in the middle or sitting in an ivory tower advising every-body else."

He went on: "My appeal to the church leaders is — talk to

the church leaders is — talk to paramilitary organisations, the ners, in your camp. Talk to them. Because you are the peothem... and get them to stop." Let us leave aside the cant moral tone of Hume's language, his little lapse into funentalism. Who does he think he is, tackling the reverend reverends this way?

Well, in Hume's favour is the fact that he talked to the IRA and to Sinn Féin and would, presumably, talk again tomorrow if it were mutually purposeful. True, one could say that that's not such a big deal. Might even gain him a national-ist vote or two. I know that. You know that. But he did talk. And

talk is the operative word.

Against Hume is his inconto the IRA and to Sinn Féin but anyone else, or the London or

Dublin governments, talking to republicans lest his party's monopoly at the conference table is broken. In fact, this is the first time that John has ever so graciously invited anyone, besides his party, to talk to us! But let us leave that aside because in politics - as I suppose in moral teaching — inconsistency is something of a principle.
Finally, let us also leave

aside his incorrect analysis of the situation which is that Britain is now neutral in this conflict, that the SDLP's strategy is a low-risk one (doesn't provoke loyalist violence) and that a just settlement is more likely to emerge if the IRA

rows in the towel.
So why did John explode?
On Radio Ulster he was clearly frustrated by the continuous calls from church leaders but particularly from Cardinal Cahal Daly - for the politicians to re-open dialogue with each other

hen Brooke's Talks col-When Brooke's Talks col-lapsed last July the gener-al perception was that the loyalists were to blame. However, in the more recent attempts to resurrect the talks (pre-dating Major's to-do) it had been the SDLP which had been cautious of getting correctly that in these less than favourable circumstances his party will be the one under most pressure to compromis We don't know exactly what Hume's concept of a just settle ment is but clearly he doesn't



• IOHN HUME

want to deviate from it. His stance even earned him a rebuke from an Irish Times editorial last week. And he would be worried about Dublin ne comrade it's turning out to be - becoming wobbly on his Hillsborough Treaty: worried that his negotiating power with Britain will be weakened and worried that his party may lose support to Sinn Féin as a nce.

Furthermore, Hume knows — and should publicly call attention to the fact — that the leaders of the Ulster Unionist Party and the DUP cynically riew the UFF/UVF terror campaign against innocent nation-alists as politically beneficial.

This is the supposition that nationalists will become desperate and thus agree to a measure like internment (on the falsehood that it will end attacks like that on the Ormeau Road) or become so demon alised and weary that they'll accept less than their due

But Hume knows that just as damaging to the nationalist cause as wimps in Dublin, is the stance of Cardinal Cahal Daly, the most pro-British pri-mate Ireland has ever had. Lord Gerry Fitt with a crozier.

Hume's riposte, therefore, vas aimed more at needling Cardinal Daly who has repeated-ly exhorted the British govern-ment not to talk to republicans.

His ivory tower overlooks all others. In a joint interview with Fortnight magazine last Septem-ber the Church of Ireland Primate, Archbishop Robin Eames, in his opening remarks appeared tentatively more conciliatory towards republicans than did Daly. In fact, it's easy to imagine how difficult it would be for an enterprising Protestant minister to break ranks and talk to the IRA whilst Daly's quarantine is

But talks there have to be. Even if talks change nothing, lines of communication will have been laid down. Is it Cardinal Daly's pride which keeps him from talking to the IRA or to Sinn Féin? Or his politics? It cannot be the pretexts he offers. The risk of giving us credibility indeed!

I don't want to be tainted with that type of credibility. I want to be associated with folk like Paddy Loughran, who in death was treated as second

I want to be identified with a young IRA Volunteer like Joseph McManus, whose decision to become a republican and enter the North and leave behind all comforts and a thousand easy options has the power to astonish

Our blood, sweat and tears, our suffering and sacrifices, our commitment and resolve, are the factors which will bring recogni-tion of our right to be included in deciding the future of this coun-

Let those like Cardinal Daly who postpone that inevitable day carry their share of guilt on their

# Entertaining week ahead for Irish soccer

fans

■ BY BREANDAN Mac RUAIRI

THIS WEEKEND is one of the more important dates on the local soccer calendar with the first round of the FAI cup taking place. As usual the potential for the expected and the entertaining is great. Despite being overshadowed by Gaelic sport and under increasing pressure from televised football in England, League of Ireland soccer has maintained a good standard and retains a limited but dedicated following among the public. The success of the FAI cup competition has much to do with this.

Sunday's fixture list throws up some intriguing clashes The feature game has to be the Dublin derby between old rivals St Patrick's Athletic and Shamrock Rovers at Harold's Cross. In recent encounters between the clubs 'Pat's' have had the edge, but Rovers have improved markedly of late and might just prevail over a club hose off-field problems seem to cast a shadow over their onfield exploits. On league form Derry City and Shelb must be fancied. It will be a

major shock if non-league Col-lege Corinthians can upset "The Reds", at Tolka Park. Derry, however, will have to fight all however, will have to light an the way against gritty and sea-soned cup-fighters Sligo Rovers at the Brandywell. Premier league sides Athlone, Drogheda and Dundalk all face tricky first

and Dundalk all face tricky has division opposition and any of them could come a cropper. Giantkilling is the aspiration of all lower league clubs in cup competition and a few possibili-ties for such acts certainly present themselves on Sunday. A



• Who will partner Quinn?

journey to Bray will create no fears for last year's heroic minnows Ashtownvilla. Leinster Senior League side Bluebell Utd should enjoy their trip to Daly-mount Park, as home side Bohemians recall how they fell to similar opposition in St Fran-cis two years ago. Wayside

Celtic travel to Waterford confident that they too can put one over on a struggling home

Holders Galway Utd begin their defence with a home tie against Cork junior club Fermoy. Firmly rooted to the bot-tom of the premier division, it

has been a torrid season so far for the Tribesmen. Yet I expect them to go well once more in the cup. In their last few league games they have shown definite signs of a reawakening, a good omen for a sustained cup run. Cork City are many peo-ple's tip to lift the trophy. Since Christmas they have powered up the league after an indiffer-ent first half of the season. They retain the nucleus of last year's side which finished league runners-ups and unless over-confidence stumps them, the Leesiders should get off to a winning start at home to Dublin junior side Edenmore.

In the remaining four matches Kevin Moran's old club, Pegasus, have every chance at home of defeating first division Limerick City. Cobh Ramblers should edge out lacklustre Monaghan Utd, while the ties between UCD and Finn Harps and Glenmore Celtic versus Moyle Park are finely balanced.

So who's going to be victori-ous in Lansdowne on May 10th? I feel this could well be Cork City's year with last year's finalists Galway and Shamrock Rovers good outside bets. We shall see.

I rish soccer fans will keep a keen eye on the RDS next Wednesday afternoon as the rish team play their first inter-national of the year, this time against Wales. It will also be the first soccer international to be first soccer international to be played at the Ballsbridge venue. The excellent playing surface provides an important contrast to the long grass and bumps of Lansdowne Road and gives an opportunity to the wealth of footballing talent on view to

fully display their skills.

Wales will provide stiff opposition in a game that marks the beginning of the road to the USA in 1994 for both squads. Any side that can field a strike-force including Dean Saunders, Mark Hughes and Ryan Giggs must pose a major threat to Ireland's proud home record under Jack Charlton. Wales' main flaws are in defence but they can hardly be as porous as last year in Wrexham when a Quinn-inspired Ireland easily succeeded with a

Charlton has a number of problem areas which require attention if the World Cup qualifying campaign is to be fruitful. Namely goalkeeper, centre-back and attack. New players must be blooded in these positions and Wednes day is a suitable occasion for such experimentation. The manager is not without options, but being a cautious man he will not rush the proreturn to form and John Byrne may operate as an adequate foil for Niall Quinn. But it is the two key centre-back spots that will be most difficult to fill. The current occupants are ageing rapidly while the aspirants are young and unproven

The shape, pattern and out-come of the home side's perfor-mance should give a significant indication of how Ireland's soc-cer fortunes are likely to fare out over the next two and a half

# Nuacht

# An rialtas nua agus Teilifis na Gaeilge

D'iarr Conradh na Gaeilge an Sathairn seo caite ar Taoiseach nua na 26 Contae, Ailbhe Mac Rahgnaill, na geallúintí poiblí a thug an t-iar-Thaoiseach, Cathal O hEochaidh, agus an tAire Cumarsáide, Séamas O Braonáin, thar ceann Fianna Fáil Teilifís na Gaeilge a bhunú le linn na bliana seo 1992 a chomhlíonadh.

e linn chruinniú de Choiste Gnó Chonradh na Gaeilge, léiríodh buairt maidir leis an leagan amach neamhnaíoch i leith stát-urrú ar na

nGaeilge a síleadh a thug Ailbhe Mac Raghnaill le tuiscint ag preas-ócáid nuair a thoghadh é mar cheannaire ar Fhianna Fáil.

Glacadh leis go raibh an Raghnal-lach fábharach don Ghaeilge. Ach fachthas gur é leas na tíre é dá dtabharfadh sé sin le taispeáint ar slí

dheimhneach.

Ar Feabhra 12 d'éisigh Uachtarán
Chonradh na Gaeilge, Proinsias
MacAonghusa an ráiteas seo a leanas:
"Cúis dóchais a bhfuil ráite agus

tugtha le fios ag an Tánaiste agus Aire na Gaeltachta Seán Mac Liam agus ag an Aire Cumarsáide Máire Geoghegan

Quinn maidir le Teilifís na Gaeilge.

"Níor mhiste anois brostú leis an gcúlobair is gá chun go mbeadh an tseirbhís riachtanach seo ar fáil faoi dheireadh na bhliana seo mar a ghealladh chomh minic sin.

"Tá an t-eolas teicniúil ar fad ar fáil cheanna féin. Toil pholiatíochta atá anois ag teastáil le seasamh ar an mbealach is cumasaí leis na nGaeilge agus leis an nGaeltacht."

D'fháiltigh an Feachtas Náisiúnta Téilfíse roimh an cinneadh a déanadh aireacht sinsearach a

aireacht Ghaeltachta bhi sé faoi ascail Charlie le déanaí. Dúirt an grúpa gur rud an cin-neadh seo "a chin-ntíonn go mbeidh guth na Gaeilge agus na Gaeltachta le cloisteáil ag bord an rialtais

Mar aon le seo d'fháiltigh an grúpa roimh ceapacháin de bean ón Ghaeltacht ina aire chumarsáid. Bean í a bhfuil tar éis "a míshástacht le laghad na gcláracha Gaeilge ar an teilifís curtha in iúil

aici go minic. Tá cruinniú lorgtha ag an grúpa lena moltaí faoi bealach teilifíse a bhunú a bhrú chun tosaigh ar chláir an chabinéid nua.



### Céastóir ar son an choróin ■ LE JOE McQUILLAN H3

Bhí an chosúlacht ar an sheachtain seo caite gurb ceann dena seachtaine aba fhiochmhára é fiú de réir tarlúintí na Sé Chotnae. Ar an drochuair bíonn tragóidí na seachtaine seo caite, agus na 23 anuas curtha chuig an bhalla a túisce agus a tuirlingíonn na polaiteoirí "bunreachtúla" ar stáitse na h-eachtra ar nós ealta badhba. Bíonn achan ceann acu ag déanamh iarrachta na polaiteoir roimhe a sharú le abairtí dhéistín agus dhaoradh. Bíonn rud amháin i gcoitianta acu, bíonn siad ag iarraidh a mbeatháisnéisín polaitiúla féin a ardú. Ag an am cheanna níl rud déantasach ar ofráil acu.

**B**hí sé cluinte go minic againn an tseachtain seo caite nach bhfuil cúrsaí as smacht, ach a mhalairt, tá rud faoi smacht. Bhí sé ráite ag cean-naire an RUC, Hugh Annesley fiú, agus é ina sheasamh i lár Bóthar Ormeau taobh amuigh de Sean Graham's. An raibh sé ag rá go bhfuil cúrsaí faoi smacht aige nó an é go bhfuil na dumharfóirí dílseacha faoi smacht aige? Go h-áirithe anois ar dheireadh trialach Brian Nelson.

Mar is gnáth don mheánchumarsáide ardaíodh an fear a bhí ar chúl ionsaithe ar an phobail náisiúnta. Ní raibh barraíocht sna nuachtáin faoi fior-saol Nelson, Labhair siad ar an eagla laethiúl faoina raibh Nelson agus faoi an chéasadh scáfar a imríodh air i lámha a chomrádaithe agus iad ag baint feidhm as preabanna leictreach. Ní dhéarna mórán acu trácht go raibh Nelson féin tugtha do úsáid an céasaigh seo.

I 1973 d'fhuadaigh Nelson agus beirt eile fear dárbh ainm Gerard Higgins. Glacadh Higgins chuig clubtheach dílseacht. D'imir Nelson céasadh air le preabanna leictreach, coinnídh táibhléid croí riachtanach uaidh, buaileadh é le gunna agus cuireadh a chuid gruaige trí thine. Deirtear go raibh an t-ádh leis nach maraíodh é ansin, ach fuair sé bás tamaillín ina dhiaidh de thairbhe ar an drochide. Daoradh Nelson chun seacht mbliana príosúntacht an uair sin. Bheadh sé suimiúil fáil amach cé mhead duine eile mar Nelson atá faoi smacht na bhfórsaí 'dlí.'

Idir an dhá linn bíonn na



BRIAN NELSON

polaiteoirí 'bunreachtúla' ag leanúint ar aghaidh leo agus ag caint na ráitéis caite go fóill, tuilleadh saighdiúirí, tuilleadh SAS, imtheorannú agus coisc ar an UDA. Níor obair ceann acu luaite san am atá caite. Tá barraíocht saighdiúir de chuid airm na mbreataine againn, timtheorannú annc heanna féin faoi clúdach cúirteanna 'Diplock', tá coisc ar an UVF, UFF agus Oglaigh na hÉireann agus má brúitear an UDA faoi talamh

agus na btitear air O'A raoi talainn an réiteoidh sin an fadbh? Trí bhliana fiche tharainn agus níor shocraigh na polaiteoirí 'bunreachtúla' dada. Tá ráitéis polaitiúla scaoilte saoi acu agus ag eagraíochtaí cráifeacha "neamh-polaitiúla". Má tá siad dáiríre cá thuige nach labhraíonn siad lena daone siúd a bhfuil an chumhacht acu réiteach a shocrú in áit labhairt fúthu Cé acu is maith leo nó nach maith, ní bheidh réiteach mura bhfuil daoine a labhraíonn thar cheann Oglaigh na hEireann agus na eagraíochtaí dilseach bainte sa díospóireacht.

### Ag dul chun cinn sa Ghaillimh ■ LE EOGHAN MAC CORMAIC

FAOI LATHAIR níl difir idir amach anseo. "Ní cúrsa comhrá é. Is Gaillimh agus áiteanna uirbeacha eile sa tír nuair atá fás na Gaeilge i gceist. Tá bláthú ar ranganna do fhoghlaim óichí agus do daoine a raibh Gaeilge acu tráth ach a lig dó dul i laige thar na blianta. Tá buntáiste amháin ag Gaillimh, áfach. Tá an Gaeltacht thart timpeall ar an áit agus tá cuid den chathair fiú ina limstéar oifigiúil na Gaeltachta. Tugann cuirteoirí faoi dheara cé chomh áisiúl agus atá Gaeilge i saol mhuintir na cathrach agus an tseachtain seo tugadh seans de lucht ghnó Gaillimhe a páirt féin a ghlacadh san fhorbairt seo, nuair a chuir Conradh na Gaeilge cúrsaí Gaeilge do lucht ghnó ar fáil. Is rud difriúil ar fad seo ó na gnáth-

cursaí Gaeilge a bhíonn ar súil tim-peall na cathrach", arsa Paula Nic Cionnaith, an duine a reachtáil an cúrsa agus a mbeidh ina múinteoir

cúrsa é atá an-oiriúnach do dhaoine a bhfuil beagán Gaeilge acu agus atá ag iarraidh í a úsáid le haghaidh gnó a dhéanach

Tá dúshlán sa chúrsa, nó tagann sé ón méadú sontasach atá ar comharthaí Gaeilge ar fud na Gaillimh. "Is cúltaca an mhaith ar an chúrsa an mhéid mhór comharthaí atá le feisint go flúirseach timpeall na cathrach", arsa Nic Cionnaith. "Beidh deis ag na comhlachtaí idir beag agus mór a thaispeáint go bhfuil siad dháiríre faoi na cuspóirí fiúntacha i leith na Gaeilge atá acu".

Deir sí nach bhfuil soláthair an chúrsa seo ag ísliú na cúrsaí eile atá le fáil ach maíonn sí nach féidir a sheachtaint go bhfuil bearna mór idir na ranganna siúd agus an saghas Gaeilge atá ag teastáil ó daoine san áit oibre.

"Roghnaigh muid focail agus abairtí praicticiúla cionn 's go mbeidh daoine atá ag obair i siopaí, tithe tábhairne, bainc agus arail in ann seirbhís mhúinte, éifeachtach a chur ar fáil do chuistéiméirí trí Gaeilge."

Cúrsa deich seachtaine a b ar chostas £25, praghas íseal do lucht gnó atá dáirtre faoi éilimh — agus cear-ta — lucht na Gaeilge a shásamh. Tá tuilleadh eolais le fáil ach glaoch ar Ghaillimh 091-67824



# Comóradh Proinsias Stagg

Ar Domhnach, Feabhra 9, bhailigh poblachtánaigh lasmuigh de Phríosúin Wakefield i Sasana chun comóradh a dhéanamh ar bháis Phroinsias Stagg sa phríosúin ar stailc orcrais 17 bliain ó shin.

Chun tosaigh ar chomóradh bhí Banna Poblachtánach Flúait Pollock in Albain. Labhair ball de banna lasmuigh dena ballaí tar éis seasamh in omóis do Phroinsias ar feadh noiméad ciúin. Ba é Eddie Caughey an phríomh chainteoir agus gabh sé buíochas leo súid a tháinig chuig an chomóradh agus lorg sé ach go háirithe go dhéanfaidh rialtas na Briotaine de réir a rialacha féin agus cimí Éireannach i bpríosúin Shasana a aistriú chuig príosún níos giorra dá baile ionas cuairteanna srl a dhéanamh níos easca dá ghaolta. Chríochnaigh an comóradh tar 'is seint Amhrán na bhFiann.

# **News/International**

# WE'LL FIGHT IT ALL THE WAY

OVER 100 PEOPLE were in attendance at the Fearghal O'Hanlon memorial lecture in Monaghan town on Sunday, February 2nd. The lecture has been held annually for the past ten years in commemoration of Volunteer Fearghal O'Hanlon who died with his comrade Seán Sabhat during an attack on Brookeborough RUC garracks in County Fermanagh on January 1st 1957.

This year Bernadette McAliskey spoke passionately on the subject of Articles Two and Three of the 1937 Constitution and the current campaign to their amendment. The meeting was chained by Monaghan County Councilor Caoimhghin O Caoláin and Monaghan UDC member Pádraigín UI Mhurchadha, sister of Fearghal O'Handon, represented the patriot's family.

lon. representation of the meaning of the articles, pointing out that the Article 3 was "the recognition that Six Counties are still being claimed by another power". The Constitution simply said that the Irish nation was 32 counties:

Connues
'There never was any doubt about that and everybody knew that until McGimpsy went to the Supreme Court and proved it. And everybody said Oh dear'. Oh, we didn't know' said the sir. Oh, you mean to say we were claiming the North? Sorry, dear, dear, had in y foot in your door? Sorry.'

"That only shows how far down the road we've gone. These people come to the Supreme Court and ask the Supreme Court to ponder for a while as to whether or not the nation of Ireland has 32 Counties. And the Supreme Court takes about six weeks and says, 'Regrettably, and we're very sorry and we wish it was different and maybe we'll have a referendum but, you're right, the Irish nation has 32 Counties'. And the government goes into a blue fit. Did they not know it? So now to appease the unionists they're enine take it away.

going to take it away.
"Their argument, number one, is

that it will bring peace. Because the thing has been turned on its head. The reason we have conflict in the North is not because we are denied civil and human rights. The reason we have conflict in the North is not because members of the nationalist community are two and a half times less likely to be employed in every social and economic class than their unionist counterparts.

"The reason we have conflict in the North is not because large nationalist ghettoes were created and the fact that we lived in overcrowded and squalid conditions right up until we objected in 1968. No, the reason we have conflict in the North is that since partition an imperialist government in Dublin has been terrifying Northern unionists.

"Now, whatever else may be said about the southern state it is not imperialist. Where is its empire? We know where the British empire was and is. So what is really happening?"

McAliskey answered the question by saying that people such as those in Fine Gael were trying to turn back the clock. They were "what might colloquially be called in the North 'little Brits':

"More and more people in the south of Ireland have been led into this belief that somehow if they change Articles Two and Three they'll contribute to peace in the North by appeasing the unionists who've been frightened. If the unionists think the South isn't going to take them over they'll be what? They'll be rational? They'll be fair? The unionist leaders



● The funeral cortege of Volunteers Fearghal O'Hanlon and Sean Sabhat

have said that it will make absolutely no difference to them."

She said that it would make no difference to the IRA's will to fight for Irish independence. "So who will it matter to?

"Well it matters to me. I can honestly say that in 20 years nothing matters more to me than holding onto Articles Two and Three. It's not that they put bread on my plate. They don't put money in my pocket. No Irish government has used them to make my life easier although they provide that potential. But taking them away!

"I have had nothing else all my life

"Thave had nothing else all my life except what we as a community have fought for. But the only thing that I have always had is that I know who I am. And I know what I am. I know that I was born in the County of Tyrone and that Tyrone is in Ireland and that I am Irish. And I know that down through the generations my people have suffered for that simple reality. They've been shot, they've been driven into the mountains and bogs, they've had their language taken away from them. They've been deprived of

an education. They've been starved through the famine. And all because the British could never get us to shape our mouths to the words, 'We are not Irish'.

"And we have survived all that And now the people who would take my existence from me aren't British, they're Irish and they would tell me I am not really Irish. What am I then? Am I some kind of mongrel dog landed on your doorstep? Am I some kind of seaweed that got washed up on your shore? If I'm not Irish what am I? If Articles Two and Three are done away with what is to become of us?

What about my neighbours, women who I have seen bury son after son in the past 20 years, people who have struggled and suffered in silence because nobody listens and nobody cares? Is the final indignity that is to be done to us that we are to be refugees in our own country?
"My mother and father and genera-

"My mother and father and generations before them are buried in County Tyrone. I'll dig them up. I'll take them to Dáil Eireann and I'll ask them.



BERNADETTE McALISKEY
 Where shall I bury them if I cannot

bury them in Irish soil?"
McAliskey concluded by vowing that she would fight attempts to scrap Articles Two and Three to the very last and she was given a standing ovation by the crowd. A lively question and answer session followed during which the importance of building the campaign to prevent the holding of a referendum to scrap the Articles was stressed by speakers.

# Challenging the legacy of Columbus

EXACTLY 500 YEARS AGO, European colonists first arrived on the American continent — and set about butchering the native peoples. Five centuries later, the descendants of those native peoples are fighting back and one of their representatives has been nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize. Human rights campaigner Rigoberta Menchú from Guatemala has become a symbol of that resistance and on Saturday, she visited Ireland.

She spoke at a meeting Organised by Oxfam and Central America Week, but the attendance far exceeded the expectations of the organisers. Over 100 people crammed into the disco hall of a Dublin hotel, but many more were unable to get in and had to be turned away. The combination of tragedy and courage in Rigobrata Menchu's life was what

brought them.

Most of her family were killed by the Guatemalan military over the 36 years since the generals overthrew the democratically elected government of Jacomo Arbenz. In order to crush resistance to their rule, they launched horrific war against any area suspected of subversion. Because native Indian people make up 65% of



• RIGOBERTA MENCHU
the population and because
they lived in the areas where
resistance was strongest, they
bore the heaviest burden.

Although native Indians were slaughtered throughout Latin America, groups did survive and now form a large proportion of the population in Bolivia, Peru and Ecuador. In Guatemala, where the largest native population remains, only 50% of people speak Spanish—the official state language. The

rest speak one of the many native languages. In all these countries, the native population — the first Americans — are second-class citizens and their culture is derided. In Guatemala, they are the victims of horrendous government terror.

Rigoberta Menchú began to speak out against this genocide and was exiled from her country for a number of years. Travelling throughout the world to highlight the plight of Quaternalan Indians, she has become a representative of all native American peoples. In a way, her fame now protects her, as the authorities fear that they would cause international uproar if they moved against her. Her autobiography, I Rigoberta Menchić, is an international bestseller and it prompted the present campaign for her to get the 1992 Nobel award.

On Saturday, Menchú began by paying tribute to the resistance of the Guatemalan people: "they have the strongest blood that runs in the whole of Latin America". Over 43,000 people have "disappeared" at the hands of the military since 1956. One million peasants have been made into refugees within their own country as the military attempted to blitz rebel areas.

The overthrow of Arbenz was contrived with the assistance of the CIA and the United States has backed the Guatemalan tyrants ever since, providing arms and training the military. But it has been largely ignored by the world's press.

press.
"The war in Guatemala has been hushed up more than any-

where else in Latin America," continued Menchú.

"We have also lived the struggles of our brothers and sisters in Nicaragua and El Salvador. We have shared the same repression, the militarisation, the imposition of de facto governments and of military dictatorships. This is the history of the Americas — what a high cost for people to pay!"

Menchú pointed out that governments throughout the world were suggesting that people should celebrate the arrival of Christopher Columbus in 1492. But the savagery of the Spanish colonists and US interference — its modern equivalent, left a very different taste in the mouths of Latin Americans and especially native Americans. "Because of all this, we will not be having a party to celebrate the coming of Columbus. What would we have to celebrate? Illiteracy? In Guatemala, 80% of our people are illiterate.

Guaternam, are illiterate.

"We indigenous people have our pride, our dignity, our cultural wealth, our traditions. And that makes us say, we have nothing to celebrate around the 500th anniversary."

# **Notices**

### REMEMBERING T

# CHESTER BY PETER O'ROURKE CASTLE RAID

THE PLANNED ATTACK on the arsenal at Chester Castle in England in February 1867, was a belated attempt by the American Fenians to procure arms for the rising in Ireland which was to begin later that same day.

Following the replacement of James Stephens as the Fenian chief in the autumn of 1866, about 50 American Fenians, led by Thomas J Kelly and Captain John McCafferty, travelled to Ireland and England to prepare for a rising in Ireland. After hurried consultations between Fenians in London, Liverpool and Dublin, it was decided to fix the rising for February 11th 1867.

The Fenian Rising was to be preceded by a daring attack on the mili-tary arsenal at Chester Castle in the north of England. The castle, which was also a military barracks with a jail attached, was guarded by only one company of the 54th Regiment under Captain Edwards, a maximum of 66 men to repel an attack.

The plan, which was to be carried

out with the aid of well organised Fenians throughout the north of England, involved the capture of the large British arms and ammunition store at the castle by a company of Fenians led by McCafferty. Simultaneously, trains between Chester and Holyhead were to be seized and the estimated 20,000 arms were to be rushed to Holyhead where the mail boat was also to have been captured. With all rail and telegraph communications cut to prevent government intervention, the vast stock of supplies would then be rushed to Ireland for the rising which would have begun that same day.

The plans for the attack were finalised at a meeting on Sunday, February 10th 1867, of senior Fenians including McCafferty and John Flood.

From early on the morning of the proposed raid, Fenians, mainly Irishmen working in England, began arriving at Chester station in large numbers by train from Warrington, Crewe, Manchester and other towns of Lancashire and Cheshire. By the early afternoon there were well over 1,000 Fenians in the town.

At about one o'clock, six hours

before the planned attack, as the Fenians were still converging on Chester, McCafferty learned that the authorities had been alerted to the plan by an informer, John F Corydon, a trusted member of the American Fenians. The guard at the Castle had been strengthened, the local volunteers had been called out and troop reinforcements were on their way from London.

Corydon, who had acted as the



• Due to the Fenian Organisation being riddled with spies the British found it easy to keep a tight grip over the movement

principal carrier of despatches etween Ireland and America in 1865, had in fact been supplying the English authorities with information since September 1866. Having been informed by Thomas Breslin, a Fenian contact in Dublin Castle, that a senior Irish American Fenian officer was betraying their secrets to the British, Colonel Thomas J Kelly, then leader of the Fenian organisation, arranged for Breslin to observe and identify all the men who answered the description given. By February 1867, a few members, including Corydon, had not yet been screened. Corydon's identity as the informer who betrayed the Chester Castle raid was not discovered until the following September after the res-cue of Kelly and Timothy Deasy in

With considerable skill following the betrayal of the planned attack to the authorities, McCafferty and his officers called off the rising in Ireland and cancelled the operations at Chester Cas-tle and all Fenian manoeuvres in the city. The police afterwards found large quan tities of arms and ammunition dumped near the railway station and in the ponds and canals of the town.

During the following days the police in Ireland met steamers arriving in Dublin and Dundalk and arrested a large number of Fenians, who had given up their jobs in England to take part in the rising. McCafferty, having escaped from Chester with Flood, was arrested in a small boat off Dublin Bay on February 23rd and later sentenced to penal servitude for life.

Throughout February, the remaining Fenians in Ireland and England, undeterred by the sabotage of Chester Castle raid, began detailed preparations for a rising in Ireland on March 5th, 1867.

The proposed raid on the arsenal at Chester Castle, the springboard for the rising in Ireland, was due to take place on Monday, February 11th 1867, 125 years ago this week.

### lmeachtaí

ANTI-EXTRADITION MEETING: Meets 6.30pm, every Tuesday, USI, 16 North Great Georges Street,

PICKET ON US EMBASSY: Opposing US policy in central America, 11.30am- 1pm, every Saturday, Balls-bridge, DUBLIN.

THEATRE: Rebels and Friends A play about Countess Markievicz and her sister Eva, by Jacqueline Mui-

hallen, 8.15pm 3rd-15th Feb, Andrews Lane Studio Theatre, 9-17 Andrews Lane, DUBLIN 2. Tickets £7

CIORCAL COMHRA: Chuile Luan 9-10 pm. Club Chonradh na Gaeilge, 6 Sraid Fhearcair, BAILE ATHA CLIATH. Cleachtaigh do Ghaeilge

**PUBLIC MEETING: "Bloody Sunday** 1972-1992 the struggle continues". Speakers: Sinn Féin member and released Irish POW. 7.30 pm Friday 14th Feb., Mid-Hall, City Halls, Albion Street, GLASGOW. Organised by the Glasgow Irish Republican Support

BENEFIT NIGHT: Music by Hanging's Too Good for Them. 8.30 pm Friday 14th Febuary, The Old White Horse, 261 Brixton Road, LONDON SW9. Adm. £3.50 waged, £2.00 unwaged. Organised by South Lon-don Troops Out. Women Only.

JOHN DAVEY COMMEMORATION: Wreath-laying ceremony. 2,30pm Sunday 16th February, St Mary's Church, LAVEY, County Derry. SINN FÉIN NATIONAL FINANCE COMMITTEE

**FUNCTION** 

### **WEXFORD INN** FEATURING:

Feb 22nd

8.30pm Sat The Irish Brigade

### I nDíl Chuimhne

BAILEY, Seán; CUNNINGHAM, Joseph; DAVEY, John; FITZGIM-MONS, Vivien; McGRILLEN, James; O'HANLON, Leo; O'NEILL, James; STAGG, Francis. In Proud and loving memory of Volunteers Sean Bailey, Joseph Cunningham, Vivien Fitzgim-mons, James McGrillen, Leo O'Hanlon, Francis Stagg, Fian James O'Neill and Sinn Féin member John Davey who died in Ireland's freedom strug-gle. "The Republic stands for truth and honour. For all that is noblest in our race. By truth and honour, princi-ple and sacrifice alone will Ireland be free." - Liam Mellows. Always remembered by their friends and com-

remembered by their friends and com-rades in the Republican Movement. CUNNINGHAM, Joseph (20th Ann). In proud and loving memory of my dear husband Vol Joseph Cunningham killed on active service on February 10th 1972. RIP. Mary, Queen of Ireland, pray for him. Always missed by your loving wife and sons.

Always missed by your loving

Always remembered by your loving brother Gerry, wife Kathleen and daughters.

Always remembered by your loving

sister Marian, husband Tony and family

Always remembered by your loving sister Rosemary.

sister Rosemary. DAVEY, John (3rd Ann). In proud and loving memory of my dear hus-band John, murdered by British agents on February 14th 1989. RIP. John, you will never be forgotten.
Will always be remembered by his
loving wife, Mary, and sadly missed ioving wife, Mary, and sadily missed by your son, daughters, sons-in-law, daughter-in-law and grandchildren. We will continue to carry the cross for Ireland's freedom, justice and peace. Mary, Queen of the Gael, pray for him.

pray for him.

Always remembered by your loving daughter Pauline, son-in-law Robert and grandchildren Gloria and Sarah. Ireland unfree shall never be at

peace.
From his friends and comrades in
County Derry and South West
Antrim Comhairle Ceantair, Sinn From the Fergal O'Hanlon/John

Davey Sinn Féin Cumann Remembered with pride by Margarer. From the Hogan/Martin/Casey Sinn Fein Cumann, Dunloy and

From Paddy, Mag and family.

Rasharkin.

McGOWAN, John (Goosey) (9th Ann). Always remembered by Joe Hagan and family, Glasgow. STAGG, Frank (16th Ann). In proud

STAGG, Frank (16th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Vol Frank Stagg who died on hunger strike in Wakefield Prison, England, on Febuary 12th 1976. "Ireland unfree shall never be at peace." — Padraig Pearse. Always remembered by hir friends and comrades. An Cumann Cabhrach/POW Campaign (Bheatlain) (Bhreatain).

Always remembered by Pol and Patricia Wilson and family, Belfast. Mass offered.

### Comhbhrón

BRANNIGAN. The Republican Movement, South Down, wishes to offer condolences to Pat Brannigan and family circle on the death of his

father John.
CONLON. Deepest sympathy is extended to Jackie and Bernie and the Conlon family on the death of

their mother Mary.

Deepest sympathy is extended to
Stephen Conlon, H-3, on the death of his grandmother. From the John Green/Peadar Mohan Sinn Féin Cumann, Mid-Monaghan. CURRAN. Deepest sympathy is

From Aengus. From Nick MacBennett. From Nick MacBennett.
From Larry O'Toole.
HAYDEN. Deepest sympathy is extended to Maureen and Tom Hayden on the tragic loss of their son Michael. From their dear friends Michael. From their dear friends Seán Finn and family. From Hughie, May and family. From Mick Murray. McALLISTER. Deepest sympathy is extended to Jim McAllister and family on the death of Margaret. From Sinn Féin Ard Chomhairle. Sinn Féin Ard Chomhairle.
McBRIDE. Sympathy is extended to
the family and friends of Pat McBride.
Always remembered by the Republi-can Movement, South Down.
From Pat and Cormac, Dublin.
From Brian and Paddy D.
McBRIDE/LOUGHRAN/O'DWYER MESHIDELUGHRAN/O-DWYER
Heartfelt sympathy is extended to
the families of those gunned down
in Sevastopol Street. From the
Republican Movement, Wexford.
From the Clarke/Smith Cumann,
Fiscales Dublis

extended to Alan Curran and family

on the death of their father Pat. From Charlie Murtagh and family

and Mick Murray.
From Dublin North East Sinn Féin
From the Cole/Colley Sinn Féin
Cumann, Dublin.

From the Barney Morris Sinn Féin Cumann, Crossmaglen. From Cole/Colley Sinn Féin Cumann, Coolock, Dublin. From Queensland Branch of Australian Aid for Ireland.

trauan and for Ireland.
Will be remembered always by Pol
and Patricia Wilson and family,
Belfast, Mass offered.
McGUINNESS. Deepest sympathy
is extended to Jack McGuinness and
family on the death of Mary. From
Largy CPC

Larry O'Toole. McKINERY. Deepest sympathy is extended to the wife and family of

Thomas on his recent death. From Thomas on his recent death, From the Limerick POWs, Portladise. From Joe Lynch and family. From Noel Noonan and family. MacMANUS. Deepest sympathy is expressed to the MacManus family on the death of Vol Joseph MacManus Hilled on active service.

Manus, killed on active service. From Sligo Comhairle Ceantair, Sinn

Fein.

Deepest sympathy is expressed to Mary on the death of Vol Joseph MacManus. From Sligo Comhairle Ceantair, Sinn Fein.

From Sligo's Noble/Six Cumann Cian Edit

Sinn Féin. From Oglaigh na hEireann, Sligo. From Oglaigh na hEireann, Long-ford.

From Gerry Dolan and family, Long-From all the POWs in Portlaoise. From All the POWs in Portlaoise.
From Ann
From the POW Dept, Belfast and
Dublin.
From the Barney Morris Sinn Féin
Cumann, Crossmaglen.
From the Fox/Crawford Sinn Féin
Cumann, Waterford City.
From Tony (Portlaoise Gaol) Marie
and Antoinette Kelly.
From Séamus (Portlaoise Gaol) Marian and Aolie Clarke.
From Rita, Brendan, Rory, Ciaran,
Frances, Terry and Rab.
From the staff of AP/RN.

### Beannachtaí

KEARNS, Gerard (Portlaoise). Birthday greetings to my darling husband Gerard. I will save my birthday present for you. From your ever-loving wife, Carol. XXX. Happy birthday daddy, thinking of you always, lots of love. From, Daren, Gary, Edel and Donna. LYNCH, Joseph (Portlaoise). Happy birthday Joseph. From your wife Nora, sons Anthony and Joe, daughters Patsy, Rosie and Noreen and your grandchildren. Have a good day. KEARNS, Gerard (Portlaoise).

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# **Last Orders**

If must be clear to the government that for every Teebane there is going to be an Ormeau Road. — DUP Councilor Sammy Wilson, quoted in the Sunday Life, lor Samury

february 9th, at a meeting in Newtownards

The IRA has criticised today's security summit in London The IRA has criticised today's security summit in London advance. — 98 FM News headline, 1pm, Tuesday, and 18th, as the IRA shut down left. February 18th, as the IRA shut down Whitehall again.

Today's meeting in Downing Street appears to be a cynical and cosmetic exercise which will do nothing whatsoever to and cosmes the central issue giving rise to this conflict. -IRA statement issued on Tuesday morning; the same morning as two 'suspect devices' again shut down Whitehall.

But who has spoken up for the poor, working class
Catholics of Belfast? What empurpled clerics have referred to the genocide which has been continuing in the city for two decades? Recent evidence suggests that there is a scarcely concealed contempt for the lives of Catholic civilians among the power élite in the Six Counties: in the Nelson case, for example, it was calmly explained to the court that three Catholics who were targets for the UDA were subsequently killed despite warnings from Nelson of what was about to occur. The RUC officer who murdered three Catholics on Tuesday was described as being "under stress". - Sunday Business Post editorial, February Qth.

Even members of the Ulster Unionist Party, when confronted with the genocidal actions of their fellow-loyalists, use expressions such as "people who take the law into their own hands" to describe the killers, as if they were somehow discharging some legal function by unorthodox means. -Sunday Business Post editorial, February 9th.

It is as if the forces of the state continue to give expression to the fundamental sectarianism which lies beneath the creation of the state itself. This process of anti-Catholic genocide, conducted within the jurisdiction of one of Europe's most prosperous states, is accepted in almost

casual fashion. To the shame of the Dublin administration, it has scarcely raised a finger to draw world attention to the almost casual process of genocide being conducted against Belfast's small Catholic community. — Sunday Business Post editorial.

In the wake of the trial, not one Irish newspaper wrote an editorial on the matter. Not one of the churchpeople usually eager to get their views on paramilitary violence on the record asked a single question about whether the state had connived at murder. Northern Ireland politicians by and large ignored the affair. And so, with the attentions of the Dublin political world fixed on other matters, and Britain absorbed by the impending general election, it may be that we have seen the end of Brian Nelson. — Ed Moloney in February's issue of Fortnight magazine.

I honestly find it difficult to warm to or to feel in any way in awe of a man whose qualifications to lead the country are firmly based in dogs' dinners... As the echoes of hollow laughter ring through the corridors of power we are in the sition where we have President Mary Poppins in the Park and Prince Albert at the helm steering us through the first days of the era of Pedigree Chum. God help us all.— Mick MacConnell in the Kerryman, February 7th.

As a former victim of internment, I do not lightly consider that as an option but I think the authorities North and South must actively put that on the agenda. - Proinsias De Rossa, on Thursday, February 6th.

Audiences would hiss at me in France and it astonished me that the English greeted me with applause. To them, The Executioner was someone who dispensed justice. Perhaps the English have a greater civic sense. — Freddy-Robert Moreau (known as The Executioner during his wrestling career) paying tribute to the English sense of justice. Moreau should know all about justice. He is now the bodyguard for France's foremost fascist, Jean-Marie Le Pen.

Voice follows his Master to the exit. - Independent on Sunday headline referring to Haughey's press secretary PJ Mara, who went with CJ, February 9th.

The British have killed only a handful of civilians From Irish Consul General in San Francisco John Rowan's farewell address. He had not endeared himself with Irish American groups during his twoyear tenure, being dropped as honourary chairper-son of the United Irish Societies last November in protest at the extradition of Dessie Ellis.

Is this meaningful? Interesting? Or is it a response that is almost comic in its futility?

ou are taking Lashort-term view.

THE NEWS that MI5, redundant now that the Cold War has thawed, Wants to take over from the English Special Branch in its efforts to thwart IRA active service units in Britain, is a prospect which doesn't augur well for the already limited democracy that British people enjoy. Labour MP Ken Livingstone put his finger on it in — of all papers! — the Sun on Wednesday when he advised people to remember the lessons

When MI5 discovered the organised sexual abuse of young boys at the When MI5 discovered the organised sexual abuse of young boys at the kincora boys' home in Belfast by prominent establishment individuals, with the connivance of wardens at the home, they saw the situation as an opportunity to collect material with which those figures involved could be blackmailed and controlled. The plight of the boys didn't enter into the equation for the secret service organisation. Its members spied on the abused and the abusers for over ten years before the scandal eventually became public and even then the scale of the affair was successfully hushed up with a few wardens taking the zero. There was a consume no hushed up with a few wardens taking the rap. There was, of course, no

public inquiry.

The odds are that MI5 will pose no more of a threat to the IRA than the Special Branch, but their expansionist aims under their new boss, Stella Remington, certainly poses a threat to the civil and human rights of every

THE TRADE UNIONS in RTE remain staunchly on strike as we go to print. Politicians from all parties have refused to be interviewed by while the dispute contin

Sinn Féin supports the strikers although the party representatives' refusal to talk to RTE while the dispute continues is more than a little ironic given the difficulty which they routinely experience getting RTE to talk m — never mind broadcast them.

At this time of strong solidarity among those in RTE though, I can't help recalling, for the record, the spineless lack of support given to Jenny McGeever by her fellow reporters back in 1988. She was unceremoniously dumped from RTE for the crime of unintentionally broadcasting one sentence from Sinn Féin's Martin McGuinness as the coffins of the Gibraltar Three crossed the border. Whatever about the circumstances surrounding Inrec crossed the border. Whatever about the Cartamistance surfocusing the 'offending broadcast', defying the censorship of Section 31 is supposed to be official NUJ policy. But while her trade union colleagues failed her—Charlie Bird at the time referring to "damage limitation"— no blame for the incident was attached to the acting programme editor on the day, Bar-

bara Fitzgerald, who has since been promoted.

Fitzgerald is one of the stalwart few responsible for keeping RTE going during these hard times, in the process making few new friends among RTE workers on the picket line as she blithely passes the pickets daily.

// T HAS BEEN HELLISH BEING AWAY WITHOUT LEAVE. I panic Levery time the doorbell rings. But I still don't feel I had any choice. I ned the army, not the National Front."

Geoffrey McKay joined the British army a year ago. He was a mod-el recruit with a good academic record and had already served in the Territorial Army. He did well in training and his future looked bright. But then he found himself in hiding, on the run from the Queen's Roy-al Irish Hussars, Winston Churchill's former regiment, his dreams

You see, McKay has what some find to be an indelible flaw, which his colleagues in Germany found unforgivable. He is Black. This marked him as a target for abuse and racial hatred as soon as he arrived at Falling-

as a target rot arouse and ractal natured as soon as he arrived at Falling-bostel Barracks in Germany last August.

The victimisation began right after an initial parade, a sergeant shout-ing, "Nigger, come here". Some of his fellow soldiers joined in the abuse, while others simply refused to communicate with him at all.

He was constantly abused and shunned, to such an extent that he

He was constantly abused and shunned, to such an extent that he wrote home saying that he had contemplated shooting himself. When his father wrote to the army chaplain to complain about the treatment a senior officer summoned McKay and accused him of "snivelling".

The final straw came when he was attacked in his bed by four people wearing gas masks. He went on a week's leave and never came back. He was recaptured but escaped again. He subsequently made a complaint to the Commission for Racial Equality and consulted a solicitor and a doctor before giving himself up on Tuesday, February 4th, to be returned to Germany.

many.

"Never in our wildest dreams did we imagine that, in this to age, our son would come up against such harassment merely for the colour of his skin. He was a good soldier, but is now completely disillusioned by the racial prejudice in the army", said his father Peter about the whole

"We sent a healthy child to join the army and he has come back a physical and mental wreck. I can't understand the men who have done this. I will certainly never, ever forgive them," said his mother

NOTHER Black soldier has also complained of racist abuse to an

ANOTHER Black soldier has also complained of racist abuse to an army inquiry.

Private Anthony Evans joined the Royal Regiment of Wales in 1984 at the age of 16 and had no problems until 1987 when he signed on for another three years and was posted with unfamiliar Brits. He was called into a room where 12 men in balaclavas told him "The charge is you are black — and you've been found guilty." A few days later he was forced into a bath where soldiers tried to 'scrub him white'. He got a period of respite from this regular abuse in, of all places, the Six Counties, but when he was subsequently posted to Wiltshire as a driver, his officer proved as bad again, referring to him in racist terms.

Evans married in 1990 and was posted to Hong Kong but when his relationship hit the rocks he was taunted by his colleagues who told him she had left because he was black. Evans also eventually went AWOL this year, on two occasions, surrendering himself the second time only when the Commission for Racial Equality agreed to take his case.











Anthony McIntyre, a republican prisoner serving a life sen tence in the H-Blocks of Long Kesh, lived in the Lower Ormeau Road community up until his arrest in 1976 and retains his association with its people. He writes here of the impact of the UFF murders of five men at Graham's bookies shop on February 5th, and of the tragic history of a besieged

# THE LOWER ORMEAU ROAD - A COMMUNITY IN GRIEF

CORDITE, its stench still bitter in the nostrils, bodies still warm, blood yet to dry and coagulate, moans of the wounded and dying, and the wails of misery-filled relatives, combined to form the scene of utter carnage that Joyce McCarten walked away from on Wednesday, February 5th, as she accompanied and comforted a grieving woman who had just been told her brother had

Even prior to the slaughter at the bookie's, the Lower Ormeau Road had been touched by tragedy. One of the victims of RUC assassin Alan Moore, at the Sinn Féin centre on the Falls Road the day previous, Pat McBride, left a girlfriend, Bernie McDaid, and a young son, Patrick, both members of that small com-

The scenes flashed to us on the TV screen from the junction of Hatfield Street and the Ormeau Road were profoundly disturbing. The close-knit nature of the community and its familiarity with loyalist devastation were poignantly and all too evidently cap-ured in the physical presence of those standing shocked and numbed. Joyce McCarten, is a human encyclopedia suftering and loss due to loyalism. Her son Gary, shot dead by the UVF in May 1987; brother-in-law Noel, gunned down outside the studios of UTV in March 1974 by the same group; other family members slain over the years including one mutilated to death by the gang of Albert 'Ginger' Baker
— a 1970s Brian Nelson.

Alec McManus, leading a distraught relative away from the horror. Outwardly stoical and calm, he was aware that his own brother Willie lay dead a few yards behind him, another brother, Jim, critically injured and his nephew Paul Kennedy — son of his sister Jean whose own husband Billy lost an arm in a UVF bomb attack on the Rose And Crown Bar, a mere 20 yards from the bookie's — wounded also. In 1973, I stood beside Alec



demographic shift changed the social

• PETER MAGEE

Eileen Doherty from Slieveban Drive in Andersonstown. After shooting her dead in the Ormeau area the UFF claimed she had formed part of a guard of honour at the funeral of IRA Volunteer Jim Bryson the previous month. The only funeral attended by Eileen that autumn was her own. UFF statements count for nothing to the residents of the Lower Ormeau Road.

he Lower Ormeau Road is a small enclave situated in South Belfast, territorially bordered by the River Lagan on one side and the Belfast to Dublin rail link on the other. Isolated and vulnerable, it is in the middle of an otherwise Orange monolith, pressed in to varying degrees by Done-gall Pass, Sandy Row, the Village, Annadale Flats and the sprawling East Belfast complex. An exclusively Protestant area, the B-Specials and the Orange Order flourished up until the 1950s when its first Catholic residents began to filter in. Even then this tiny trickle was regarded as an intrusion.

Our own two-up two-down terraced home in Bagot Street along with the homes of other Catholic families, had its doors daubed with the sinister 'X'. Gradually, Protestants began to drift out of the area not as refugees but of their own volition as modern hous-ing and better living conditions enticed them to greener pastures. A steady stream of young Catholics start-ing out in married life took up resi-dence in the recently vacated inferior houses. This gradual but persistent



Road. Today there exists an identifiable nationalist community. Yet the area is not exclusively Catholic. A number of Protestants live there or have small businesses about the road. They feel quite safe. They are quite

safe.

It was within this diminutive collection of narrow streets that four of the dead had strong roots. Willie McManus, Jack Duffin, Christy Doherty and Peter 'Twin' Magee were known to almost everyone in the district. Young James Kennedy came from its cousin enclave the Markets. Innocent, harmless people, hemmed into the bookie's by the social oppressive-ness of unemployment, they were killed for being there. People pushed from pillar to post by the structures of a hideously sectarian society and state. A state which had no difficulty in making its presence felt to chase punters out of the bookie's in order not to 'provoke' triumphalist Orange bands as they saunter and strut their way through the area, was conspicuous by the lack of protection it afforded the punters once the music had died.

In such a context bitterness and resentment, grief and sorrow, anguish and pain, make themselves felt. Some of those not rendered dumb

stunned and displayed some difficulty in comprehending just what had hap-

a complete service for

FOOTBALL

In the midst of all this it was somewhat puzzling to listen to Alis-dair McDonnell of the SDLP attempt dair McDonnell of the SDLP attempt to blame republicans for the awful events of that afternoon, adding legitimacy in a perhaps unintended sort of way to the stated UFF ratio-'nale. Sinn Féin were not permitted to say anything in response. But I sus-pect had they said anything their comments would have been grief-laden and not the petty political point-scoring utterances characteris-tic of Alisdair McDonnell. Even the spokesperson for the Workers' Party. spokesperson for the Workers' Party, egardless of his political perspec tive, chose not to harangue republicans but rather spoke in terms of grief, loss and human suffering. But like the victims and the censored members of Sinn Féin he lives in the area and understandably feels the grief and bitterness of a bereaved community. Unlike Alisdair McDonnell, his association with the area is one of residence and shared experi-

The UFF in their post-massacre message said 'Remember Teebane'. But

no-one forgets Teebane, nor do they need the UFF or Alisdair McDonnell to remind them. When human life is lost on such a monumental scale, irrespective of who sustained it or who irrespective of who sustained it or who inflicted it, people do remember. But the people of the Lower Ormeau Road were being butchered by loyalism long before Teebane. The UVF bombing of the Rose and Crown Bar in May 1974. in which six people lost their lives, was 17 years prior to Teebane. Neither James Kennedy nor Peter Magee were born when loyalists claimed their first victim in Belmore Street - Robert 'Scruff' Millen. The UFF are not interested in facts - just excuses.

Sectarian attacks on the beleagured community in the Lower Ormeau Road are part of an ongoing 20 year campaign by loyalism to hammer the community into abject submission. There is nothing new about them. They have failed. They will continue to fail. But it is incumbent on the community in that area to not only ensure that loyalism does not win in its endeavour to secure submission but to equally ensure that no more nationalists become its victims.

But the lessening of the community's vulnerability to sectarian attack shall not be secured through increased activity on the part of the RUC and the UDR. The latter in particular make no attempt to hide their sectarianism; threats of assassination by the UFF and the UVF are issued regularly from their mouths. The community can only protect itself. The presence of the RUC and UDR serves not to protect nationalists or deter loyalists — it only means that those capable of providing any defence are denied the means to do so through fear of arrest or shoot-to-kill. Arguments that a withdrawal from the area by the RUC and UDR would only lead to 'gun-law' do not make sense. What we have at present is gun law. The RUC/UDR/UFF make armed forays at will and without fear of prose-

As the state will not withdraw its sectarian forces some limited but practical measures must be taken.
Vigilance must be increased and maintained at a permanently high level. People should work together as a community to secure their houses, watch their places of leisure and entertainment. Concerned political parties and community activists must make it their duty to actively advise the people on every aspect of personal and community security. Nobody should be caught out as a

Nobody should be caught out as a result of complacency.

At this point in time the heartfelt sympathy of every nationalist prisoner in these wings lies with the families and friends of the deceased. To those fighting for life in hospital and the less seriously injured we send you our strongest support and solidarity. To the strongest support and solidarity. To the entire community of the Lower Ormeau Road we extend our condo-

lences. Hold firm



• WILLIAM McMANUS



• IAMES KENNEDY



• CHRISTY DOHERTY

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