



An Phoblacht

Sraith Nua Iml 16 Uimhir 38
(England, Scotland, Wales 50p) Price 45p

REPUBLICAN NEWS

Déardaoin, 22 Meán Fómhair
Thursday, 22 September 1994

MAJOR MUST CHANGE BRITISH POLICY

BRITISH PRIME MINISTER John Major flew to Belfast on Friday, 16 September, to announce the end of the broadcasting ban imposed on Irish republican spokespersons by his predecessor Margaret Thatcher in 1988. At the same time, his Secretary of State Patrick Mayhew announced the reopening of ten closed border roads.

Commenting on these developments, Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams said: "The removal of the broadcast ban and the decision to open ten out of around 250 border crossings is a small but welcome first step by the British government. But other steps need to be taken by Mr Major now."

"The process of demilitarisation should be accelerated. All border roads should be reopened immediately and compensation paid to the local communities whose economic well-being and lives have been detrimentally affected. Militarisation, so apparent in the legal and judicial system, British army and RUC patrols, watchtowers and heavily-fortified bases, should end."

The British government's announcement of these changes must be measured against the other reality detailed throughout this week's *AP/RN*. That reality is that the British army is still blowing up roads reopened by local border communities; that the British fired plastic bullets at nationalists in Belfast; that the Thompson Inquiry pointed to further evidence of collusion between official state forces and the loyalist death squads; that yet another inquest served to whitewash the role of British forces in a 'shoot-to-kill' incident.

These are the realities still faced by nationalists today in British-occupied Ireland and John Major this week caused further anger and concern with his continued stalling on the road to a solution which would end all such injustices. Major still

refuses to accept the IRA cessation initiative as genuine and demonstrated Britain's continuing obstructive role on the path to peace and justice by making what Gerry Adams described as "premature and presumptuous" references to a Six-County referendum.

As Gerry Adams pointed out: "The Six-County statelet is an artificial and gerrymandered political entity with an in-built and permanent unionist majority. The British government-imposed veto based on this artificial majority is both undemocratic and unacceptable. Discussion on how agreement would be measured, when the search for agreement has not yet begun, is therefore premature."

In his first major TV interview since the lifting of the British broadcasting ban, Adams condemned Major for refusing to reciprocate the IRA initiative. He said: "Mr Major is engaging in a stalling exercise. If he wants to engage in word games with the IRA, that is all right as far as I am concerned."

"Mr Major needs to match his words with deeds. He is making a Tom Fool out of himself in the way he is behaving."

He said that Sinn Féin had doggedly persisted in the peace process when people had been trying to kill its members. "We are committed to this peace process and as soon as Mr Major matches his words with deeds, everyone in the island of Ireland can look forward to a future, free from any kind of violence."

OPEN THE BORDER ROADS

RALLY

MONAGHAN TOWN

2.30pm Saturday

September 24

Floats, bands, banners and spades.

Guest speakers



**Road-openings
and protests
on the border
Sunday 25 September**

DUBLIN BUSES
Saturday 24 September 11.30am
Garden of Remembrance
Sunday 25 September 10.30am GPO.

News

Plastic bullets fired by crown forces

THE COURAGE and determination of the nationalist communities of Springhill, Divismore and Greater Ballymurphy thwarted a brutal crown forces' attack on civilians in West Belfast last weekend.

The incident, which took place on Saturday evening, began when a joint British army/RUC patrol reacted violently to a minor prank by a handful of local primary school children.

With rifles cocked and plastic-bullet guns loaded and ready to fire, British soldiers and members of the RUC ran amok, assaulting one resident when he attempted to intervene on behalf of his elderly and disabled mother. Local people were threatened with lethal plastic-bullet guns at point-blank range. Two plastic bullets were fired at residents, one narrowly missing a seven-year-old boy.

One RUC officer shouted: "Let's have some fun" while a British army sergeant repeatedly ordered the patrol to "charge" and open fire with plastic bullets. Only the resolute action of local residents curtailed the murderous intentions of the British army and RUC. A member of Springhill Residents' Association, Thomas Holland, describes the incident:

"I was alerted by a neighbour. We have a siren which is used to warn the neighbourhood if there's a problem. Everyone just came out of their homes. A number of us tried to calm the British soldiers down. We stood in front of their plastic-bullet guns. One of the patrol, a British army sergeant who appeared to be in charge, was really hyping his men up, he shouted "charge" at least three times and ordered them to open up with plastic bullets.

■ BY LAURA FRIEL

"It was really very tense. I was standing right in front of one soldier who was pointing his loaded plastic-bullet gun at me at point-blank range. He repeatedly threatened to kill me. I just stood my ground and tried to reassure the soldier. I told him that there was no need for all this. Other residents were doing the same. It was frightening. We didn't know if they would open fire or not, but

there was loads of kids on the street by then so we just stood our ground."

Harriet Kelly has lived in the Springhill area most of her life. A 74-year-old with a serious heart condition and registered disabled, Harriet was sitting in her living room when the British army and RUC surrounded her home. When one of her sons, who lives close by, challenged the RUC, he was assaulted, thrown to the ground and bitten on the chest by a member of the patrol. Harriet said:

"I came out of the house at all the commotion. I saw my son

lying on the ground surrounded by the RUC. One RUC officer drew his baton, lifting it above his head and threatened to hit me."

Thomas Holland continues: "When the siren was switched off, we could hear the banging of dustbin lids and whistles from Divismore and Ballymurphy. People in those areas had heard the siren and come out to demonstrate their support. There was just hundreds of people on the streets."

In the face of such community resolve, the British crown forces had little option but to withdraw. As the so-called 'peace keepers'

crossed a patch of waste ground, two soldiers turned and fired two plastic bullets at local residents. Miraculously, no one was hit. The seven-year-old grandson of Harriet Kelly narrowly escaped injury as one of the bullets hit the wall inches away from where he was standing.

While this incident was going on in Belfast, in County Down, four young Draperstown children, aged between eight and eleven had a horrifying experience when two heavily-armed RUC units based in nearby Magherafelt, notorious in the region for their anti-Catholic behaviour, grabbed the children and lined them up against a wall.

Held at gunpoint for a considerable time the children were illegally searched and questioned by the RUC who repeatedly threatened that they were "going to take you away."

As the children became hysterical a group of people from the surrounding neighbourhood gathered. The RUC hastily drove off leaving the four children crying and in great distress.

Local Sinn Féin Councillor Patsy Croghan, who was approached by a number of parents, described the RUC's actions as despicable.

In an act of petty vandalism, British soldiers slashed the tyres of 27 vehicles in the Turf Lodge area of West Belfast last weekend.

The perpetrators were identified as British soldiers by a Gort na Monagh resident who witnessed the attack on his car. Joey Bradley witnessed a number of British soldiers climb over a locked gate into the front garden where the vehicle was parked for the night.

Bradley immediately went out to check the vehicle and discovered the tyres had been slashed.



■ Mrs Kelly, who had a plastic bullet fired at her by the RUC

UVF bomb attack on Belfast bar

THE LOYALIST UVF claimed it planted the 4lb bomb left outside the Rock Bar at around 3am in the early hours of Wednesday morning, 21 September. The device was left on a window-sill of the bar situated near the junction of the Donegall Road and the Falls Road.

Nobody was injured in the attack as the bomb failed to go off. This is the second time this year that the Rock Bar has been targeted by loyalists. On 15 January, loyalists attempted the mass murder of nationalists in the bar when they fired a rocket. It glanced off the

corner of the building and exploded. During this attack, the UDA also raked the building with automatic gunfire. The bar was full of parents and children who had just made their First Communion.

Sinn Féin National Chairperson Tom Hartley said the bombing,

the fourth loyalist bomb attack since the IRA cessation three weeks ago, was "an attempt to destabilise the peace process". Hartley called on unionist politicians to move "away from providing a rationale for the activities of these death squads".

Meanwhile, a member of the British army was sent for trial at a Belfast court last week on charges of "collecting information

likely to be useful to terrorists".

Brian Richard Lewis, whose address was given as c/o Royal Irish Regiment, appeared last Thursday, 16 September. He was charged with having on 20 January 1994 "conspired with a person not before the court in collecting information likely to be useful to terrorists".

On Friday, 17 September, a senior loyalist from South Belfast appeared in Belfast Magistrates

Court on charges of "possessing records and documents containing information useful to terrorists planning acts of violence".

Thirty-two-year-old Alexander Kerr of Killard Place, Finaghy, was flanked by a dozen RUC members in the court where it was revealed that documents had been found in his possession. During the hearing it also emerged that one of the documents Kerr had in his possession was found in an envelope which had been posted to him. He was remanded in custody to appear at Crumlin Road Court on 7 October.

Sinn Féin woman strip-searched by gardaí

IN AN OUTRAGEOUS ATTEMPT to intimidate republican activists in Dublin, gardaí last week strip-searched a woman arrested for painting slogans on a derelict building. The incident occurred on Wednesday night, 14 September, when two men and a woman were arrested by Special Branch and uniformed gardaí and taken to Irishtown Garda Barracks. The slogan, 'Who Arms the UVF?' was painted in large letters close to the site of the UVF attack on the Widow Scallan's pub in May this year.

The woman, a Sinn Féin member, was subjected to verbal and physical intimidation when she declined to answer questions

before speaking to her solicitor. She was then strip-searched, despite having handed over all the items in her possession. Nothing

was found in the strip-search and no attempt was made to justify it.

The woman was then subjected to further interrogation by Special Branch members before being charged with damaging property and released on bail. Despite being charged with the same offence, neither of the two men arrested were strip-searched, a clear indication that the purpose of the garda behaviour was to terrify and intimidate the woman.

Speaking after her ordeal, the Sinn Féin member said:

"The question 'Who arms the UVF?' is an important and pertinent question. Gardaí failed to release ballistic information on the bomb used in the attack on the Widow Scallan's but it is known that commercial explosive was used in this and in the attack on Dublin's Connolly Station last week. While the Dublin government should be initiating a full

inquiry into this and other allegations of British intelligence involvement in loyalist death squads, the gardaí are resorting to the weapon of a strip-search to try to stop that question being publicly asked."

Sinn Féin spokesperson Joan O'Connor of the party's Women's Department said: "There can be no justification for this strip-search by gardaí. Such attempts to intimidate Sinn Féin women will not succeed."

News

Rallies, protests and road-openings escalate

■ BY MICK NAUGHTON

"We have come here today to move on the peace process. We want an end to the British army in this city, we want them out, we want the British government to take all the paraphernalia of war, to take all the technology of war out — as soon as possible."

These were the words of Martin McGuinness addressing a 500-strong crowd at a rally in Derry city on Saturday, 17 September.

"Irish nationalists were agreed that there can be no internal solutions, no partitionist arrangements and no vetoes. Partition has clearly failed. There has to be fundamental constitutional and political change," said McGuinness. And referring to the present situation he emphasised:

"What shape that change takes will be a matter for inclusive negotiations between all parties and both governments. No party can have a veto over the outcome or should be allowed to set conditions which seek to predetermine the outcome of negotiations. Everyone knows, in spite of what we heard from the British prime minister about a referendum for unionists, that the only solution which will work, coming out at the end of this process, will be an all-Ireland solution. Of that there can be no doubt."

Prior to Saturday's march, republicans opened more border roads on the outskirts of Derry. Roads at Lenamore, Groaty and Coshquin were reopened. Border roads campaign spokesperson Stephen Gargan said: "We do not accept that the opening of these roads is the gift of the British government to bestow on the Irish people if and when they decide. Freedom of movement is a right, not a concession."

Local Presbyterian Minister Robert Davey, whose parishes at Ballyarnett and Muff straddle the border, told reporters that road closures meant that he had to do a five-mile detour from one church to the next.

Following the reopening of several roads around Derry, loyalists attempted to kill campaigners by leaving a 'pipe bomb' beside one of the recently-opened roads. It was found by children in a field near Benview Estate, only 800 metres from the Coshquin Road crossing.

■ LEITRIM

A crowd of 100 people from

Leitrim and Fermanagh opened Doard Bridge linking Rossinver and Garrison on Saturday, 17 September. A large force of British troops and gardai observed from a distance. Five large concrete bollards were removed. Those present included Sinn Féin Councillors Robin Martin and Jack McManus (Fermanagh), Liam McGirl (Leitrim), Seán MacManus and Vincent Murray (Sligo). A group of around 20 counter-demonstrators was present. There was no conflict between the two groups and Owen Carron, speaking on behalf of the road-openers, said that it was illogical to oppose the reopenings. The roads should not have been closed in the first place. Doard Road was closed by the British army again on Sunday.

■ TYRONE

In the Tyrone towns of Dungannon and Cookstown protests demanding national democracy, demilitarisation and the release of POWs were held. In scenes reminiscent of the dismantling of the Berlin Wall, republicans in Dungannon cut through three British barriers blocking access to the town's main shopping area.

The three 'security' barriers, beside the remains of the old British courthouse at the junction of Ann Street and Irish Street and ironically at the junction of Union Place and Irish Street, were cut away by protesters using an industrial angle grinder. Following this, protesters moved on to picket the town's RUC barracks. But as the crowd dispersed, the RUC arrested Sinn Féin Councillor Molloy and two party workers.

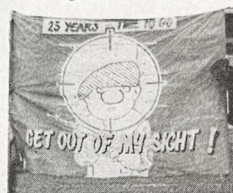
They were charged with "causing criminal damage and illegally removing property belonging to the Northern Ireland Office".

Also on Saturday, 17 September, Sinn Féin's justice spokesperson Barry McDuff, speaking to a large crowd in Cookstown at the 'permanent' British army checkpoint at Convent Lane, called for complete demilitarisation.

Standing beside a group of women holding a banner demanding the release of Irish political



● Camlough residents — we shall not be moved!



prisoners, McDuff pointed to the fact that some of the protesters were actually 'directing' traffic through the checkpoint while British army soldiers acted as "mere onlookers". The RUC meanwhile adopted a high profile, with several armoured personnel carriers circling the beleaguered Greenvale Estate repeatedly, before the protest. Also attending the protest were Sinn Féin's Lough Shore Councillor Séamus Campbell and Sinn Féin representatives Martin Conlan and Finbar Conway.

Elsewhere in County Tyrone, reports emerged about increased harassment at the 'permanent' British army checkpoint at Aghnacloy. Recording a litany of complaints from his constituents, Sinn Féin Councillor Raymond McMahon condemned the latest British army actions. McMahon revealed that he was lodging an official complaint after a funeral cortege was held up by British soldiers last Sunday morning.

■ DERRY

The Glenshane Pass, on the main Derry to Belfast road saw local republicans take their message out on one of Ireland's busiest roads. Over 100 people took part in the protest on Friday, 16 September. They held placards

highlighting the recent shoot-to-kill incident involving the RUC in Swatragh and demanded a removal of the nine British military bases in the area.

■ BELFAST

Moving on to Belfast and the world's news media witnessed people power at first hand when scores of protesters, including several Sinn Féin councillors, demonstrated in the Upper Springfield Road area of West Belfast on Saturday afternoon.

Earlier, they had held a white-line picket at the bottom of the White Rock Road where it meets the Falls.

Holding a 'Demilitarise Now' banner, Councillors Pat McGeown, Fra McCann and party national chairperson Tom Hartley stood at the entrance to the Henry Taggart joint British army/RUC base with a 200-strong crowd. As youthful members of the crowd hoisted the national flag to the top of the base's security perimeter, British soldiers turned high-powered water hoses on them. Undeterred, the protesters ignored the rapid deployment of RUC personnel carriers and continued the protest.

Concluding the protest, Councillor McGeown told AP/RN that the base's days were numbered. "We are planning a more constructive use for this base and will be removing all repressive features as soon as those unwelcome strangers vacate the building. Indeed, some local West Belfast Festival fans have already suggested it as

a venue for outdoor concerts at Festival '95."

On Thursday, 15 September, protestors from North Belfast, displaying their characteristic flair for new ideas, erected a huge 'For Sale' sign outside the RUC's North Queen Street Barracks.

The protestors told the RUC that they had "just received instructions from the NIO to erect the sign".

The 'For Sale' sign, which was made locally, also 'advertised' 10,000 square feet of office space for rent, and the sale of a 'large stock of army surplus equipment'. The doughy North Belfast republicans (who also held aloft a large banner saying 'North Belfast Says Time to Go') are planning their next protest and are at present said to be "waiting for tenders".

■ DUBLIN

On Saturday, 17 September, members of the Irish National Congress in Balbriggan undertook a 20-mile Peace and Freedom Walk from the north County Dublin town to the city centre. The walk was officially seen off by the Balbriggan Town Commissioners. The next day, Dublin Sinn Féin distributed thousands of leaflets at the All-Ireland Football Final and posted all the streets around Croke Park.

■ SLIGO

In Sligo on Saturday, 25 people took part for the second week in a picket at the town's main post office supporting the peace process and highlighting the border roads issue.



● People of Ballymurry and Upper Springfield demonstrate at the Henry Taggart Barracks



● Nationalists open roads in County Derry

News

Inquiry indicts RUC in 'peace-line' killing

THE MECHANISMS of RUC collusion with loyalist death squads were once again exposed during an independent public inquiry held in West Belfast at the weekend. The two-day hearing, which was modelled on the Cullyhanna Inquiry of 1992, was jointly chaired by English human rights solicitor Gareth Peirce and American Judge Andrew Sommers. Jurists, who included a distinguished panel of international lawyers and legal experts, heard evidence from 15 local witnesses to the incident and events leading up to the fatal shooting.

According to the preliminary findings of the inquiry, the RUC was culpable in the sectarian murder of 25-year-old Catholic Paul Thompson and the serious wounding of taxi driver Patrick Elley. Thompson was a passenger when the taxi man's vehicle was lured to, and ambushed in, Springfield Park by a loyalist death squad on 27 April 1994. In their preliminary findings the inquiry team said:

"The death of Paul Thompson and the severe wounding of Patrick Elley are crimes that could and should have been avoided. The wholesale abrogation of its responsibilities by the RUC to those it is charged to protect and defend substantially contributed to this tragic event."

At West Belfast's Conway Mill, which hosted the inquiry, local and international media mingled with members of the Thompson family as the jurists delivered their preliminary findings at a press conference on Monday, 19

September. According to the jurists:

"The RUC's failure to take any action consistent with its responsibility to protect and defend the residents of Springfield Park contributed substantially to the ability of loyalist paramilitaries to breach the interface [security barrier], set up an ambush, lure Patrick Elley to the ambush scene, accomplish the ambush and escape through the breached wall.

"Failure to vigorously investigate the crime may well have contributed to the inability of the [British] government to prosecute the paramilitaries involved and thus deter future acts of violence."

Characterising the witnesses as "entirely credible" the inquiry described their evidence as "profoundly disturbing". The preliminary report highlights the "exceptional danger" in which northern nationalists in general and the residents of Springfield in particular, have lived in "for many years".

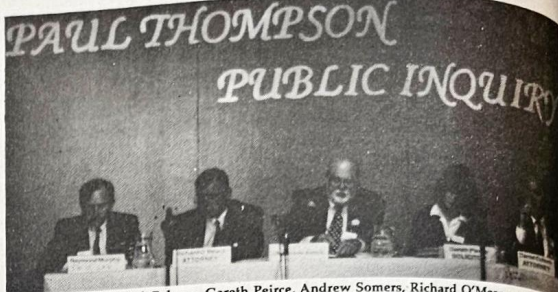
The findings note the frequency and identical pattern of sectarian attacks in the area and point to the apparent complete confidence with which loyalist death squads operate in the area as indicative of crown forces' collusion.

"Springfield Park is overlooked by a substantial barracks, equipped with watch towers, video cameras scanning the area and substantial army and RUC personnel. Both the road itself and the dividing wall, known as the 'peace wall' are within view and within less than one minute's travelling time at its furthest point from the barracks."

However, "in neither this attack nor any of the previous numerous attacks, have RUC officers been present and appeared to be in urgent pursuit of the perpetrators, nor has any perpetrator or suspect ever been arrested."

More specifically, regarding the killing of Paul Thompson, the jurists note that the RUC "may have been aware for up to two weeks prior to the shooting that calls to and from the taxi firm [employing only Catholics] were being monitored by loyalists, and yet no warning was given to the taxi firm."

The preliminary findings also note the fact that the dividing bar-



● (From right) Daniel Coburn, Gareth Peirce, Andrew Somers, Richard O'Meara and Raymond Murphy, hearing submissions to the Paul Thompson Inquiry

rier was breached during daylight hours in full view of the barracks and that despite urgent telephone calls by a spokesperson of the local Residents' Association to the NIO, RUC and the local MP Joe Hendron, no action was taken to secure the breach.

"Despite these clear warnings and the known exceptional likelihood that such a breach could lead to a fatal attack upon unarmed civilians, no police presence, action or investigation took place."

On the basis of these primary facts, the jurists full report will consider "whether the residents of Springfield Park enjoy either the guarantees of individual human rights required by international

law, or in any way the service of a police force complying with minimum standards required by international conventions".

In a concluding address, Brenda Murphy of the Springfield Residents' Association, thanked all those who participated in the inquiry, particularly "the bravery and courage" of witnesses who came forward "in this difficult climate". In an emotional ending of the proceedings, members of the Thompson family presented the jurists with bouquets of flowers, a poignant reminder of the personal suffering and loss which remains the human cost of continued crown forces' collusion in loyalist killings.

Witnesses describe death of Paul Thompson

■ BY BRIAN O'DONNELL

WITNESSES at the Thompson Inquiry were introduced and questioned by Thomas Fox New York. Angela Ritchie from the firm Madden and Finucane, who represents the family of the

Ritchie told the panel of jurists that the RUC and the NIO had been invited, but declined to attend or make submissions to the inquiry.

"Since the murder of Paul Thompson his family have heard nothing from the RUC about their ongoing investigation. His family has been kept in the dark," said Ritchie.

Ritchie also said the first correspondence the family had from the RUC was only received on Thursday, 15 September, two days before the inquiry started.

In his introduction Fox outlined the history of attacks against the small nationalist community in Springfield Park:

"In two years there have been eleven gun and bomb attacks on residents in the area which backs

on to the Springfield Estate. And to a great degree this is where the violence has come from."

He then outlined the background to the attack on 27 April when the nationalist taxi firm Patrick Elley worked for received a 'dummy' pick-up luring him to Springfield Park and into the loyalist ambush.

One of the main witnesses at the inquiry was Brenda Murphy. A resident of Springfield Park and a witness to both the loyalist breaching of the fence and the subsequent murder, Murphy was instrumental in alerting residents to the threat. It was she who phoned both the RUC and NIO telling them the 'peace line' was breached and demanded increased security for the cul-de-sac.

At around 12.30pm on 27 April,

Murphy saw workmen on the loyalist side of the fence. She phoned the NIO to see if work on the 'peace wall', which the residents had asked for, was beginning. She also wanted to know if they were going to lock the connecting gates which they had opened.

However, her calls were only 'answered' by answering machines.

Less than two hours later Murphy saw two men dressed in casual clothes working at the fence. She said the two men had in fact removed three bars from the fence. Giving her evidence, Murphy attacked the RUC for their complicity in the attack:

"The RUC in previous meetings tried to assure residents that the 'peace line' was under constant observation from an army post which is 60-70 feet high and situated just several hundred yards from the wall. So, their claim that they could not see the men force the hole in the fence or carry out the murder must be dismissed because the crown forces have the latest infrared technology in these posts.

"The RUC refused to say if there was any video evidence of the two men busting the fence or if there was any of the actual murder. The gunmen initially opened fire from an area of waste land at the top of the street which is in full view of the crown forces' spy post."

Murphy stressed that the RUC was well aware of the heightened threat because of the numerous phone calls she had made to them on 27 April. She herself spoke to a Sergeant Sheldon at Grosvenor

Road Barracks.

"He knew the background to the type of attacks that nationalists in the area had suffered. He had dealt with us previously and I assumed he would take any claims, that the fence was breached, with grave concern."

Indeed, the RUC 'Community Relations Officer' assured Murphy that something would be done and promised to phone her back. "At no time did I receive a call back," she said.

When Murphy phoned Joe Hendron, the local SDLP MP and was met with a recorded message, she printed up some leaflets and delivered them to local residents. These leaflets warned residents of the danger posed by the broken fence.

At approximately 11.30pm that night, Paul Thompson was shot dead. Murphy said her teenage daughter arrived home and as she came in to the house "she told me that she had been sharing a joke with Patrick Elley and Topper (Paul Thompson). I then heard the car take off and seconds later I heard gunfire."

Murphy said she ran from her house and found the car rattled, with Paul Thompson slumped across the seats. She tried to help him, but in the darkness it was difficult to establish where exactly he had been shot.

An even more damning fact disclosed later by the RUC to the residents association was that they knew that the taxi firm which Patrick Elley had been working for was being monitored by loyalists, using a radio scanner for over two weeks.

They refused to say how they got such information, but would have been well aware of loyalist intentions to murder nationalist taxi drivers yet they failed to noti-

fy the firm and its drivers of the threat which they and their occupants were under.

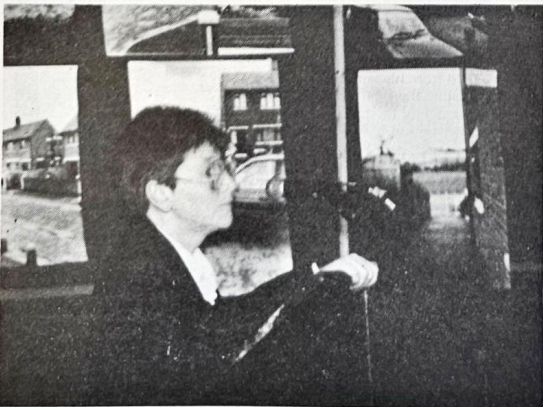
Patrick Elley told the inquiry he had just left his daughter's school bag in her friend's house, adjacent to the home of Brenda Murphy, where she was staying for the night. He then drove 20 yards to the end of the cul-de-sac and was in the initial stages of turning the car when the gunman opened fire. "Topper shouted 'Packy!', the windows came in and the car stopped. The gunman came over to the car and started shooting at point-blank range. Topper fell into my lap, I opened the door and tried to pull him out."

Elley was hit in the leg. The gunman fired 25-30 shots then made their way across nearby fields towards the gap in the fence and escaped into the loyalist Springfield Estate. By this time local residents had arrived on the murder scene and were frantically trying to give Paul Thompson the kiss of life. Elley criticised the inactivity of the RUC:

"I thought that they would help Topper, but they did nothing, they did not help Topper, the did not even search the fields. I have always been cooperative with the RUC, but they did not even ask me for a description of the gunman."

A local resident, a nurse, was on the scene in minutes. "I was tending to Topper and asked a nearby RUC man to help me lift him out of the car and lie him straight. He just stared at me and then just turned his head."

A number of other local residents also gave evidence and the Committee for the Administration of Justice made a submission of the wider legal and justice implications. The full report and findings of the inquiry will be published at a later date.



● Brenda Murphy giving evidence at the Paul Thompson Inquiry

workers in struggle...workers in struggle...workers in struggle...workers in struggle...workers in struggle...

Coalition 'death wish' for Irish Steel

■ BY NEIL FORDE

IRISH STEEL was moved closer to total shutdown this week as the Department of Employment and Enterprise refused to sanction negotiations with unions, instead allowing the board to appoint a liquidator. It is also alleged by union officials at the plant that a formula agreed with unions and Irish Steel management was vetoed by the department over the weekend.

Brinkmanship and a propaganda blitz have been the only actions by the coalition government over the last week as all but 30 of Irish Steel's 530 workers have been laid off.

Management issued protective notice to the workers last week while refusing to honour commitments to negotiate the implementation of the rationalisation plan for the plant.

Instead, they blamed the crisis on craftworkers, with the media taking the lead in targeting them as being solely responsible for the current impasse. Labour Party chairperson and TD, Jim Kemmy, echoed this one-dimensional analysis, claiming that "we are living in a changing world and because you are a craftsman doesn't mean you can stop that change".

Kemmy made no mention of his recent pay award and the fact that reform and rationalisation of Leinster House procedures over the past decade has proved almost completely impossible. Such comparisons, it seems, cannot merit column space.

However, the most telling factor in the current crisis at the plant is the support of SIPTU workers for the craftworkers. On Tuesday, 20 September, over 400 workers and their families marched through Cobh in a demonstration of support. Yesterday, SIPTU workers also picketed a management meeting in Cork.

Workers and union officials believe that a formula to save the plant was actually agreed over the weekend but was "aborted at a very high level".

One MANDATE official Jim O'Connell said:

"Agreement is still possible and was reached, but then it was aborted at a very high level in the department. We have been extremely concerned about the very negative attitude of people in the department over the past few months. Some appear to have a death wish for Irish Steel. We have a resolution for the present difficulties and all it needs now is the blessing of the minister."

SIPTU branch secretary Anne Egar added: "It would be a scandal of unprecedented proportions and would be totally unacceptable, both to SIPTU and the people of Cork, were Irish Steel allowed to collapse when a solution was so obviously in sight."

Exact details of the new formula are unclear, but the proposals are said to include allowing some voluntary redundancies among senior craftworkers who are unwilling to retrain. The unions have proposed that instead, 16 apprentices due to be laid off should be retrained instead.

Unions at the plant also proposed that if too many workers took redundancy they could be re-employed on a contract basis. This has already happened in the case of management personnel.

This parity of treatment was described by a spokesperson for the company as "a dangerous precedent". However, as management and the coalition government consider shutting down the plant, there is the very real possibility that even if Ruairi Quinn



● SIPTU members from Irish Steel marching through the centre of Cobh, protesting at the impending closure

agreed the formula negotiated last weekend, the EU Commission may not sanction financial aid.

So yet again, we have reached a stage where the government have failed to plan the most effective use of a public resource. There is nothing in the management of the crisis to engender confidence that, even if Irish Steel could be saved, the government would be up to the job in the long run.

TEAM WORKERS VOTE

TEAM workers were balloted this week on the Labour Court proposals. They have been told that rejection of the proposals will lead to TEAM being shut down.

"There is nowhere else to go" was the threatening message sent

to workers in a letter from Aer Lingus' director of human resources, John Behan.

Workers at TEAM are being asked to accept a pay-freeze to July 1995 and the nonpayment of increments due in April 1994.

Other work changes are compulsory overtime, a compulsory six-day week every fortnight for 30 weeks a year, a reduction in Saturday payments, a gradual deskilling of trades, annual leave at the discretion of management and compulsory shift work.

INOU LEAFLET LAUNCHED

A valuable pullout information leaflet on Part-time Work and Social Welfare Payments was launched by the Irish National

Organisation of the Unemployed (INOU) this week. The INOU leaflet is organised in the form of a series of questions and answers about how to claim, who can claim and how to work out the calculations for receiving benefit.

Michael Woods was wheeled in to launch the leaflet and promptly announced he was "relaxing" some of the conditions attached to claiming benefits for part-time workers. Even odder though, was that Minister Woods didn't seem perturbed about launching a leaflet by a voluntary organisation which explains in plain English how to deal with his government department. Carry on Michael.

It is available from the INOU in 48 Fleet Street, Dublin 2.

If you have a story at your workplace, let us know. Contact AP/RN by phone 8733611 or fax 8733074.

Inquest on Volunteer killed in RUC stakeout

■ BY FRANCES SHILTON

THE INQUEST into the death of IRA Volunteer Colum Marks has found that he died as a result of being shot by a member of the RUC. Marks was shot in Downpatrick, on the night of 10 April, 1991.

The coroner, John Leahy, was told that Marks, who was unarmed at the time, was shot as he ran towards the RUC officer. The man responsible for the shooting failed

to appear in person and instead a statement from him was read to the court.

By refusing to appear, the RUC officer ensured he could not be

cross-examined by the Marks' family solicitor and have his version of the killing tested.

It was revealed that this RUC officer was a member of an 'anti-terrorist' unit and was hiding in a hedge near a vacant house. His statement added that he had been informed that a mortar was placed outside the house.

The evidence of another RUC member later stated that they had information that an IRA operation was to take place that night.

The RUC officer responsible for the shooting stated that he saw Marks running from the house towards where he (the RUC officer) was hiding. The RUC officer also claimed that he shouted twice in warning before firing two warning shots. The hidden RUC officer then claims to have fired directly at Marks.

While forensic evidence agreed that Marks was shot from the front, a pathologist stated that Marks had been shot 25 feet from the hedge where the RUC officer claims to have fired.

Marks was wounded in the stomach. However, according to the RUC, he remained conscious, and able to talk. He was then taken to Down Hospital where he died from his injuries.

Despite the RUC having prior knowledge of the IRA operation, there is no evidence to suggest that the RUC attempted to arrest Marks, giving rise to accusations from the man's family that Colum was the victim of a crown forces shoot-to-kill operation.

Commenting on the inquest, Sinn Féin South Down representative John Smith said the hearing showed "the inadequacies of the inquest system in the Six Counties as a public forum of inquiry into killings carried out by crown forces". He said the few facts which did emerge from the inquest confirmed that the RUC prepared their ambush on Colum Marks acting on information received.



● Vol COLUM MARKS

"The RUC member who shot Marks dead admitted that he had been told to stay in position two minutes prior to the killing, even though he had seen Marks. Why did he make no attempt to arrest Colum Marks then?"

"This latest case, following so soon after the collapse of the Armagh shoot-to-kill inquests, underlines once again the necessity for inquests to examine the role of the crown forces."



● Scene of the killing of IRA Volunteer Colum Marks in April 1991



An Phoblacht

REPUBLICAN NEWS

22 SEPTEMBER 1994

A TIME TO LISTEN — A TIME TO ACT

"CENSORSHIP is an abuse of power, invariably used to cover up that which the powerful find distressing or threatening. In a democracy, it is a function of the media to expose wrong-doing and call the powerful to account. That function cannot be fulfilled when the media succumb to censorship."

These opening lines, the introduction to the booklet *Interference with the Airwaves* written by Liz Curtis and Mike Jempson, describes well the last six years of the regime of censorship introduced by the British government in 1988. It can also be applied to the Section 31 regime so long a blanket smothering broadcasting in the 26 Counties.

These were, indeed, periods of cover up and times when the media, but for some notable and honourable exceptions, succumbed to the will of government.

That statutory political censorship, in both partitioned Irish states, has now been largely rescinded is welcome, especially at a time when Irish political life is in the throes of such dynamic change and transformation. The debates engendered by the peace process must be discussed openly and publicly.

However, it must be said that John Major's rejoinder to journalists, when announcing the lifting of the British ban, telling them to ask Sinn Féin to state if the IRA cessation is "a permanent end to violence" is a red herring.

That many journalists rose to this is an indication that there is still some way to go before the self-censorship practised by some in the fourth estate is a thing of the past.

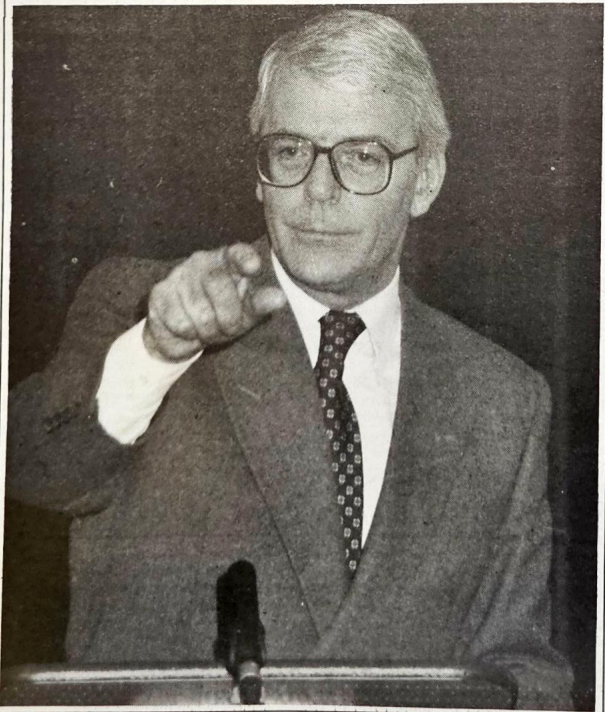
The simple truth, which appears to be so unpalatable for the British prime minister, is that the courageous action of the IRA's complete cessation of military operations has opened up a historic window of opportunity; it is time for the debate to be pushed further on.

Ironically, the artificial wrangle created by the British government concerning the permanence of the IRA cessation, has left John Major dangling on a hook of his own devising. The decision to lift the broadcasting ban is a clear acknowledgement by the British government that, while Irish and American opinion is moving forward, they have stranded themselves, midstream.

As Mitchel McLaughlin, chairperson of Sinn Féin's Comhairle na Sé Condae has pointed out, through their decision to lift the ban the British government, "has accepted the bona fides of the IRA decision".

The question for John Major is "does he want peace or not?". The political climate has been changed by the IRA cessation. It is up to the British government to adapt and change accordingly.

"The clock," as McLaughlin said, "is ticking on Mr Major's credibility".



News

Municipal authorities support peace process

BY LIAM O COILEAIN

THIS YEAR'S annual conference of the Association of Municipal Authorities in Ireland has unanimously supported a Sinn Féin motion on the Irish peace process.

The conference, the 81st of its kind, took place between Tuesday, 20 September and Thursday, 22 September in the Oakwood Arms Hotel, Shannon, County Clare. The association is the coordinating body for all the urban councils and town commissions in the 26 Counties. Three Sinn Féin councillors attended this year's conference. Councillor Caoimhghín O Caoiláin represented Monaghan Urban District Council, Cionnaith O Suilleabháin represented Clonakilty Urban District Council and Michael Browne represented Cashel Urban District Council. Sinn Féin's Michael McKee is a member of Shannon Town Commission, which hosted this year's conference.

Immediately after lunch on Tuesday, Councillor O Caoiláin, seconded by Councillor O Suilleabháin, proposed that standing orders be lifted to allow their motion on the peace process to be heard.

The motion read: "This conference congratulates all who by their efforts in recent months have helped move the conflict in the North of Ireland out of stalemate and into hope. We pledge our full support for the peace process that now offers the prospect of a real and durable peace based on democratic principles and justice."

Proposing the motion, Councillor O Caoiláin said: "We have all been witness to the creation of the single most important opportunity for peace, a real and lasting peace, in our modern history. The IRA's announcement of a complete cessation of military actions heralds the beginning of a new era of dialogue and discourse, geared firmly into the search for democratic alternatives and justice for all who live on this island."

"This opportunity," he concluded, "is one that must be grasped. We all have a responsibility to seize the moment and add positively to the momentum already created."

Seconding the motion, Councillor O Suilleabháin congratulated John Hume, Gerry Adams and Albert Reynolds, saying "the decision by the IRA has provided a golden opportunity to dramatically advance the peace process in Ireland and it should be acted upon now".

The motion was unanimously supported by the delegates and was welcomed with a warm round of applause.

At that morning's session, Councillor O Caoiláin was less successful when he



● CAOIMHGHIN O CAOILAIN

proposed a motion on behalf of Monaghan UDC calling on the conference to support the publication by all elected representatives of their expenses. This motion was seconded by a Fianna Fáil colleague on Monaghan UDC, but was defeated by the conference. Calling for expenses to be open to public scrutiny, O Caoiláin said:

"Responsibility and accountability are key and essential elements of our role as local elected representatives. There is a confidence deficit based on a lack of information which must be addressed. I urge that we properly respond by adopting an open door, a transparent system of conducting our affairs. Full details of how we manage and apportion public monies is required in order to achieve this."

Following a series of negative contributions from other councillors, O Caoiláin, using his right to reply, appealed to them again to support the motion, reminding them that "if you oppose this motion you are only contributing to the climate of mistrust". The Monaghan motion was defeated, however.

On Wednesday morning, Clonakilty UDC Councillor Cionnaith O Suilleabháin proposed a motion calling on the conference to request the Department of the Environment to scrap the present Local Authority House Purchase Scheme and to replace it with the highly successful 1988 Scheme which had a significant pick-up by tenants at that time. Quoting statistics relevant to his own area, he demonstrated the stark contrast in interest and take-up between the two schemes. The delegates unanimously supported the Clonakilty-sponsored motion.

Meanwhile, Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams has been nominated for a Person of the Year Award by Carrick-on-Suir and Monaghan UDCs. Welcoming the IRA cessation, members of Carrick-on-Suir UDC in County Tipperary applauded the efforts of those attempting to bring about peace in Ireland.

The council passed a motion to this effect proposed by Sinn Féin Councillor Liam Walsh.

Councillor Denis Bourke said that as Albert Reynolds had been given a civic reception in Carrick, the other two people involved—Gerry Adams and John Hume should be invited to the town. Councillor Jimmy Hogan hoped other organisations involved in the conflict would call a cease-fire and that the situation would lead to a peaceful and united Ireland. Gerry Adams and John Hume were both proposed for Person of the Year awards.

On Monaghan UDC Hume and Adams were again proposed for the Person of the Year Award in a motion moved by Sinn Féin Councillor Owen Smyth. Another motion also proposed by Owen Smyth calling for a formal meeting between Monaghan UDC and Dungannon Council was also passed and an invitation to Dungannon Council will be sent.

Cobh UDC passed a motion from Sinn Féin Councillor Kieran McCarthy at its September meeting calling on the Minister for the Environment to impose a 1.5% levy on expatriated profits each year and explained that this money would adequately cover the revenue lost by service charges. The amount which left the 26 Counties last year was £3,727 million.

Councillor McCarthy also proposed a motion supporting the peace process and congratulating those involved. This was defeated after Labour Councillor Tom O'Brien said he could not associate himself with the motion as one of those mentioned in it was Gerry Adams, who only weeks before had been "the leader of a terrorist organisation". Labour Councillor John Mulvihill, who had walked out while Kieran McCarthy read a speech in proposing the motion, returned and attacked the motion for naming individuals and allegedly omitting others. McCarthy's motion was defeated in favour of an amendment which adopted another motion circulated by Sligo Borough Council. The Sligo motion was worded differently to Councillor McCarthy's, but had ironically been proposed by a Sligo Sinn Féin alderman.

At its monthly meeting Navan UDC passed a motion from Sinn Féin Councillor Joe Reilly that the council reaffirm its opposition to Sellafeld/THORP and called on the government to take all legal and political steps necessary in Ireland and in Europe to force the closure of Sellafeld/THORP.

News

BRITISH STALL ON ROAD TO JUST PEACE

■ BY HILDA Mac THOMAS

TWO WEEKS after the IRA's historic announcement, the British premier John Major has finally made a small tentative step towards the peace process. He flew to Belfast on Friday, 16 September, to announce the end of the broadcasting ban, which barred republican spokespersons from being heard live. At the same time, his Secretary of State Patrick Mayhew announced the reopening of ten closed border roads.

These moves suggest that the British government believe the IRA cessation of military operations is genuine. Yet John Major continued to insist that his government needed further assurances from republicans, before the 'clock starts ticking' on talks — a transparent stalling tactic from a weak prime minister whose political fate has depended for over a year now on keeping in with nine unionist MPs and a score of right-wing Tory backbenchers.

"Paralysed by the fear of a negative unionist reaction" is how an *Irish News* editorial described it. Dublin premier Albert Reynolds went one further. The current attitude of "uncertainty" by the British government was "being used as one excuse by loyalist paramilitaries". But as Sinn Féin Six-County Chairperson Mitchel McLaughlin said (in his own voice) on television: "If there is a clock ticking, it is on Major's credibility. Does he want peace or not?"

His pro-unionist stance was quite obvious in his statement last Friday. Not only did he excuse the ending of the ban by saying this would give republicans an opportunity to tell him directly that violence was ended "for all time". Not only did he leave the announcement on border roads to Mayhew, but the bulk of his address was, once again, aimed at providing reassurance to unionists that their constitutional position was secure, and that they would be consulted by referendum on any package that may be produced. The offer struck a chord with unionists. Even the DUP, still smarting from their row with Major in Downing Street, conceded that it was "an advance".

The statement was welcomed also by the Dublin government

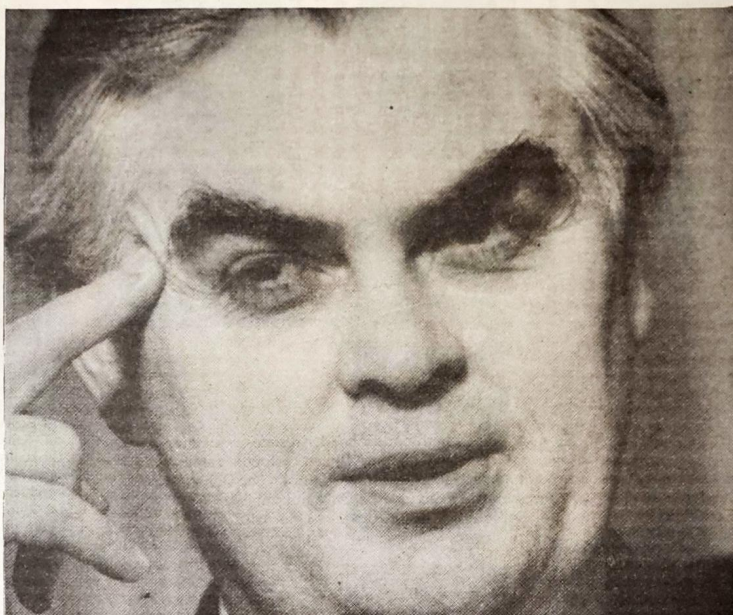
and the SDLP. Both pointed out that a referendum would also have to take place in the South, so that people could endorse a settlement which encompassed the 'three sets of relationships' — relationships between unionists and nationalists in the North, between the North and the South and between Ireland and Britain. John Major did not refer to any referendum other than one for the Six Counties, even though the Downing Street Declaration of last December clearly mentions both.

Sinn Féin's Martin McGuinness pointed out that while "any agreement which is reached as a result of talks would have to be put to the people of Ireland" talks of referendums were "somewhat down the road". Irish nationalists, he said, had agreed there could be no internal solutions, no partitionist arrangements and no vetos.

Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams called Major's reference to a referendum at this stage "premature and presumptuous". "The Six-County statelet," he said, "is an artificial and gerrymandered political entity with an in-built and permanent unionist majority. The British government-imposed veto based on this artificial majority is both undemocratic and unacceptable. Discussion on how agreement would be measured, when the search for agreement has not yet begun, is therefore premature."

And he concluded: "All these matters should properly be the subject of discussion in a process of inclusive negotiations which should begin as soon as possible."

An insight into Tory right-wing thinking was provided last week by a lengthy column written by former British Chancellor Nor-



● Norman Lamont — his thoughts provide an insight into the thinking of the Tory right wing and unionist political establishment

man Lamont for the *Wall Street Journal* on 13 September. In it he slammed the assertion by the British government that it has no 'selfish strategic or economic interest in Northern Ireland' and that should a majority so desire it would legislate to sever the union and assist in Irish reunification.

Lamont argued on the basis of the need to retain Scotland and Wales in the United Kingdom. "One cannot be indifferent to the union with Northern Ireland and simultaneously be a vigorous defender of the union with Scotland," he said, adding that Scottish nationalists were proportionally stronger than northern Irish nationalists.

He also attacked the British government's public view of itself as an 'honest broker' in Ireland. "No government can be indifferent as to whether a component part of its

country switches its allegiance elsewhere." He also questioned whether talks could reconcile opposing views:

"Resolutions of long-running conflicts require, among other things, one party to a conflict to determine that their goal is unreachable. Once this occurs, subsequent negotiations tend to be about the details of a settlement, the main substance having already been decided on the victor's terms."

Lamont also attacked the US government's "rhetorical interventionism", and its pledges of financial aid to assist the peace process, which would be a mere drop in the ocean of British subsidies to the Six Counties, and were aimed more at Clinton's electorate than at the intended recipients of the aid.

Lamont's views represent right-wing and unionist thinking in the British political establishment, and are only as significant as John Major's need to retain right-wing and unionist support at Westminster. That is, quite significant at present. They do not represent the views of the vast majority of British people who, for one reason or another, wish they could be rid of the whole problem and that their troops be brought home. However, as *Observer* columnist John Ingram wrote on Sunday, the British people won't be consulted in a referendum on any package for the Six Counties.

Meanwhile, Albert Reynolds, presently on a tour of Australia and New Zealand, commented at the weekend that Irish unity would probably not be achieved for another 20 or 25 years. While his words were obviously his contribution to what seems to be many politicians' main task at present — to reassure unionists — they angered many nationalists working to establish a process of negotiation aimed at replacing British jurisdiction in Ireland by some form of Irish

jurisdiction based on agreement among the Irish people.

To attempt to predict how long such negotiations would take, or how long it would take to reach a mutually satisfactory agreement is impossible, "almost academic" said SDLP chairperson Mark Durkan. "While there may be varied views on the length of time involved," Gerry Adams said, "I am sure that Mr Reynolds would not wish to delay such a development".

The factors which will influence the timetable towards a just settlement in Ireland are many, from the British government's willingness to enter the peace process, to the speed at which nationalist rights are acknowledged and given effect. A start has been made in Dublin when the Dublin government publicly acknowledged Sinn Féin's mandate by meeting its representatives. A smaller but nevertheless hopeful start has been made by the British in removing the broadcast ban and reopening a number of border roads.

There is still a huge amount to be done, and republican activists have their own agenda regarding immediate, short-term improvement of human rights, including the rights of political prisoners, no longer to be treated as political hostages.

Nationalists are eagerly awaiting signs of demilitarisation right across the board, beyond the mere cosmetic beret sported by British foot patrols. They are also awaiting the recognition by the British of Sinn Féin's mandate in practice. Then the long and arduous process of seeking agreement between the people of Ireland will be embarked upon. The speed at which other conflicts around the world were solved can only provide a guide for Irish people, but 20 years certainly is a figure which has more to do with the need to assuage unionist fears than with a realistic view of how quickly people can adapt to changing circumstances, when the need arises.

WELCOME HOME



● Following his successful tour of the United States, where he briefed US supporters of Irish republicanism on the current political situation and developments in the ongoing peace process including the IRA cessation, veteran republican Joe Cahill arrived home to a tumultuous welcome at Dublin Airport on Tuesday, 20 September. (pictured above) Joe Cahill is greeted by Sinn Féin's General Secretary Lucila Bhréanach, Ard Chomhairle member Dessie Mackin, Director of Publicity Rita O'Hare and Dublin City Councillor Christy Burke.

(38) Fermanagh/Tyrone border. Direct route to Pettigo. County Donegal. (39) Scraghey Road. Road blown and spiked. Families must make journey through Tyrone, Fermanagh and Donegal to reach their burial grounds just across the border.

Fermanagh/Tyrone/Monaghan

THE BULK of the roads which have been blocked off by the British forces between Fermanagh and Monaghan and Tyrone and Monaghan are by-roads which would be of use mainly for farmers moving from one part of their property to another and to local people in general making visits to neighbours on the other side of the border. What are short trips as the crow flies have been turned into marathon journeys by road by the British policy of closing roads.

Most of the closed border roads between Fermanagh and Monaghan at (56) Legakelly, (57) Clonfad, (58) Clonkee, (59) Leitrim Bridge, (60) Clonally, (61) Clonagun, (62) Coleman Island, (63) Munnally, (64) Nockballymore, (65) Lackey Bridge (Byrass lane), (66) Lackey Bridge, (67) Dromard, (68) Carravetragh, (69) Annachullion 1, (70) Annachullion 2 and (71) Aghafin, fall into this general category, although they all generally also connect Newtownbutler in Fermanagh with Clones in Monaghan. Lackey Bridge has provided a focus in this area, being opened by locals and closed by crown forces on dozens of occasions.

Mullinahinch (72) has also been repeatedly opened and closed during the campaign by the North Monaghan/South Fermanagh Community Association to keep their roads open. Like (73) Clogh (Clones) and (74) Clogh (Inishannon), it connects Smithboro' and Clones.

The crossings at (75) Rellian, (76) Rellian Rock, (77) Rughill, (78) Derryvallen Bridge, (79) Corragun Bridge, (80) Corragun, (81) Mullaghtfad and (82) Mickey's Bridge all run between Scotsdown and Roslea.

On either side of the main Dublin to Derry road between Tyrone and Monaghan there are a number of closed roads.

The crossing at (83) Peader Francis/Drumfetter is situated on the old main Dublin/Derry Road. It also connects Fedaivet to Clogher and has been opened and closed on many occasions over the years.

The crossings at (84) James Connolly, (85) Greagh/McCrystal's and (86) McMeel's would generally connect Clara in Monaghan with Augher and Clogher in Tyrone, while (87) Matt the Baker's/The Hangman's Tree and (88) Sloan's Bridge connect Traugh in Monaghan with Augher in County Tyrone.

The closed crossing at (89) Revella is basically just a slip road off the main Derry/Aughnacloy road. To the east of this is the main Aughnacloy checkpoint, on the southern side of which stands the monument to Aidan McAnespie.

To the east of Aughnacloy are the bridges at (90) Ballagh, (91) Knockraginny and (92) Caledon, all crossings destroyed on the road between the villages of Mullin and Glaslough in Monaghan and Caledon in Tyrone. Such crossings have not been reopened by local people during the current phase of struggle as they require major reconstruction work.

Donegal/Fermanagh

THERE are eleven roads on the Donegal/Fermanagh border. Only two are open. Roads closed on the map are (38) and (39) linking Drumskinny and Drummonny to Donegal town. At Pettigo there is a checkpoint and one lone open road across the border. However, other roads in the area are closed and this is marked as (40) on the map.

The Tawanny road (41) to Pettigo crosses the border and is closed, forcing residents into a trip almost double the length of the actual journey. Two roads from Scotsban (42) and (43) to Pettigo and Donegal town are closed while Belleek is in a similar situation with one road open and others closed, marked as (44) on the map. Askbrook is also isolated in this area as roads to Ballyshannon (45) and Bundoran (46) are closed.

FERMANAGH

Fermanagh/Leitrim/Cavan

THERE are currently no border roads open between counties Fermanagh and Leitrim, making the recently-restored Ballinamore/Ballyconnell Canal the only link between these two historically-associated counties. The crossing at Loughside (47) near Lough Melvin is permanently closed, while Doonard Bridge (48) linking the towns of Rossinver and Garrison was reopened by locals as recently as Saturday, 17 September, but closed once again by the British army the following morning. The three roads linking the Leitrim village of Kiltydrogher with Kilcoo in Fermanagh — Kilcoo Road (49), Cashel (50) and Aughawanny (51) are all closed.

On the Cavan/Fermanagh border, only Belleek has an open border road without permanent RUC/British army checkpoints. There are three roads closed around the town of Swanlinbar — Stumpy (52), Farrelly's Crossing (53) and McAuley's Road (54), while Aghalane Bridge (55) linking the Cavan town of Belurbet with County Fermanagh is closed. Farrelly's Crossing was opened twice last week and twice closed by the British army.

LEITRIM

Swanlinbar

CAVAN

MONAGHAN

Aughnacloy

Clones

Belurbet

OPEN **ALL** OUR BORDER ROADS

THE demand for the opening of all border roads has always been made by the communities whose economic and social life have been disrupted since their closure. Most were destroyed by the British army in the early 1970s, but some have been closed longer — in one case since 1956. Road openings have always been carried out but the campaign became widespread and concerted in the late 1980s, with the formation of the cross-border community associations. Last week, the British government announced the opening of all the roads is demand for the opening of all the roads is growing stronger. Here, we show the extent of the closures, county by county.

DONEGAL

DERRY

Donegal/Tyrone

Inishowen

LOUGH FOYLE

Derry City

Lifford
Strabane

Clady

Castlederg

TYRONE

Donegal Town

Derry/Donegal

GOING west from Derry city, there are a possible 17 major routes out of the town leading to destinations in North Donegal, the Inishowen Peninsula, Letterkenny and Buncrana. Only three of these routes are open. On the map we have numbered 14 of the major routes out of Derry city which have been closed over the past 20 years. One crossing the Elagh Road has been closed since the 1956 Border Campaign.

The closed crossings shown begin with numbers (1) and (2) around Muff checkpoint. The rest are (3) Ballyngart Road, (4) Elagh, (5) Lenamore (6) Upper Galliagh, (7) Bridge End, (8) Coquin, (9) Groarty, (10) Boggy, (11) Gortrush, (12) Creevagh (13) Killea, (14) Imlick.

Road closures have effectively denied not only access for the commuters from Derry to Donegal but also from Donegal to Derry city. A significant rural population has effectively been cut off from its natural economic centre.

If you drew an imaginary line the same distance from Derry city but to the east, there is the same patchwork of small roads and major traffic routes as to the west of the city. These roads link the towns and village communities and local economies to their nearest city, port, train station and airport. Over 14 major roads, all open, provide these vital links.

CLADY (15): Open through large British army checkpoint. Donnyloop Chapel and community centre is on Donegal side of this checkpoint. Strabane District Council Community Hall can only be reached by crossing through this very aggressive checkpoint. Inhabitants of Clady village are 99% nationalist. (16) Drumbar: Cratered and blocked. (17) Tullymoan: Cratered and blocked. (18) Lisdoon: Cratered and blocked. (19) Maxwell's: Cratered and blocked. (20) Craig's: Cratered and blocked. (21) Fearn Border: Top of Lunganbhoy Road. Cratered and spiked. (22) Crossing cut off, only accessible through Kildane crossing. (23) Cassey Border: Cratered. (24) Killeen: Open Garda checkpoint.

(25) Green Road: Cratered. (26) Pullymann Road: Blocked and cratered in two places. (27) Carn Border: Cratered and blocked. Cam Road and Cavan Road meet on Tyrone side of this crossing. Cam Road cratered and Cavan Road cratered where they meet. (28) Conalghy: Road blown at border, plus large pans of concrete in place. Laghmore Road and Garrahhlane Road lead to this crossing, both roads (which are in Tyrone) are cratered in at least three places, one bridge removed. (29) Meekans Border: Laghtoggy Road blocked and blown. Bridge on border blown.

(30) Red Bridge: Off Congary Road. Road blown and bridge completely gone. (31) Crough Bridge (pronounced Caw Bridge): Road spiked, bridge blocked. This crossing is five miles from Ballyboley, County Donegal. (32) Strahungary Bridge: At top of Congary Road. Bridge blown, road blown and blocked for half a mile on the Tyrone side. Donegal town, 14 miles from this crossing. Journey now, via Castlederg almost 40 miles, one way. (33) Croaghney (pronounced Croy) or Kelly's Bridge: Bridge and road blown. This crossing is approximately eight miles from Donegal town. (34) Tuilashane: Bridge blown and road blocked. This crossing is one mile from St Patrick's Purgatory, Lough Beg. Journey now for people from Aglyan parish is over 23 miles one way.

(35) Tieveenemeta-Shanaghy border: Road blown, direct route to Pettigo, County Donegal. (36) Serran: Near Killeter — no through road, just a lane. (37) Clogher: (pronounced Clogh) off Scraghey Road. Road blown and spiked. Families must make journey through Tyrone, Fermanagh and Donegal to reach their burial grounds just across the border.

Pettigo

Reviews

Management to blame for Dublin defeat

■ BY SEAMUS O CAOMHANAIGH

THE SEARCH for the holy grail that is the Sam Maguire Cup continues for at least another year for Dublin. As so often in the recent past, when push came to shove, this Dublin team didn't have what it takes to stop being losers and start being winners. Even more than the final in 1992 against Donegal, this game was there for them if they had the wherewithal to grasp it. Sadly for the followers of the light and navy blue, their team once more let them down hard when it really mattered.

The first half got underway with a steady drizzle coming down which increased in intensity as the game progressed. Down looked more assured in the wet conditions than their opponents, who were inclined to fumble catches and passes. Several scoring chances went astray as the Dubs struggled to master the conditions. The Down play looked far more fluent and while Charlie Redmond gave Dublin the lead 0-2 to 0-1 from a 50 after six minutes it was the only time the Metropolitans were to be ahead in the entire course of the game.

From around the 12th minute when Ross Carr stretched the Mourmennen's advantage to three points, 0-5 to 0-2, it was clear to see the broad flow of the play. The Dubs' defence was a shambles and the blame for this lies squarely at the door of Pat O'Neill and his fellow selectors. Playing Paul Curran out of position was bad enough, but on Mickey Linden? Absolute insanity.

To compound the disaster, Paul Clarke, a natural half-forward and one of the few Dublin players with the ability to pick off scores from tricky angles, was put marking James McCartan. And O'Neill was then surprised when Linden and McCartan 'murdered' their markers, not to mention

Aidan Farrell showing up Dermot Deasy's ineptitude and lack of pace. Switching Clarke onto Linden was not the answer either — Paul Clarke is not a back and never will be.

It was hardly surprising then with the Dublin defensive arrangements a bad joke and Down snapping up just about every loose ball at midfield, that they would forge ahead. The decisive score of the half and the match came via a James McCartan goal from very close range without a marker within roaring distance of him. From then on throughout the half, PJ Kane's men held the whip hand and

racked up a score of 1-8 to 0-7. Considering their dominance, this lead in no way flattered Down and indeed it should have been more.

A good display between the posts from John O'Leary, who curtailed his more eccentric tendencies at least for one day, did a lot to limit the damage. Ordinarily, four points would not be classed as a huge lead, but considering the gulf in ability between the sides in the opening 35 minutes, Down looked pretty comfortable and a good bet for the second half.

This perception was confirmed on the resumption of hostilities. The Ulster champions dug in and strengthened their position on the scoreboard by out-pointing Dublin four points to two in reply, to leave themselves in a commanding lead, 1-12 to 0-9. Mickey Linden's fifth point in the 15th was, almost unbelievably to be his team's last score. The introduction of Paul Bealin early in the sec-

ond half tilted midfield in Dublin's favour and with Conor Deegan eclipsed and Gregory McCartan with more on his plate than heretofore, Down gradually fell back more and more on the defensive.

Slowly, painfully slowly, the Dubs began to build up some momentum at long last and as the rain intensified so did their attacks. But the defensive frailties in evidence previously were now to be mirrored in the forward lines. Vital chances were fluffed and wide after wide was posted up from distances and angles which should have been within the ambit of an inter-county player. It fell once more to Charlie Redmond to reel in the fish and two points from frees and a neat point from Seán Cahill from play put the Blues within striking distance, 1-12 to 0-12 in arrears.

During this passage of play, Down emerged with little credit. A cynicism crept into their game with feigned inquiries, delaying kick-outs and generally trying to slow

and kill the game as much as possible. But for all that, Dublin were on the crest of a wave and one sensed instinctively Down were teetering on the brink, having almost exhausted themselves with their exertions.

When Dessie Farrell was fouled inside the box with eight minutes left, the penalty awarded, if converted, would have levelled the scores only. Psychologically though it would have killed Down off completely and no amount of bravado from Mourne people in victory will convince me otherwise. When Charlie Redmond bungled the shot and the rebound the Sam was as good as on the bus to Newry.

The blame though does not lie with Charlie Redmond, but once more with the Dublin management who ordained that he should take the penalty kicks. Why? He is possessed of many admirable qualities as a player, yes, but the art of taking a penalty eludes him as his previous misses from the spot attest. Paul Clarke and Keith Barr are both recognised penalty kickers, but were not given the opportunity. Yet still there was time to retrieve the situation and still there were chances of points to level or even win the game.

Panic and desperation set in though, and goals were sought with points for the taking. Add in a demoralising miss or two, any number of players unwilling to take on the responsibility and try for a score and a palpable lack of leadership and the scenario took on an almost reassuring familiarity. Leadership? Isn't that Tommy Carr's forte? That's

the same Mr Carr who was keeping the bench warm. Down scraped through on a 1-12 to 0-13 scoreline for their second All-Ireland title in four years. It must be said that in victory some of their players disgraced themselves. Gregory McCartan and Michael Magill ran over to Hill 16 and taunted the Dublin supporters after the final whistle. Not even Meath on their worst day indulged in such sickening antics. There's two chances of any action being taken against them — slim and none, and that includes Ross Carr also for his two-fingered salute during the parade before the throw-in.

Down can feel well-pleased with their win as they know how desperately close they came to defeat. Defeat though is once more the bitter lot for Dublin. Blame can finally be allocated to the Dublin County Board for playing club championship matches prior to the final and the subsequent injury sustained by Ciarán Walsh resulting in a reshuffled defence.

Pat O'Neill and his accomplices, sorry, selectors, must also shoulder the responsibility of ill-judged positional switches, selections and omissions from the panel. What's the point of playing defenders who can't defend and forwards who can't score? No point at all. Yet this is the management team that the county board chair John Bailey, has "every confidence in"! They deserve each other.

In the minor match, Kerry withstood strong pressure from their opponents Galway to record a solid win, 0-16 to 1-7, which was not as comfortable as the scoreline would suggest. But the better team won out in the end so, well done the Kingdom.



● Down's Neil Collins makes the crucial penalty save from Dublin's Charlie Redmond

The gospel according to Mark

■ BY TOM HARTLEY

IF THE SELF-RIGHTEOUSNESS and arrogance which we associate with religious fundamentalism has its equivalent in contemporary politics, then Mark Ryan must be its chief cleric. Ryan has come to spread the word and expose the dissenters and this is precisely what he does in his latest book. *War and Peace in Ireland* is written in the utter conviction that his views are orthodox while everyone else has strayed from the path of righteousness, having erred, been deluded or worst of all, sold out.

There is no one that this book does not condemn. In what amounts to a sanctimonious tirade against progressive forces everywhere, Palestinians, South Africans, "British radicals" and particularly, Sinn Féin, are denounced for allegedly having betrayed their goals.

Very early on in *War and Peace in Ireland* the reader is told (in the preface) that "despite all talk of 'peace processes', [Ryan's] inverted commas, not mine joint declarations and cease-fires there is little chance that the conflict is about to fade

mercifully away". The author goes on to point out that this same 'peace process' has "brought to the fore a relatively unmarked but deep-rooted tendency in Irish republicanism towards compromise and constitutional politics". Then, in the irritating didactic style which is typical of Ryan, he remarks that there is "no dishonour" in negotiating compromise with superior forces, not even in defeat as long as it is admitted and not "disguised".

So, even before reading Chapter One, it is clear

where Ryan is heading — into a relentless denunciation of the peace process — and in a style which is both pious and arrogant. All information and facts are employed to reaffirm the conviction that Irish nationalism is being sold out and in adopting this theological approach he fails to debate or analyse any of the complexities... fundamental, I would have thought, in any serious political book.

Ryan's criticisms of the republican leadership are legion. In a chapter presumptuously entitled 'The Twilight of Republicanism' the current peace process is portrayed as a symptom of a "middle-class outlook" and a "quest for respectability". Reducing the complexities of an evolving peace process to the alleged personal characteristics of the leadership does not say much for the author's powers of analysis. But then the book is full of unsupported

statements and generalisations about the peace process (and other issues). For example, according to Ryan, the demand for self-determination and British withdrawal have been dropped or at best "fudged". In the interests of truth, it would help if he did some basic reading of republican literature before making such assertions.

As I said, just about everyone is fair game in *War and Peace*, even the Irish language movement. Ryan is clearly contemptuous of the language and efforts to revive it, dismissing both as irrelevant to contemporary culture. In effect, he falls into the trap of reductionism again in making the unsubstantiated remark that the revival is no more than "a disenchantment with modern life and a desire to retreat into a romanticised past." I think Round Two can be left to the Gaelic geoir!

War and Peace in Ireland

looks at the contemporary political situation in six chapters which deal with its various dimensions — international, history of the peace process, the 26 Counties, the Six Counties and the role of Britain. In the latter part of the book the questions of nationalism and, what Ryan refers to as pluralism, are touched on. His approach to nationalist sentiments, or the alleged absence of them, in the 26 Counties is disdainful. Ryan would have done better to examine more closely the theory of post-colonialism, which he so cursorily dismisses, and the effects of 70 years of anti-republican legislation and propaganda on the population.

That nationalism is coming to an end is a certainty, according to Ryan, and not only revisionism but the West Belfast Community Festival along with Robert Ballagh and others are responsible for its destruction. He claims that their

role is that of reducing the national identity to a cultural one. If a difference between the 'two identities' exists Ryan never really makes it clear, he just gets on to telling us that we have now become a pluralist society.

Pluralism, he also preaches, is a rhetoric which "permeated the spirit of the Hume/Adams talks" and "where pluralism flourishes democracy and freedom die". And on the sermon goes, employing more absolutisms, selective quotations and generalisations to reach the final revelation that traditional Irish nationalism is dead.

For a book that began with such doom-laden predictions and heavy with eschatological overtones it is an appropriate conclusion. Just as well Sinn Féin is too busy moving forward to take the gospel according to Mark that seriously.

War and Peace in Ireland. Britain and the IRA in the New World Order. Mark Ryan (Pluto Press, 1994).

Reviews

A book to anger and inspire

THIS PIECE OF LITERATURE should by most standards fit the category of what the reviewers call 'unputdownable'. That it does not, has nothing to do with the style of writing nor any limitation on the fascination it holds. This book was put down quite often while I fought to overcome the intense anger it roused in me. An anger so mentally debilitating that it was simply impossible to continue until it had subsided. The calculated and wilful torment and torture of helpless, defenceless, dying men is not something one can cast to the side, unmoved, and flick through to the next page.

Nor Meekly Serve My Time, unlike the other books covering the blanket protest in the H-Blocks of Long Kesh from 1976-1981, was written by the men who were in the eye of the storm. As much as it is a record of events, it is also a democratisation of the field of literature. Men who made

history are also the authors of its transcription.

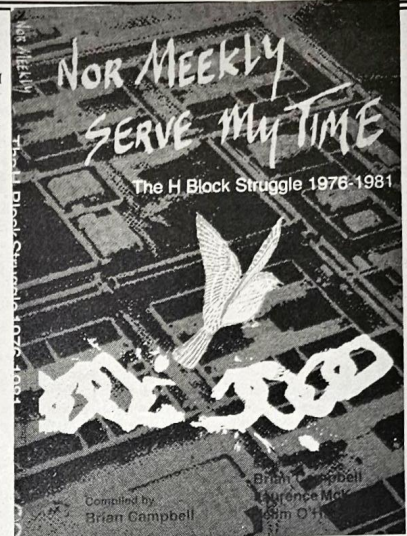
Not an academic work, but clearly an intellectual one, this book tells the story of fear, hatred, violence, conflicting emotions, courages, resilience and, ultimately, dying. The title of Chapter 10 'A Time of

Dying', plays havoc with the emotions. It conveys potency and persistence, helplessness and hopelessness, fatalism and finality. So frightening yet so compelling, repels yet attracts. And I shall go back and back again to that chapter in a bid to understand and to perhaps forgive. And yet I know that is beyond me. For the type of strength it takes to forgive such barbarity died in barbarity's very clutches.

There are many contributions in this book which merit more than just a mere mention. And yet it is not possible to touch on all of those which gripped me. In a book that has no beginning or end, but climaxes with state violence

throughout, there are no boundaries, nor cut-off points between interesting and dull parts. A continuous pulsation throughout — whether with Jackie McMullan's shivering days as a pioneer blanket man, Leo Green's deep analytical reflections, or Laurence McKeown's conveying of insight from a human height never attained by any other.

And in spite of the massive difficulty in making a choice as to what account, observation or anecdote stands out most, the decision was made for me by the choice another human being had to make. A choice never cherished, but exercised nonetheless with profound love and dedication by one of the many forgotten heroes of



the era. In the words of Laurence McKeown about his mother as she sat beside his death bed:

"That evening I said to her, 'I'm sorry that all this has come about for you.' She leaned across to me and whispered, 'You know what you have to do and I know what I have to do.' And I understood what she meant. If I was to die suddenly then that was how it was intended to be; it would be God's will. But if my life ended up in her hands and she had a decision over it, then she would give me life as she would see it. She did that early on Sunday afternoon."

The courage of the brave and the prose of the dying

combined in a still shot from the abyss. A time of dying had come to an end.

● *Nor Meekly Serve My Time: The H-Block Struggle 1976-1981*. Edited by Brian Campbell, Laurence McKeown and Felim O'Hagan. Compiled by Brian Campbell. Beyond the Pale Publications. Price £9.95.

On sale direct from republican outlets for £6.95 or by post from The POW Department, 51-5 Falls Road, Belfast BT12. Tel: 249975 or: The POW Department, 44 Parnell Square, Dublin 1. Tel: 8727096.

Post and Packaging: Six Counties £1.55; 26 Counties and Europe £3.30; Australia. Aust\$11.10; USA, US\$8.60.



● Volunteers of the Irish Republican Army fire a volley of shots over the coffin of an Irish hunger striker

Media scrum greets Adams

A SCRUM of media hacks and camera crews greeted Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams last week as he arrived at Dublin's Writers' Museum to formally launch Brandon Books' new publication of his selected writings.

The intense media interest in the launch, which dominated the proceedings, was not lost on Adams, who told the guests that he remembered previous book launches where there was little or no media interest in the proceedings.

He welcomed those present and in particular Martin Ferris and his wife

Marie. Martin had only been released from Portlaoise the previous Saturday after serving a ten-year sentence for his involvement in the Marita Ann arms shipment.

Jokingly, he said he was relieved that Brandon were not publishing his complete works as there would probably be demands that the book be titled the 'Perma-

nent Works of Gerry Adams'.

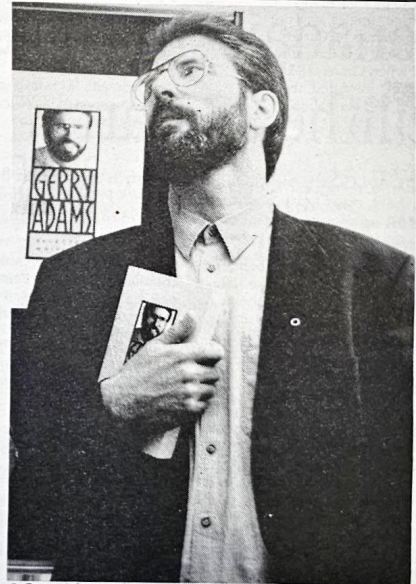
On a more serious note, Adams told how he and Danny Morrison had travelled around Ireland fourteen years ago looking for a publisher for Bobby Sands' work. They had door after door closed in their face with many publishers refusing to believe that Sands actually wrote the work, even though they were shown the endless scraps of cigarette paper that Sands had used to secretly write *One Day In My Life* and his

other works in his H-Block cell.

Adams said the publishers "didn't want to believe that a working-class republican was capable of being an accomplished author. They didn't want to believe that republicans had something to say."

Speaking at the launch Steve MacDonogh, Editorial Director of Brandon, told the invited guests: "It has been my pleasure and privilege to have been Gerry Adams' editor and publisher since 1982. I have encouraged him to write because he writes well and he has something to say. It is certainly my opinion that he would have been a published writer even if he had not come to political prominence."

MacDonogh also used the launch to highlight the issue of government censorship. He emphasised how Gerry Adams and the people he represents have been silenced by censorship for many years. The censorship of Brandon's radio advertisements for Gerry Adams' last collection of short stories *The Street* was also highlighted.



● Gerry Adams at his book launch

MacDonogh cited the range of censorship and other repressive laws still in place, pointing to the fact that Section 31, despite being suspended, remains as a piece of legislation, as was Section 18 of the Broadcasting Act, the Official

Secrets Act and the Offences Against the State Act. He called on the government to "sweep away these restrictions".

● *Gerry Adams: Selected Writings* is published in paperback by Brandon Books priced £7.95.



● Veteran republicans Margaret and JB O'Hagan with recently-released Portlaoise POW Martin Ferris

Nuacht



● Tá gá le córas nua póilíní in ionad fórsa seicteach an CRU

Devine amú leis an phobal maidir le CRU

RINNE an Comhairleoir Sinn Féineach i nDoire Mary Nelis ionsaí Dé Máirt, 20 Meán Fómhair ar ráiteas de chuid Pat Devine as an SDLP ag iarraidh idirdhealú dearfach d'earcaíocht Chaitliceach don CRU.

Dúirt Nelis go raibh ráiteas Devine ina thuilleadh fianaise nach raibh Pat Devine ar aon intinn chan amháin lena pháirtí féin ach leis an phobal náisiúnach ar fad.

Mhaigh Nelis go raibh dearcadh Devine "áifeiseach" i ndiaidh réiteach choiste gnó a pháirtí féin ar an tseachtain seo caite a chuir cosc ar an chomhairleoir Rocks as áit a ghlacadh ar údaras na bPáirtí Sna Sé Chontae. Arsa Mary Nelis:

"Tá sé soiléir nach dtuigeann

Pat Devine meon na n-ógánach sa chathair seo, a d'fhulaing bunús an chur isteach agus na himeagla arinne an fórsa seicteach biogóideach seo."

Dúirt Nelis nach raibh ach réiteach amháin do cheist an CRU agus is é sin chun deireadh iomlán a chur leis. Dúirt sí go raibh an CRU ar an phéarsa fórsa is lú inchreidteachta san Eoraip.

"Tá seirbhís péis de dhíth orainn atá bunaithe ar an chomhphobal agus a thagann ón phobal áitiúil.



● MARY NELLIS

"Ba chóir do Pat Devine teacht le chéile le náisiúnaithe eile chun dimhileachtú iomlán de na Sé Chontae a éileamh ionas gur féidir le cainteanna cearta dul ar aghaidh. Ag an am sin is féidir leis na ceisteanna seo ar fad a phlé."

Ionadaíocht cheart éilithe ag Barr

TÁ AN COMHAIRLEOIR Sinn Féineach as an Srath Bán Ivar Barr, ag rá go mbeidh baill de Shinn Féin ar an chomhairle áitiúil ag cur lena n-iarraichtaí le hionadaíocht iomlán agus éifeachtach a chinntiú faoi choinne a vótairí.

"Le rófhada an lá tá an baill aontachtacha ar an chomhairle i gcomhar lena gcomoirbhithe ar na coistí agus grúpaí taobh amuigh den chomhairle ag iarraidh ionadaíthe Shinn Féin a choinneáil amach as coistí comhairle agus coistí seachtacha.

"Cuireadh cosc leanúnach ar chomhairleoirí Sinn Féineacha ó pháirt a ghlacadh i gcoistí tras-teorann agus ó imeachtaí oifigiúla tras-teorann."

Dúirt Barr fosta gur fíric gur Sinn Féin an t-aon dream amháin ar chomhairle an tSrátha Bháin



● IVAN BARR

nach bhfuair cuireadh suí ar bhoidir ghabhnóra sna scoileanna náitiúla.

Chuir Barr in iúl go raibh na clanna de vótairí Shinn Féin ag freastal ar an scoileanna seo.

Athoscailt an naisc leictrigh ina ábhar buartha

TÁ DAOINE in Ard Mhacha Theas buartha faoi mholtáil le déanaí go dtiocfadh leis an nasc leictreachais idir na Sé agus 26 Chontae bheith athcheangailte. Thógfaí piolín úra sa cheantar leis an leictreachas a thabhairt ó thuaidh.

Tá muintir an cheantair buartha cheana féin mar gheall ar an chontúirt do shláinte phobal Ard Mhacha Theas ó threallamh leictreacha a úsáideann arm na

Breataine sa dúiche le spiaireacht ar an chomhphobal áitiúil. Tá taighde déanta sa cheantar ag an dochtúir áitiúil Mary Allen i gcomhar le Roger Coghill, eolaí ar

na héifeachtaí a mbaineann le radaíocht neamh-ianú.

Tá imní ar an Dochtúir Allen maidir leis an cheangail dhíreach idir galair mharfacha mar leiceimie agus reathaí fola inchinne agus foisceacht tithle le piolín leictreacha. I staidéar a rinne Roger Coghill sa cheantar ní ba luaithe sa bhliain dúirt sé go raibh an leibhéal de reathaí fola inchinne sa cheantar go hiontach ard don daonra atá ann.

Is é an barúil a bhí ag Coghill

Slógadh Shinn Féin '94

Ostán an Doilín An Cheathrú Rua

30ú Meán Fómhair -
2ú Deireadh Fómhair 1994



Is féidir stopadh san Ostán ar chostas £45. Tá bricfeasta dhá lá agus béile amháin i gceist sa chostas sin. Cuir do áit in áirithe anois. Téir i dteangmháil le Marcus Mac Ruairí.

Beidh mionbhus ag fágaint ó 44 Cearnóg Pharnell, Baile Átha Cliath ag 6pm ar an Aoine.

Níl ach méid áirithe suíocháin ar fáil. Is féidir áit a chuir in áirithe trí ghlaoh ar Aengus ag 8733611 roimh an Máirt.

TUILLADH EOLAIS O

Marcus Mac Ruairí, 64b Bóthar Ráschúrsa, Doire, BT48. Fón (0504) 359747.

BALLRAÍOCHT SHINN FÉIN



Is é bunaidhm Shinn Féin aistharrangint na Breataine ó na Sé Chontae, athaontú ár dtíre agus bunadh phoblacht shóisialach dhaonlathach.

Más mian leat bheith i do bhall de Shinn Féin, nó tuilleadh eolas a fháil faoi Shinn Féin nó ár ngníomhartha

agus ár bpolasaithe, líon an fhoirm thíos agus seol é chuig Shinn Féin, 44 Cearnóg Pharnell, Baile Átha Cliath 1. Ainm.....

Seoladh.....

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.....Aois.....

fosta go raibh na piolín leictreacha freagrach as an ráta ard de loiceime i sráidbhaile Coilleach Eaná. Fuair sé ceithre chás den ghalar in eastát tithíochta de 40 teach, ráta i bhfad ní b'áirde ná an meán sa Bhreatain.

Tá an dochtúir sa Crois Mhic Leannáin ag éileamh cruinníu práinneach idir an grúpa timpeallachta, Feachtas in Aghaidh Séideadh Radaíochta agus leannairí de na boird leictreachais.

Idir an dá linn arsa sí:

"Caitheadh mé rabhadh a thabhairt dóibh siúd uilig a bhfuil baint acu leis an phelean molta chun an idirnas leictreachais a athoscailt chun an scéim a mhoilliú."



● MARY ALLEN

Feature

REMEMBERING THE PAST

Scores of POWs escape all over Ireland

■ LE DEIRDRE
NIC AN ISAOR

THE TIMING of the recent escape attempt by five republican prisoners in Whitemoor Prison, England, was significant in the minds of many commentators, coming as it did so soon after the IRA's declaration of the cessation of military operations. But republican prisoners of war have always seen it as their duty to escape the clutches of their jailers.

During the truce period, from 11 July 1921 until the Articles of Agreement for a Treaty between Great Britain and Ireland was signed on 6 December 1921, there were 19 successful jail breaks. The period after the order was given on 24 May 1923 to dump arms (the signal ending the Civil War) saw a flurry of escapes, intensifying when it became apparent that the Free State government was going to continue republicans' incarceration indefinitely. Between June 1923 and November 1925, 20 escapes were successful.

The suspension of hostilities on 11 July 1921 gave political hostages in the many jails in Ireland and Britain hope of an early release. Those held in Mountjoy, Kilmainham, Kilkenny, Derry, Spike Island, Belfast, Dundalk and Sligo jails, and those held in the concentration camps at the Curragh, Kilworth, Boyle and Ballykinlar though, did not wait. They continued the planning and execution of escape plans.

In the Curragh, 1,300 men were interned in 60 wooden huts surrounded by two large barbed-wire fences, with a 20-foot wide patrolled corridor between them. Machine-gun towers with powerful searchlights scanned the camps and the authorities regarded it as escape-proof.

On 20 August, Jim Staines proved them wrong. A brother of Michael Staines TD, he escaped in a military lorry leaving Rath Camp on the Curragh.

Within weeks, tunnelling in the Curragh, which was ongoing, came to fruition. Two tunnels had been started after the truce, the 'professional' and ambitious 'Dublin Brigade Tunnel' and the 'amateur' 'Rabbit Burrow'. The amateurs got there first. In the space of only 18 days, on the night of 8 September 1921 they reached

the outside wire, and in dense fog, 50 men got away. They wandered around in the fog and some even wandered back to the wire, but all eventually escaped.

Section Leader Brabazon, who stayed behind, said:

"If we'd waited four more days until the larger tunnel was finished we could have got 1,000 out."

Many of the remaining POWs were transferred to Kilkenny Jail where, on 23 November, 43 prisoners, including Michael Burke who'd survived a 90-day hunger strike earlier in Cork Jail, escaped after sinking another tunnel. On 16 September between 35 and 40 POWs tunnelled their way out of Kilworth Military Camp in County Cork. Two days previously, two men, O'Connell and Culnane, escaped the confines of the jail on Bere Island. The end of September saw at least three men, Michael Carolan (Belfast), Peadar Bracken (Tullamore) and Patrick Traynor (Dublin) succeed in gaining freedom from the Curragh.

Two days later in broad daylight Joe Lawless (Dublin) and Tom Glennon (Belfast) left the Curragh. On 10 October, seven escaped from the camp on Bere Island, even though additional security measures were in place following the earlier escape.

On 12 October, an internee named Leahy escaped while being escorted from Kilworth to see a doctor. He jumped into a passing car. The same day, Donal Barret succeeded in leaving Bere Island.

A medical student escaped from Mountjoy Jail in Dublin on 15 October and the following day, two men escaped from the hospital wing of Victoria Barracks in Cork. Jeremiah Dennehy and Frank Mahony of the Cork Brigade were the two involved. Also that day, six POWs escaped from the Curragh in two batches. One group were named as Harry Coan (Belfast), Jack Rooney (Dublin) and James Lillis (Carlow). Again on 16 October, two internees



● The Curragh Internment Camp (above) and members of Cumann na mBán wave in support of republican prisoners over Mountjoy Jail wall



escaped from Ballykinlar Camp. They were not that lucky though, they were recaptured the following day 40 miles away. On 18 October, another three flew the coop of the Curragh.

Mountjoy Jail on 31 October saw Eithne Coyle, Linda Kearns, Eileen Keogh and Mae Burke scale the walls using a rope ladder.

Bere Island was again the scene of another escape on 2 November when seven men went missing.

Ten days later, six prisoners, Thomas Keegan, J O'Brien, Liam Troy, Leo Fitzgerald, Gerry Davis and Paddy Rigney, half of whom were disguised as Auxiliaries, made their way through Mountjoy Jail arresting warders as they came across them. At the main gate they captured more and after a scuffle succeeded in opening the main gate and making good their escape.

On 15 November, eight

internees escaped from Spike Island, and on 21 November, RJ Beirne escaped from the Curragh after returning from parole.

Two years later, at the end of the Civil War, in many of the same jails, comrades were now being incarcerated by former comrades. Learning from the failures of their mentors, the Free States increased security at their places of detention but that did not deter the 11,000 imprisoned republicans.

The Curragh, or Tintown as it was now called, had nine-inch concrete floors put in under each hut, new searchlights and extra checks for tunnels, but that did not stop one of the biggest tunnel escapes ever succeeding. Seven men escaped during the latter days of the Civil War. Just after the order to dump arms was given, Maurice O'Brien and Sexton a

Free State deserter, escaped from Ennistymon Barracks. On 10 June, Tom Maguire and Toby Mannion escaped from Athlone Jail. Two others took leave of their confinement in the Westport Workhouse during July, and on 1 July, Tom Malone and another escaped tied to the bottom of a cart used for removing kitchen waste. He had only just been incarcerated in the Curragh. The same day saw 47 POWs escape from Clonmel Military Barracks by cutting a tunnel 25 feet long from their cells, under two walls and into the yard outside the barracks.

On 23 July, five prisoners escaped along with the sentry guarding them from Wicklow Jail. They also took ammunition and rifles with them.

George Gilmore was next to go, climbing over the wall in Mountjoy. Despite being fired at, he escaped unhurt on a bicycle. The authorities described him as being "of no military importance".

August saw four prisoners escape from Cork Jail and in September, four others — McNamara, Costello, Macken and O'Brien — escaped from Athlone Jail by scaling the jail's walls. Again in September, four of 13 prisoners being held in Limerick Jail are said to have escaped.

On 10 October, Daniel O'Connor, Con Ryan and Patrick Quane escaped from William Street Barracks in Limerick only to be recaptured the following night. Also in October, Jack Keogh escaped from Athlone Jail. In November, Mickey Price, Seán MacBride and Daithí O'Donoghue escaped while being transferred by ambulance from Mountjoy to Kilmainham Jail.

On 15 November, Michael McIntyre from Sonagh was rescued by armed men at Ballisodare railway station while being transported to Sligo Jail from Castletown. Ten days later, three prisoners escaped from a train at Inchicore, Dublin, apparently by pulling the communication cord. A fourth man was caught.

On Christmas Eve 1923, Joseph Maguire and Patrick Giffedder escaped from Finner Camp, County Donegal, two weeks after their arrest in Mountcharles. They filed through bars and cut barbed wire, leaving tools and trenchcoats behind in the cell. This was Lisnakea man Maguire's second escape from Finner.

In 1924, on 16 March, Peadar O'Donnell left the Curragh:

"I left my hut about 3am wearing Dr Comber's brown boots, Ned Bofin's brown leggings, and a top-coat and cap that did not belong to me nor to any prisoner in the camp. The searchlight in the turret ceased flashing; I walked up to the prison gates: they were flung open." [The Gates Flew Open, by Peadar O'Donnell.]

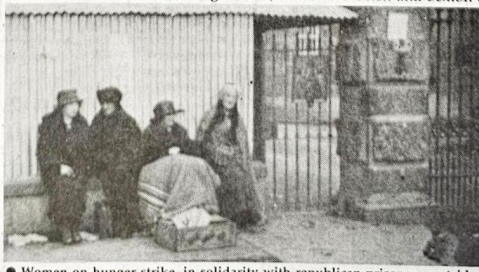
Later, Michael Kilroy escaped again during the night.

On 25 November 1925, 19 prisoners, including Seán Russell, Michael Carolan, Jim Killeen, David Fitzgerald and Maurice Fenlon, escape from Mountjoy.

And the tradition of escape was to continue in every decade of this century.



● British soldiers assemble a machine-gun nest under a prison wall



● Women on hunger strike, in solidarity with republican prisoners, outside Mountjoy Jail, five months after the ending of the Civil War in October 1923

News/Notices

DEATH OF
JIMMY CULL

JIMMY CULL from Arigna, County Leitrim, died on Thursday, 15 September aged 59 years. From a deeply republican family, he had been a republican activist all his life. Two uncles died in the Civil War — Michael shot on 6 January 1923 in an engagement in Ballyconnell and Jimmy gassed in the Arigna mines where he and Patrick Tymon had sought refuge after 1,000 Free State soldiers encircled Arigna on 23 March 1923.

Jimmy himself joined the movement at an early age and involved himself in the 1956-62 IRA cam-

paign. Over the last 25 years he was a linchpin of support in Arigna. He sold AP/RN, raised finance, worked at elections and assisted those engaged in the armed struggle. He gave shelter to many a republican and he endured raids and searches from state police. Indeed on Saturday, three car loads of Special Branch monitored his funeral.

In later years, Jimmy endured much illness, his health having suffered badly from long years working underground in the mines. Yet he was always cheerful and optimistic about the road ahead, even on the Sunday before he died he expressed his optimism about the current peace initiative.

People from Arigna and from Leitrim and Sligo turned out in great numbers for Jimmy's removal from Roscommon Hospital on Friday evening. On arrival in Arigna his Tricolour-draped coffin was carried up the hills through this once proud mining village. The cortege was led by a



● Jimmy Cull with his wife Mary

lone piper and escorted by a guard of honour of local republicans.

Jimmy was buried on Saturday on a hill overlooking the Arigna

valley. The priest at his funeral service spoke of Jimmy's service to others and his outstanding loyalty. This loyalty and dedication was a

theme echoed by Owen Carron in an oration at the graveside.

Carron paid tribute to Jimmy's life, of how as well as looking after his family, Jimmy Cull also found time and energy to take part in the republican struggle. The Culls of Arigna had been prominent in the Tan War with the present Jimmy's father being sentenced to death and only cheating the hangman by the onset of the 1921 Truce and of course, two uncles had lost their lives in the Civil War. It was this background, Owen Carron said, that spurred on the present generation of Culls and Jimmy Cull was a person who was relied upon over the last 25 years.

Pointing to the current situation, Owen Carron referred to how Jimmy Cull could be optimistic and hopeful despite his own illness and pain. Carron assured those present that there now was a great opportunity for peace and progress if it was grasped by all parties. We republicans must be confident in ourselves, he said. The IRA had ceased hostilities undefeated and republicans weren't negotiating from fear, but didn't fear to negotiate. So it was, he said, a time of great promise. Jimmy Cull had died full of hope that we were on the road to freedom. We must all forge ahead, Carron said, with the same hope in our hearts and optimism in our outlook and confidence in building a real peace.

The Republican Movement in Arigna and Leitrim extends condolences to Jimmy's wife, Mary, his sons, daughters, his sisters and his brother Tommy.

Go ndéana Dia trócaire ar a anam.

NOTICES
DEADLINE

All notices for inclusion in AP/RN should be in our Dublin or Belfast offices no later than 4pm Tuesdays to be printed in that week's paper.

Join Sinn Féin

SINN FÉIN is dedicated to forcing a British withdrawal from the occupied Six Counties, the reunification of our country and the establishment of a democratic socialist republic.

If you would like to join Sinn Féin, fill in the form below and send it to Sinn Féin, 44 Parnell Square, Dublin 1.

Name.....

Address.....

Tel:..... Age.....

InDíl Chuimhne

BRYSON, James; McCOMISKEY, Joseph. In proud memory of Volunteer James Bryson (died 22 September 1973) and Fian Joseph McComiskey (died 20 September 1972). "If you strike us down now, we shall rise again and renew the fight. You cannot conquer Ireland. You cannot extinguish the Irish passion for freedom." — Pádraig Pearse. Proudly remembered by their friends and comrades in the Republican Movement.

BRYSON, James (21st Ann). In proud and loving memory of my brother, Volunteer Jim Bryson, shot 31 August, died 22 September 1973. This day is remembered and quietly kept. No words are needed, I will never forget. Sadly missed and loved always, by your brother Bobby, wife Madeleine neices and nephews Tracy, Jaime, Jim and Nicola. **BRYSON, James (21st Ann).** In proud and loving memory of

my uncle, Volunteer Jim Bryson, who was killed on active service on 22 September 1973. Always loved and remembered by his nephew Pól, Sharon agus Pól Og. Mary Queen of Ireland pray for him. **BRYSON, James (21st Ann).** In proud and loving memory of my uncle, Volunteer Jim Bryson, who was killed on active service on 22 September 1973. Of all life's blessings, however great or small, to have you for an uncle was the greatest gift of all. Sadly missed by your nephew Bobby and fiancée Peggy. Padre Pio pray for him.

BRYSON, James (21st Ann). In proud and loving memory of my uncle, Volunteer Jim Bryson, who was killed on active service on 22 September 1973. You left so quickly, without a fuss and broke the hearts of all of us. Loved always by your neice Michelle and husband Michael. Our Lady pray for him.

BRYSON, James (21st Ann). In proud and loving memory of my brother-in-law Volunteer Jim Bryson, who was killed on 22 September 1973. Will those who think of him today, a little prayer to Jesus say. Sadly missed by his sister-in-law Kathleen and family. St Patrick pray for him.

ENNIS, Joe (1st Ann). In proud and loving memory of our comrade Joe Ennis, gone but never forgotten. Always remembered by Monaghan Comhairle Ceantair and Cavan Comhairle Ceantair, Sinn Féin.

O'HAGAN, Bernard (3rd Ann). In proud and loving memory of Sinn Féin Councillor Bernard O'Hagan, shot dead on 16 September 1991. Always remembered by his mother and family. Dad died 6 January 1992.

O'HAGAN, Bernard (3rd Ann). In proud and loving memory of a dear brother, brother-in-law and uncle, shot dead on 16 September 1991. May you rest in peace. Nev-

er forgotten by Mary, Eric, Calum and Pádraig.

O'HAGAN, Bernard (3rd Ann). In proud and loving memory of Bernard O'Hagan, murdered on 16 September 1991 by pro-British death agents. Always remembered with love and pride by the McGinn/Rodden/Donaghy Sinn Féin Cumann, Killea, South Derry.

TWOMEY, Séamus (5th Ann). Remembered with pride by Frank Curran and family.

Comhbhrón

BERGIN. Deepest sympathy to the family and girlfriend Melanie, of Shane Bargin, who died tragically on 8 September 1994. A committed comrade who will be sadly missed and always remembered. Stephen O'Sullivan.

BERGIN. Deepest sympathy to the family and girlfriend on their recent bereavement. He will be sorely missed by all the

BORDER REOPENING BUS: Leaves GPO, 10.30am, Sunday, 25 September to border. Phone: Nora 8202019, Rita 2824959

SLOGADH: Bus ag dul, 6pm, Aoinne, 30 Meán Fómhair, 6 44 Cearnóg Pharnell, BAILE ATHA CLIAITH. Praitheas £15

PICKET: To highlight the injustice of the trade embargo on Cuba. 12pm-1pm, Saturday, 1 October, American Embassy, Ballsbridge, DUBLIN. Organised by the Cuban Solidarity Campaign

COMMEMORATION: Seán O Conaill and Noel Jenkinson Commemoration. 1.30pm, Sunday, 9 October, Leicester Prison, Welford Road, LEICESTER, Eng-

land. Transport from Birmingham, 12pm, Cambridge Street. Organised by the Irish Republican POW Campaign (Bretaine)

REPUBLICAN BAND: A new republican band is being formed in the Pollock area of Glasgow and is looking for new members. Anyone interested should ring Denny on 041 881 7642

DRAW RESULTS

Sligo POW Department Draw 1st: Joan Callaghan, Sligo. No 905; 2nd: Andréa Murphy, Belfast. No 217; 3rd: Timmy Curran, Sligo. No 990; 4th: Annette Murren, Sligo. No 914; 5th: Arther Leahy, Cork. No 60; 6th: Paddy McGowan, Killyclogher. No 007.

Wolfe Tone Society, Audra and Pat.

CULL. Deepest sympathy is extended to Mary Cull and all her family on the recent death of her husband Jimmy, a staunch and loyal republican, ever quick to help those in need. From Gerry and Donna Casey, Sligo; From the MacManus family, Sligo.

CULL. Deepest sympathy is extended to Mary Cull and all her family on the recent death of her husband Jimmy, a staunch and loyal republican from the Republican Movement, Sligo.

GILLEN. In memory of our friend Frank who died recently. Never forgotten by John and Chris, Ardoyne.

MAULEY. Deepest sympathy is extended to my friend and comrade Pearse and all the of his brother Thomas. From Les, Declan, and Págo (Portlaoise).

MAULEY. Deepest sympathy is extended to Pearse and all the of his brother Thomas. From Casey.

MAULEY family on the death of his brother Thomas. From John Harnett, Kieran O'Dwyer, John Carmody, Stephen Sheedy and Seán Breen (Portlaoise).

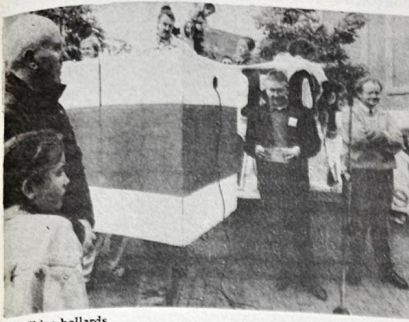
MAULEY. Deepest sympathy is extended to Pearse and all the of his brother Thomas. From Les, Declan, and Págo (Portlaoise).

MAULEY. Deepest sympathy is extended to Pearse and all the of his brother Thomas. From Casey.

MAULEY. Deepest sympathy is extended to Pearse and all the of his brother Thomas. From Don-

MAUGHLIN. Deepest sympathy to Mary on the death of her son Frank. From Owenie; From Seán.

WEAVER. Deepest sympathy is extended to the relations and friends of the late Frances Weaver, wife of the late Luke Weaver, Charlestown. From Mayo Sinn Féin.



• Talking bollards

EVER ARTISTIC are Derry people, and they're not afraid of looking foolish in the eyes of others through their attempts to push forward the boundaries of their imaginations, which, last weekend, extended to talking bollards!

The bollard in question — non-Derry readers will have to engage the left side of their brains for this concept — was on holiday from a partitioned boundary, taking a rest from blockading the closed border roads which are awash with stationary bollards (see centrespread p8&9 and p3).

Addressing the crowd in Waterloo Place last Saturday, the bollard said that it was glad to see so many people out at the border crossings recently as it got awfully lonely out there with only the odd fisherperson passing by. It also appealed to people not to be breaking bits off it as souvenirs as happened to the Berlin Wall.

Suspect Devices firmly believes that it's not only the roads in Derry that are blocked.

THE DEMONISERS of Sinn Féin leaders would not have been impressed by the warm reception given to party leaders Gerry Adams and Martin McGuinness (fully recovered from his bollard experience) when they attended last Sunday's All-Ireland Football Final at Croke Park.

The pair received a standing ovation as they took their seats in the Hogan Stand and then greeted a queue of people who wanted them to sign their match programmes — a gesture of support for the peace process and a lesson for the knockers and begrudgers.

REGULAR READERS of this page will recall the words of a Portadown pensioner on this year's Rossnowlagh Orange Walk who explained the significance of a banner depicting a Black man kneeling before a White queen with the immortal line: "That's the Queen of England giving a present of a bible to a Darkie."

Or the Christian bookshop at the Orange Order's



annual Twelfth gathering in Richhill, County Armagh, which stocked a recording featuring a cartoon of a black prelate entitled *The Pope's a Darkie* played by the Bitter Orange Band.

That was the week after DUP leader Peter Robinson made racist remarks about the Irish soccer team, quipping that they were "well travelled, they've got a few coloureds in the team now" and fellow DUP Councillor Cecil Moore's comment on his visit to Malaysia that "every face had those little slanted eyes and they all looked the same".

So it was with a wry smile that I read this week that the new head of the world's Orange Order is one Emanuel Essien, a Black man known in his native Togo as Aboki Komna. He will be sworn in as Grand Imperial President of the order at their annual council meeting in New Zealand.

There are many African members of the order, which was brought to the continent by Protestant missionaries, but they apparently find their Six-County brethren a bit hard to take because of their political views.

Now the real scoop on this story would be the unexpurgated Peter Robinson view of this latest development.

AFTER MUCH WHINGING in the immediate aftermath of the event and a most undignified attempt to blame their men, two British officers who led an expedition into a remote gully in Borneo and had to be rescued on the point of death, have been criticised by an official inquiry.

Lieutenant Colonel Robert Neill and Major Ron Foster

were blamed for bad decisions which led the expedition into serious difficulties. They were attempting to be the first team to descend to the floor of the notoriously treacherous 2,000-foot deep Low's Gully in Borneo. Instead, the expedition got split in two, the first group managing to find their own way out, while the second,

which included both officers, got stranded and had to be rescued after almost a month.

At a press conference after their rescue, Lieutenant Colonel Neill criticised Corporal Hugh Brittan for leading the second party away from the first. The official

British army inquiry found, however, that the officers had made serious errors of judgement during the expedition which contributed to the difficulties encountered.

Corporal Brittan and two other NCOs were awarded commendations.

THE COMMANDER OF BRITISH FORCES in Cyprus is to send his condolences to the family of murder victim Louise Jensen.

Three British soldiers are in custody in relation to the Danish tourist's brutal killing and police say they will be charged with murder. The three are all members of the Royal Greenjackets.

British soldiers on the island have a reputation for getting involved in drunken brawling. Soldiers frequently appear before local courts on charges ranging from actual bodily harm against police officers, grievous bodily harm against tourists, theft, passing dud cheques, joyriding and stealing the wheelchair of a disabled tourist.

Meanwhile, also on the island, a second lieutenant in the Parachute Regiment is seriously ill in hospital this week after falling from a window of a Nicosia hotel.

THE VERY QUALITY of the air in the City of London has improved dramatically since the ring of steel was introduced in an attempt to secure the area from IRA bombs. Air pollution levels have fallen in the

14 months since the restrictions were introduced and cars kept out.

The downside is that the plebs just outside the City and in neighbouring boroughs have had to put up with rising pollution.

Dúirt Siad

I have just come back from a month's absence during which I have seen no TV and hardly a headline, and here at home I have a fearsome pile of newspapers to catch up on. To show you how long I have been away, I can tell you that when I left home, Kim Il Jong was Public Enemy No 1 and Gerry Adams was Public Enemy No 2. Now, a mere month later, North Korea is not mentioned in any headline, and Gerry Adams has become an elder statesman. — Miles Kingston in the *London Independent*, Monday, 19 September.

Mr Major needs to match his words with deeds. He is making a Tom Fool out of himself in the way he is behaving. — Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams, Tuesday, 21 September.

I don't accept the claims of unionists that they are British. And I know that in their hearts and souls they don't believe it either. They are just Irish of a different tradition and upbringing. — GAA President Jack Boothman, the *Sunday Business Post*, 18 September.

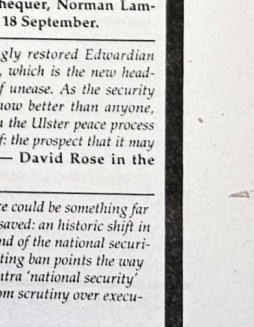
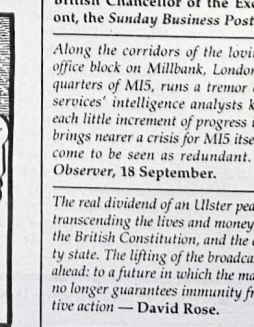
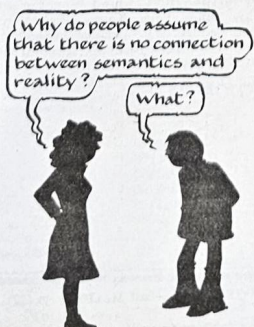
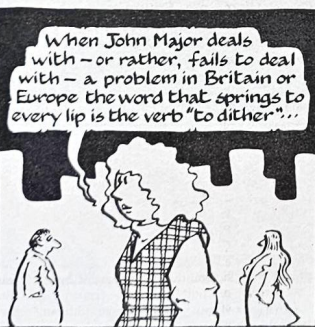
You can be as friendly as you like with your neighbour, but you don't let him camp in your garden and you don't let him sleep with your wife. — Jack Boothman, rejecting the idea of the GAA allowing its stadia to be used for non-GAA games.

The government's task is to define what Britain's national interest is in Northern Ireland and how it affects the unity and integrity of the country as a whole. Instead, the government has merely stated what its interest is not, in the now notorious formulation that Britain has "no selfish strategic or economic interest in Northern Ireland". Of course, all interests, by their very nature, are selfish. — Former British Chancellor of the Exchequer, Norman Lamont, the *Sunday Business Post*, 18 September.

Along the corridors of the lovingly restored Edwardian office block on Millbank, London, which is the new headquarters of MI5, runs a tremor of unease. As the security services' intelligence analysts know better than anyone, each little increment of progress in the Ulster peace process brings nearer a crisis for MI5 itself: the prospect that it may come to be seen as redundant. — David Rose in the *Observer*, 18 September.

The real dividend of an Ulster peace could be something far transcending the lives and money saved: an historic shift in the British Constitution, and the end of the national security state. The lifting of the broadcasting ban points the way ahead: to a future in which the mantra "national security" no longer guarantees immunity from scrutiny over executive action — David Rose.

Notes



News

H-Block escaper freed by US judge

■ BY LIAM O COILEAIN

IRISH-AMERICAN anti-extradition campaigners were last week celebrating as H-Block escaper Jimmy Smyth finally won his District Court battle in San Francisco against being sent back to the Six Counties.

Smyth was released from the federal prison at Pleasanton on Thursday, 15 September, after San Francisco District Court Judge Barbara Caulfield earlier that day refused to order his extradition. Based on evidence during the case of conditions in the Six Counties and Smyth's past treatment both in and out of prison, Caulfield ruled that he would be in danger both in prison and after his release.

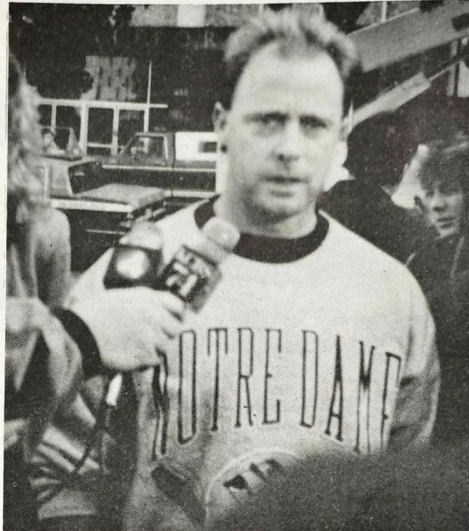
The ruling is bound to have repercussions for the other three H-Block escapers in the Bay area of California, who are also facing extradition proceedings. Smyth's case was seen by many as an important precedent case, upon which judgements in the cases against Pól Brennan, Kevin Artt and Terry Kirby should be based.

The decision came almost a year after Smyth's hearing began, more than two years after his arrest in San Francisco and almost eleven years after his escape from the H-Blocks. It was also the first test of the 1986 US-British treaty which was designed by the Reagan and Thatcher administrations to make it more difficult for Irish nationals to escape extradition.

What proved to be the achilles heel of the treaty was Article 3A, a clause inserted by its opponents which provided grounds for denying extradition if the subject was likely to suffer discrimination or intimidation upon his or her return. A succession of defence witnesses, including Irish TD Neil Blaney and British MP Ken Livingstone testified to human rights abuses in the Six Counties during last year's hearings, mentioning collusion, shoot-to-kill, the abuse of suspects and the suspension of civil liberties.

In her ruling, Judge Caulfield drew attention to the "frequent stops, arrests, interrogations, beatings and searches of his home" which Smyth had endured in Ireland, saying that these were "a harbinger of things to come if Mr Smyth returns to the streets of Northern Ireland". She referred to a statement by a prison officer who said that he could not guarantee Smyth's safety in prison. Caulfield also cited the fact that prison officers in the aftermath of the 1983 escape had beaten and set dogs on prisoners and none were disciplined.

"The punishment, detention and restrictions on his personal



● Jimmy Smyth, who finally won his battle against extradition from the US to the Six Counties

liberties that James Smyth would face upon his return to prison in Northern Ireland are adequate reasons to deny certification of extradition," Caulfield ruled, in her 48-page judgement.

US lawyers working on behalf

of the British authorities have indicated that they will appeal the decision to the US Court of Appeals.

Speaking after his release, Jimmy Smyth said that he was

"overwhelmed" by the support which he has received since his arrest. "I know they will stand by me and I will stand by them," he said. He continued: "But our main interest must always be with those who are still in prison in Ireland."

His wife, Maggie Lynch, said that she was "ecstatic about the decision" adding that "in light of current developments in Ireland, I would certainly hope that our government would not spend any more tax dollars to pursue this".

John Fogarty of the H-Block Four Committee in San Francisco said: "I think the political winds are shifting and they're definitely blowing our way. People are finally seeing that what's been going on in Northern Ireland is wrong, that we're right, and that we have to give whatever kind of political support we can from this end."

The Irish Anti-Extradition Committee also applauded the judge's decision. Spokesperson Nora Comiskey felt that "in the current changed political climate here at home, the Irish government should similarly refuse to continue extraditing Irish citizens facing politically-related charges to Britain."

"Successful governments have persisted in denying the existence of the political offence," she said, "but at a time when the minister for justice is talking about amnesties for republican prisoners, it makes little sense to be attempting to extradite another escaper, Angelo Fusco, from this state at the same time."

BALLYMURPHY 7
MAN CLEARED
OF 34 CHARGES

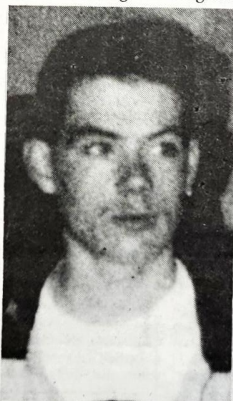
AT THE OPENING of the trial on Monday, 19 September, of the remaining members of the Ballymurphy Seven still in custody, 34 charges against one of the men, Hugh McLaughlin, were dropped.

McLaughlin is still being tried for offences relating to a bomb attack on an RUC Land Rover on Belfast's Springfield Road in August 1991. He will remain in custody with Michael Beck (21) and Tony Garland (20) — the remaining three of the seven young men arrested after the IRA attack. Two other members of the Ballymurphy Seven — Danny Pettigrew and Stephen Mullan were released by a Diplock judge just last week.

The Ballymurphy Seven were all physically and psychologically abused by the RUC in the notorious Castlereagh Interrogation Centre, before being forced to sign statements. These forced confessions are still the sole basis of the case against them.

The seven have always protested their innocence and the campaign on their behalf has attracted widespread support. Hugh McLaughlin, Michael Beck and Tony Garland have already spent three years in jail and face the prospect of a long trial. Even if they are eventually acquitted, they have served a very lengthy sentence.

Just this week, a large number of prominent individuals called for the men's immediate release.



● HUGH MCLAUGHLIN

They included: Declan Bree TD, Éamon O Cuiv TD, Tony Benn MP, Richard McKenny, Paul Hill, Bernadette McAliskey, Catriona Ruane, Ursula Barry, Fr Des Wilson, Fr Joe McVeigh, Tony Gregory TD, Cllr Nicky Kelly, Ken Livingstone MP, Johnny Walker, Margaret Caraher, Bobby Ballagh, Tim Pat Coogan, Noelle Ryan, Fr Raymond Murray, and Neil Blaney TD.



● Dublin supporters of the Ballymurphy Seven protest on O'Connell Bridge

An Phoblacht
REPUBLICAN NEWS

22/9/94

In the aftermath of the IRA's historic August announcement and at this crucial juncture in the unfolding Irish Peace Process, the uncensored version of what republicans have to say is vital to a full understanding of the political situation in Ireland.

The process of demilitarisation, of

achieving a just and lasting peace in Ireland and the struggle to create a national democracy will mean a new political landscape. The uncensored views of Irish nationalists and republicans are essential to understanding this newly developing political climate.

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