

AN
PHOBLACHT
Republican News

IRELAND'S BIGGEST SELLING
POLITICAL WEEKLY



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IRA ISOLATES ENEMY



THERE'S NO MILK TODAY at several RUC/British army barracks in the North, and at a number of others they have to sneak out and buy their bread, potatoes and bananas from 'under the counter'. They are also going to have to make arrangements to bring in their own fuel for heating and for their armoured vehicles.

In some areas they have no barracks. In other areas they have a bit of barracks but no walls. In quite a few other areas they have just architect's plans.

These are just some of the consequences of a steady squeeze by the IRA over the past 18 months which began with the Newry mortar attack in February 1985 (exposing the vulnerability of the bases), culminating in an IRA statement this week threatening those supplying or servicing the army of occupation and the paramilitary RUC. To claim, as Garret FitzGerald has done, that the strategy is related to the Hillsborough Agreement, is to raise the Agreement out of the drain and give it an unwarranted place in republican thinking (which is more concerned with ending British rule in Ireland once and for all).

Rather, the strategy is in a well-proven tradition in guerrilla warfare of isolating and

squeezing the enemy. Indeed, these developments are no different from IRA actions taken during the Tan War, a period of which FitzGerald would claim to be proud, when his father's side regularly shot the coal-horses as well as the coal-men delivering fuel to RIC barracks. Furthermore, FitzGerald's condemnation of the isolation of the RUC rings hollow when one considers the politic silence of the Dublin government when, several years ago, the US Congress boycotted the supply of Ruger rifles to the RUC because of its involvement in torture and killings.

THE MORTARING and car-bombing of barracks, and the halting of construction and reconstruction work, has unnerved and demoralised the

crown forces. The frequency of IRA attacks, particularly last December, was so great that British army engineers could not, and cannot, cope with the volume of work, nor replace buildings at the same rate as they are disappearing.

On Wednesday, direct-ruler Tom King, realising that few nationalists would be shedding tears over this issue, vindictively declared that the additional resources required to maintain the crown forces would be deducted from finance originally set aside for welfare and housing programmes, which is just a variation of blackmailing Tory propaganda that higher pay settlements for workers can only be met by cutbacks in social services.

Present IRA strategy is crippling the effectiveness of the British army and the RUC. Before they do any marching they'll have to fill their bare cupboards.

This IRA success has publicly surfaced in the British and international media where the deterioration in the 'security situation' leaves the rest of the world in no doubt that the armed struggle is getting on top of British rule.

15ú Comoradh d'Imtheorannú
15th Anniversary of Internment

**MARCH &
RALLY**

**SUN
10th
AUG**

BELFAST



Assemble 2pm
Dunville Park

March leaves for
Connolly House 2.30pm

Prominent speakers from the Republican Movement,

Noraid, Troops Out



● Scene of the IRA attack on a UDR sergeant



**WAR
NEWS**

IN THE PAST WEEK, IRA Volunteers carried out several attacks against the crown forces which left one UDR soldier dead and a British soldier seriously injured.

July 31st: Two armed Volunteers of the Culmore Road checkpoints covered a third man on the Derry/Donegal border. With a high-

powered rifle the sniper fired one shot, seriously injuring a British soldier, while the other two IRA Volunteers opened fire to cover the withdrawal.

August 1st: British army technical officers defused a 160lb bomb in two kegs which were hidden near McKinney's Bridge at Ballymagorry about three miles from Strabane.

August 2nd: IRA Volunteers fired over a dozen shots at a British army observation post on the outskirts of Pomeroy, County Tyrone. No hits were claimed.

August 4th: In a daring attack in the heart of the loyalist Shankill Road area of Belfast, IRA Volunteers armed with a .38 Special and a Browning 9mm pistol opened fire in Battensburg Street on a sergeant in the UDR, killing him instantly.

"IN REVOLUTIONARY GUERRILLA WARFARE, success is measured in terms of the political defeats inflicted on the ruling regime by limited military actions. And because of the relationship between guerrilla activity and overall political developments, military action broadens outside of that framework of gun broadens attacks against enemy military and landmine attacks against enemy military personnel to include attacks on property, on communications, on the judiciary and on prison officials, on enemy propagandists and on the enemy's most prestigious targets."

— Notes for Revolutionaries

BY EAMON TRACY

THE ELEMENT OF SURPRISE is perhaps the IRA's greatest weapon in its struggle against the better-armed forces of British colonialism. However, as in any guerrilla war, the IRA also seeks to inflict political defeats on the British by over-extending enemy resources, thus minimising their effectiveness, isolating and undermining crown forces' confidence and increasing the numbers of potential targets available to IRA Volunteers.

'Limited military actions' directed against identified targets force the enemy to invest valuable personnel and resources in defence of the state's political, social, and economic infrastructure.

In the North that has meant for the British a massive investment in defending the border, protecting RUC, UDR and British army bases, guarding vital installations, patrolling industrial and commercial centres and protecting individuals.

An integral and vital aspect of this British effort to defend its interests in, and control of, the occupied North, has therefore been a heavy financial investment in the building of new barracks and the replacement or renovation of those bombed by the IRA. In particular, after the devastating IRA mortar attack on Newry Barracks in February 1985, which killed nine RUC men, the British government gave the Police Authority £200 million to improve the security of the forts and barracks. (Part of the IRA reaction to this — last December's series of devastating bombings — was falsely attributed, for opportunistic reasons by the SDLP and Dublin government, to an IRA attempt to bring down the Hillsborough Agreement.)

STOPPED

The IRA's Derry Brigade was the first to warn contractors engaged in work for the crown forces. On June 19th 1985 it issued a statement threatening to take action against anyone involved in building the new RUC base at Lisnagelvin. All work stopped almost immediately.

In the months which followed, other warnings were given and, in July, the IRA revealed how it had rejected an offer of £100,000 made by a firm wanting to resume work for the RUC.

Following a blunt and detailed 'final warning' to contractors, the IRA executed Tyrone contractor Seamus McAvoy. In a statement, the IRA explained that McAvoy had been given many warnings concerning his 'collaborations with the occupation forces in the North'. He had 'supplied Rowan cabins and building materials to barracks and military border-posts for renovation work'.

It pointed out that: "within such bases, nationalist people have been beaten and tortured. Without such bases, British military power would be severely hampered." Contractors supplying materials or directly involved in construction work were again warned to stop:

"There will be no more warnings."

MORE WARNINGS

In fact, the IRA's reluctance to take such "extreme action", even against collaborators, has meant that additional warnings have been given. However, local contractors have continued to provide a service for the crown forces and, consequently, the IRA has taken additional action.

On November 21st, IRA Volunteers in Derry shot and killed Kurt König, the head of a private catering company servicing RUC barracks from Derry to Enniskillen. Four days later, the IRA again publicly warned contractors and suppliers naming three specific building firms. It said:

"In recent months, IRA Intelligence units have continued to concentrate on building up dossiers on the mercenary elements who, by contracting for the British government to build enemy fortresses and supply them, make the British occupation of the six counties possible."

The IRA went on to warn specific companies:

"Our Volunteers have been directed to take action against the owners, boards of directors and senior management of these companies unless they desist from their activities within the next seven days."

IRA WARNS COLLABORATORS

THE FOLLOWING statement was issued by the Irish Republican Army on Tuesday, August 5th, to clarify the situation regarding all those civilians helping to maintain the British war machine in the occupied six counties.

To clarify our position once and for all, and to avoid any confusion, we, the Irish Republican Army, are issuing this statement detailing exactly who shall be regarded as legitimate targets regarding the administration, maintenance and building of British army, UDR and RUC barracks and all military installations.

As from today, all whom we mention should take this warn-

ing very seriously as we are not prepared to allow these oppressive institutions to function unchallenged. They are part of the war machine and those who assist in any way will be treated as part of that war machine and therefore must expect to suffer the consequences.

Building contractors who are engaged in either construction or repair:

We would mention in particular the firm of Reid's Partnership, based in Carrickfergus and managed and directed by Ian Reid of Holywood, County Down, who are engaged in the construction of the RUC barracks in Larne.

We are also aware that the Northern Ireland Office is recruiting labour through agents such as Francis O'Kane of

Ringsend, Garvagh, County Derry. Those who continue to provide labour in this way can expect no second warning.

The same applies to the following who are engaged in maintaining British army, UDR and RUC barracks and all military installations:

British Telecom and Standard Telephones, who are responsible for installing and maintaining machines such as computers for gathering information and decoding machines (they have also facilitated both British Intelligence and the RUC Special Branch in tapping phones throughout the six counties).

Those in the civil service, fuel contractors, caterers and food contractors (this includes those who tender for bread and milk contracts, etc), transport (i.e. the shipping companies and the bus companies who ferry British soldiers and UDR men

back and forth from Britain to the occupied six counties), cleaning contractors, those who supply and maintain vending machines and anyone else who takes on Ministry of Defence and/or NIO contracts in these installations.

We repeat: there will be no further warnings. Anyone withdrawing their services from these places should do so publicly. Trade unions should recognise the dangers that their members face by being employed in military installations and should advise their members to seek alternative sites of employment.

Those who continue to refuse to take heed of this warning are in effect collaborating with our enemies and shall be treated as our enemies.

We are very much aware of those engaged in the above-mentioned contracts and we emphasise again: there will be no more warnings.

amazing act of 'concern' given the heads which have since been presented on green platters to the occupying British in the North by subsequent administrations.

In the seven days after August 9th 1971, 16 people were killed. Far from suppressing the campaign on the streets and in arms, by nationalists and republicans, the British government's action kindled the fires of resistance. And in much the same way as the seven-month-long hunger-strikes of 1981 were the baptism to republicanism for many of the hitherto uncommitted youth, internment drew defiant young people into the ranks of the IRA, testimony to which can be seen in part in the sad and grim republican Roll of Honour.

Internment was so blunt, counter-productive and ineffectual, and Britain stood so condemned internationally, that after several unsuccessful modifications (changing the name to 'detention', Long Kesh to 'The Maze', introducing commissioners, etc) its use was ditched in favour of the strategy of criminalisation.

Though internment and its original architect, Mr Faulkner — he fell off his horse and broke his neck in 1977 — are gone, its use has only been suspended. Internment-by-remand has been used to detain republicans for many years, and recently British government spokespersons (unofficially) have floated the idea of 'selective' internment, which would lighten the consciences of all those 'concerned' social democrats, the term 'selective' aimed at psychologically lulling public awareness.

REPUBLICANS celebrate the anniversary of the introduction of internment in a spirit of defiance, and to commemorate those who died in the ghettos and elsewhere that week as victims of, or resisting, British tanks and a British law whose writ has no moral value on Irish soil.

We remember August 9th 1971 not as a defeat — though certainly many nationalists and republicans suffered as a consequence (for example, on Bloody Sunday) — but as a mark of the courage of a people who heroically overcame the first major British offensive against this, the final rising of the nationalist people.

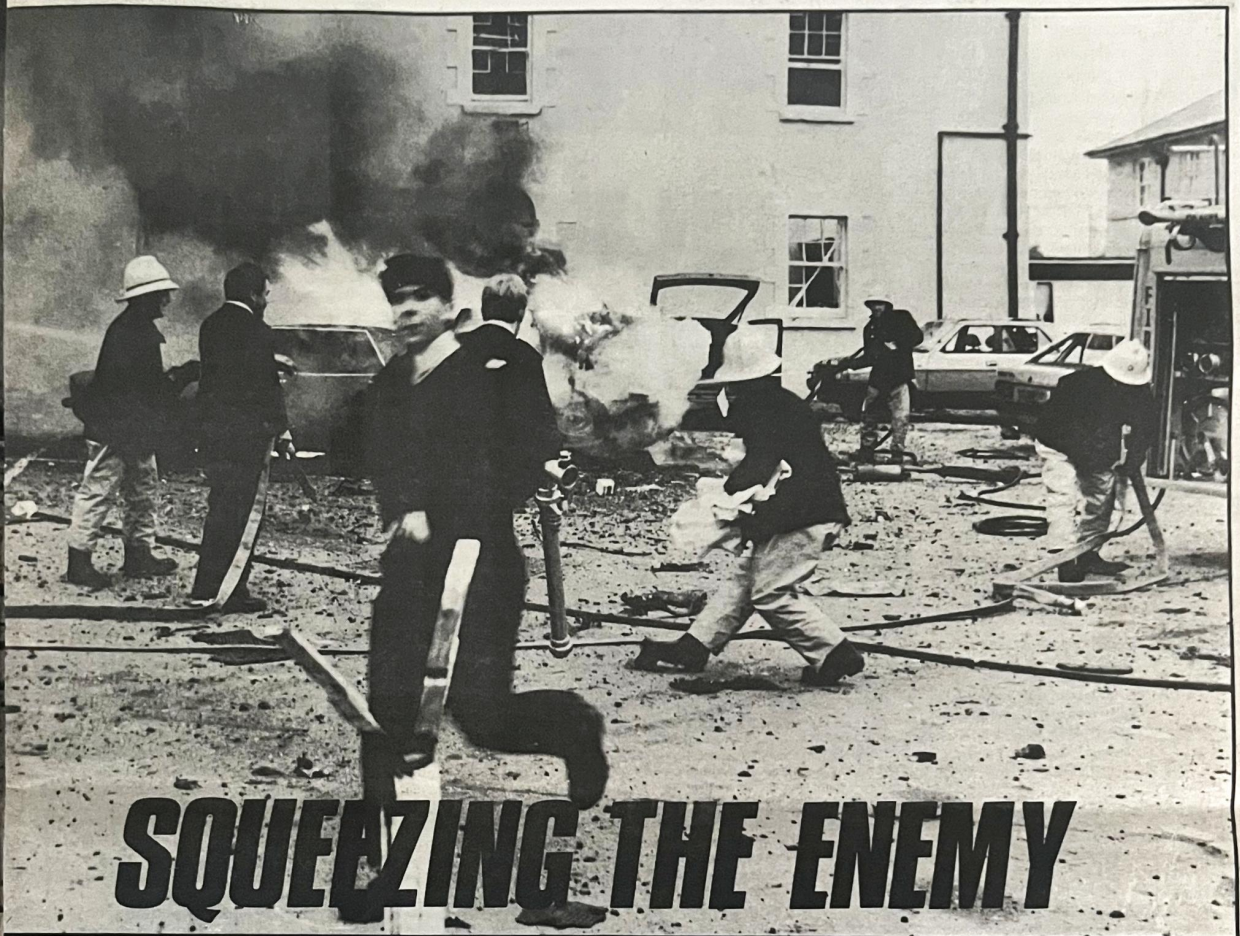
OPINION

August 9th

FIFTEEN YEARS AGO this week, thousands of British soldiers were deployed by the last Stormont prime minister, Brian Faulkner, to use internment without trial against the nationalist community. Doors were smashed off hinges, victims dragged from their beds and arrested whilst half-dressed, and in some cases sons were taken away because the fathers were not at home.

The more than three hundred people arrested were a mixture of republican sympathisers, members of Sinn Féin (which was still banned), Civil Rights or People's Democracy activists, and IRA suspects, and all of them were political hostages; over the following months and years, their detention was often hanging on the thread of political expediency. For example, in 1972, when Stormont was prorogued, the first direct-ruler, William Whitelaw, signed no internment papers for a period despite widespread IRA bombings. His successor, Francis Pym, used the arbitrary release of 65 internees in December 1973 to ingratiate the SDLP and the Sunningdale power-sharing Agreement with doubting nationalists. Again, the releases of internees — who had no control over what was happening outside Long Kesh — were slowed down in 1975 whenever the IRA carried out operations during the ceasefire.

THOSE arrested on the morning of August 9th 1971, and many more afterwards, were subjected to beatings and humiliations before being thrown into Long Kesh and other prisons. The torture inflicted on 12 of the men featured in a case before the European Court of Human Rights sponsored by, among others, the Dublin government, in what, in retrospect, appears to be an



SQUEEZING THE ENEMY

In tandem with its warnings to contractors, which by the end of 1985 were having a serious effect on the British government's barracks building programme and, in a campaign reminiscent of that carried out by the IRA against RIC barracks during the Tan War, the IRA was also engaged in a little demolition of its own. In December, seven British bases were bombed, several of them being totally demolished. This tactic continued in 1986 with, among others, Clady Barracks in County Tyrone being devastated on May 3rd and Cloughmills Barracks in County Antrim wrecked by a huge car-bomb on June 18th.

IRA EXTENDS TACTIC

Continuing its tactic of isolating the enemy and of eroding their morale, the IRA announced on June 6th that members of the RUC Police Authority would be classified as "legitimate targets". The RUC Police Authority has responsibility for organising RUC finances, purchasing weapons and has overall responsibility for the RUC. The IRA called the Authority "an integral part of the British apparatus of repression".

It specifically warned Michael Murphy, chief officer of the Western Education & Library Board, to resign immediately. Three days later, Murphy publicly resigned.

Acknowledging his decision, the IRA went on to warn other members of the RUC Police Authority "that they are in an extremely vulnerable position".

BRITISH DESPERATE

A desperate British colonial regime, unable so far to bring in the outside expertise and labour required to fill the growing list of vacancies, has attempted to hold on to the few contractors still prepared to work for it.

On June 9th, the IRA revealed that the Northern Ireland Office "in desperation, has had to resort to an expensive and complicated undercover operation to ensure that building continues at RUC barracks". It continued:

"Contractors and workers have been recruited in loyalist areas and the workforce comprises loyalist paramilitaries, UDR personnel, members of the RUC Reserve and a number of unemployed Catholics. These mercenaries are earning in the region of £500 a week, and some of them have official permission to continue signing on the dole. They are flown in and out of RUC establishments in British army helicopters.

"We are also aware of the identities of several local

contractors who are producing building material for the RUC and having their supplies collected and delivered in unmarked lorries and trucks supplied from England. One of our Intelligence units has confirmed that, within the past month, 30 unmarked ready-mix lorries arrived at Larne Harbour.

"Our original warning still stands: anyone who works for the RUC, in whatever capacity, will, once positively identified, be executed."

EXECUTIONS CONTINUE

In spite of repeated warnings, some local contractors, with an eye to even greater profits, have continued with their collaboration.

On June 16th, Terence McKeever, an electrical and mechanical engineering contractor from Armagh city, was executed by the IRA in South Armagh. According to the IRA, McKeever's "present contract work included work being carried out on Mahon Road UDR Barracks, Portadown; Drumadd Barracks, Armagh; Crossmaglen; Newtownhamilton; Keady; Middletown; Omagh Barracks and Laurelhill UDR Centre, Coleraine."

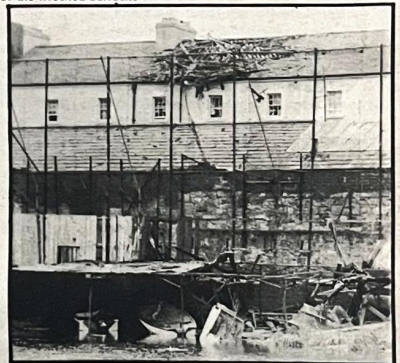
The fourth and latest contractor to be executed, David Kyle, who was shot on Wednesday, July 30th, just hours after one of his lorries delivered sand to Carrickmore Barracks. Following Kyle's execution, the IRA again warned contractors to stop working for the British. In particular it identified McLaughlin & Harvey, Laing's and Kennedy's and demanded public statements from those firms announcing their withdrawal from any contracts. Laing's almost immediately pulled out of RAF Aldergrove and the other two firms denied that they were working for the crown forces.

REACTION

Inevitably, Kyle's execution led to criticism. Northern deputy direct-ruler Nicholas Scott referred to the IRA's "beastly tactic" but claimed: "the work will be done and the supplies will arrive." Others, including Bishop Edward Daly of Derry and the SDLP, claimed: "The IRA is interfering with people's right to work."

Sinn Fein's Martin McGuinness condemned such comments, saying that such people were not defending the right to work but rather "defending British army policy and its operational activities".

● (Above) Enniskillen RUC Barracks shortly after the successful IRA mortar attack in September 1985; (below) another view of the wrecked barracks



Mitchel McLaughlin, a Derry Sinn Fein councillor, said:

"Criticism of the IRA's tactics has to be placed within the context of the presence in the six counties of over 12,000 British soldiers and almost 20,000 UDR, RUC and RUC Reserve, supported by a considerable amount of civilian back-up.

"These civilians, whether pushing pens or pushing brooms, permit, by their activities, the release of British army and UDR personnel from these tasks and enables them to carry out patrol duties. They are therefore as culpable in their employment practices as they would be if they were directly involved in the manufacture of plastic bullets, and there is no distinction in the reality as experienced by nationalists."

On Tuesday, August 5th, the IRA issued yet another warning which detailed those who would be "regarded as legitimate targets". The IRA made it clear that those who refuse "to take heed of this warning are in effect collaborating with our enemies and shall be treated as our enemies". The IRA concluded:

"There shall be no more warnings."

BY DONAL LYONS

THE registered unemployed figure in the thirty-two counties now stands at 360,688 — the highest on record.

The true figure is over 500,000 as many people are buried on useless short-term 'employment' schemes and, of course, the registered figure takes no account of those others enmeshed in the poverty net: single parents, deserted wives, old age pensioners and those too young to claim state assistance. This is not to mention the 50,000 (mainly young) people forced to emigrate in 1985 because of the dearth of job opportunities.

Every week that passes sees a worsening of this situation: more factory closures, the 'rationalisation' of firms to 'restore profitability', all this allied with the collapse of the integrated agricultural sector (meat processing and flour-milling to name but two indigenous industries which are going to the wall).

Our self-styled establishment 'leaders' are tackling this crisis in the only way their class knows: massive cut-backs in public expenditure, health and education; the privatisation of state concerns, with the ensuing job losses; and now they are talking about taxing social welfare payments.

An adequate response has yet to come from the trade union movement, but this, the greatest challenge facing working-class people today, must be taken up by all socialist republicans and brought to the forefront of trade union politics.

Junior doctors in hospitals throughout the twenty-six counties are due to take strike action from Wednesday, August 13th. This dispute has been running for years and centres on hours worked and overtime payments.

At present, junior doctors can work up to 90 hours a week, but receive only one-third of their normal wage for the extra hours. The Labour Court has already rejected the doctors' claim but the Irish Medical Organisation says that unless a 'satisfactory recommendation' is forthcoming this week the strike will go ahead, which means that all but emergency services will be withdrawn.

All-out pickets may be placed at the Irish Sugar Company's factories throughout the twenty-six counties in two weeks' time. The dispute is over the level of redundancy payments to the 75 workers who lost their jobs last June when J. Matterson & Sons, a wholly-owned subsidiary of the Sugar Company, closed in Limerick.

The redundant workers are being

Record figures



● Gardiner Street dole, Dublin

offered only two weeks' pay per year of service, which the ITGWU says is in breach of a 1981 agreement with the Sugar Company guaranteeing five weeks per service year. This claim has been supported by the Labour Court but the ISC is refusing to honour the agreement.

This week the Sugar Company announced trading profits of nearly £8 million for the first six months of this year.

The FWU's Eddie Glacken has reacted angrily to claims by Fine Gael Deputy Alan Shatter that unions are sabotaging the workings of the Social Employment Scheme in Dublin city and county.

Calling the scheme "a Mickey Mouse gimmick to reduce the numbers on the live register", Glacken says that the Dublin government is attempting to use recruits to these schemes as replacements for full-time workers in the local authorities.

There is considerable understaffing in the authorities due to the embargo on public service recruitment.

The latest anti-union move in Thatcher's Britain is the banning of mass-picketing at Rupert Murdoch's News International plant at Wapping, East London. Murdoch has secured an order from the English High Court limiting the number of pickets that may be placed at 'Fortress Wapping' to six.

The strike flared last year when Murdoch transferred News International from Fleet Street to Wapping and sacked 6,000 workers in the process. Since then, the sacked workers and their supporters have been placing mass-pickets and have been the victims of regular attacks by riot police.

The state-owned chemical company, Ceimici Teo, is to close with the loss of 67 jobs. Ceimici Teo was established in 1938 to make industrial alcohol and other products from local agricultural surpluses.

The closure means the loss of 33 jobs in Cooley, County Louth; 28 in Carndonagh, County Donegal; and six in Dublin. The workers involved receive

ed no prior notice of the closure plans and their union, the ITGWU, has lodged a claim for redundancy payments of four weeks per year of service.

Twenty-five thousand manual workers employed by local authorities throughout the twenty-six counties are this week expecting a recommendation from the Labour Court on their 25th pay round claim.

The most contentious element of the claim is for the removal of the differential between rural workers and corresponding workers in the Dublin area. Earlier in the year, a major municipal strike in Cork was only averted when the workers agreed to allow this grievance to become part of the 25th pay round claim. If the Labour Court recommendation does not remove this differential the group of unions representing these grades will ballot for strike action.

The Local Government & Public Services Union has implemented a work-to-rule in Dundalk's Regional Technical College which is disrupting the intake of 600 students for the coming academic year. The union argues that, since 1979, the intake of pupils has increased by 40% with no corresponding increase in administrative staff.

Management has agreed to the union's demand for an extra clerk/typist but is being prevented from filling this position by the Department of Education, which is citing the embargo on public service recruitment. The union has sought, but so far failed, to secure a meeting with the Department of Education.

The National Union of Journalists and RTE management are squaring off for confrontation over changes in the station's newsroom structures. The row stems from a management consultants' report last September which advocates a total of 320 redundancies in RTE over a three-year period, 15 of which would come from the newsroom.

There is no immediate threat of industrial action as negotiations are continuing all this week.

The 400 workers at the Rowntree Mackintosh factory in Inchicore, Dublin, have rejected the redundancy package offered by the company. The firm wants to halt production in Dublin and use the plant as a warehouse and distribution point for imported English confectionery. This plan involves the loss of 308 jobs and, to sweeten the pill, management has offered redundancy terms of five weeks per year of service plus a £1,000 lump-sum payment.

The workers' union, the ATGWU, is now seeking a meeting with management to discuss the position.



● Rowntree Mackintosh workers turn down the crack of gold at the end of the Smarties rainbow

Sectarian attacks go on

THREE DAYS after a plea from a North Belfast woman for loyalists to cease attacking her home, the woman's husband became the target of an assassination attempt.

Maureen Gault, from Alliance Avenue, was interviewed in the *Belfast Telegraph* on Tuesday, July 29th, following a petrol-bomb attack on her home on Saturday night which set fire to the kitchen.

Three days later, on Friday morning, August 1st, her 44-year-old husband, Hugh, was shot in the neck and leg by a loyalist gunman as he delivered bread to a shop in Alliance Road. Gault staggered from the premises with blood gushing from the wounds.

The shooting of Hugh Gault followed three separate attempts by loyalist gunmen, operating from the Tiger's Bay district, to shoot nationalist vigilantes in the Hillman Street area of the New Lodge Road in the early hours of Thursday morning, July 31st.

Loyalists also made two separate bids on the lives of nationalists on Saturday, August 2nd, in the Twinbrook Estate on the outskirts of West Belfast which left two people wounded and four others otherwise injured.

TAXI ATTACK

At around 5.30pm, a Falls Road taxi-driver, carrying five

passengers and a small child in a black taxi, were approaching the Twinbrook entrance along the Stewartstown Road when a red Ford Escort car drew alongside and fired several shots. The male front-seat passenger in the taxi was grazed on the head and the driver, Sean O'Hara, was shot twice in the arm but managed to bring the vehicle to a halt. The three unmasked occupants of the Escort sped off in the direction of Lisburn, a hard-core loyalist area. Several of the taxi's passengers were treated for shock in hospital.

HIT-AND-RUN

Shortly after midnight and only 25 to 30 yards from the earlier shooting, a local youth walking home from the Hitching Post Bar escaped death by inches when he jumped clear of a speeding white Renault car travelling from the Lisburn direction. The car made a deliberate U-turn and ploughed into four people on the opposite side of the Stewartstown Road. One eye-witness recalled a "girl and lad being hurled into the air".

Joe McGee (18) sustained a



● Alliance Avenue, North Belfast, scene of assassination attempt

broken pelvis, leg and head injuries while 16-year-old Angela Quinn from Lenadoon had both her collar-bone and leg broken in the deliberate hit-and-run. Her friend, 16-year-old Karen Sturgeon, received mouth and back injuries while another local youth, Joseph McKeown, received a leg injury.

Also at the weekend, an 18-year-old nationalist youth had to run for his life on Saturday night when he was attacked by a mob of loyalists as he walked along Alliance Avenue in North Belfast. The man, whose father was murdered by loyalists several years ago when he was delivering *Belfast Telegraph* papers in the

Ligoniel area, managed to escape but received a gash to his leg, presumably a knife wound.

TERRIFYING

One of the most blatant and terrifying assassination bids over the past few days in the North came on Monday morning shortly after 9.30am when a loyalist gunman walked into an office in the Technical Services Cleansing Depot, situated in Agnes Street on the Shankill Road, and tried to assassinate a Catholic inspector.

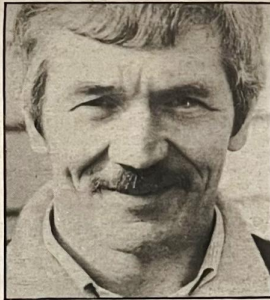
The victim, John Logan from the New Lodge area, had been moved to the depot two weeks earlier and was filling in for a colleague on holiday leave. (The fact that the gunman had specific information about Logan would indicate clear collusion among the loyalist workforce.) Logan was sitting at his desk when the gunman approached and pulled the trigger, but miraculously the weapon jammed twice. Following a scuffle, during which Logan was struck about the head with the weapon, he succeeded in breaking free but was shot at as he ran towards the toilets where he locked himself in. The gunman escaped on a waiting motorcycle outside the depot.

SET-UP FOILED

BY MAEVE ARMSTRONG

LOYALISTS in Armagh would appear to be behind an elaborate attempt to set up the brother of Sinn Féin Councillor Tommy Carroll for assassination on Monday night, August 4th, by using a bogus telephone call to lure him from his home.

Noel Carroll (32), whose two brothers Adrian and Roddy were murdered by the crown forces received the call around



● TOMMY CARROLL

8.25pm from a person posing as a known republican supporter. The caller informed him that his brother Tommy had been stopped at Middletown checkpoint and had had his car seized. The caller then asked Carroll to go to Middletown and

collect Tommy. However, as Noel could not go himself, his wife Carmel drove to Middletown instead.

Unable to find Tommy Carroll in Middletown, Carmel rang her husband who then made enquiries and discovered that Tommy was at home by then. It also emerged that shortly before the telephone call to Noel Carroll, another call was received at Tommy Carroll's house to establish whether he was at home.

This latest incident follows intense harassment and death threats against Noel who is regularly stopped and assaulted by the crown forces. Last September, he was badly beaten in the local barracks about the arms, legs and body. Also in March, an RUC man threatened, "You'd look well in a body-bag," while last Thursday, July 31st, another RUC man who stopped him in the Drumbreda Estate told him: "We're going to shoot you very shortly."

PORTADOWN LEAFLET

Meanwhile, in Portadown, Sinn Féin Councillor Brian McCann has warned nationalists to be on the alert against loyalist attacks following the distribution of a leaflet alleging to come from the non-existent 'Catholic Defence League'.

The leaflet calls for the establishment of defence groups in nationalist areas and, more disturbingly, "retaliatory action" against members of the Protestant community. McCann described the leaflet as an example of "black propaganda" which could be used as a scare-tactic to increase sectarian tension and provoke loyalist attacks.

One of the most disturbing aspects of the leaflet is the deliberate naming of a well-known nationalist in the town. McCann described this as an attempt to single out the person for loyalist attack as the leaflet has been circulated to a number of Protestant homes in the area.

Brutal arrest

BY TREASA LYNCH

A YOUNG South Armagh man whose father was shot dead by the British army in Belfast in 1971 and who has had to use a crutch since being seriously injured in an accident several months ago, was forced to run on several occasions

by the RUC when arrested from his house last week.

Adrian Thornton (22), from St Oliver Plunkett Park, Tullydonnell, was involved in a road accident in April in which his right leg was seriously injured. At 6am on Tuesday, July 29th, the RUC and British army raided the Thornton

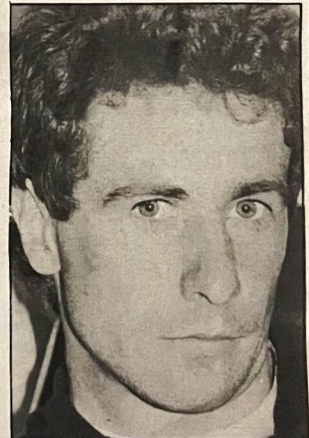
house and arrested Adrian Thornton under Section 11 (three-day order) of the Emergency Provisions Act.

Despite his protests, Thornton was forced to run, without the aid of his crutch, to the helicopter which took him to the base at Bessbrook. On leaving the base, he was forced to run to a waiting car which brought him to Gough Barracks, Armagh.

BRIBES

Thornton was slapped about the head and jaw and was continually offered bribes by the Special Branch: "that leg is worth about 25 grand and we'll give you that if you do the business (become an informer)."

The RUC also threatened to arrest his mother and accused him of killing an RUC man. Thornton, who wisely remained silent throughout each interrogation session, was released on Thursday, July 31st, at 9.30pm.



● ADRIAN THORNTON

GARDA Strip-Searching

BY MAIRTIN Mac DIARMADA

STRIP-SEARCHING of people held in garda custody is to be allowed under new regulations passed without debate in Leinster House before deputies departed for their long summer recess last month.

The new rules were introduced in connection with the 1984 Criminal Justice Act which gives gardai extra powers of detention and questioning of persons in custody. The rules are now only awaiting the signature of the Free State Justice Minister, Alan Dukes, before coming into effect as soon as a complaints board for the gardai is set up.

Under the section on searches, the regulations say that "a search of a person in custody involving removal of under-clothing shall, where practicable, be

carried out by a doctor." The inclusion of "where practicable" in this rule, in effect, means that gardai can interpret it as it suits them and carry out strip-searches themselves.

Niall Andrews of Fianna Fail and Mary Harney of the Progressive Democrats both criticised the regulations last week, although they concentrated more on the way they were dealt with so quickly in Leinster House than on the draconian strip-searching powers.

Commenting on the new regulations

the Stop the Strip-Searches Campaign in Dublin said:

"We are appalled at the Coalition government's proposals to initiate the practice of strip-searching in garda custody. Strip-searching of women in Maghaberry Prison has been condemned by many thousands of people across the country and many eminent Irish men and women have called on the British government to end this institutionalised humiliation of

women.

"We believe that these new regulations underline the duplicity of successive condemnations of strip-searching by members of the Fine Gael/Labour Coalition.

"Peter Barry claims to have made representations to the British government calling for a halt to this degrading practice, yet his own government is introducing this practice in the twenty-six counties."

CAMPAIGN

THE Longford Town branch of the Stop the Strip-Searches Campaign received the support of Fianna Fail Deputy Albert Reynolds at its first public meeting and video showing in the Annaly Hotel on Tuesday, July 29th.

In a message to the meeting, Deputy Reynolds said:

"I want to assure you of my full support to stop this degrading practice of strip-searching."

Independent County Councillor Michael Brennan also pledged that he'd table a motion before Longford County Council's next meeting (in

September) condemning strip-searching in Maghaberry Prison.

The meeting was also addressed by Maire Tully (secretary of the Longford Town Stop the Strip-Searches Campaign), Christine Beatty (recently-released Armagh POW), Caoimhghin O'Caolain (Monaghan Sinn Féin County Councillor) and Fermanagh priest Fr Joe McVeigh.

TRALEE COUNCIL

At the meeting of Tralee Urban Council on Tuesday, August 5th, a motion was passed condemning strip-searching of prisoners in Maghaberry, Portlaoise and Brixton Jails. The resolution was proposed by Sinn Féin Councillor Billy Leen.

Racists barred

BY MAIRTIN Mac DIARMADA

"A TRIUMPH for Irish public opinion" is how the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement has described the decision to exclude South African delegates from the World Computer Congress in Dublin in September.

Since the announcement that representatives from South Africa were to attend the conference, the IAAM has been campaigning to have them excluded, thus preventing them gaining access to the technical knowledge and contacts available at the congress.

Computers are a vital part of

the apartheid system and attendance at the congress — organised by the International Federation for Information Processing (IFIP) — would have been important to the racist Pretoria regime.

The IAAM campaign had the support of trade unions working in Trinity College (the congress



● The Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement picket outside the British embassy in Dublin

venue), the Irish Congress of Trade Unions and many other organisations, including Sinn Féin who threatened militant action if the South Africans attended.

Welcoming the decision of the Irish organisers of the congress

on July 31st, the IAAM said that the successful outcome of the campaign would be welcomed by the liberation movements in South Africa — the African National Congress and the South West Africa People's Organisation

in Namibia.

The IAAM now intends to work for the exclusion of the South African Computer Society from the IFIP and this will be raised at the congress in Dublin from September 1st to 5th next.

ON FRIDAY, August 1st, a commitment was wrung out of the Fine Gael/Labour government to compensate the 543 Dublin Gas workers who face redundancy. In one of the biggest financial scandals in recent years, £126 million of public money has been frittered away.

In 1983, a deal was reached between the outgoing Fianna Fail government and New Dublin Gas, a private company. Later that year, the Fine Gael Minister for Energy, John Bruton, pushed the deal through the Cabinet.

This agreement involved handing over £126 million of taxpayers' money by the state to New Dublin Gas which, in its entirety, was only worth £11 million on the stock exchange.

One of the state's most successful nationalised companies is Bord Gáis Éireann. Since 1982, it has paid into the public exchequer £251 million in profits. But instead of being used to fund schools, hospitals, new housing and social welfare payments, this money was appropriated by the Dublin government to support New Dublin Gas. Bord Gáis had to provide New Dublin Gas with loans and cheap prices for the gas it supplied and pay for the conversion from town gas to natural gas.

WHOLESALE THEFT

The success of the deal proposed by New Dublin Gas and agreed to by the

DUBLIN GAS SCANDAL

Coalition government depended not only on the wholesale theft of the state-owned company's profits but on achieving an almost-impossible target of a 7½-fold increase in the consumption of gas by 1991. The financial risk that the state was entering into (using taxpayers' money) was such that even if consumption increased by five times — itself, an ambitious target — then the company would: 1) face disaster.

The director of New Dublin Gas predicted pre-tax profits of £281 million initially. Fifteen months later, this was revised down to £100 million. Earlier this year, the company was put into receivership.

Now 406 permanent and 137 temporary workers face redundancy. The receiver, Brendan Somers, faced with the huge losses incurred by the company's directors, claimed that only minimum statutory redundancy payments could be made.

This was in spite of the fact that

financial institutions and other creditors have received payments or guarantees of payments owed in full. Not only that, but the bankers have emerged from this mess smiling, with £14.2 million profit by way of interest charges.

On Friday, August 1st, the Leinster House government announced that special finances are to be made available by the state to compensate the workers in New Dublin Gas losing their jobs. Just how generous the government will be remains to be negotiated by the unions.

MERE PITTANCE

The scale of this scandal dwarfs anything similar in recent years. The last Fianna Fail government's expenditure of £7 million on Knock Airport — about which Fine Gael complained so loudly and for so long — is a mere pittance by comparison.

However, there are no jeers from the Fianna Fail backbenches at the Fine Gael/Labour government's mismanagement of the affair. How could there be?

It was they who agreed to the deal in the first place.

The Progressive Democrats — they who like to see themselves as the bright new force in Irish politics as hard-headed businesspeople, as financial knights in shining armour — they have been strangely silent too. Why? Because Des O'Malley, now leader of the PDs but at the time Fianna Fail spokesperson on Energy, said in 1983 that he did not believe that the state was exposed to great risks with little chance of a profitable return. The deal, in his view, was at least more profitable than outright nationalisation.

So three of the major parties in Leinster House are sitting on this massive misappropriation of public funds. Their silence is deafening. Why? The answer is that Fianna Fail, Fine Gael, and the Progressive Democrats are capitalist parties operating in the interests of the capitalist class.

The Labour Party is today what it has been for many years now: the social democratic wing of Fine Gael, ambitious not to build a socialist Ireland but only to soften the rough edges of Fine Gael monetarism. They have left their own Frank Cluskey to fight this battle on his own.

The Irish people, ripped off of more money and jobs by a government that blithely presides over mass unemployment and emigration, have been fooled again by a conspiracy of silence, a conspiracy of guilty parties.



● Two cringing members of the British army undercover squad who were confronted by the Noraid delegation near Carrickmore



● Volunteers of Oglain na hEireann meet the delegation at Altnamuskin

Noraid in the North

THE NORAI DELEGATION, on its annual fact-finding tour of the six counties, arrived in Belfast on Friday, August 1st, having travelled from Dublin, where they had arrived earlier that day.

They were greeted by Sinn Féin general secretary Tom Hartley at a function on Friday night. Hartley paid tribute to the continuing hard work carried out by Irish-Americans in the form of financial aid for prisoners' dependants here and in the form of political lobbying on such issues as the Anglo-US extradition treaty. He told them that during their week-long tour they would see for themselves first hand evidence of the level of deprivation and oppression suffered by the nationalist population.

On Saturday morning, the 40-strong delegation was taken on a walking tour of West Belfast and visited Milltown cemetery and the graves of the Belfast hunger-strikers.

The delegation travelled on Sunday morning to Portadown, where they were accompanied by Sinn Féin Councillors Brian McCann and Brendan Curran. During their time in the North Armagh area they were shown the spot where Michael Tighe was shot dead by the RUC at the height of the shoot-to-kill tactic of the

RUC in 1982. They also visited the Tunnel and Garvaghy Road areas in Portadown.

SOUTH ARMAGH

On Sunday afternoon, they travelled to South Armagh where local Sinn Féin Councillor Jim McAllister brought them around the various recently-constructed British army posts.

(On Sunday night, one of the South Armagh men accompanying the Noraid delegation, Noel White (26), from Crossmaglen's Ardross Estate, was told by a British soldier in Crossmaglen: "We're going to get you. What did Noraid promise you this time? More guns?")

The delegation moved into Fermanagh the following day and were stopped by the RUC and British army as they crossed the border at Roslea. The crown forces took a copy of the passenger list and searched through the luggage.

The delegation were welcomed in Donagh GAA Club and afterwards visited one of Fermanagh's best known tourist sites, the Marble Arch Caves. They then attended an informal reception in Enniskillen Town Hall where Hugh O'Neill, the Sinn Féin vice-chairperson of the council, presented the delegation with the Fermanagh county coat of arms.

Later that evening, in Kill-

esher Parish Hall, they were entertained by the Killesher School of Irish Dancing and local singers and musicians.

On Tuesday, the Noraid delegation visited Carrickmore and the general Mid-Ulster area. They visited the memorial to hunger-striker Martin Hurson at Cappagh and met the Hurson family. They then travelled to Altnamuskin, outside Galbally, where two IRA Volunteers with automatic weapons met the group for a short time.

The delegation then travelled to Creggan, near Carrickmore, where they confronted British troops dug out on farm land.

And when the Noraid group toured Derry city on Wednesday, August 6th, they were again greeted by armed IRA Volunteers, this time in Rossville Flats.

Street sealed by RUC

UNDER CONSTANT pressure from daring IRA attacks on the heavily-fortified Spencer Road RUC Barracks in the Waterside area of Derry — the most recent being in April when a large car-bomb was defused — the crown forces erected large concrete and metal barriers across the road on Sunday morning, August 3rd.

The sudden and unannounced sealing-off of Spencer Road, which effectively turns the entire shopping area into a pedestrian precinct, although an obvious attempt by the crown forces to protect their barracks, brought an immediate and angry reaction from traders and shopkeepers, most of whom are loyalists.

On Tuesday, the shopkeepers were loud in their condemnation of the RUC action and were dismissive of the excuses offered

by the RUC of the "security risk" in allowing easy access to the Spencer Road Barracks. The shopkeepers complained that the permanent closure of part of Spencer Road was already adversely affecting trade and warned that if the RUC continued to maintain the road barriers "within a year there will be no shops along this road for it will be deserted, and the RUC will be responsible for creating the subsequent unemployment".



● The newly-erected security barriers on Spencer Road in Derry

IMPRESSIONS OF

BY AN ENGLISH VISITOR

COMING FROM LONDON to the six counties for the Twelfth of July for the first time was at first weird, then frightening and deeply shocking.

It is a bank holiday that Britain does not share, in honour of a king few British people have ever heard of (except, perhaps, as half of 'William-and-the-Orange' in the send-up history book *1066 and all that*). It is a time when many working-class people paint their kerbstones red, white and blue, and build giant bonfires on which they burn the Irish Tricolour and effigies of traitors old and new.

It is a time when respectable citizens (boss and worker together, but men only) dress up as a cross between city gents and Coco the Clown and parade beneath elaborate arches decorated with Masonic symbols — Jacob's ladder, a star, compasses — which smack of the occult. Equipped with pikes, swords and umbrellas, they march, banging war drums, preferably through nationalist streets, to a location known as 'the field'.

Here in 1986, a clergyman-politician, who won 33% of the vote in the 'province'-wide European elections, recalls the Spanish Inquisition and how his Protestant forefathers had been boiled, roasted and had the nails torn from their hands and feet. Another religious dignitary cites "the Boy George drug scandal" as evidence of Britain's moral decline. Meanwhile, around the 'province' Catholic homes are smashed and burned and some Catholics are shot dead.

The 'Glorious Twelfth' is a time when discrimination against nationalists, part of everyday life in the six counties, is expressed in ritualised form. It is a time when banners and orange 'collarettes' bond religion and politics, worker and boss, in a triumphal assertion of moral and political dominance over Papist Fenians. It is a time when hysterical religious bigotry, political calculation and alcohol combine to induce God-fearing loyalists to burn and kill.

Orangeism is a culture of loyalty to Britain that is unrecognisable to most British people (unless they live in Glasgow or Liverpool). Yet though in one sense it is utterly un-British, in another sense it is absolutely British, a settler culture spawned and sustained by centuries of British rule in Ireland. Under the trappings which seem so comic or bizarre to the outsider is the cruelty of the coloniser determined to keep the native 'croppies' down.

THURSDAY 10th JULY

Friends in West Belfast tell me they always find the Twelfth fortnight an eerie time. It

is a holiday that is forced on them, but they are excluded from the festivities. Indeed, the exclusion of nationalists is a central theme of the occasion.

Many workplaces close for the fortnight, which in this respect is like the annual holidays in the industrial areas of Britain. A radio presenter reminds listeners that the shops will be shut from Saturday to Tuesday, and that bakeries mostly will not open till Thursday. A few obstinate shopkeepers will remain open in nationalist areas, but the presenter does not mention this. For the most part, local radio and television stations treat the period as if it were a communal holiday, like Christmas.

Quite a few nationalists try to make the best of it, and depart for their holidays across the border or to friendly villages on the North Antrim coast. Others, particularly those in vulnerable fringe areas such as the Short Strand or New Lodge, take their families away to Dundalk or Donegal because they fear loyalist attacks.

This year, people in nationalist areas are even more nervous than usual, because of the loyalist mobilisation against the London-Dublin Agreement and because of threatened confrontations over the rerouting of loyalist parades. There are rumours that vigilantes are organising to protect the isolated districts. There are also rumours that the British and Dublin governments are jointly planning to introduce selective internment to remove the republican leadership and thus facilitate their plan to 'stabilise' the six counties.

At the same time, adding to the pressure, British troops supported by helicopters seem to endlessly patrol the Falls Road, while a large force of troops and RUC raids a flat in Divis.

A friend who lives in the Short Strand explains to me that she will not be coming out of the district tomorrow because it will be very hard to get in again. Every year the RUC come and put up giant screens and close off the whole district. The East Belfast loyalists march past the district on their way to the city centre and then the



● The RUC attack nationalist residents of Obins Street on July 7th, 1985



● Alan Wright, Ulster Clubs chairperson in Garvaghy Road on the Twelfth

'field'. On their way back there is often trouble, since many are drunk and they lob cans and bottles over the screens.

Another Short Strand friend says she is afraid to go down the Newtownards Road to do her shopping, since some of the shops are displaying notices saying: "No. Tais served here." Many Short Strand people normally buy their groceries in the loyalist supermarkets because they are much cheaper than the tiny local shops.

Several people tell me that from the start of July the loyalists they know — at work, for instance, or relatives in 'mixed' families — change completely. For the Twelfth period they stop speaking to their nationalist acquaintances. "They are brought up to hate us from the day they are born," people repeatedly tell me.

The Radio Ulster news at 5 o'clock reports that a Catholic delivering building materials has been shot and wounded on the Shankill Road, Brian Leonard died two days later, the fifth victim of a loyalist murder squad this year. Two

more nationalists, Colm McCallan and Martin Duffy, were to die the same way within a week.

PORTADOWN

Portadown looks on the surface like a modest Scottish

market town, with its small neat buildings and trim flowerbeds. Like so many places in the six counties with fearsome reputations, it looks at first sight utterly ordinary. The incongruity results, perhaps, from the fact that while its

citizens go about their very ordinary occupations, they are at the same time caught up in extraordinary political circumstances.

As everyone in the six counties knows, Orangemen regard Portadown as their citadel.



● Orangemen are filtered through the Tunnel on July 6th

OF THE TWELFTH



for tonight's 'Eleventh Night' bonfire. At its peak is a gibbet with a noose dangling ominously from it. This is the first time the bonfire has been built so near to the Tunnel, a mark of the increased tension.

In the Tunnel, everyone is tense. Some families have gone away, fearing for their children's safety. There are only some 600 people here, and Obins Street, which runs the length of the district, is semi-derelict, like an abandoned film set. A banner hanging from a block of flats proclaims "The Tunnel says no — to Orange parades".

● Loyalist-dominated Craigavon Council is responsible for Portadown, and there has been no redevelopment in the Tunnel since 1972. The other 3,400 or so nationalists mostly live in three newer estates, also at the northern fringe of the town: Garvaghy Park, Ballyoran Park and Hurson (formerly Churchill) Park, renamed in honour of Martin Hurson, who died on hunger-strike in 1981.

Brendan McKenna, secretary of Obins Street Tenants' Association, explains:

"The marches only happen three days of the year. For the other 362 days of the year, the nationalist people in the town are still as much under siege. For example, young people from this side of town can't go into the town centre. If they do, they are harassed by the UDR and RUC, or they run the risk of attack from loyalists."

"Besides that, you still have discrimination in employment. T.A. Shillington, one of the largest builders' merchants in County Armagh, does not employ a single Catholic. The main employer of nationalists is Henry Denny's, a pork-processing factory in Obins Street, but the receiver has moved in there and it could close at any time."

"Last year the tenants' association in Hurson Park carried out a survey and found that 88% of heads of households were unemployed on that estate."

Portadown is a grim place for nationalists to live. Family and community ties and determination keep them here. Craigavon Council is unrelentingly hostile, and has tried one manoeuvre after another to exclude the two Sinn Féin councillors. Play facilities for children are scarce. The one council-owned community centre holds only 150 people.

On top of the economic and social discrimination, there is the unrelenting stream of loyalist harassment. Brendan McKenna documented a succession of incidents in June alone: stone-throwing attacks

ed from existing secret societies to defend Protestant privilege, and British generals of the day encouraged it in order to undermine the new-found unity of Presbyterians and Catholics in the Societies of United Irishmen. In 1796, the first 'Glorious Twelfth' parade was held and soon became an institution. Every year since 1822 Orangemen have made their supremacy felt in Portadown by marching through the nationalist Tunnel area, and repeatedly going on the rampage against the local people and their churches, clubs and homes.

In the early 1970s, Portadown won a new infamy when it became known as part of the 'murder triangle' within which loyalist gangs, working in league with British undercover soldiers, assassinated numerous nationalists.

YEAR-ROUND SIEGE

Here as elsewhere in the six counties, loyalist districts are bedecked in Union Jack bunting for the Twelfth fortnight. Elaborate triumphal arches beset working-class streets. In the town centre, a tall pole in front of the church proclaims "Portadown still says no"; like the ubiquitous slogan "Ulster says no", this obliterates the existence of the nationalist community, whose views on the London-Dublin pact are more complicated.

Just beyond the boundary of the nationalist Tunnel area at the north end of the town is a giant stack of wood prepared



Consequently, the four thousand or so nationalists in the town, outnumbered by some 28,000 loyalists feel especially beleaguered.

Going back several centuries, this part of County Armagh saw some of the bitterest bat-

tles between settlers and the native Irish over land. In the great popular rebellion of 1641, the dispossessed Irish rose in an unsuccessful attempt to regain their land. In the process, according to loyalist mythology, they dispatched numer-

ous settlers over the bridge at Portadown into the River Bann.

Then in 1795 the Orange Order was formed just outside Portadown after the 'Battle of the Diamond' when Protestant settlers routed Catholic peasants. The Order was form-

go about their very occupations, they are same time caught up in binary political circum-

everyone in the six coun- down, Orangemen regard as their citadel.

(Continued on next page)

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on nationalist houses, the high school's windows smashed, the church plastered with "Ulster says no" posters, slogans painted on the headstones of graves, an arson attack on the school, a community hall attacked and burned, attacks on shops, a school bus stoned and children injured, a nationalist family forced out of their home...

ELEVENTH NIGHT

Night falls on July 11th and the sky is lurid with the glow of the loyalists' giant bonfire. Flames and smoke billow into the air. Soon petrol bombs, flares and bricks come flying over the fence into the Tunnel, hitting the roofs of pensioners' houses and flats that adjoin the boundary. Loyalists are shouting and hammering at the wire, trying to break it down. Many residents of the Tunnel are out in the street, watching anxiously.

A local Jesuit priest appears on the scene. He has been getting some flack from locals because of his wishy-washy approach to protests. When loyalists marched the previous Sunday down Garvaghy Road, which runs through the three main nationalist estates, the priest held a surreal ecumenical tea party in the middle of the road, moving the tables onto the pavement as the marchers approached.

Two or three RUC Land Rovers are sitting on the Tunnel side of the boundary, their lights shining not at the loyalists but down towards the nationalist crowd. People protest; "They're picking us out as targets." British army Land Rovers which were circling round earlier have disappeared, and the RUC follows suit, leaving the people at the mercy of the loyalists. An ambulance arrives for a nationalist who has been hit on the head by a brick.

From the flats you can see a crowd of five or six hundred loyalists round the fire. They are roaring drunkenly, chanting anti-Catholic songs and slogans and cheering every time a petrol bomb bursts into flames on the nationalist side. There is the sound of smashing windows, screams and shouts, drunken voices singing *The Sash*.

I reflect that anyone in Britain who still seriously believes that the working class in the six counties can be 'brought together across the sectarian divide' in advance of the ending of partition should be brought here to witness this scene.

Fr Des Wilson described 'Eleventh Night' in his *Andersonstown News* column as an "orgiastic ritual". Until I saw this event myself, I thought his picture was overdrawn. He wrote:

"They celebrate dark forces, war, bloodshed, overcoming dark dragon-like enemies... The fires burn out the evil things; hell is brought to earth in a triumphant gesture... By the morning of the Twelfth of July the fires are out — the symbolism is clear — and the abandoned clothing which was worn in the darkness of the night is

IMPRESSIONS OF THE TWELFTH



● The Tunnel, July 6th

replaced by the dark hat, the dark suit, the dark shoes and the sash."

Three RUC Land Rovers make a fleeting reappearance. Nationalist youths stone them, despite protests from women that they are putting locals in danger of RUC retaliation. The RUC disappear. People are by now seriously worried that the loyalists will break through at some point along the lengthy boundary. Some youths start to prepare petrol bombs. A man says:

"In the end, we can only rely on the IRA to defend us."

After what seems like hours, the RUC reappear in force and start firing plastic bullets at the loyalists. If the RUC had been in place from the start and on the loyalist side of the fence, the attack on the Tunnel — and the plastic bullet injuries to loyalists — could have been prevented. But they clearly did not want to align themselves with the nationalist side, preferring to hold back till the loyalist attack was well under way and then present themselves to the willing media as 'keeping the two sides apart'.

GARVAGHY ROAD

Marching through or as near as possible to nationalist areas, and attacking nationalist areas, is an integral part of the Twelfth 'celebrations'. It demonstrates in a direct and physical way the message at the heart of the event: "Croppies lie down."

In Portadown there are

three loyalist marches in July: the Orangemen march on the first Sunday in July and on the Twelfth, and then the Royal Black Preceptory marches on July 13th (this year July 13th fell on the Sabbath, so the Blackmen marched the next day). Traditionally the marches pass along Obins Street three times, going down it, back up and then down again.

For the Twelfth, the eight country lodges form up at Corcrain Orange Hall, a squat grey building a few hundred yards north of the top end of Obins Street. From here, there are three possible routes into the town. The first goes through loyalist territory, down Corcrain Road. The others, Obins Street and Garvaghy Road, go through nationalist territory.

For 160 years the country lodges have marched down Obins Street, met the 24 town lodges in the city centre, gone to Armagh for a rally, returned and marched back up Obins Street, leaving the country lodges at the top, whereupon the town lodges have marched back down Obins Street again.

Last year, in the run-up to the London-Dublin pact, the authorities tried to curb the most blatant manifestations of Orange sectarianism by rerouting such marches. The loyalist response was furious. This Easter, Paisley marched his cohorts through Garvaghy Road in the middle of the night (his favourite time for demonstrations). In July, he threatened to bring loyalists from all over the six counties to Portadown.

His bluster worked. First, the authorities allowed the July 6th parade to pass down Obins Street under the transparently false excuse that it was a 'church parade'. Then they allowed the Twelfth parade to go, not down Obins Street, but down Garvaghy Road, which passes three times as many nationalist homes as Obins Street. While Northern direct-ruler Tom King and police chief Jack Hermon try to present this as a 'compromise', it is clear to everyone that it is a victory for the Orangemen. Paisley calls off his legions.

From the middle of the night, many hundreds of British troops and police, conspicuously absent from the beleaguered Tunnel, move into Garvaghy Road, sealing off the nationalist estates to prevent the locals stopping the Orangemen. British soldiers, police and Land Rovers almost all face away from the road and into the nationalist estates. Some locals who tried to cross the road in the early hours were set upon by the RUC and UDR and viciously beaten with batons. One victim's back is criss-crossed with angry red marks, his head is gashed and his hand has been burned with a cigarette.

At 7 o'clock on the morning of the Twelfth, the Orangemen start to assemble in the drizzle at Corcrain Orange Hall. The drunken revelry of the previous night is over: this is the sober face of sectarian hatred. Their leaders are respectable elderly

men of upright bearing, clad in suits, bowler hats and orange sashes. These country lodges, nationalists say, are 'the bitterest of all'.

They move off, banners flying and drums beating, to make a ritual protest at the police barricade at the top of Obins Street. Then they retrace their steps and march proudly, a few hundred strong, with massive police and army protection, down Garvaghy Road. "It's just sickening," a local nationalist says. "It's like dogs pissing to mark their territory," commented a Belfast-based journalist. He adds: "This is their culture, this is all they have."

There is trouble that evening when the Orangemen return. Emboldened by drink, they try to force their way into Obins Street from the town centre. The same thing happens on Monday when the Blackmen march.

HOLIDAY MOOD

As the news comes in, it is clear that all over the six counties the sectarian pattern has been repeated. In Rasharkin, Manor Street, Ardoyne, Ligoniel, Kilkeel, Lisburn, Dunloy, Ballymoney, Dervock, and many other places, nationalists have been killed or injured, their houses burned and property destroyed.

These events notwithstanding, the local media nevertheless go ahead and present the Twelfth as a day of 'traditional pagantry'. Ulster Television's Charles Witherspoon, who sounds like Alastair Cooke of the BBC's *Letter from America* but with a Belfast twang, commences:

"Hullo from Belfast, and I have a curious feeling that we should all be bursting into song. Here We Are Again As Happy As Can Be would be an appropriate song because the crowd here are all in holiday mood. A bit of a drizzle's started, but who cares? And the younger element are enjoying themselves too, with ice-cream and lollies."

Witherspoon then introduced some "very distinguished Orangemen", the first of whom says proudly that he joined the Order in 1903, and that his lodge then had a Catholic bandmaster who "came with us to the field and saw that we came home sober".

In Britain, *The Guardian* — the most 'liberal' of the quality papers — prints a picture from Portadown captioned: "A Catholic child gets the protection of a British soldier." A second picture shows an Orangeman clasping a child and a Union Jack.

Back in London a week later, it's clear that the events of a Twelfth have scarcely registered. Yes, people have a vague idea of what happened in Portadown. But Rasharkin? Manor Street? "No, what happened there?" The news has been dominated by the issue of South African sanctions, and Britain's own little apartheid statelet is, as ever, enclosed by what seems like a soundproof, conscience-proof wall.



Gambling plan rejected

BY MAIRIN Mac DIARMADA

DONEGAL Sinn Féin has come out strongly against proposals in a report published last week which envisages the county as a gambling 'mecca'.

The report, which calls on the Dublin government to make County Donegal a 'national gaming area', was commissioned by the Donegal Amusement Caterers' Association. This body represents the large number of gambling arcade

owners in the county.

Sinn Féin County Councillors Eddie Fullerton and Liam McElhinney condemned the proposals in a statement following a meeting of Donegal Sinn Féin comhairle ceantair on Sunday, August 3rd.

"This report, absurdly and fraudulently entitled Tourism & Leisure in Donegal recommends that Donegal be turned into a gambling 'mecca'. Sinn Féin totally rejects this and says that to implement this report would be against the best interests of the people of Donegal."

"The proposals are geared to make big profits for a few manoeuvring businessmen at the ex-

pense of the Donegal people."

Sinn Féin has tabled a motion for the next meeting of Donegal County Council, in September, calling for the rescinding of Section 3 of the 1956 Gaming & Lotteries Act in the county, thus preventing district justices issuing licences to arcade owners in Donegal. A similar motion was rejected by two votes at the February meeting of the council.



● Sean McBride at the Irish CND commemoration in Merrion Square

Hiroshima remembered

THE ANNIVERSARY of the dropping of the first atomic bomb was marked by the Irish Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in Dublin this week.

Forty-one years ago, on August 6th 1945, the United States Air force dropped the bomb on the

Japanese city of Hiroshima, to be followed three days later by an attack on Nagasaki. Over half a million people died in the two bombing raids.

Irish CND marked the Hiroshima anniversary with a commemoration in Merrion Square, Dublin, on Wednesday, August 6th.

TORRTHAI CRANNCHUR

Waterford Sinn Féin

Building Fund May draw
1st: Mrs. M. Walsh, Narrabine
313, Kilmacow, Kilkenny; 2nd: Noel
Robert Walsh, Newtown, Tra-
more; 3rd: Mrs. M. Kelly, Cork
Road, Waterford city.

Kerry Sinn Féin

June draw

1st: Adrian Flemming, Old Church Lane, Castleisland; 2nd: Noel Lucy, Shamrock Bar, Killorglin; 3rd: Paudie Murphy, St Stephen's Park, Castleisland; 4th: Stephanie Healy, Mitchell's Crescent, Tralee.
July draw
1st: Christina O'Sullivan, Strand's End, Cahirciveen; 2nd: Mike O'Shea, Manor Inn, Killorglin; 3rd: Mary Scanlon, Killarney; 4th: Mrs. Clifford, School Road, Cahirciveen.

Protests greet FitzGerald

THE VISIT of Garret FitzGerald to Sligo on Saturday, July 26th, was marked by Sinn Féin protests against Section 31 of the Broadcasting Act at two functions which he attended.

On his arrival at Sligo Park Hotel for a lunch with local business people from the Chamber of Commerce, FitzGerald was met by a Sinn Féin picket which presented him with a letter calling for an end to Section 31, which prohibits republican speakers on RTE. Two local Sinn Féin members, Sean MacManus, the party's national chairperson, and Timmy Newell, both recently served jail sentences for non-payment of TV licences in protest against the Section 31 censorship legislation.

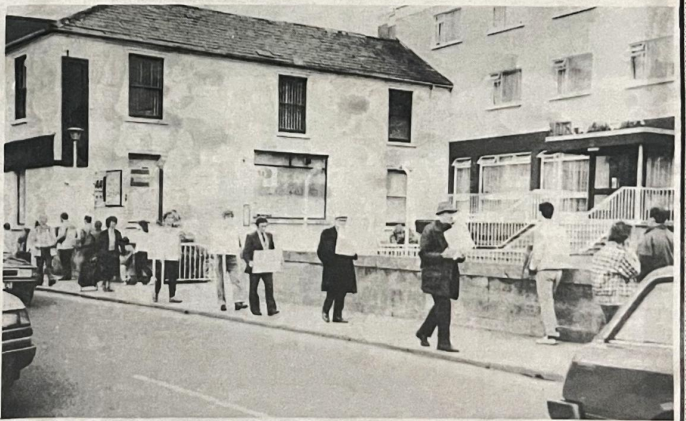
Later on Saturday evening, FitzGerald reviewed a guard of

honour of Free State soldiers before a civic reception in Sligo Town Hall. A large force of gardai tried to prevent another Sinn Féin protest and members of the group were told that they could not mount a picket because they had already done so at the earlier event!

Gardai then began to physically remove the Sinn Féin members from the vicinity of the town hall. One woman was knocked to the ground by the gardai while several others were pushed and shoved.

Gerry Casey of Sligo Sinn Féin later commented:

"The attempts by the so-called protectors of law and order to silence a peaceful protest did not go unnoticed by the general public, many of whom have expressed support for our action."



● Sligo Sinn Féin members protest against Section 31

'IRA cannot be defeated'

DANNY MORRISON TELLS NEWRY AUDIENCE



ON SATURDAY, August 2nd, Newry Sinn Féin organised a republican workshop in Newry Town Hall. The theme, *Ireland in Struggle*, traced the history of the republican struggle from 1798 to the present day.

A particular emphasis was laid on the successful republican struggle against the failures of constitutional nationalism in dealing with the British presence in Ireland.

About 200 people attended despite a day of harassment of all the visitors by the RUC. The workshop consisted of displays of photographs, newspaper reports and republican literature. Discussions, chaired by Sinn Féin Councillors Jim McAllister and Tommy Carroll, followed the showing of a number of videos.

The main speaker at the event, Sinn Féin spokesperson Danny Morrison, criticised the London-Dublin Agreement and those who had attacked the Republican Movement within the past week:

"It is quite obvious that the IRA cannot be defeated and that it has the capacity and the will and the support to continue."

CONTRADICTORY SDLP

Morrison also condemned the contradictory position of the SDLP:

"John Hume condemns the IRA for stopping the construction of barracks and border-posts, and then Seamus Mallon condemns the British army for building new sangars in South Armagh. If civilians instead of sappers were earning an 'honest day's living', to quote a euphemism, by building these fortified machine-gun emplacements, would Mr Mallon then support such work?"

And local Sinn Féin Councillor Brendan Curran pointed out that:

"The return of the British army to Newry is a major step backwards for the 'Ulsterisation' policy."

Moltaí á Lorg

TÁ GLÓR NA NGAEL i mBéal Feirste ar lorg moltaí ó dhreamanna pobail, polaitíochta agus Gaeilge sa chathair mar chuid d'aighneacht fá fhorbairt na teanga i mBéal Feirste atá le cur i lathair Roinn an Imshaoil sna sé chontae.

Nuair a bheas na moltaí curtha i gcionn a chéile ag an eagraíocht eagrófar cruinniú poiblí leis an Ghaeilge i ndoiciméad déanta a phlé. Ansin seolfar an aighneacht chuig na húdaráis atá ag dreachtú an Belfast Urban Area Plan.

Níor foilsíodh plan cathrach do Bhéal Feirste le cúig bliana déag agus tuigtear gurb é an plan nua, a fhoilseofar i 1988, an tsat tomhais a bheas in úsáid ag na húdaráis atá freagrach as gach gné de shaoil na cathrach. De réir riarachain Ghíóir na nGael in Iarthair Bhéal Feirste, Pádraig Ó Donnchú, rachaidh cúis na Gaeilge síos béim mhór muna bhfuil an plan ag plé leis an éileamh ar an oideachas Gaeilge

nó leis na háiseanna atá dhé dhá i sochaí dátheangach.

AIDHM

Arsa Ó Donnchú:

"Deir Roinn an Imshaoil go bhfuil trí haidhm ghinearálta ag an phlean. Is iad sin: caighdeán beatha an phobail, forbairt eacnamaíochta agus ról na cathrach mar phríomhchathair na sé chontae a dhaingniú."

"Mar chuid den aidhm dheireannach tá ráite ag an DOE go gcuirfidh an plan saol cultúrtha Bhéal Feirste chun cinn. Tá sé thar a bheith tábhachtach, mar sin de, go bhfreastlaíonn Gaeilgeirín an fhail agus go ndéanaimid cinnte de go ndearcfar ar an Ghaeilge mar chuid den tsaoil



● Radharc de Bhéal Feirste ag taispeaint ceantar an Lóistín Nua (ar chlé), ceantar Sráid Anraoi (ar dheis) agus monarchan tobac Gallaher's (sa Lár)

cultúrtha sin."

Beidh an plan ag plé le mór cheisteanna na cathrach ar nós tithíochta, fostaíochta, iompair agus an imshaoil. Cuirfidh sé

creatlach ar fáil a bheas in úsáid ansin i gceantair bheaga sa chathair.

Tosaíodh obair ar an phlean i lár 1985 agus cuirfear plan seal-

adach ós comhair an phobail i Márta 1987. Eistfead fiosrúcháin poiblí ansin i Nollaig 1987 sula bhfoilsítear an dreacht deireannach i 1988.



William Price memorial

THE second anniversary of IRA Volunteer William Price, who was killed on active service on July 13th 1984, was recently commemorated in the Brockagh area of County Tyrone, where a memorial headstone was unveiled.

The service took place after 11am Mass and was attended by several hundred people who assembled at the Volunteer's graveside. One of Willie Price's

four sisters unveiled the new monument and wreaths were then laid by the Price family, representatives of the County Tyrone National Graves Organisation, Ogligh na hEireann and Fermanagh/South Tyrone Sinn Féin.

Sinn Féin Councillor Cormac McAleer paid tribute to Volunteer William Price, describing him as a *"fearless, determined IRA Volunteer, dedicated to the removal of the British presence from Ireland"*.

Derry exhibition

AN excellently-produced photographic exhibition graphically illustrating the richness and uniqueness of Gaelic culture opened in Derry's Orchard Gallery to a large audience on Tuesday, July 29th. Entitled *Ducas*, the exhibition by Camerawork Darkrooms, consists of 34 laminated colour panels covering practically every facet of Irish culture from the language, to music, dance, folklore and Irish national sports. Each photographic panel is captured in the ancient Gaelic script which outlines the history and development of Irish music, the cultural links between Celtic nations: the history of the Comhaltas Ceoltoirí Éireann, and the GAA.

UNMISTAKABLE

The exhibition contains an unmistakable political as well as cultural content

and emphasises the historical reasons for the decline of Irish culture. British oppression of the language initiated after the defeat of the Irish at the Battle of Kinsale in 1601 and the near extinction of the language together with the mass starvation and emigration of 1846/47 were outlined in the exhibition as major contributing factors.

The exhibition also vividly shows the struggle of the Irish people to preserve their uniquely individual culture at all costs. It is therefore quite appropriate that the final panel of the exhibition depicts the *Mise Éire* wall mural at the back of the Rossville Flats in Derry, painted last year by Derry youth, which proudly proclaims the continuance of their cultural identity despite state oppression, media censorship and military occupation by a foreign power.



Film

A load of Cobras

BY EDDIE STACK

SYLVESTER STALLONE, that raven-haired hunk of junk, has made a considerable fortune over the last few years by doing solo on screen what the American nation cannot do for itself in the real world. Thus, while the USA can not give us what it has wanted for so long, a purely whiter than white heavyweight boxing champion of the world, 'Slyvester' has managed to win the title for them in the form of his character Rockhead, a man who specialises in knocking out those nasty black-skinned people and who recently has knocked out the even nastier Russkie champion. Yah hoo!

And what about Vietnam? An ignominious defeat for the USA, to be sure. Ah ha, but Sylvester, in the form of his character Rambo (so named because he only talks mumbo jumbo) has now rewritten history and won the Vietnam war for the flag-waving Yanks. Oh, how joyfully did Rambo wade through the jungle, swatting those 'Charles' down like flies. Yes, indeed, if the Yanks can't do it then Sylvester will do it on film for them. Now rumour has it that Sylvester has plans to prove that William Shakespeare was born in New York. Good on ya, Sly.

DISEASE

Sylvester has invaded the tranquility of our little film column, readers, because he has recently completed a new film called *Cobra*, in which he again solves for Americans what they cannot solve for themselves, namely their spiralling crime wave. "Crime is a disease and I'm the cure,"

mumbles Cobra from behind his black spectacles which he no doubt wears to prevent him seeing reality.

Cobra, whose real name is Marion Cobretti (hee, hee, hee!) believes: "If you obey the rules and de criminals don't, den de criminals dey gonna win." Alas for Cobretti, he is held back by his superiors, those rule-book-loving swine whose endearing sympathy for criminals has America's villains lining up outside cop stations and just begging to be arrested.

Poor Cobra - what cruel fate has burdened him with these bureaucratic twits.

SLASHERS

However, deep in the underground, a gang of slasher and hatchet-wielding nuts are about to pour onto the streets of Los Angeles, and hatching the 'weak' (i.e. young women) in order to bring the world nearer 'The Great Day'.

These slasher and hatchet-ers usually look an unhealthy lot: wearing combat jackets



● Sylvester Stallone in his refreshingly new and challenging screen role as Rambo, Cobra, Combo or something

and staring at the world with faces covered with foam from their salivating mouths. The reason for their unhealthy appearance is quite obvious: they have all been shot dead several times before in Clint Eastwood's *Dirty Harry* films. Now they have been dug up, given new batteries, a hatchet and a slasher, and told to run off and be shot by Sylvester Stallone.

Meanwhile, back at the 'plot'... the mounting series of murders prove to Cobra's 'stupid' superiors that they have got to let the Big Man put on his dark sunglasses and go out and do his thing. Fortunately, *The Cobra*, gets a break when a model accidentally comes across one of the slashers just after he's had a

slash. Now the model herself is in danger. "It's okay" Cobra assures her. "They won't find you here." Within five minutes, of course, they have found her and it's actually Cobra who has trouble finding her, wearing his sunglasses in the middle of the night.

Soon the word is out; the entire army of slashers and hatchet-ers are out to slash and hatchet the model, helped as they are by a contact from within the LA police.

One might plausibly ask is it worth the entire army coming from the underground to kill a girl who has only barely seen one of them, but I suppose if slashers were logical they wouldn't get parts in films like these.

IT'S LOVE!

After killing several hundred of the slashers, Cobra and the model begin to fall in love. "Come here and hold me," says the model, but before Stallone gets down to business he has to make sure his hand grenade isn't primed to explode. Ah, the sweet bliss of love!

However, day breaks and the slashers are back again, this time on motor bikes. (They've been given motor bikes, it seems, simply to fall off them.) But they have made a fatal miscalculation as when they bought their guns they were all issued with blank cartridges. Oh, it's a tough life being a villain in a Sylvester Stallone picture.

Honestly, the films I have to endure for the republican cause.

Imeachtaí

15th ANNIVERSARY OF INTERMENT

RALLY & MARCH
7.30pm Friday 8th August
Clanry Avenue
NEWRY
County Down
All bands and banners welcome

OICHE CHEOIL

Featuring Clann Eadair
8.30pm Friday 8th August
Royal Hotel
Howth
DUBLIN
Taitle £2 (£2.50 unwaged)

STOP THE STRIP-SEARCHES

CAMPAIGN SOCIAL
Friday 8th August
No. 5 Club
5 Blessington Street
DUBLIN

INTERMENT/POW EXHIBITION

1pm to 5pm Saturday 9th August
Highfield Social Club
Ardoyne
BELFAST

IRISH FOLK NIGHT

Featuring Shebeen
Saturday 9th August
Highfield Social Club
Ardoyne
BELFAST

CORK ANTI-REPRESSION WEEK

Exhibitions, videos etc
Saturday 9th to 16th August
PUBLIC MEETING AGAINST STRIP-SEARCHING
Speaker: Ann-Marie Quinn
8pm Wednesday 13th August

VIDEOS ON REPRESSION

Monday 11th, Thursday 14th, Friday 15th & Saturday 16th
All events open to the public
all week at
The Ahern/Crowley Hall
136 Barrack Street
CORK
Organised by Sinn Féin

GOSS/GAUGHAN CONMEMORATION

Prominent speakers
2.30pm Sunday 10th August
Old Adelphi Cinema
DUNDALK

VOL THOMAS McELWEE CONMEMORATION

(5th Anniversary)
2.30pm Sunday 10th August
Assemble at
Junction of Tamladuff Park/
Ballymacombs Road
BELLAGHY
South Derry

ANTI-EXTRADITION & SECTION 31 PICKET

10am to 3pm Thursday, Friday and Saturday
14th, 15th, 16th August
Eyre Square
GALWAY CITY

BALLAD NIGHT

8pm Friday 15th August
Camelot Hotel
Malahide Road
DUBLIN
In aid of An Cumann Cabhrach

FOLK NIGHT

Featuring Flight of the Earls
8.30pm Friday 15th August
Town Hall
NEWRY
County Down

FIANNA EIREANN YOUTH CAMP

(Open to anyone over 14)
August 15th to 17th
TWENTY-SIX COUNTIES
Taitle £7
Details from Fianna Eireann,
44 Parnell Square, Dublin

VOL PATRICK CASEY (KERRY No. 2 BRIGADE 1919)

MEMORIAL UNVEILING
Speaker: Richard Behal
3pm Sunday 17th August
Old Quay
DERRY/CUNYAH

One mile below Moll's Gap

on Kenmare/Killarney road
County Kerry
Organised by Killarney RGA

leabhar

Beirt bhan mhisniúil

LE CIAN Mac AOIDH

NÍ ACHAN LÁ a thig cín lae príosún chugainn atá scríofa i nGaeilge ghlan ghonta ag ban-phoblachtóirí. Mar sin bímis ag laimhseáil diallann na ndeirfiúcháir Mhic Ghiolla Easpaig - *Girseacha i nGéibheann* - mar bheadh caipéis luachmhar ann.

Tá síreabhar soléite againn anseo a bheir cuntas cruinn dúinn ar shaoil an chime phoblachtaigh i Sasain agus a léiríonn Tadhg an Dá Thaobhachas na bpolaitoirí ó dheas. Seo polaitoirí atá ar bís ag iarraidh go ngabhfaí Eibhlín Glenholme le go n-eiseachfaí go Londain i ach bhí, dar leo, briste brónach nuair a diúltáidh cead don bheirt deirfiúir seo paról lae a fháil le freastal ar shocraid a n-athar i 1983.

Chait Áine agus Eibhlín Nic Ghiolla Easpaig deich mbliana i bpríosún Shasana nuair a fuarthas ciontach iad sa bheith bainte le comhcheilg buamáir. Ar ndóighe ní raibh baint ar bith acu leis an fheachtas buamáir i Sasain cé gur baill de Shinn Féin a bhí iontu i Manchuín.

Níl morán litríocht ag baint leis an leabhar seo. Leoga is cosúla é le hagalair raidió ná le cín lae, a bhfuil na sin don eagarthóir, Nollaig Ó Gadhra. Ní seith-eann an bheirt ar an ghrúpa, ar an eagla ná ar an uaigneas a mhothaigh siad agus iad faoi ghlas. Ina áit sin cuirreann siad síos go lom ar ghnáth-shaoil an phríosúin, in amanna ag tabhairt léargas dúinn ar eachtra ar leith ar nós na stailice ocras na Bliocanna-H nó cogadh Malvinas.

ÓIGE

Rugadh na deirfiúcháir Mhic Ghiolla Easpaig ar an Bhun Bheig i nGaeilteach Thír Chonaill ach chait siad blianta

a n-óige i Manchuín, ag pill-eadh abhaile ar laethe saoire sa tsamradh. Gearradh 15 bliana ar an bheirt i ndiaidh trialach i gcúirt chlaonta agus i nuachtáin a thug 'bomb terror sisters' orthu.

Le linn a n-ama i bpríosún Durham ba 'giorraíonn beirt bóthar' an mana a bhí acu. Bhí cís cosamh a bhí iontu féin de dhíth orthu go géar nó mar, deir siad féin, "Ní chaitheadh aon ghnáth-Shasanaigh lena mhadrá mar a chaithe na hollíghigh phríosúin linne i dtús ama". Scar siad iad féin amach ó na cinní eile agus bhí an Ghaeilge agus a gcomrádaíocht lena chéile mar bhabhún idir iad agus saol crúdail an phríosúin. B'fhíor arís don fhile a dúirt gur "Te an teanga an Ghaeilge isigh anseo idir ballaí fuara, teanga a d'fhaid-bhir agus a d'fhás agus a tháinig a meadóilocht i dtír nach raibh príosúin ar mháil inti."

Níl searbhadas ar bith ag baint le diallann na ndeirfiúcháir agus iad ag cur síos ar a bpríosúinteacht ach ní tháinig siad ar chúil seiche agus iad ag cínneadh fírinneachas rialtais na hÉireann' nach ndearna gearradh ariamh fa' lomchardach na mban ná nár iarr fíid go seolaí chug príosúin Ard Mhacha iad. Tá an dara leath de *Girseacha i nGéibheann* ag plé leis na csaonairí eaglaise agus polaitíochla a thug cuairt ar an bheirt sna blianta deirfeannacha i nDurham - ina measc bhí Paddy Harte agus



● Áine agus Eibhlín Nic Ghiolla Easpaig ag seoladh a leabhar i mBaile Átha Cliath ar an 2 Bealtaine

an Cairdínáil Ó Fiaich. D'imir na 'boic mhóra' seo páirt sa chlumpar a tógadh i 1983 nuair a diúltáidh cead don bheirt freastal ar thórramh a n-athar. Is é a meas ar bhuíocht na mboc mór frith-phoblachtach seo "nárth eol dóibh muid a bheith ann ar chor ar bith ruimhe sin", ach go raibh siad ar lóig "caipíteal as ar mháilte leo féin".

SLUAITE

Nuair a ligeadh cead a gcin leo i Lúnasa 1983 bhí

na sluaite achán áit 'o Bhaile Átha Cliath go Gaith Dobhair ag cur faite rompu agus fiú má bhí na bodaigh ann cuir-eadh in iúl dóibh go gcaithfí an bheirt i bpríosún in Éirinn dá mba rud é gur éirigh leo, dála Gerry Tuite, éalú ó Phríosún Durham.

Leabhar rithbhachtach atá anseo don Ghaeilgeoir, don duine ar spéis leis cursaí polaitíochla agus go háirithe do dhaoine ar ní leo staid na gcimí Éireannach i Sasain. "Chreid muid agus creidfeann

muid i gcónaí sa Bhuinscoic Phoblachtach Gaelach," a deir a bheirt le lucht a sciursála. Dála Uí Chléirigh, Mhisteall agus Uí Sheachnasaigh níor briaeadh a spiorad i bpléochóir na nGail.

Beidh aistriúcháin Bhlara den leabhar ar fáil roimh dheireadh na bliana. Bímis ag tóil leis.

● *Girseacha i nGéibheann* le Áine agus Eibhlín Nic Ghiolla Easpaig. FNT, clúdach cruas. £5 a luach, 150 leathanaigh.



Kevin Lynch commemoration

ON SUNDAY, August 3rd, the town of Dungiven, County Derry, came out *en masse* for the fifth anniversary commemoration of hunger-striker Kevin Lynch.

Along with members of his family were friends, comrades and relatives of other hunger-strikers. They formed up in bright sunshine to march the mile-long route to the graveyard where Kevin is buried, but within a few minutes clouds opened, unleashing torrential rain that fell incessantly for the duration of the proceedings. However, it did not prevent several hundred people and nine bands from paying their respects to Kevin Lynch and marching silently in single file to his grave.

The parade was led by the Kevin Lynch Memorial Flute Band from Dungiven, who, along with all the bands, marched to only the sound of a drum-beat and with their flags lowered in salute. As they reached the family home, they stopped for a minute's silence and then slow-marched the remainder of the way.

Nearly two dozen wreaths were laid, including several on behalf of the Republican Movement. Wreaths were also laid by bands taking part in the commemoration and many sporting bodies in the area, including the local boxing club, hurling club and football club. Kevin's father laid the family wreath.

Sinn Féin Councillor John

Davey, from Magherafelt, gave the main oration.

He said he was truly honoured to speak at the grave of Kevin Lynch because, having spent some time in prison with him, he knew him as a brave and fearless Irish patriot. He offered the sympathy of all those present to the family of Kevin Lynch, reminding the crowd that for them it was a deeply personal loss, totally singular within the context of the historic hunger-strike. He went on to say:

"Far away, in New Delhi in India, when the news of Kevin Lynch's death reached the parliament there, they stood in silent tribute. One can't imagine the same thing happening on the death of Margaret Thatcher."

Casement remembered

IN BRIGHT SUNSHINE amidst the stunning coastal scenery of North Antrim, republicans gathered on Sunday afternoon, August 3rd, at the monument overlooking Murlough Bay to honour and commemorate the Irish revolutionary, Roger Casement, executed by the British 70 years ago, on August 3rd, 1916.

Seamus Clarke chaired the proceedings, welcoming everyone to Murlough Bay, and introduced the first of several speakers, Fermanagh priest Fr Joe McVeigh.

In his speech, Fr McVeigh focused on what he called "the deliberate distortion of the truth by Catholic bishops and priests in order to support the SDLP — the Catholic middle-class party". He went on to criticise the bishop's conference which "has failed to pronounce on the morality of the British occupation".

According to McVeigh, the Catholic Hierarchy has "constructed a theology of law and order, of subservience to the state, a 'theology' which talks a lot about 'reconciliation' where there is no justice — a 'theology' which justifies the continuation of state



● FRANCIE MOLLOY

violence and institutional violence — and condones the murder and torture carried out by the state in the name of 'law and order'".

PARALLELS

Francie Molloy, Dungannon Sinn Féin councillor, drew the parallels between 1916 and 1986.

"Casement and his comrades in 1914 saw through the much-heralded Home Rule Bill and rec-

ognised that the only way a lasting peace could be brought to Ireland was by armed insurrection. They saw that the Home Rule Bill would only stabilise British control in Ireland and would not bring freedom. Home Rule had been billed by constitutional nationalism as the stepping stone to the republic; Casement and his comrades knew it was a betrayal of the republic.

"Today, in 1986, the London-Dublin Accord is being hailed by Peter Barry, John Hume and the British as being in the best interests of the nationalist people. The Agreement is over eight months old, and like so many other British solutions it has failed to safeguard the rights of the nationalist people. The nightmare still goes on.

"The accord, like the Home Rule Bill of 1912, is designed to stabilise British interests in Ireland. In 1912, the Home Rule Bill was claimed to be the way of solving the Irish problem. Tom King and Peter Barry have said the same of the London-Dublin Accord.

"There is only one problem in Ireland — that is the British! Remove the British and you remove the problem. Then and only then will the Irish people be able to hold their heads high."

Beannachtaí

Robby. CAMPBELL, Robert (Portlaoise). Birthday greetings, Uncle Robert. Lots of love, From Christine, Marian, Patrick, Manuel, Robert, Lisa, Stephen, Andrea, Paula, Michelle, Sadie, Christopher, Toni, Gerard, Connor, Joseph, Patrick, Katrina, Sarah, Tina, Toni and C.C. Robert. XXX CORMAC. Congratulations. From Colm and Dad. KAVANAGH, Paul (Leicester). Happy birthday, Paul. Hope to see you sometime soon. All our love. From Mum and Dad. KAVANAGH, Paul (Leicester). Happy birthday, Paul. I'm still praying for you all. Love from Greta. KAVANAGH, Paul (Leicester). Happy birthday, Paul. We will have a

drink for you. Give our regards to all your comrades. Love from all at No 14. KAVANAGH, Paul (Leicester). Many happy returns, Paul. Are you 21 again? Best wishes, From Gonne. MAC CURTAIN, Colm (Portlaoise). Best wishes on your birthday Colm. From everyone in the West Limerick Sinn Féin comhairle ceantair. MAC CURTAIN, Colm (Portlaoise). Best wishes on your birthday Colm. From the Sean O'Brien Sinn Féin cumann, Charleville, County Cork. NORDONE, Stephen (Parkhurst). All the very best on your birthday, Stephen. Regards to all POWs with you. From Mary and Patrick, Bunclara. NORDONE, Stephen (Parkhurst). Best wishes on your birthday and regards to all POWs in jail everywhere. From the Gaughan/McDaid Sinn Féin cumann, Bunclara.

WORLD VIEW Nicaragua

LAST MONTH marked the seventh anniversary of the Nicaraguan revolution. On July 19th 1979, liberation fighters of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), spurred on by massive popular resistance, finally deposed the despotic dictatorship of the Somoza family and set up a revolutionary government of national reconstruction.

The Somozas had misruled Nicaragua for over 40 years and maintained their position through universal repression and ballot rigging.

In the early '70s, faced with the prospect of no 'mature' Somoza available to take up the mantle, (presidents elect must be 30 years of age), the then incumbent Anastasio Somoza at first contemplated declaring himself 'king of Nicaragua'. He finally settled for a 'triumvirate', with his son and nephew making up the numbers. Thus the Somozas were able to preserve all the constitutional niceties.

It was at this point that the struggle against the despots began to gather momentum. The FSLN had been launched in 1961, spending the ten years to 1972 building its base amongst the people. During the period 1972 to 1978, the FSLN intensified its activities, creating vast no-go areas in Northern Nicaragua. Throughout the rest of the country, a popular front of social democrats, trade unionists and left organisations was being organised under the umbrella of the National Civic Alliance.

Worried by this increase in resistance to his rule, the increasingly erratic Somoza declared: "Nicaragua is now a socialist country."

SOMOZAS' INSTABILITY

A measure of the mental stability of the Somozas can be gauged by the 'phony war' conducted against Costa Rica (which has no army) between 1954-55. In April 1954, the Nicaraguan army was sent into Costa Rica, backed up by 25 P51 fighter planes (supplied by Sweden).

Despite Costa Rica's weak and vulnerable position, Somoza made little headway. The apologetic Somoza then challenged Costa Rica's President Jose Figueres to a duel on the border — pistols at dawn and winner takes all. Figueres politely declined the crazed dictator's challenge.

The heavily-pressed Somozas turned increasingly to the United States and Britain for help, both of whom had been instrumental in the development of Nicaragua as a 'friendly' dictatorship. The British had always ensured that Nicaragua's debts to both Britain and the US had been kept in check by the simple expedient of Britain appointing Nicaragua's collector general of customs (always a US citizen).

US INTEREST

The US interest in the country was extensive, occupying Nicaragua on a number of occasions. The last major occupation lasted (on and off) from 1912 to 1933. General Smedley D. Butler, US Marine commander at the time, said of the occupation:

"I helped purify Nicaragua for the international banking house of Brown Brothers. I helped make Honduras 'right' for American fruit companies. Looking back on it, I might have given Al Capone a few pointers."

And the US was never found wanting, with Washington pouring millions of dollars into the coffers of the Somozas. The US also sent in 'military advisers' and stepped up CIA covert operations. By 1978, despite massive aid, Somoza was staring defeat in the face. Even Washington was worried, deciding in principle that Somoza was "dead meat". But there was no visible immediate replacement. At the time, a US State Department official said:

"We've been looking everywhere for another Belaguer (a reference to Joaquim Belaguer, whom the US imposed as president on the Dominican Republic in 1966) but we can't seem to locate him."

With no obvious substitute, the



● DANIEL ORTEGA

Carter administration upped the funding: 32 million dollars in May 1978, 150 million dollars in July of that year, and 20 million dollars in September — but it was already too late. By the spring of 1979, the FSLN was severely punishing Somoza. International support was mounting, with Costa Rica, Panama, Mexico and Venezuela declaring for the FSLN. In April 1979, Israel sent in military advisers and built an air-defence system for Somoza. The US supplied a further 65 million dollars and air-lifted vast supplies of weapons from the Panama Canal Zone.

Then, in June 1979, the FSLN launched the final offensive.

The Carter administration contemplated direct intervention, but Somoza panicked and fled the country on July 17th, accompanied by leading army officers. A demoralised military and national guard collapsed. The FSLN pressed forward, achieving an all-out military and political victory.

REAGAN

Despite this massive defeat for US foreign policy, the Carter administration continued to try and destabilise the revolutionary government of Nicaragua. With Carter's defeat, Reagan, the new US president, redoubled the efforts in this direction, turning his efforts into a 'holy crusade' against 'communism' and is at this moment moving very close to direct military intervention.

During victory celebrations on July 19th, Nicaragua's President Daniel Ortega pointed to this threat and called on all Nicaraguans in every walk of life to "defend national unity and the sovereignty and independence of Nicaragua".

Ortega also called on all Central American countries to defend Nicaragua from US aggression.

EXPOSED

Meanwhile, the New York Times and Washington Post have exposed that William Casey, the CIA's director, wants "operational responsibility" for the "war against Nicaragua". This would mean that the CIA would manage and control all military operations while the US State Department would still control policy.

This is the third major exposé on Nicaragua by these newspapers in four years. The first was in March 1982 when plans were revealed for the setting up of the now notorious 'Contras' — a William Casey brain-child.

'WINNABLE'

The second exposé was in June 1985 when secret military and intelligence reports were leaked. The reports described an invasion of Nicaragua as "winnable". Again the hand of William Casey was seen to be active. According to those reports, Nicaragua is only "winnable" if Reagan moves before January 1987. After that date, the reports estimate that Nicaragua would have consolidated its position while Reagan would be facing new elections. The US administration has already carried out a number of 'dummy runs', notably exercises in Honduras such as Ahusa Tara '86 (involving 2,000 troops last March) and Cabanas '86 last May (involving 500 troops including the 82nd Airborne Division).

WOULD THE REAL William Tipping please stand up?

The IRA's campaign against building contractors who collaborate with the forces of the crown is having a great deal of success with a number of companies stopping work on various RUC barracks and British army posts. And when John Laing the builders flew the coop from the RAF base at Aldergrove, a booster for flagging morale was badly needed.

Enter the Belfast News Letter. "Provoked defied — Army of workers at ready" screamed its front-page headline on Saturday.

According to one William Tipping, an East Belfast company director, a suicide squad of electrical and plumbing contractors was straining at the leash to work for the forces of the crown. "We have no intention of letting the IRA beat us," squeaked Silly Billy. "We will finish the job at any cost. We will take on any of the contracts from the RUC or RAF." A foolish Billy Boy indeed.

But not all Tippings tip the same tipple it seems, as this notice in Monday's News Letter testifies:

NOTE — We wish to make it clear that the East Belfast businessman, William Tipping, who was quoted by us in our article in Saturday's News Letter is not William Tipping, plumbing contractor, of 58 Bloomfield Road, Belfast, who has no connection whatsoever with him.

CIVILIAN HIRELINGS of the British crown aren't the only ones reluctant to co-operate with the British army.

When 136 members of the 7th Duke of Edinburgh's Own Gurkha Rifles, one of the British army's most publicised and "ferociously loyal" regiments, decided to unwind after a party at an American army base in Hawaii earlier this year, a riot broke out.

Two officers, one of them a Gurkha and the other on secondment from the Royal Anglian Regiment, tried to restore order and were attacked by the rampaging Nepalese mercenaries, receiving broken ribs and head-wounds for their pains.



THE FLYING COLUMN



● UVF graffiti in the Irish Street estate in Derry's Waterside

(The Royal Anglian Regiment isn't having too much luck either in the North or elsewhere lately, is it?)

Despite a two-month inquiry by the Brits' Special Investigation Branch, the mountain men kept their mouths firmly shut and 111 of them have been given their marching orders to their Himalayan homes for "refusing to co-operate" with the British army.

FOUR OTHER GURKHAS are currently appearing before Middlesex magistrates on charges of trying to smuggle £180,000 worth of heroin and cannabis into Britain.

THE UDA's former 'supreme commander' in Scotland, 52-year-old Roderick MacDonald, is currently expressing his loyalty to the crown by spending 18 months at one of her majesty's prisons for possession of heroin.

THE BODY of RUC Detective Mervyn Patterson of the Fraud Squad was found last Wednesday, July 30th, on the shores of Belfast Lough at Newtownabbey close to his home in Whitehouse Park. His hands and feet had been tied loosely and he had been shot through the head, al-

though no gun was found near the body.

Claims that Patterson had been compiling a dossier on corruption and irregularities within the RUC, particularly within the Fraud Squad itself, have led to press speculation that he may have been murdered by his own colleagues and not committed suicide as was first thought.

GARY COOPER reeled back against the wall, his arm bleeding from a shot fired by some bushwacking varmint. The townsfolk had to be taken care of and he wasn't going to be run out of town by a great Alsatian named his door.

No, it's not a scene by Hollywood's Gary Cooper in *High Noon* but from the mind of Hull's Gary Cooper in *Cock-up at the OP Corral*.

Hull's Gary (25), who had been wounded in an IRA attack while serving with the British army in the North, had hung up his guns to retire to a quiet life as a caretaker for the folks in the Orchard Park Estate. However, Caretaker Cooper got a little careless while he was playing cowboys one day and shot himself in the arm with his .22 rifle. So embarrassed was Gary that he spun his 'ambush' yarn to the local posse when they raced to the scene.

Gary Cooper was fined £250 by Hull magistrates last Friday for wasting police time.

WHITE RACIST THUGS David Manners (22) and James Speed (24), both members of the neo-Nazi National Front, were given 'slap on the wrist' sentences by Bromley Magistrates' Court for viciously beating a black man with metal-tipped banner poles. They were ordered to do 100 hours of community service and to pay £50 compensation to their victim and £30 costs.

James Speed's father is Metropolitan Police Commander Anthony Speed. Commander Speed is in charge of riot and firearms training at Hendon Police College.

RED FACES at the Building Workers' Party's mausoleum in Gardiner Place last month.

The Madrid newspaper *El Pais*, describing a Sinn Féin picket in support of the Basque people at the King of Spain's visit to Dublin's Garden of Remembrance on July 2nd, referred to the protestors as "members of the Workers' Party, political wing of the IRA".

After being told of its mistake, *El Pais* printed a correction the following week, but not without upsetting the Kremlin-worshipping Workers' Party even further:

"Speaking of the Irish party Sinn Féin, political wing of the Irish Republican Army, we erroneously cited the name of the Workers' Party, an Irish political organisation of Trotskyist orientation."

THE INFAMOUS AP/RN gremlin omitted a digit from the postcode for Bik McFarlane's holiday home in Amsterdam which has resulted in him receiving some letters a couple of months after they were posted (according to Bik). However, our Dutch undercover unit informs us that a postcard sent from Donegal and addressed to Brendan McFarlane, Highest Security Prison, Holland, arrived safely only three days later.

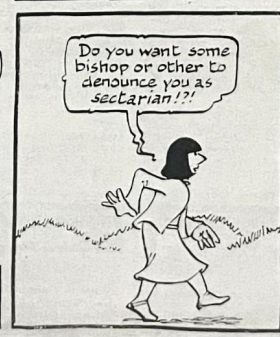
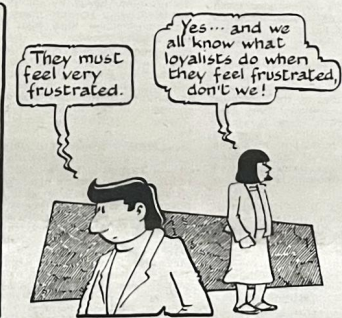
And Gerry Kelly is being inundated with material from the National Front! But, as he says himself: "A letter is a letter is a letter..."

Anyway, their addresses are:

Brendan McFarlane,
Huis Van Bewaring,
De Schans,
Postbus 41901,
1009 C.E. Amsterdam,
Netherlands.

Gerry Kelly,
Maastricht Prison,
Willem Alexanderweg 21,
An 6200 Maastricht,
Netherlands.

Notes
by GORMAC



QUIRT SIAD

A beastly tactic.
— The British government's Nicholas Scott on the IRA's warning to building contractors.

The IRA is following a precedent set by its forebears in the 1920s: totally isolate rural police and army bases and make them inoperable by every means possible.

— The pro-Thatcher Daily Telegraph.

The one certain thing that the Castleberg Charity Parade supplies yearly is patients for the hospitals.

— Sinn Féin Councillor Charlie McHugh. Ostensibly to raise money for charities, including Castleberg Hospital, the parade has become a mini Twelfth — a provocative display of loyalist triumphalism accompanied by RUC harassment of, and sectarian attacks on, local nationalists.