



Sraith Nua Im 14 Uimhir 4
(Britain 45p) Price 40p

An Phoblacht

REPUBLICAN NEWS

23 Eanáir
Thursday, 23rd January 1992

SINN FEIN SEEKS END TO ARMED CONFLICT

LAST WEEKEND Cardinal Cahal Daly and a Presbyterian minister, Reverend Leslie Casement, took it on themselves to perpetuate the ongoing campaign of vilification against both Sinn Féin and the voters who support them. "Sinn Féin can expect no place in Irish politics while they are associated with the violent activities of the IRA", according to Dr Cahal Daly. Speaking on BBC radio last Sunday, Daly said that it was time for Sinn Féin to "come clean" about their pre-election claims that a vote for Sinn Féin is not a vote for violence.

Leslie Casement, a Cookstown Presbyterian minister, told his congregation at Sunday service that those who voted for Sinn Féin were encouraging violence and that it was impossible to believe that they wanted peace. The two men used the deaths in an IRA ambush of eight men who worked for the crown forces in Tyrone as an opportunity to point the finger of blame for the entire conflict again at republicans and by implication at people who support Sinn Féin.

Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams issued a statement on Sunday commenting on the remarks made by Daly and Casement:

"In a radio interview today Dr Cahal Daly was quoted as saying that 'after elections Sinn Féin claims that its vote is support for violence'.

"This is untrue. Sinn Féin's position on political violence has been spelt out by me on numerous occasions. Our party wants to see an end to armed conflict of all kinds in our country and a total demilitarisation of the situation. This is party policy. We do not advocate violence and we do not interpret our vote as support for violence.

"There is a duty upon those who claim to be above party politics, as Cahal Daly does, to accurately reflect the policies of those they criticise. This is especially so when Sinn Féin is censored in the very media in which those remarks are usually made.

"I note and I welcome the Cardinal's refusal to personally interpret our electoral support as 'support for violence' and I strongly reject Presbyterian Minister, the Reverend Casement's remarks at Cookstown this morning, about Sinn Féin's voters.

"Sinn Féin voters have been constantly subjected to pressures which

seek to morally blackmail and intimidate them. Those involved are not only Church leaders. Local and British politicians as well as sections of the media are involved in this protracted campaign. That they have failed, despite censorship and other measures, is a credit to the steadfastness of our supporters.

"While I reject the opportunistic politics which seek to make our party accountable for IRA actions and their consequences, I accept that this is the type of politics favoured by anti-republican elements and which Sinn Féin has to contend with as part of the battle for hearts and minds, in which all parties to the tragic conflict in our country are engaged.

"However, I strongly refute attempts to make Sinn Féin voters scapegoats for the actions of any group or for the failed political entity of the Six-County state and the protracted and tragic consequences of its continued existence. These attempts have now reached such a contrived pitch of hysteria that Sinn Féin voters are being blamed even for the actions of loyalist and British occupation forces. These forces it is now suggested, act in reaction to the problem created by those who vote for Sinn Féin. It is little wonder in this McCarthyite atmosphere that so many Sinn Féin representatives are

victims of British/loyalist attacks.

"It is also interesting to note that, in the wake of these attacks, unionist voters who support politicians whose main election plank was and remains 'Smash Sinn Féin', and whose links with loyalist paramilitary organisations is well known, are not subjected to the same scurrilous pressures as republican voters.

"Sinn Féin voters are not responsible for the partitioned and unjust situation in our country, nor for any incident arising from it.

"Those who seek to reduce the problems created and sustained by this situation to a 'Sinn Féin problem' are completely wrong. They are also political cowards who are afraid to face political reality and support inclusive measures to resolve the difficulties confronting us all.

"To cast a vote for a political party is a totally peaceful action. When the Sinn Féin leadership pioneered an electoral strategy we were, and we continue to give people an unarmed role in the struggle for freedom, justice and peace in Ireland.

"Our efforts to develop this unarmed strategy have been met by a consistent campaign of repression, harassment, censorship, murder attacks and misrepresentation aimed at marginalising and undermining our vote.

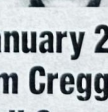
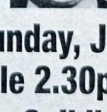
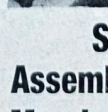
"Obviously the results of the ballot box are acceptable to the British government and its fellow travellers only when the voters vote the way they want them to."

— See Major questions on British presence p6/7; Background to Teebane ambush p16

BLOODY SUNDAY

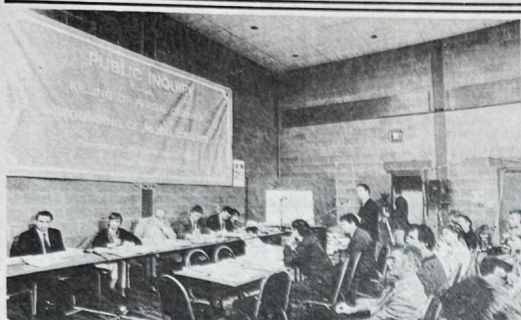
20th Anniversary

MARCH
AND RALLY



Sunday, January 26th
Assemble 2.30pm Creggan shops
March to Guildhall Square, Derry.

News



● Britain's shoot-to-kill policy exposed again

Caraher inquiry report exposes shoot-to-kill

■ BY LIAM O COILEAIN

BRITAIN'S SHOOT-TO-KILL POLICY is again exposed before the world this week with the publication of the Report of the Public Inquiry into the killing of Fergal Caraher and the wounding of his brother Micheál. The publication of the report is a tribute to the Caraher family, the people of South Armagh and the Irish National Congress, who have refused to allow the killing to be brushed under the table as Britain would have preferred.

The damning conclusions of the panel of eminent legal experts from around the world will be

extremely difficult for the British to ignore. The report is an impressive and wide-ranging document, including the

submissions made to the inquiry by interested parties and human rights groups and, of course the recommendations and conclusions of the international panel of jurists who heard the evidence at the inquiry.

According to Kevin Burke, a US District Attorney and one of the inquiry's jurists: "An examination of the facts surrounding the Caraher case and the laws and policies related thereto leads one to the conclusion that the British government has tacitly adopted a 'shoot to kill' policy toward the Catholic community in Northern Ireland. There can be no other explanation for the government's inaction in regard to the court's interpretation of the criminal law concerning the use of deadly force, as well as the government's unwillingness to expedite criminal investigations of shootings by security forces, or provide the public with information on these incidents..."

"The security policies of the British government in Northern Ireland, particularly the policy concerning the use of deadly force, can be fairly viewed by the minority Catholic population as oppressive," he states.

The British authorities refused to participate in the inquiry when it was held last summer. But now as nine witnesses to the shooting are to be reinterviewed by the DPP's office (admitting by this action that the RUC couldn't have interviewed them properly in the first place) the inquiry chairperson, Michael Mansfield QC, has decided to reserve his findings and recommendations to a later date, in order that any new evidence or matters arising can be duly considered. See also page 5.

DUBLIN COMMEMORATES BLOODY SUNDAY

■ BY ART Mac EOIN

A DRAMATIC PAGEANT to mark the 20th anniversary of Bloody Sunday was staged outside the British Embassy in Dublin on Friday evening, January 17th. A crowd of 200 people carrying lighted candles and led by a replica of an original Civil Rights Association banner, carried by three relatives of Bloody Sunday victims — Eileen Green, widow of Patrick Doherty and John and Martin Kelly, brothers of Michael Kelly, marched to the embassy for the pageant.

Following individual drum rolls representing gunfire, 14 people symbolising the victims of the Derry massacre fell to the ground on the road outside the embassy. As an uilleann piper played a lament, the spot where each person fell was outlined with chalk and a red rose laid in his place.

People carrying candles and 14 crosses bearing the names of those killed on Bloody Sunday lined the pavement directly outside the embassy building as the names of the

victims were read out from a platform and a minute's silence observed.

The crowd was then addressed by Eileen Green who asked for Charles Haughey to seek an international inquiry into Bloody Sunday and encouraged people to travel to the 20th anniversary march in Derry. The Dublin-based poet Pat Tierney recited Thomas Kinsella's *The Butcher's Dozen*, a passionate poem describing the events of Bloody Sunday and Dublin singer John White sang John Lennon's *Sunday Bloody Sunday*.



● Fourteen white crosses commemorate the victims of Bloody Sunday outside the British Embassy

20 years waiting for justice

■ BY LIAM O COILEAIN

"THE British government's attitude is still that these people deserved to die," journalist and author Eamonn McCann reminded fellow reporters at the launch of his new book, *Bloody Sunday in Derry — What Really Happened*, held in Buswells Hotel, Dublin, on Friday, January 17th. The book has been launched to coincide with a series of events organised by the Bloody Sunday Initiative commemorating the 20th anniversary of the massacre of fourteen civil rights marchers in Derry in 1972 by the Parachute Regiment.

"This book has been written not just as an act of homage but with political intent," McCann said. "We want the Bloody Sunday case reopened. We want the Bloody Sunday 14 vindicated, a repudiation of the Widgery Report and a British government admission of murder. They have no moral standing to condemn any violence while they stand by the Bloody Sunday murders." He called on the ordinary people of the 26 Counties to raise their voices about Bloody Sunday.

McCann's book is written with the assistance of Maureen Shiels and Bridie Hannigan of the Women's Living History Circle in Derry, who conducted interviews with relatives of each of the 14 victims. The book interspaces these interviews, telling us something about each victim, with the story of what happened on Bloody Sunday. The book is particularly scathing in its condemnation of the Widgery Report which attempted to whitewash over the massacre, concluding that the Report "remains the greatest single travesty of justice arising out of the Northern Ireland turmoil of the past two decades". McCann describes Widgery simply as "a bare-faced liar".

In his foreword to the book, Seamus Deane says that Bloody Sunday and the Widgery Tribunal "are integral to the policy of criminalisation that has, as its central aim, the misrepresentation of any serious nationalist or republican opposition" to British rule in the Six Counties "as a form of gangsterism". He concludes that: "They (the Paras) acted in the conviction that they were not dealing with people, but with caricatures of their own propaganda machine. Lord Widgery's attitude was similar. As long as that

mentality prevails, the so-called 'Timorables' will continue. And it will prevail until there is a change in policy, until it occurs to the authorities that as long as justice and truth are incompatible with the retention of power, then that power will be endlessly contested by those who are the victims of it."

Eileen Green, whose husband, Paddy Doherty, was one of the victims of Bloody Sunday, read a letter at the launch on behalf of the relatives. It was sent to Charles Haughey and calls on his government to press for a full international inquiry into the Bloody Sunday massacre. Also present were Martin and John Kelly, whose brother Michael was shot dead by the Parachute Regiment that day. He was just 17 years old.

Independent TD Tony Gregory attended the launch and offered his full support for the demand for a full independent inquiry. "Anything I can do I certainly will. This stands as the single most hypocritical event in the history of this country. The blame is still officially left with the victims. It is as if they were the cause of their deaths when we all know the truth. I can't think there is any doubt here but that those people were murdered," he said. Messages of support were also sent by MEP and TD Neil Blaney and Independent Senators Brendan Ryan and Joe O'Toole.

Steve McDonagh of Brandon Press, the publishers, said: "We are very pleased to be associated with this book and the Bloody Sunday Initiative. We think this is a very important book and it ought to be read by a lot of people. It is both politically and personally important."



● Author Eamonn McCann and Bloody Sunday relatives at the launch of his book

News

Corrupt to the core

■ BY ART
Mac EOIN

IN BRIEF...

Beaten senseless by RUC

Twenty-nine-year-old Malachy Fagan was seriously injured when he was struck by a baton and a gang of RUC men handcuffed his hands and feet before brutally beating the Ballymurphy man into unconsciousness.

Shortly after 1am on Tuesday, January 21st, the car in which Malachy Fagan was travelling as a passenger was stopped by a British army footpatrol on New Barnsley Parade. After routine questioning, four jeeps of RUC men arrived and the three men were told to get out of the vehicle. Malachy Fagan describes his ordeal:

"As I was getting out of the car an RUC man hit me across the head with a baton. I was dragged away from the car, handcuffed with my arms behind my back and my feet were handcuffed. The deep gash in my head was bleeding badly. My clothes were covered in blood and there was a lot of blood on the road."

Fagan was thrown onto the road while around six RUC men launched a brutal attack on their injured and helpless victim. A local resident who heard the commotion and rushed to the scene said that Fagan was lying face down on the road with his arms and legs held by handcuffs while six or seven RUC men beat and kicked him. One RUC man, the eyewitness said, knelt on the stricken man's back during the attack. Fagan continues:

"I was drifting in and out of consciousness. I don't know how long they beat me but after while I was thrown in the back of a jeep. As I was being hauled into the jeep an RUC woman kicked me in the back. I was taken to Grosvenor Road RUC Barracks and thrown into a cell."

At the barracks Fagan was charged with assaulting three RUC officers, resisting arrest and disorderly behaviour. An RUC doctor ruled that Fagan was unfit to be interviewed for more than two minutes.

On his release from the barracks shortly before 4am, Fagan was taken immediately to the Royal Victoria Hospital where he received extensive X-ray examination. The gash to his head required five internal and 12 external stitches before Fagan was released. A week after the attack, Fagan collapsed and was taken back to hospital where he was told that his condition was due to the extensive amount of blood he had lost from his injuries. He is still receiving medical attention.

In another separate incident in the Beechmount area of West Belfast, Ciaran Eliot, a 27-year-old Beechmount man was viciously assaulted by members of a British army footpatrol.

The assault occurred in the early hours of Saturday morning, January 18th, as the man was walking home through Beechmount Grove going to Beechmount Crescent. As he was walking through an entry, he passed at least two members of a British army footpatrol and was struck in the back of the head. He fell to the ground where his assailants continued to beat him.

His injuries were described by a doctor in the local hospital as being severe and they entailed a gash to the back of the head which required 12 stitches, a broken jaw and extensive bruising to the lower torso.

Nelson deal exposes extent of collusion

THE British government has prevented the public disclosure in open court of its forces' extensive links with loyalist death squads by striking a deal with its agent Brian Nelson who pleaded guilty to the charges laid against him in Belfast on Wednesday.

Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams described the Nelson case as "the clearest evidence yet of the extent of collusion between loyalist death squads, British agencies and the British political establishment". He challenged Peter Brooke, described frequently in recent days as an 'honourable man' to "outline his attitude to what is obviously a major cover-up of British dirty tricks by the forces under his control." Adams said:

"Collusion takes many forms. The one which nationalists are most familiar with is the passing of documents between the UDR/RUC and loyalist groups.

"The Nelson case has, despite the deal done and the efforts of the British government to bury it, revealed that collusion involves the deliberate manipulation of loyalist murder gangs by British agents with the purpose of killing nationalists and republicans.

"The deal which has been struck to protect British interests would not have occurred without sanction at the highest political level."

Fusco gets bail

ANGELO FUSCO whose extradition to the Six Counties was ordered by the Dublin District Court on January 8th, has been granted bail by the High Court in Dublin. The state opposed bail at the court hearing on Monday, January 20th.

Fusco (35) from Belfast, is challenging the order for his extradition. He is wanted in the Six Counties to serve a life sentence imposed in his absence for the killing of SAS Captain Herbert Westmacott in a gun battle on Belfast's Antrim Road in 1980.

Fusco took part in the 'Great Escape' of eight republican prisoners from Belfast's Crumlin Road Jail in 1981 while on remand. He was later arrested in the 26 Counties and given a ten-year jail term under the Criminal Law Jurisdiction Act (CLJA) for his part in the escape. He received an additional term for his part in an attempted escape from Portlaoise Prison in November 1985.



● Doherty points the finger

THE MEDIA HYPE surrounding the latest exocet to hit the Fianna Fáil/PSD government in the form of Seán Doherty's revelation that Charles Haughey knew of the tapping of two journalists' phones in 1982, will be greeted with cynicism by most people.

Apart from the obvious diversion from issues of major concern to the vast majority of people in the 26 Counties which such exaggerated media coverage creates, there is another disturbing aspect to the entire affair. Whether or not Charles Haughey knew about the tapings of Bruce Arnold's and Geraldine Kennedy's phones, and it is most likely that he did, is not the real scandal. What should be of greater concern is that telephone tapping as a method of political repression is being widely deployed against a large section of the Irish public without any outcry from those shouting most loudly about the revived 'bugging scandal'.

The targets of telephone tapping include members of political parties particularly Sinn Féin, trade unionists, civil rights activists, journalists and other unsuspecting citizens — in other words a wide swathe of the population. This aspect has been completely ignored by those in the media whose duty it is to inform the general public.

The use of phone taps has of course not been confined to Fianna Fáil led governments and has also been practised under Fine Gael/Labour coalition governments.

The tapping of two journalists' phones in 1982 by the then Justice Minister and ex-Garda Special Branch member Seán Doherty was one of a number of public controversies surrounding the Haughey administration during what became known as the GUBU period. When the matter became public the Roscommon TD defended Haughey from allegations and took the entire rap for the phone tapping, losing his ministerial office and subsequently his Leinster House seat in the process.

The tapping of the phones of Bruce Arnold of the *Irish Independent* and Geraldine Kennedy of the *Sunday Tribune* was first made public by Fine Gael Justice Minister Michael Noonan when he took office in 1983. Taking full responsibility for ordering the phone taps, Doherty said that it had been nec-

essary because the government was under threat from anti-national elements, presumably working for British intelligence who wanted Haughey removed from power. He said that his actions were motivated out of concern for the security of the state and claimed that neither the government nor Haughey knew at the time what he was up to. On Tuesday last he changed his version of events saying that Haughey knew all along.

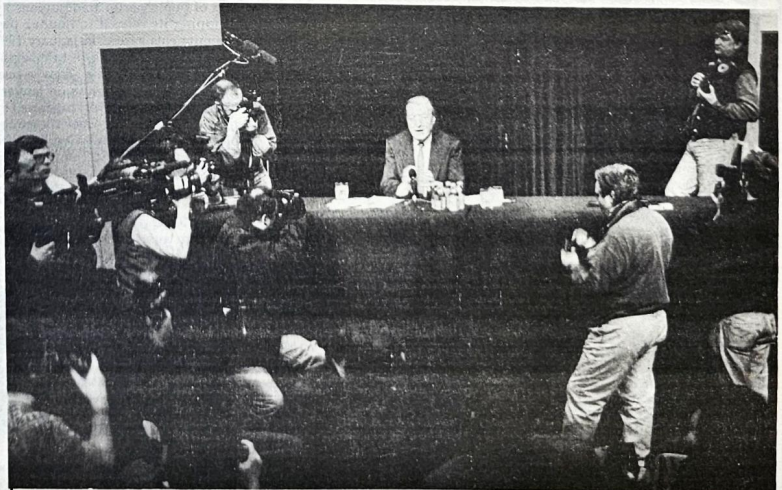
At the time of the initial revelations in 1983, Fianna Fáil took a hammering, lacking a firm political grip on any branch of the media. Haughey and his colleagues were mercilessly hounded by Fine Gael and almost the entire 26-County press. That many of those attacking them were virulently anti-republican and anti-nationalist helped to create for Haugheyite Fianna Fáil an image of being the standard bearers of nationalism and sovereignty against attacks from agents of the British who were intent on removing Haughey in the wake of his independent stand during the Malvinas war.

While the matter has now become that of whether one believes Haughey or Doherty, the crucial factor will be the course of action taken by Fianna Fáil's coalition partners — the Progressive Democrats. The party which cast themselves in the role of crusading reformers intent on putting an end to "low standards in high places", have swallowed so much of their 'principles' already that their credibility will be seriously impaired by further reluctance to relinquish power in the face of yet another government 'scandal'.

In his recently published book which does much to explain the nature and development of 26-County politics in the '80s John Waters includes an apt quote from one of those at the centre of the current storm:

Seán Doherty in the past had delighted in telling a favourite story about the Brian Lenihan who had trained him in the trade of politics. 'Brian', Doherty asked him once. 'Did you ever tell a lie in the House?' 'My dear boy', replied Lenihan, 'the only place to lie is in the House!'

Whoever is currently lying to the Irish public one thing is clear to most people, political life in the 26 Counties is corrupt to its rotten core.



● Haughey on trial yet again

News

British presence promotes violence

DISMISSING CLAIMS that the removal of Articles Two and Three from the 1937 Constitution would help eliminate violence in the North, the Declaration for Peace group argued that it is the continuing claim of British sovereignty in Ireland "and the continued presence of Britain in its affairs, which has promoted violence in our country".

Speaking at a press conference held in Belfast on Friday, January 17th, the organisation joined the Campaign for Democracy and the Derry based Forum 2 and 3 to condemn the unionist-led campaign for the removal of Articles Two and Three.

Dublin barrister Seamus O Tuathail argued that far from reducing violence or calming unionist fears, the removal of Articles Two and Three could well lead to another generation having to suffer the violence, which he described as "endemic in the northern situation". He continued:

"There should be no change in Articles Two and Three of the Constitution of Ireland which would have the effect of recognising the validity of the UK claim to supreme authority and lawful sovereignty in a part of Ireland."

He claimed that such a change would

detrimentially effect the rights of every one born in the Six Counties to the "privileges of Irish citizenship", removing their right to work, stand for public office in the 26 Counties, represent Ireland in international sporting events and entitlement to an Irish passport. Speaking on behalf of the Declaration for Peace, O Tuathail said that removal would also diminish the ability of the Dublin government to "articulate the social and economic interests of all the people of Ireland" within the EC.

In a document presented by the Campaign for Democracy and endorsed by over 60 signatories, the group argues that the British claim to sovereignty over the Six Counties represents a "formidable obstacle to constructive dialogue between nationalists and unionists, since historically that sovereignty has been exercised



● Declaration for Peace press conference in Belfast

in a way which has buttressed the unionist position both economically and ideologically".

Pointing out that Britain's claim to sovereignty over the Six Counties has been opposed by the majority of the Irish

people ever since the establishment of the statelet, the document argues that the key democratic issue in the period ahead is "to create conditions within which the northern Protestant community is able to take its rightful place in the construction

of a set of democratic and secular political institutions through which the divisions of the past can be transcended and to participate in the exercise of sovereignty rather than dependant law-making".



● Anti-Section 31 campaigners outside Government Buildings in Dublin

POLITICAL CENSORSHIP REINVOKED

DUBLIN GOVERNMENT Minister for Communications Seamus Brennan has renewed the Ministerial Order under Section 31 of the Broadcasting Act which bars Sinn Féin spokespersons from the 26 County state's airwaves.

Political censorship under Section 31 has been in place since 1971, denying people in the 26 Counties facts and information on the continuing conflict in the North. The order which has been renewed every year since its introduction, bans democratically elected Sinn Féin representatives from RTE and independent radio stations. The party's councillors in the 26 Counties are directly affected by Section 31 which prevents them from properly representing their constituents.

To coincide with the reintroduction, the Repeal Section 31 Committee staged a picket at government buildings in Dublin on Thursday, January 16th.

Sinn Féin in County Laois held a picket at Tullamore post office on

Saturday, January 18th. Local Sinn Féin PRO Brian Stanley slammed what he called the "spurious" reason that 'Sinn Féin supports violence for political ends' given by politicians in support of Section 31 censorship.

"If this is the real reason, why do we hear British army commanders, RUC commanders and British and loyalist politicians being interviewed? Some of these people not only support violence but also supervise and direct the forces that use it.

"The main reason for Section 31 is to distort and cover up what is happening in the North and to silence all those who demand self-determination for the Irish people, but it has also affected media coverage of issues down here", he said.

PESP reaches half-way house

■ BY MICHAEL MORRISSEY

THE PUBLIC SERVICES COMMITTEE of the ICTU won the first round of the battle being waged by the public service unions to force the Dublin government to honour commitments on pay made in the Programme for Economic and Social Progress (PESP). Charles Haughey denied on Friday, January 18th, that the Dublin government had climbed down from its refusal to honour its PESP commitments.

Haughey had said that it was not "very sensible to talk about winners or losers". He claimed that the outcome of Bertie Ahern's negotiations was "reasonably fair and balanced".

The Dublin government stalled, for the time being, the growing dissatisfaction of public sector trade unions by dropping its refusal to honour pay commitments agreed in January 1991 under the PESP. The public sector unions had organised a series of one-day stoppages beginning on January 28th. The strike originally organised by the ICTU has in the weeks since the New Year been bolstered by the decision of SIPTU, IMPACT, the teaching unions and the civil service union (CPSU) to participate in the day of action.

The ICTU officials appeared on every available news programme to explain their position. They launched a billboard campaign to play the public outside — "Why pick on public servants for the squeeze?"

The image that the unions are trying to create is an important tool as the PESP struggle with the Dublin government continues. The unions have won a victory of sorts but the battle continues. Ahern had offered a flat £5 across the board increase for 1992 in an attempt to win the initiative. However, the unions

sought full implementation of the original wage agreement.

The catalyst that produced the strike deferral was the decision of the 800 delegates of the Garda Representatives Association to vote in favour of taking a day's leave on the first union day of action. This would be followed by an overtime ban and a deliberately lenient approach to all minor offences. The Garda vote on Monday, December 12th, gave the added boost to the unions in the negotiations with government last Friday, January 17th.

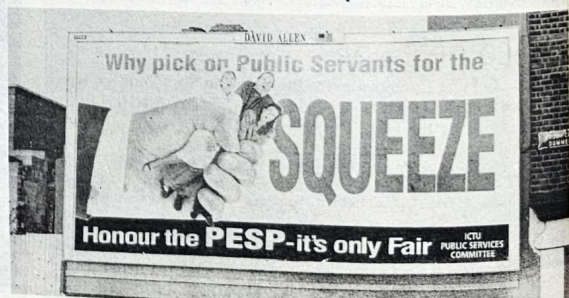
Bertie Ahern offered the unions a new three year deal where the £5 rate would be maintained until December 1992 when the rest of the increase would be paid with full retrospective. The same

procedure would be followed in 1993 where the initial maximum rise allowable would be £6.50, followed by full implementation in December. In 1994 the balance of all pay increases would be paid.

No sooner was the ink dry when the media began to count the costs of the increases — £58 million over the next two years with a further £140 million bill in 1994. This brings on round two of the battle. Will the Dublin government implement their other commitments under the PESP on taxation, unemployment and upholding the public service resources at their current levels?

The new wage agreement will be used as another tool in the government's attempts to renege on honouring the non-pay elements of the PESP. Next Wednesday, January 29th, Bertie Ahern will spend about three hours standing on the floor of Leinster House delivering his first budget as 26-County minister for finance. It is unlikely that this budget will see any radical reforms except maybe in personal taxation. The budget estimates published in December have already been eroded by further cuts of £20 million in social services.

Phil Flynn, general secretary of IMPACT, said that he "looked forward to the day unions put as much energy into fighting for the non-pay elements in the PESP". It remains to be seen whether the unions will want to fight for their full implementation.



News

IN BRIEF...



Caraher witnesses reinterviewed

On the eve of the publication of the findings of an independent public tribunal into the death of Fergal Caraher and serious wounding of his brother Micheál by the British army in Cullyhanna in December 1990, a senior barrister has been asked by the Director of Public Prosecutions to examine the RUC's inquiry into the shooting.

The appointment of a senior barrister to oversee an RUC investigation, which has been described by legal sources as "rare" and "unusual", can be seen as an indication of the British government's consternation at the growing international profile the case has attracted.

Following his appointment, Belfast barrister Reginald Weir asked the DPP to sanction the reinterviewing of nine key witnesses to the shooting after examining the RUC file on the killing.

The report of the independent inquiry into the murder of Fergal Caraher is being published today (Thursday) in Cullyhanna.

UDR soldier charged with collusion

A serving UDR soldier and three former members of the UDR were remanded in custody following their appearance in Belfast Magistrate's Court on Friday, January 17th. The four men from Ballymoney, County Antrim, were charged following the discovery of guns and explosives belonging to a loyalist death squad last weekend.

UDR member William Alexander Wallace (24) from Shandon Park was charged with supplying names and addresses of nationalists to the death squad. The other three former members of the UDR were charged with a variety of offences, including possession of explosives, guns and ammunition. One of the three was also charged with membership of the UVF.



Bigotry at Queens

In a blatant display of bigotry, students belonging to the Ulster Unionist Association at Belfast's Queens University described students from the 26 Counties studying at universities in the North as creating "an alien atmosphere".

A spokesperson from the association said that students from Britain were "put off" from attending universities in the Six Counties because of an increase in students from "across the border". The unionist spokesperson also accused students from the 26 Counties of costing "Ulster taxpayers". Describing the remarks as "racist and blatantly untrue", Queens student union president, Cathal Smyth, said that the European Community funded students from the 26 Counties not the British government.

Britain exports torture

Amnesty International has called on the British government to end the export of torture and death by British companies by banning the manufacture of torture equipment. In a report published on Wednesday, January 15th, the international human rights organisation revealed that British companies were manufacturing and exporting a vast array of torture equipment including galleys, leg irons and even an electronic torture chamber. The organisation also called for the banning of the manufacture of electric chairs, lethal injection equipment and gang chains.

Outlining some of the torture and death inflicted by this trade, the report said that prisoners of conscience in Malawi were being held in leg irons made in Birmingham. In one incident a 72-year-old Malawi lawyer, Orton Chirwa, was handcuffed and leg ironed in a squatting position, with cuffs and irons attached to a metal bar behind his knees for 48 hours.

According to the report, Repression Trade (UK) Limited, another British company installed an electronic torture chamber nicknamed "the House of Fun" inside the headquarters of the Special Branch in Dubai. Amnesty International also alleged that Cambodian opposition groups were trained by the British SAS in sabotage and mine-laying resulting in numerous civilian deaths and injuries. The report says that between 1979 and 1990 Britain provided military training for 110 countries.

Northern Bank boycott bites

■ BY JOHN DELAP

ECHOES of the Irish Land War are ringing out today across the Six Counties as Northern nationalists once more grasp the powerful weapon which brought Irish landlordism to its knees and signalled the beginning of the end for the Anglo-Irish aristocracy — the weapon of boycotting.

Today's boycott is directed, not against the 'big house' gentry who managed Britain's Irish economy to maintain enforced emigration, but against their successors, the big business gentry who manage Britain's Six-County economy and maintain economic inequality, poverty, social deprivation and emigration, particularly among the Catholic nationalist population.

The boycott campaign was launched on August 6th 1991, when EQUALITY — the Campaign for Economic Equality — called upon the entire nationalist community to stop doing business with the Northern Bank. EQUALITY selected the Northern Bank as its first target in a campaign of economic sanctions because of the bank's appalling anti-Catholic employment record.

After 16 years of cosmetic 'Fair Employment' laws in the Six Counties, official statistics showed that only 16% of the bank's employees and only 8% of its managers are Catholic.

The bank's chairperson, Sir Desmond Lorimer, inflamed nationalist feelings on the issue when he was reported the day after the boycott call as justifying the imbalances on grounds of "historical and educational factors". EQUALITY caustically demanded to know whether Sir Desmond meant that Catholics were genetically, or educationally sub-normal. Lorimer is also chairperson of Lamont Holdings which owns a large slice of central Dublin, and of the Northern Ireland Electricity Service which has an even more vicious record in anti-Catholic

discrimination than the Northern Bank.

The boycott campaign spread like wildfire across the Six Counties as EQUALITY engaged in an intensive campaign of education and publicity along the lines of the Civil Rights movement of the late 1960s. Twenty thousand handbills were distributed within a matter of weeks at demonstrations, football finals and door-to-door in many nationalist areas.

The handbills called upon nationalists to cancel their accounts with the Northern Bank; to refuse to accept banknotes printed by the Northern Bank on the grounds that they are not legal tender; to cancel credit cards sponsored by that bank; to lobby their friends and neighbours, their parish councils and schools, their sports and social clubs and their community organisations to transfer accounts to any other bank or building society.

Printed notices also began to appear in shops, supermarkets, students' unions and social clubs reading: "Please do not offer Northern Bank notes; Discrimination offends".

Struggling young housewives cashing their housing benefit cheques; unemployed young nationalist men and women, exposed to the weekly degradation of standing in DHSS dole queues, rediscovered their dignity and power by refusing Northern Bank notes from post office clerks cashing their giro cheques.

Already the cost of the campaign to the Northern Bank has been incalculable. The bank is forced to pay a levy to the Bank of England for using sterling

banknotes, but is permitted to print its own notes as a substitute. Those locally printed notes amount to nothing more than uncashed cheques and any customer is legally entitled to refuse them. Therefore, each time a Northern Bank note is refused the Northern Bank is found guilty and being fined for discrimination.

The campaign is also biting in other ways. Hundreds of thousands of pounds have been transferred to other banks by personal account holders, by community groups, credit union branches and Catholic parishes and schools, which have traditionally conducted business with the Northern Bank.

Reliable reports have confirmed that the bank recognises the damage done to its public relations image by Lorimer's hamfisted reaction to EQUALITY's correspondence and his subsequent public comment about Catholic education.

The bank is currently attempting to draft at least one prominent Northern GAA personality into its PR team in a damage limitation exercise; and has recently recruited a Catholic manager from the church-based institution into its human resource department. This is, of course, nothing more than the standard 'Tame Taig' mentality of the Captain Boycotts of Irish history, who habitually recruited their bailiffs and policemen from amongst the native inhabitants, recognising that their most dependable ally is the subservient native mercenary.

It has not yet occurred to the Northern Bank that the answer to EQUALITY's boycott is to actually create full economic equality for all sections of the community within its employment structures. But EQUALITY is certain that the bank will ultimately learn that lesson as the boycott campaign spreads to the Northern's parent bank The National Australia, and to sister banks like National Irish Bank in the 26 Counties, and other sister banks in Scotland and England.

An EQUALITY spokesperson recently commented:

"The Land League smashed the system personified by Captain Boycott and EQUALITY intends to smash the system personified by Desmond Lorimer."

New Subscribers: Free AP/RN 1992 diary!

A Chara,
In our continued efforts to defeat Britain's censorship on Ireland, *An Phoblacht/Republican News* is promoting its subscription sales throughout the world with this unique offer of a free AP/RN Diary with every NEW subscription taken out before the end of January 1992.
This originally designed pocket-size diary carries useful information, quotes and historical pictures.

Annual 1992 Subscription Rates
Ireland.....Ir£35
Britain.....Stg£35
Europe Surface.....Stg£40
Europe Airmail.....Stg£58
USA.....US\$75
Canada.....CAN\$85
Australia.....AUS\$85
Elsewhere.....Stg£53/Ir£58

You can have AP/RN, a source of uncensored news and events in Ireland and abroad, delivered to your home or place of work

each week by simply completing the enclosed form and enclosing the relevant payment. Your AP/RN Diary will be on its way to you on receipt of payment.

And why not keep your family and friends up to date with the ongoing struggle for freedom, justice and peace in Ireland and include them also!

To: *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, 58 Parnell Square, Dublin 1.

Name.....

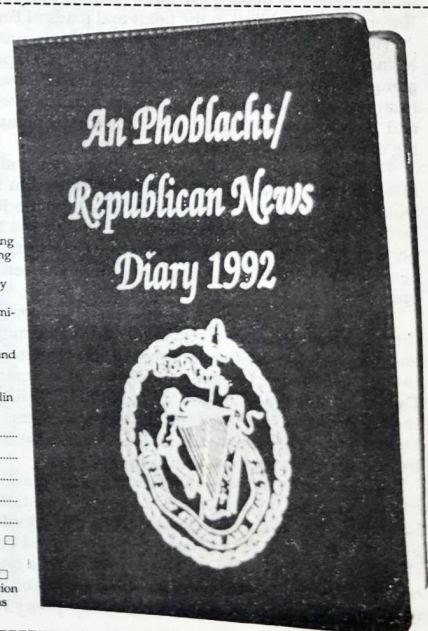
Address.....

Town.....

Country.....

Period of subscription 6 ☐ 12 ☐ months. Amount Paid.....

Diary (please tick) Yes ☐ No ☐
Note: Full 12-month subscription or two six-month subscriptions qualifies for one free diary.





An Phoblacht

REPUBLICAN NEWS

23rd January 1992



■ Maintain the border, Haughey

IN WHAT MAY turn out to be one of the last acts of a Haughey government, authorisation was given recently for the deployment of a large number of troops and gardaí to help secure British forces across the border as they mount a major fortification programme. Little attention has been paid to this operation in which troops, police and equipment, paid for by the overburdened taxpayer in the 26 Counties, are going to co-operate in the reinforcement of a frontier which the government itself agrees has been politically, socially and economically disastrous.

The British government claims that it has no strategic interest in the Six Counties. SDLP and 26-County politicians point to European unity and the single market as making partition meaningless. However, the new borderless Europe is sadly absent in the fields and roads of Fermanagh and Monaghan.

The British army began its major building programme in Fermanagh on Monday, January 20th. At least five new check-points are to be constructed along the border. The plans also include new observation towers in strategic locations and further checkpoints on roads between Fermanagh and Cavan, and Leitrim and Donegal. Sixty million sterling has been allocated for building over the next two years.

The British government has not planned this militarisation in isolation. Up to 1,000 gardaí and soldiers have been moved to the Monaghan area by the Dublin government to provide "cover" for the British building operation. Twenty-six-County troops from Cork, Dublin and Monaghan have been positioned close to the sites of British army construction teams fortifying the border. Garda recruits from Templemore have been called up to assist in the operation.

The British government flaunted the Hillsborough Agreement in 1985 in the international community. The Dublin government, not for the first time, stood idly by and let London present the agreement as a political coup. Now over six years later, the only product of that agreement has been a London-Dublin 'security' policy. Not only can the British government orchestrate the rewriting of 26-County extradition laws, they can, apparently, control where Dublin's troops point their guns. It seems that the 'Europe of the regions' is for Ireland one of walls, towers and checkpoints.

It is a measure of its concern for the people who live along the border, and of its interest in pursuing peace for all of Ireland, that the Dublin government has allowed its forces to undertake this task. Border communities remember with bitterness the time Charles Haughey stood before the film cameras at a closed border road and waxed lyrical about the nonsense of such a border in our country. As 'President of Europe' he ignored the issue. As Taoiseach his willingness to accommodate British 'security' policy has ever grown.

News

Major questions raised about Britain's role



John Major and Peter Brooke in Belfast city centre on January 20th

A "NEW FLUIDITY"

■ BY HILDA MacTHOMAS

"A NEW FLUIDITY". These were the words which SDLP leader John Hume used at the start of 1989 to describe what he wrongly perceived as the unionists' readiness to do business with his party and with Dublin. But during the next three years unionists showed themselves just as immovable as they have always been. This title therefore refers not to unionists, but to elements of the British and Irish establishment, particularly in the media. Normally docile and accepting of the British government's line on the North, elements of the media are now beginning to question British policy, and even question the wisdom of staying in Ireland altogether.

At the start of 1992 the political landscape is quite different from what it was three years ago. First of all British policy in the North has been shown not to work as expected. Another British 'political initiative' has bitten the dust: the Brooke Talks were finally laid to rest last week, after several attempts to breathe life back into them. There is an admission by commentators that the Hillsborough Agreement has failed in one of its main objectives: to defeat republicans. The media ban imposed on Sinn Féin in October 1988 has made it much harder to keep the republican viewpoint in the public mind, yet republicans have undeniably managed to

keep it there. This is clear from the continuous flow of statements by politicians and Church leaders debating whether republicans should be talked to, and reacting to Sinn Féin statements on means to achieve a lasting peace. The loyalist murder campaign directed at the nationalist community has failed to draw the IRA into a cycle of kneejerk retaliations, as the British hoped it might and as the media tried to say it had.

The Sinn Féin vote proved its solidity in a number of by-elections in 1990 and 1991, with increased percentages and local government seats wrested from the SDLP. These results drew comments from many newspa-

pers at the end of last year, as people are beginning to speculate on the outcome of this election year. On the military side, increased IRA activity, in particular operations in Britain, have shown that after 22 years the republican struggle is undefeated. They have also gone a long way to smash the "veneer of normality" (to quote an *Irish Times* columnist) which the British tried to put on the North. On the whole, the republican analysis of the Hillsborough Agreement, and Sinn Féin's predictions regarding the Brooke Talks, have been shown to be true.

There are a number of complicating factors in all this. Southern politics are mesmerised by Haughey's fight to hold on to power and the struggle for the Fianna Fáil leadership. The Dublin government was not as forthcoming in supporting the SDLP in the latest round of Brooke Talks as it had been in the first half of 1991. In particular it readily accepted that talks should take place in London and was prepared to leave the timing of its entry into the talks completely up to Brooke. British politics are of course dominated by the impending general elections. The Conservatives in particular are eyeing the unionists for a possible deal in a hung parlia-

ment. Unionists are now putting the finishing touches to their 'shopping list'.

This shopping list, while it will include an end to the Hillsborough Agreement (which unionists are not convinced they can get); a Six-County parliamentary council (which is on the cards); a regional government body (which is a distinct possibility) will also contain a long list of repressive measures.

These measures were outlined two weeks ago by the DUP in a new document, and amount to a military 'final solution' against northern nationalists: internment, capital punishment, curfews in nationalist areas, banning of Sinn Féin, compulsory ID cards for everyone over 14, security cordons around nationalist areas and sealing off of the border, recruiting 50,000 part-time RUC members and retaining the UDR.

The temptation is there for the British government, at a time when its political tactics are crumbling, to go for an all-out military assault on the republican struggle. Internment in particular, in spite of its obvious failure from the point of view of the British when they last used it in the early 70s, has gained currency in some media circles.

In November of last year the British newspaper the *Independent on Sunday* published an interview with a "senior, authoritative security source", generally accepted to be Lt Gen John Wisley, GOC of the British troops in the North, in which he advocated internment and argued that this time it would be more selective. The pro-internment lobby includes Vincent Browne, the editor of the Dublin-based *Sunday Tribune*, who once again last Sunday called for internment to be

introduced in the aftermath of the IRA attack on collaborators near Cookstown, and the *Irish Times*, which in an editorial last Monday argued that there was a "necessity for the use of measures such as internment (there are no absolute obstacles of principle, only reservations as to its effectiveness)". Internment, however, was not as warmly supported in the British 'quality papers', and in Ireland Catholic Church leaders and the SDLP have warned against its use, mainly on the grounds that it would increase support for the IRA.

But while the lobby is in place to apply pressure on the British government to go for an all-out military solution, there are also straws in the wind of a totally different kind.

Last November the British magazine the *Spectator*, of Liberal leanings, carried an article by Neil Lyndon arguing that the British people could be enlisted to help their government extricate itself from Ireland. The government's determination to defeat the IRA was not in doubt, Lyndon said, "the doubt is about their mandate". He added:

"It would require courage of a different order to ask the electorate for its opinion; but the question might produce an answer which would relieve the government of its irresolvable dilemmas. Weary of paying for nothing and of sacrificing the lives of innocent citizens, the electorate of the United Kingdom might wish to turn its back on Northern Ireland: in which case the Government would be obliged to do its duty. A referendum would do the trick nicely."

This a direct result of the failure of Brooke's initiative and the increased visibility of the IRA.

Edward Gorman's column in

the London *Times* of January 11th described the IRA as an "absolutely formidable enemy", whose operations were sometimes "brilliant in terrorist terms", and the British government's response as "ineffectual". In this he concurred nearly word for word with the comments made to the London *Independent* in November by Wisley. While the thrust of Gorman's article was a call for increased 'security', in particular for a drastic increase in the level of British troops, he also pointed out that "Britain must face the fact that its presence in Northern Ireland is, for whatever reason, a direct cause of death and destruction."

For two successive weeks Neale Ascherson, columnist with the *Independent on Sunday*, devoted his column to Ireland. On January 12th under the title "Is there a way to stop the IRA from winning?", he wrote that the only "sure method of suppressing the IRA" was to "unite Ireland". Ascherson argued strongly against a 'military solution', as having the potential to "push events off down a familiar spiral". And last Sunday, in a column entitled "Troops out, if the nationalists lower their sights", Ascherson calls for British withdrawal, provided an international agreement is in place, with Ireland as a number of 'Euro-regions': "there has to be a statement that British rule will end, but only if the nationalist camp (including Sinn Féin) accept a fraction of what they want and agree to a period of transition," he writes.

In the *Irish Times*, normally virulent against republicans and supportive of British political initiatives in the North, a recent series of articles on the Hillsborough Agreement by Dennis

Kennedy concluded that the agreement had not worked: unionists have not produced a pragmatic wing, nationalist support for Sinn Féin has remained solid, the "bombs of recent weeks have blown away the veneer of normality", it is time for a rethink, he advises.

In an earlier article another *Irish Times* commentator speculated that the reason behind Cardinal Cahal Daly's New Year's statement that republicans were entitled to be part of talks if the IRA ceased its operations, was that Daly "was trying to push along a stratagem of eventually involving Sinn Féin in talks in which the British and Irish governments are also interested".

All these amount of course to little more than tremors in a usually rigid political set-up. Yet as Chris Patten, the chairperson of the British Conservative Party, admitted last November, Ireland is considered as one of the most important questions on the British government's agenda, even if it is not electorally so. It is obvious that British (and some Irish) commentators are finding it increasingly difficult to deal with the British propaganda line of 'goodies and baddies'.

Nearly a quarter of a century of continuous struggle requires a rational explanation, and the British government may find in 1992 that it is increasingly taken to task, both at home and internationally, for its unwillingness to solve this conflict. We just may be seeing the beginning of attempts by the British and Irish political establishments to get themselves off the hook of their public position, for the moralising tone adopted by British spokespersons considerably restricts their ability to manoeuvre.

Dúirt Siad

I am confirming here tonight that the Taoiseach, Mr Haughey, was fully aware in 1982 that two journalists' phones were being tapped and that he at no stage expressed a reservation about this action. — Senator Seán Doherty at a press conference, Tuesday night, January 21st.

The inconvenience and disruption that it [the IRA campaign against collaborators with the crown forces] has caused to the British army in Northern Ireland has been substantial. The army has a policy of not discussing its operational details but it is widely believed that, over recent years, more and more supplies of everything from concrete to groceries have had to be flown in from Britain...

All of this places a major burden on the security forces. It is one that, with the scale and efficiency of a major modern army at their disposal, they can live with, but it adds an enormous cost — again unquantifiable publicly — to the price of trying to maintain a semblance of normality. — *Irish Times* Northern Editor, Mark Brennock, Monday, January 20th.

The campaign is based on a strategy carried out with success during the Irish War of Independence in the early part of this century when the Royal Irish Constabulary was isolated from the community and driven from its barracks. — The London *Times* Ireland Correspondent, Edward Gorman, Saturday, January 18th.

This act of violence, act of war, for that is what it is. — Tory MP John Biffen, former leader of the House of Commons, about last week's County Tyrone attack on crown forces construction workers, during Monday's emergency debate about the Six Counties in Westminster.

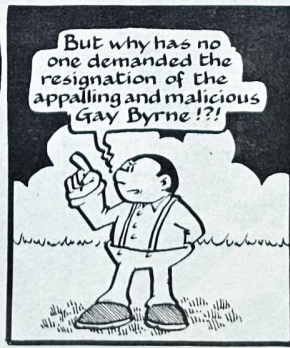
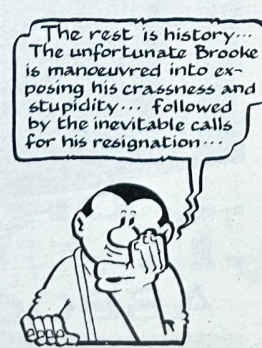
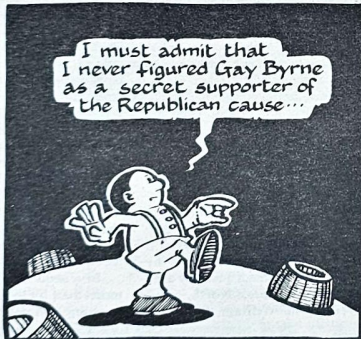
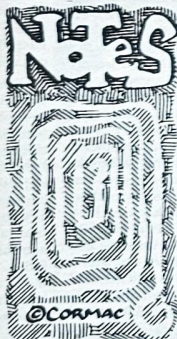
Work is to begin tomorrow on the big seal-off. It is proposed to construct five new checkpoints on roads linking Fermanagh with Monaghan. — Crown forces source quoted in the *Sunday Mirror*, January 19th.

Up to 1,000 police and soldiers are being made available to provide cover. — Garda source quoted in the *Sunday Mirror*.

Gay Byrne is a supremely vain little man whose shows are a sickening mix of schmaltz and tacky sensationalism but he is also one of Ireland's most experienced broadcasters and it is inconceivable that he would not have known the likely consequences of the sing-song. — Nick Garbutt, *Irish News* editor, in his *On The Line* column, Monday, January 20th.

Born in Britain of a French father and Norwegian mother during the Second World War, Mr Delouche first became aware of the wide differences in history teaching when he was at school in England. 'It seemed that England had won every damned battle fought against the French. I was astonished by the prejudice. I was lucky I wasn't German.' — From an article in the *English Independent* on Sunday about a new history of Europe compiled by historians from 12 countries. A British publisher can't be found.

Invincibility was the name of America's propaganda game, and the imagery of this story differed dramatically from the Arab documentary footage in *After the Gulf* (Channel 4). We didn't see the man pulled away from President Bush screaming 'Stop this massacre!'. No Marine bit off the head of a chicken and tossed the decapitated bird among his combat-ready recruits as an exercise in desert survival. We didn't hear the humiliation in the voice of an Iraqi youth who held out his burn wounds to the camera. 'I don't want to be laughed at by imperialists. I want to raise my head high.' — John Lahr's television column in the *English Independent* on Sunday, January 19th.



Tell the world



AP/RN: As someone who is much travelled and involved in the news media how would you assess how the Irish war is seen internationally today?

FG: This is a weak and painful point. Many important international developments have in recent years pushed the Irish issue into the background. Then there is the British and international media conspiracy to hide, distort and confuse the real facts, by giving prominence uniquely to the sectarian death squads, and cloaking everything under the universal key-word of "terrorism". This has not done away with the deep awareness among most people that the British presence in Ireland is brutal and unjustified, and that the loyalists are defending their privileges.

Perhaps there could be more intense contacts between the resistance and liberation movement and friendly parties and movements in the world.

AP/RN: How do you see it yourself?

FG: I have seen the development of the resistance and its leadership over all these years. There seems to have been a constant progress despite lulls and mistakes in the past. The Republican Movement has had the capacity and luck to produce a new, advanced, intelligent and cultivated leadership which I believe deserves the greatest confidence. It is because of this leadership, and of the resilience of the people behind it, despite inevitable defections over such a long time, that London fears negotiations. Like the Israelis with the Palestinians, the British are terrified of letting Sinn Féin speak and be heard, because truth and right are on its side. I am looking forward to a great Intifada, to a combination of various forms of struggle, to positive repercussions of international developments, showing a renewed respect for the identity of peoples and nations, on the fate of the last colony in Europe.

AP/RN: Finally, did Bloody Sunday have a long-term affect on the way you covered events as a journalist?

FG: Bloody Sunday, in all the wars, revolutions, repression I have witnessed, remains the most important event in my life and profession. It made me aware, once and forever, that so-called objective journalism is a charade, a smokescreen behind which there are always vested interests. It made me want to stay on the side of those suffering injustice and loss of freedom. It carved itself into my view of life. It made me try to be never "objective" and always truthful.

only one urge: carry on, keep functioning. Even the death of those already hit, on the ground, was difficult to perceive in its full dimension. The one overwhelming sensation was of utter astonishment and of rage over the indescribable injustice perpetrated. Even when a soldier shot at me, at the window, and the bullet crashed through the glass and room, there was more urge not to be caught but to keep working, than fear for one's life. The latter kept creeping up my back, when I learned that the British army radio had given instructions to "stop the Italian journalist by whatever means".

AP/RN: What was your own reaction and that of the people around you when you realised the full extent of the massacre?

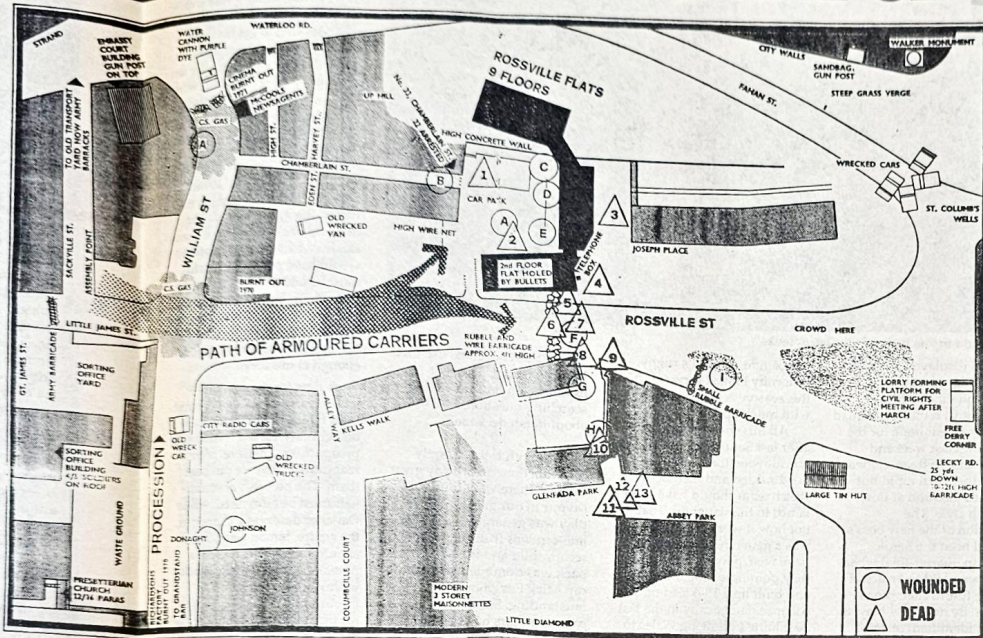
FG: The people around me expressed two paramount feelings: shock and anger. But neither made it possible to swallow the incredible dimension of this crime. There was something in all of us as if in a clogged pipe, something that simply couldn't go down, couldn't sink into one's awareness. Awareness and despair came later, at night, in the homes of friends and relatives. As to myself, I concentrated on all the awareness I could create in the conscience of mankind. I felt I had to get out and tell the world, so that the culprits be punished and something of the sort would never happen again. And of course, so much compassion for the innocent people of Derry, love, respect and compassion.

AP/RN: Did you have difficulty afterwards getting out of the area with your film?

FG: There had been those shots at the window, the order broadcast over the army radio to detain and, in any case, "stop" me. And it was obvious that the security forces wouldn't have been all too happy at letting my material get away, over the border and reach world public opinion. The conspiracy was well-planned. I, and the other photographer, were the unknown factor that turned the plan sour. So I left in the middle of the night and crossed the border with the help of some friends, managing to reach Dublin and the media the following morning.

AP/RN: What was the reaction in your own country to the events here?

FG: Italy is attached to Ireland and, hence, to the struggle in the North. This is not often reflected in the media, whose independence is rarely unconditional. But when I published the reports and the pictures a wave of indignation went through the whole country, causing innumerable demonstrations, meetings and questions in parliament. Italy already had the experience of state-terrorism, with the bombing of a Bank in Milan in 1969 in which 16 died, which was falsely blamed on left-wing militants.



the soldier steps over him, points the gun at the fallen boy's head, shoots, steps away, looks around for more victims. An officer shouted: "30 is the limit". At the end of the day, 13 were killed, one person died later, 16 were wounded. "Perfect execution."

I shouted something at the Paratroopers. Three cracks in short succession against the wall over my head as somebody pulled me down calling me crazy. It's on occasions like this that, though still functioning professionally, mechanically perhaps, one turns from professional into human. There was nothing that made me feel different from anybody else on my side of the fence, there was everything that made me feel different from anybody on the other side of the fence, in Saracens, with Stirling high-



velocity guns, with gas masks, with bowler hats. The shooting went on and on, as we moved around Rossville Flats. On the other side, people were mowed down by shots that couldn't have come from the troops behind us: the flats were in between. So they had to come from the city walls, even more cowardly and treacherously. And as a man was wounded and couldn't use his leg, he crawled forward to see whether he could help another one, a few yards away, with a bullet in his eye.

At one stage, I went into a flat to phone my newspaper in Rome. I felt the urge to let the world know immediately: who knows how long they had planned the carnage? In the flat, a woman and her two small children. As I tried to take pictures from a window, a soldier near a Saracen pointed and shot, four times. Four holes in the window.

Later, leading up to the incredible Widgery Commission of Enquiry, the word was put out by the British that gunmen had fired at them from the roof of the flats. Hav-

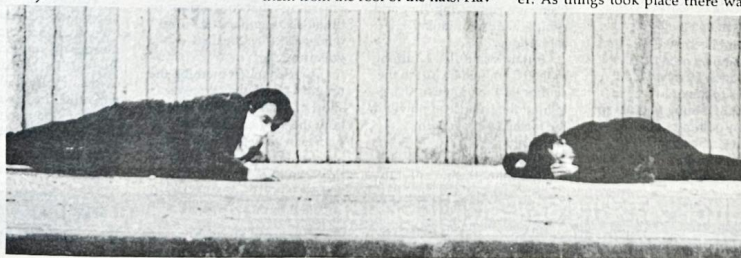
ing been in that area from the first to the last shot, I never noticed — nor heard of — any gunman anywhere but on the British side, let alone on top of the roof. Had there been gunmen on the roof, someone would have to explain why the Paras, as soon as they jumped out of their vehicles, started and kept shooting at people on the ground, at people fleeing.

AP/RN: What of the accusations?

FG: The only provocation I know of came later when someone, I never learned who, circulated some photographs with a gunman crouching and firing and credited them to me. I never saw any gunman, but the ones in British uniforms, I never took pictures of any such individual and I warn anybody against publishing these pictures, which I believe are a fabrication, and stating that I am the author.

AP/RN: Did you personally fear for your life?

FG: In the aftermath. The realisation of the horror that happened, and of how we were all in it, came only later. As things took place there was



Reviews/Letters

Surrender at Lansdowne

■ BY BRENDAN Mac RUAIRI

AS A REPUBLICAN, I used to find it difficult coming to terms with the Irish rugby union team, I reckon other sporting comrades know the feeling. A 32-County team, wearing a green jersey and paying due respect to Amhrán na bhFiann always had a definite appeal for me. On closer examination the drawbacks in the game's culture are obvious.

In the Six Counties rugby union is entirely the preserve of the Protestant middle-class, a bastion of unionism. The situation differs in the southern state, while still a middle-class sport, it is also nurtured widely in Catholic schools, spanning the religious spectrum. Limerick remains the only spot where rugby is played by all classes and fervently supported by the public. Tell a Limerick person that his city is not the cradle of Irish rugby and you're guaranteed at least an argument!

Given its background of elitism and colonialism, alienation from the game among the masses is predictable. Yet nationalism in sport is a peculiar and powerful phenomenon and at times Irish rugby commands unusual interest. It can irrefutably be said of the Irish that when an Irish individual or team competes on an international sporting stage, fellow countrymen and women rally unswervingly to the challenge. I always remember during my early days in prison being quite intrigued watching Ireland play

England at Twickenham. A roomful of dedicated IRA men cheered wildly each time a certain emerald-clad RUC man, ball under his arm, charged for the English try-line. A curious cocktail indeed!

Despite its comparatively limited pool of players, the Irish team has a high standing in world rugby.

Seeded in the top eight for the first two World Cup tournaments, on both occasions the team achieved all that was expected of it. The annual Five Nations Championship is the side's bread and butter objective and the last decade has seen considerable success with Triple Crown wins in 1982 and 1985. By the latter part of the '80s fortunes were not so high, morale dipped as victories were rare. The team had become a victim of the dour academic style of coach Jimmy Davidson.

A desire to usher in a new era was signalled with Ciaran Fitzgerald's appointment as team coach in late 1990. As a player and captain Ciaran



● Wales on top as Ireland's defence 'leeks'

Fitzgerald displayed qualities of leadership, courage and panache, qualities which if instilled into a revitalised squad would give great hope for the future. Until last weekend progress under Fitzgerald was steady rather than rapid but disciplined also and at times laced with style. The culmination of the new boss's work had been the heroic World Cup quarter-final when Ireland came within an ace of defeating future champions Australia. By now new players had been identified, selected and had done well, and despite the new blend having still to register a win against top rank

opposition, Ireland's rugby fraternity looked forward to this season's championship with much optimism.

All this changed utterly after last Saturday's debacle in Lansdowne Road. A demoralised and mediocre Welsh team should have been lambs to the slaughter. That's not how it worked out. Yet this was a game Ireland should have won, playing adequately they dominated the first hour and built up a 15-6 lead only to collapse pathetically in the last 20 minutes, allowing Wales to clinch a 16-15 victory. Certainly Wales displayed exceptional fighting spirit and at times skill,

but that can never excuse this Irish surrender. The post-match examination must ask some searching questions and bring about harsh decisions.

Although Ireland rarely functioned with any great fluency, there were things to savour in our game. Forward play was generally good. The line-out was fruitful, the set-scrum solid and in the loose the pack was dominant with new cap Mick Fitzgibbon outstanding. Some commentators have blamed the forwards for tiring, but I submit that it was behind the scrum that this game was lost — the

pack surely provided enough good ball to win three matches!

Not for the first time scrum-half Saunders had a nightmare. Frequently taking the wrong option or kicking aimlessly, his confidence disintegrated as the game progressed. Half-back partner Ralph Keyes also disappointed, hero of the World Cup and darling of the Irish sporting media, this was not his day. His line-kicking was erratic and he appeared paralysed when seeking to get his three-quarters moving. Except of course for one occasion after ten minutes of the second-half when Mullin made an incisive break to put Wallace in for that spectacular try. Keyes' shortcomings were further evident in the last ten minutes when the team looked to him for that spark which might have turned the game around. The midfield backs missed too many tackles which better opposition would have punished. Curtis must be under severe pressure from Philip Danaher to retain his place. It should also be noted that Ireland failed to score in the last half hour. Clearly not good enough at this level.

A time for depression — yes, despair — not yet. A joust with England at Twickenham on February 1st is a formidable prospect. Yet I believe, after a reappraisal, that we can beat them. The problem at scrum-half must be addressed, while Danaher deserves a chance in the centre. Simon Geoghegan should return to complete a potentially lethal wing attack with Wallace. If, most importantly, Ireland compete for the full eighty minutes. We can definitely leave the Sasanach with a bloody nose and some badly dented pride.

Mála Poist... Mála Poist... Mála Poist... Mála Poist... Mála Poist...

Meath answers back

A Chairde,

After reading Peadar Sweeney's sporting review in *An Phoblacht* on January 9th, I was extremely annoyed at his one sided views on a brilliant and outstanding Meath team. When I finished reading the article I came to the conclusion that he knew very little about sport, let alone football. May I just remind him that Meath were credited with six all-stars awards, I can hardly see how a team which he seems to think are "lucky" and commit "cynical fouls" could be credited with these awards, if they are so bad. I think he should look no further than his own county men. In conclusion I have to say that his views are biased, unbalanced, inexperienced and one-sided. I await his response through your paper and maybe he might have the common sense to credit a brilliant team, that is, of course, if he sees fit to.

Brian J Callan
Navan,
County Meath.

Sour Grapes about Meath

A Chairde,

Peadar Sweeney must have walked the length of Moore Street collecting all the sour grapes available before he wrote "A Sporting Year".

Indeed in his urgency to scribble his anti-Meath bias he over-looked some important facts. There were three replays, not two as stated by Sweeney. It makes one wonder which of the games he missed, or perhaps he was not in attendance at all and relied on pub talk for his information.

Many readers complained to me about this article, may I bring one or two points to his notice (1) Meath were awarded six places on the All-Stars (2) Colm O'Rourke was awarded the Player of the Year award.

These two awards clearly indicate the standing which Meath are held in by GAA journalists and players alike.

All genuine observers of the GAA scene agree that this year was the best ever for Gaelic sport. Meath and Dublin contributed well to this success

story. And as hard as it might be for "sour grapes Sweeney" to swallow, Meath beat Dublin because they were the better team.

Down won the All-Ireland because on the day they were the better team but unlike "Sour Grapes" the Meath fans lined the street in Ashbourne to cheer the Down team on its way back to the occupied Six Counties.

Finally, may I appeal to the editor on behalf of the many readers of *AP/RN* who follow Gaelic sport for a regular column in the paper and not just when Dublin are winning. Joe Reilly, Navan.

Sinister Developments

A Chairde,

It is public knowledge that some members of the Conservative Party are making overtures to the unionists in the event of a hung parliament.

The appointment of Jonathan Caine as special advisor to Northern Ireland Secretary Peter Brooke is



● Marching towards the Tories?

ominous to say the least. Mr Caine is a right-wing Tory and sympathetic to unionist aspirations.

Britain's so called neutrality in the North will be put to the acid test if the unionists were to hold the balance of power in the forthcoming general election.

Presently the unionists are out to exploit this prospect to

the full. Speculation is rife regarding what concessions the unionists would extract from whoever forms the next government.

Optimism is something the unionists have never been short of. Placing demands on both the Tory and Labour parties even before the general election takes place could prove an iffy gamble for the

unionists.

The well-being of people in the North comes low in the priority of British MPs. These egotistic gentlemen would sell their own mothers in a bid for power. The SDLP will be on tenterhooks until after the general election, for they have most to lose if the Tories or Labour horsetrade with the unionists. Sinn Féin must be quietly enjoying the prospect of a hung parliament.

Finally, I feel that the regrettable deaths of the seven Protestant workmen will be exploited to great lengths by the British government and other anti-republican elements.

Every violent death in the North is avoidable if the British government face up to their shameful occupation of Ireland.

Furthermore, loyalist paramilitaries need little or no excuse when it comes to murdering innocent Catholics. To date they have murdered in excess of 1,000 Catholics without a single word of condemnation from certain British/loyalist politicians.

Tim Jones,
London.

Letters to: The Editor, *AP/RN*, 58 Parnell Square, Dublin 1.

PLEASE KEEP LETTERS SHORT

Radio Times Major challenge to BBC

■ BY DANNY MORRISON

NEXT SATURDAY is the 50th anniversary of *Desert Island Discs* on BBC radio, the third longest-running radio programme in the world. The special guest to be interviewed by Sue Lawley will be the British Prime Minister John Major who, hopefully, will be a bit more jolly than his solemn wife Norma, who recently when introducing her choice of records sounded like the woman with no past, a frozen mouth, and no future.

I myself am strongly considering challenging the BBC's monopoly on *Desert Island Discs* and may soon interview my own castaways for the sleepy lagoon who can take with them eight records, a luxury item and a book of their choice. Stay tuned.

Last week's RTE Guide published a feature on how to be "a cover girl for a day". For £135 a beautician promises to turn "any girl, irrespective of age... into a beauty," by applying some make-up and styling her hair.

For the price of a Mars bar, I have witnessed similar claims being made by pseudo-specialists to the gullible, whether they were ducklings on remand or ducklings sentenced. At the

promise of being turned into stunning peacocks, these men would kiss goodbye to common sense and queue up even when some customers of Frankie Quinn, the most notorious barber of the Crum, were leaving his chair in a comatose state, requiring blood transfusions and plastic surgery.

"Your wife will never recognise you," boasted Frankie to a trusting comrade from Belfast. "What would you like — Tom Cruise or Richard Gere?" These were names I believe he had picked up from film credits though the unspoken implication was that they had once been his clients. This must have been while Cruise and Gere were in Portlaoise along with Frankie.

Ten minutes later he was to

say rather casually of the bald patches, or rather hair patches, he had created: "I didn't notice that alopecia when we started. Not to worry."

Frankie's most satisfied customer, who shall remain nameless, was a friend whose unfortunate shape of head was like the song "Three Steps to Heaven". The first step was his left or lower ear; the second was the flat crown of his head; and the third step was his right or upper ear.

According to people who weren't there, during his delivery (which had been difficult) this right ear was stretched some distance from his head and didn't retract when the midwife let go. All his life our friend — who could pick up conversations in bedrooms as he walked down the street or on the other side of high walls — was the victim of much malicious and cruel mirth. That is, up until the Saturday afternoon in 'A' Wing when Mr Quinn sliced off his excess baggage. Our friend greatly leaped off the chair, shrieking horrendous abuse. He was in absolute agony was Frankie, his feelings cut to the bone.

"Gratitude!" Frankie shouted from his cell window across to the prison hospital. "Gratitude! If that's how you're gonna be then find somebody else to dress your hair! But don't forget, you still owe me a Mars bar!"

The irony of the incident is that when the bandages were removed our friend was absolutely over the moon at the lobotomy which had left both ears level-pegging. He hugged Frankie and thanked him pro-

fusely. Mind you, he was just one customer in ten and the other nine cases were aghast and dismayed when subsequently they learned that they had lost forever chunky bits of an erogenous zone they didn't even know they had.

A week's a long time in politics. In sport things take a year.

Paul Gascoigne, the weeping willow, who narrowly escaped prosecution over the premeditated murder of the Lindisfarne song "Fog on the Tyne", had been named Man of the Year by listeners to BBC Radio Newcastle.

Last month they voted him Pain in the Neck of 1991.

Harry Washburn is an RUC Scene of the Crime photographer in Ron Hutchinson's new play which opened last November at the Lyric Theatre in Belfast and which was broadcast on Radio 3 last week.

Another Hutchinson play, *Rat in the Skull*, was on television a few years ago and it dealt with the themes of history and trust, the action largely centering around an RUC Special Branch officer interrogating (and assaulting) an IRA Volunteer arrested in England under the PTA. The portrayal of the RUC man as a victim of his own political culture was brought off so successfully that one sympathised with his attempts to find his identity and establish some universal truths.

His new play *Pygmies in the Ruins*, again examines the long arm of history when Washburn, a heavy drinker, feels bad vibes

as he photographs the body of a young Catholic, Sean McCabe, shot dead in 1991 for being an informer it seems. Later, his colleagues witness him cracking up and he is given time off. He becomes obsessed with this killing and the location. By going through old newspapers he discovers that a peasant Catholic girl who worked as a skivvy in a prosperous unionist household, was strangled at the same location in 1871 when it was a building site. Her suspected killer, Tressitor, was protected by the local unionists who helped him make his escape to America. That same year, Sean McCabe's great grandfather had returned from America having made his fortune and had outbid the same unionists for a quarter of an acre of land on which we learn, he built a public house.

The action of the play is set simultaneously in both centuries so that we can observe how the violence of one period and its curse seeps through to the next.

In one scene in the Big House of the unionist, smug dignitaries gather for an evening around the piano while across the city people are being burned out of their homes. Dr Mulcahy, a Dublin physician, raises the subject of the strangled girl but is treated coldly and is left in no doubt about where his interests lie and not to jeopardise his chances of being elected to the chair of the Fever Board. Later he is told: "We are not Dubliners. We're men of rude, raw energy... You are the educated product of another Ire-

land... but had enough wit to get out of Dublin and come to our Belfast. Work with us and not against us."

Without revealing the entire plot, Washburn descends into madness, or at least hallucinates, and is able to talk to Dr Mulcahy! Both enter each other's world. The doctor tells the RUC photographer that because he opposed hypocrisy and corruption he lost all his patients, hit the drink and died in New York in a public ward. Washburn shows the curious doctor various modern contrivances, including the zip flies on a pair of trousers.

"It must have been a brave man who first wore that!" the doctor remarks. He also wants to know the outcome of the debate on Darwinism and, more importantly, that things in Belfast have changed for the better.

"Aye," says Washburn cynically, "there's shopping precincts and any amount of wine bars." He demands that the doctor takes him back to 1871 so that he can solve the skivvy's murder. They look down on the building site, but it is Tressitor the unionist or McCabe the nationalist that they see strangling the young woman?

Well, I'm not going to tell you anymore because the lads here don't like me typing after certain hours when they're trying to concentrate on writing letters to you or on listening to plays on the radio.

Don't listen to some arty programmes!

Then I inflict summaries of them on you!

Do what I do. Switch off.

Hacks enter exclusion zone

■ BY DARA MacNEILL

IF IT IS TRUE that memory serves to make a fool of the mind, then how much more valid is it to state that history will invariably make of journalists something akin to village idiots. In 1941 the dastardly nips pulled off a low-down sneak attack on Pearl Harbour, thus forcing the US into WWII — according to contemporary reports, that is. In fact, all the evidence now emerging seems to suggest that the White House wanted in on the war but was frustrated by an isolationist minded public. Equally, they had adequate warnings of the likelihood of an attack on Pearl Harbour. So, it appears, Roosevelt and Co sat back and let the Japanese do their dirty work for them.

Then, more recently, there were the near mythical Kuwait babies — mercilessly ripped from their incubators by invading Iraqi soldiers who then dispatched said equipment back for use at home. Of all the horror stories emerging from 'occupied' Kuwait that tale was to prove the most crucial in undermining the anti-war lobby. It was reported extensively at the time. Recently, when it became clear that the story was the invention of a Kuwaiti hired public relations firm, it received comparatively little coverage. When the services of the media were most needed, they were too busy dressing up in battle fatigues (hello Kate Adie!) and

analysing the killing power of the stealth bomber.

Two weeks ago C4 began a four-part documentary series on the 1982 Malvinas War, or The Unnecessary War as it dubs it. Here, thousands were killed and maimed in order to prop up two ailing tinpot despots: Galtieri in Argentina and Thatcher in Britain. Shortly after her accession to power, it now emerges, Thatcher was convinced by Lord Carrington to effectively cede sovereignty of the islands to the Argentinians. There were no consultations with the islanders, clearly illustrating the true nature of her wholly retrospective and opportunistic concern for their



● Falklands/Malvinas - The hacks got it wrong

wishes. Indeed, the plan was only scuppered by an alliance of empire minded MPs and the Falkland Islanders Association, a lobby group wielding a disproportionate amount of power.

And what of the Navy — who stood to gain quite considerably from the whole sordid affair? Prior to March 1982, they were facing massive budgetary cutbacks. And so, at a crucial post invasion cabinet meeting it was the jingoistic sentiments expressed by a senior naval officer — "We'll be a lesser county if we don't fight" — which warmed the heart of a bellicose Thatcher and won the day. hurrah! The cuts in the Naval budget were quietly dropped. Quelle surprise.

Episode two explored the attempted peace negotiations, the fate of the Task Force at sea and the sinking of the *Belgrano*. There was some wonderful archive footage here — very revealing stuff. How about a bunch of freedom-loving Royal

Marines relaxing on an evening, to the strains of: "We're all going on a summer holiday, we're all going to kill a Spik (!) or two". Dumb bastards couldn't even spell.

Of course the peace mission was complicated somewhat by the fact that the Argentinians were, in 1982, deeply enmeshed in Reagan's undeclared war against Nicaragua. Hence the incongruity of US ambassador to the UN, Jeane Kirkpatrick (chief-sadist-in-resident in the Reagan administration, as Noam Chomsky called her) having dinner with the Argentinian ambassador on the night of the 'invasion'. And Christ, who else but Reagan could have appointed General Al Haig as a peace mediator!

The *General Belgrano* was sunk with the loss of 323 lives. Whilst heading towards the British fleet it was deemed a threat and targeted.

When it changed direction and headed for home and was therefore no longer a threat, it

was torpedoed. As an Argentinian naval officer explained: "When I move towards the enemy I am allowed to proceed. When I move away I am attacked."

The order to attack the *Belgrano* came through whilst it moved towards the British. The news that it had reversed course was transmitted, but the order stood. The then defence minister, John Knott, defended the action thus: "What relevance is its direction...?" This patently contradicted the earlier evidence of senior British officials who explained the targeting of the *Belgrano* as a result of its moving towards the British fleet. But then, what did you expect? Margaret Thatcher prosecuted as a war criminal? Does the name Widgery ring a bell?

Make no mistake though, this series is not the history of the Malvinas War. For a start it depends far too much on official sources for its information; and secondly it tends not to take that information with the very necessary grain of salt. Still, it is beginning and a damn sight better than most of the journalistic reports of the time.

Well, here we go again. Its the great Peter-Babbling-Brooke-did-he-or-didn't-he-debate! And lets face it, whether a Royal visit to a UDR barracks, or the complete failure to prosecute soldiers involved in murder, sensitivity has never been a hallmark of the British presence in Ireland.

Peter Brooke may indeed be all those lovely things they say he

is, but then his personality is hardly the issue behind a 22-year-old war, now is it?

And neither, you understand, is the British presence in Ireland — not according to Gay Byrne anyway. Amidst all the fuss did anyone really pay attention to a central issue of Brooke's *Late Late Show* appearance — the manner in which the image of Brooke 'The Honest Broker' trying vainly to mediate between two fanatical factions' was allowed to go unchallenged, was considerably bolstered by that appearance. When there was an issue of fundamental importance at stake, where were the media? Off chasing another red herring.

Glad to see that the image of the not too bright Policeman Plod is alive and well across the water.

Seems that a few years ago an English police patrol received a report of a safe lying idly by a roadside. Said patrol went in search of said safe and having located it, one of the officers stayed behind to stand guard. Along came the forensic people and fingerprinted and dusted it and eventually, a Land Rover equipped with towing gear arrived. Only after struggling and straining with the unwieldy safe for some time did the full truth of the situation dawn on the officers. As a spokesperson explained later: "We realised it was a West Midlands Electricity Board junction box which was cemented to the ground." George 'Clouseau' Coleman, your finest hour may yet be at hand!

Nuacht

Ag cur i gcoinne Mír 31

■ LE EOGHAN Mac CORMAIC
Naoi mbliana déag tar éis gur cuireadh Mír 31 i bhfeidhm chun glórtha poblachtánacha a chosc ó mheáin chumarsáide, RTE agus foinsí craolacháin uile sna 26 Chontae, reachtáil grúpa mac léinn in Ollscoil Choláiste na Gaillimhe lá agóide agus saoirse eolais Dé Luain. Bailíodh ainmneacha mhic léinn a bhí toilteanach a gcodarsnacht don mhír cinsireachta a dhearbhu, agus craoladh ceol nach gcluintear ar RTE ná na meáin eile de ghnáth le linn an lae.

Ag deireadh na bliana seo caite thug iar-ollamh ó Choláiste na Gaillimhe, Kevin Boyle, léacht do chomhdháil bhliantúil Chomhaltas Múinteoirí Dlí san ollscoil agus ghlaigh sé ar iriseoirí, ceardchumann iriseoireachta, agus na stáisiúin craolacháin an-bhrú a chur ar rialtas na 26 Chontae deireadh a chur leis an mhír, a úsáidtear le cosc a chur ar Sinn Féin ach go háirithe.

"Más sochaí daonlathach é seo, ba chóir go mbeadh saoirse ag an



● Gan éisteacht, gan radharc, gan labhairt

iriseoir, an craoltóir, ag léiritheoir nó pé duine atá i gceannas an agallaimh cinneadh a dhéanamh — mar eagarthóir — ar cé a chluinfear nó nach gcluinfear", arsa sé. Ní raibh aon chall do dhlíthe áirithe a bheith ann do theilifís nó don chraolachán. "B'fhearr i bhfad liomsa mo mhúinín a chur sna daoine a bheadh i mbun na meáin chumarsáide an chinníuint sin a dhéanamh".

Anuraidh bhí cás cúirte ag an Ollamh Boyle ag an Chúirt Cearta Daonna i Strasbourg nuair a thug sé dúshlán ar Mhír 31. "Bhí muid ag plé an raibh cur isteach míreásumta i Mír 31 ar shaoirse teilifíse agus raidió" arsa sé leis an comhdháil. "Cearta eagarthóireachta atá i gceist. Is páirt

deathach é Sinn Féin, agus níor cuireadh deireadh le haighneas an Tuaiscirt nuair a coscadh ar Shinn Féin ó na meáin chumarsáide. Sa Bhreatain, ar a laghad, déanann na hiriseoirí ceap magaidh den dlí tríd aisteoirí a úsáid ag labhairt na bhfoical in áit na ndaoine atá costha. Teipann ar iriseoirí na hÉireann toisc go nglacann siad leis an mhíniú is leithne den aithne".

Le linn an lae Saoirse Eolais san ollscoil shuigh grúpa mic léinn le gobáin thar a mbéal, a súile, agus a gcluaas ag taispeáint go bhfuil cosc chan amháin ar an mhéid gurbh fhéidir le daoine a rá ach ar an mhéid a chluineann agus a fheicann daoine eile mar gheall ar Mhír 31.

GIOTAL...GIOTAL...GIOTAL...GIOTAL...GIOTAL...

Scaoileann saighdiúirí ar ghluaisteán

Scaoil saighdiúirí Bretnacha a bhí páirteach i dtimpiste bóthair i gceantar Chill Uaighe ar imeall Bhéal Feirste Thiar óche Dhéardaoin roinnt urchar ar ghluaisteán a ghortaigh saighdiúir sa timpiste. Dúirt finnínthe gur bhuail an gluaisteán saighdiúir amháin nuair a theip ar an tiománaí an patrúl a fheiceáil ag siúl ar an bhóthar. Thosaigh an patrúl ag scaoileadh láithreach. Níor tuairiscíodh aon ghortaithe.



● Ionad tógála Harland agus Wolff

Costas príobháidiú ceilte

Chosain díolachán rialtas na Breataine de longcheárta Harland agus Wolff an t-airgead poiblí an oiread faoi chúig ná mar a shoiléiríodh ag an tús.

Tá teipeadh air rialtais £525 milliún de £625 milliún de chostas iomlán an díolacháin a nochtadh, a nochtadh an Coiste Chuntas Poiblí de Theach Coiteann na Breataine, ina shampla eile soiléir go

mbaineann gealltanais an pháirtí Chóimeadach sa Bhreatain do 'phríobháidiú' níos lú le hiarachtaí d'éifeachtachtacht agus eacnamaíocht ná le húisid airgead poiblí chun cuidiú le pócaí príobháideacha.

Tost agus Sherlock Holmes

■ LE JOE MCQUILLAN, H7

Is é an ceannlíne a bhí ag an *Irish Times* an lá faoi dheireadh ná 'Tugann na póilíní rabhadh go mbeidh tuilleadh gníomhartha Oglagh na hÉireann'. Thug ceannasaí an scuad frith-scéimhleoireachta sa Bhreatain, George Churchill Coleman, an buaille faoi thuairim sin tar éis d'Oglagh na hÉireann ionsaí a dhéanamh ar shráid Whitehall.

"Inniu chonaiceamar buama leagtha i mbá páirceála," arsa sé, "amárach beidh rud éigin difriúil ann."

Tuigim anois an fáth gur ceannasaí é. Níl mórán duine ann a bheadh ábalta sin a dhéanamh amach (seachas Sherlock Holmes, ar ndóigh).

Bhí mé ag éisteacht leis an nuacht ar mo chraolachán sular éiligh Oglagh na hÉireann an buama sin agus bhí tuairisceoir ag déanamh agallaimh le fear a fuair an rabhadh ar an ghuthán. Dar leis labhairt an gairitheoir le guth Angla-Albanach le beagán de bhlas Éireannach le mothú chomh

maith. Ar an dara nuacht labhairt an gairitheoir le guth Éireannach.

Chítear arís go bhfuil dlí amháin ann do dhaoine mór-le rá nó daoine saibhre. Bhí an chuid is déanaí den 'Saga Maxwell' ar an chraolachán le linn na seachtaine — ar éag sé nó ar maraíodh é?



ainéolas George Churchill Coleman le gléas 4lb Sentex a fuairéadh ag comhdháil frith-scéithleoireachta i Londain i 1990. Bhí náire ollmhór air dá thairbhe

Arb é an fear a shabháil an *Daily Mirror* nó ar ghadat den scoth é? Cá bhfuil an £300 milliún? Sin ceist a bhí an coiste Slandála Sóisialta i Sasain ag iarraidh freagra air agus ní bhfuair.

Cuireadh d'iachall ar mhic Roibeard Maxwell dul os comhair an choiste le freagraí a thabhairt ach dhúiltaigh siad rud ar bith a rá. Labhairt dlíodóirí ar a son. Dúirt siad nach raibh na deartháireacha, Ian agus Kevin, toilteanach labhairt toisc go raibh a dtost ina cheart bunreachtúil acu. Dhearbhaigh na deartháireacha go raibh imní orthu go gcientófaí rud ar bith a déarfaisid iad.

Nach aisteach an domhan é? Sna Sé Chondae, mura n-abrann duine gafa rud ar bith ciontaíonn a dtost iad.

Saoirse

Tá Saoirse uimhir 10 ar fáil fós.

Altanna ar na stailceanna ocras, saoirse na mban, cultúr, stair an Thompson, crosfhocal, léirmheasanna agus breis.

Is féidir síntiús ceithre eagrán a ordú ó:

An t-Eagarthóir, Saoirse, 44 Cearnóg Pharnell, Baile Átha Cliath 1.

£4 an costas ar shíntiús ceithre eagrán.

BALLRAIOCHT SHINN FÉIN

Is é bunaidhm Shinn Féin altharraingt 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 eolais a fháil faoi Shinn Féin nó ár ngníomhartha agus ár bpólsaithre, líon an fhoirm thíos agus seol é chuig Sinn Féin, 44 Cearnóg Pharnell, Baile Átha Cliath 1.

Ainm.....

Seoladh.....



Paddy Foster

THE DEATH of Paddy Foster, which occurred in the Erne Hospital, Enniskillen, on Monday, December 2nd 1991, was sudden and unexpected. The loss was a shock to his wife, family and the republican people of Fermanagh.

Paddy Foster spent all 60 years of his life in his native Donagh. He spent all of those years working on the

land, in later years with his eldest son Gerry. In his younger days he played football at all grades with Newtown-

butler, winning senior championship medals in 1953 and 1959. In the late '60s he played for the Knocks, winning an intermediate medal in 1968. When the club became centred in Donagh and became St Patrick's by name in 1971, Paddy Foster was the inaugural chairperson. From then until his death he was chairperson in all but three years.

The superb playing and social facilities which now exist in Donagh are a tribute to Paddy Foster's foresight and belief in the GAA and a result of years

of hard work inspired primarily by him.

Paddy Foster was, throughout his life, first and foremost a republican. He was elected to the old Lisnaskea Urban Council in 1966 as a nationalist and served there for three years. He was involved throughout the Civil Rights campaign and then was foremost in the organisation of Sinn Féin in Fermanagh.

Paddy, his wife and family, as they grew up, became particular targets for

the hatred and abuse of the British crown forces, the family home in Cornmonlea being raided on countless occasions. None of this subdued Paddy or deflected him from his pursuit of a new Ireland.

Paddy Foster will be sadly missed by many people for many reasons, especially his wife Claire and his family of four sons and four daughters. To them the Republican Movement offers its sincere sympathy. I measc laochra na hÉireann go raibh a anam.



● Family members carrying the coffin at the funeral of the late Frank Fitzsimmons

Frank Fitzsimmons

THE FUNERAL took place on Saturday, January 18th, of veteran republican Frank Fitzsimmons from his home in Andersonstown where he had died the previous Wednesday. Frank was born in Belfast on May 5th, 1920, and grew up within a strong republican tradition. In the 1940s he was interned along with many other republicans of his generation and was released at the end of the war in 1945.

Prior to his imprisonment he had married Margaret O'Rawe and upon his release helped with the raising of their young family. In the late 1960s 'Big Fitz' became active again in republican ranks and, at a time of grave crisis for his community, was very much in evidence helping to defend nationalist areas from attack by the sectarian forces of the state.

As a Volunteer of Oglagh na hÉireann he remained with the Republican Movement when the split occurred with the predecessors of the Workers' Party leadership and was prominent in helping the reorganisation of the Irish Republican Army.

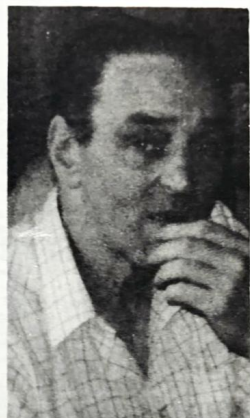
When internment was introduced in 1971 Frank, at the age of 51, was imprisoned again. This was to last until the middle of 1972 when he was

eventually released. From then until ill-health intervened Frank sought to assist the struggle in whatever way he could.

The suddenness of Frank's death came as a shock to those who knew him. Many of his old comrades spoke with him at the occasion of Proinsias Mac Airt's funeral where he was to joke "If they don't hurry on they'll be burying the lot of us!"

At his own funeral several hundred walked behind his Tricolour draped coffin which was flanked by a guard of honour while a lone piper headed the procession.

At the graveside Sinn Féin Councillor Alex Maskey officiated while Frank's old friend, Jimmy Drumm, said a decade of the rosary. Gearóid MacSiacais gave the oration and spoke



of Frank's commitment to the struggle and of the respect he commanded among several generations of republicans. 'Big Frank' Fitzsimmons will be remembered with pride by all who knew him and the Republican Movement extends its sympathy to his large family circle.



Mary McLaughlin

THERE WAS a massive Garda presence on Thursday night, January 9th, at the removal of the remains of the late Mary McLaughlin from her home in Lifford, County Donegal, to St Patrick's Church, Murlog.

From around 3pm the presence of Armed Special Branch and uniformed gardai caused much comment around Lifford. Checkpoints were placed on all approach roads and members of the force took up positions on the road and fields surrounding the wakehouse. Large numbers were deployed along the Main Road to the Church. Gardai also remained on duty through the night at Murlog Graveyard. While numbers were fewer at the funeral on Friday morning following 11am Mass, it was still the largest Garda presence witnessed at any funeral in Murlog since 1972.

The late Mary McLaughlin was an 87-year-old veteran of Cumann na mBan and a daughter of the well known Fenian, Roger Lynch, and had continued to assist the republican struggle until recent years. She spent the last year in Lifford District Hospital and although hospitalised, she enjoyed reasonable health and her death on Tuesday night, January 7th, came as a shock to her family and her many friends in the area.

Mary was predeceased by her husband James in 1965 and by her son, the late Volunteer Robert McLaughlin, in

1972. She is survived by two sons.

The coffin was draped in the National Flag and a Guard of Honour was provided by republicans who had been given a home by Mrs McLaughlin in the early '70s and others who had come to know her since then.

The graveside oration was delivered by Liam McElhinney, a close friend of the deceased. In the course of the oration Liam traced Mary's involvement in the Republican Movement since 1920, noting the fact that she drew her separatist faith from her father who was born in 1830, joined the IRB after its inception in 1858, and remained true to its principles until his death in 1924 at the age of 94.

Following the events of 1969, when someone of her years would have deserved a rest, she threw herself anew into the struggle and throughout the '70s and '80s made a contribution which was second to none. In 1986 Mary was the Guest of Honour at a testimonial tribute when the Republican Movement in Donegal made a presentation to her in recognition of 66 years service to the cause of Irish freedom.

Deepest sympathy is extended to her family and friends.

Tommy Byrnes

THERE WAS a huge turnout at the funeral of veteran republican, Tommy Byrnes, Bansha, County Tipperary, which took place last week. Colleagues from all over South Tipperary, Waterford and adjoining counties assembled at the graveside to pay their last tributes.

In a brief graveside oration, Patrick O'Donnell, Kilconnell, stated that Tommy had devoted the greater part of

his 80 years to the struggle for independence and during that time he had never lowered the flag of resistance.

Notices

REMEMBERING THE PAST

JOSEPH MALONE

■ BY PETER O'ROURKE

OF THE MANY HUNGER STRIKES by Irish political prisoners imprisoned in Ireland and England during the 1940s three men died in Ireland and one man, Volunteer Joseph Malone, died in England as a result of being on hunger strike.

Malone was born in Cullingtree Road, Belfast, in 1918. On leaving school he secured employment at the GPO Belfast where he worked as a sorter. Developing a keen interest in his native language, he attended weekly night classes in the Ard Scoil, Belfast. An active member of Conradh na Gaeilge he spent his summer holidays in the Donegal Gaeltacht to perfect his command of Irish.

A committed republican, he joined the Belfast Battalion of Oglagh na hÉireann during the late 1930s and volunteered for active service in Britain, following the beginning of the IRA's

bombing campaign in English cities, in January 1939. In February he travelled to England, in order to take part in the campaign, where he found work in the GPO.

Arrested the following May, he was sentenced to ten years penal servitude for possession of explosives. Sent to Pentonville Prison, where Roger Casement had been hanged in August 1916, he was later transferred to Parkhurst Prison, Isle of Wight.

Like the dozens of other Irishmen and women imprisoned in English jails for their part in the 1939-40 bombing campaign, Malone endured appalling conditions in Parkhurst Prison. Attacks

on Irish POWs by English prisoners, goaded by the warders, were almost a daily occurrence.

In their fight for political status the Irish political prisoners in Parkhurst Prison refused to wear prison clothes and were kept naked and in solitary confinement in punishment cells for almost two years. The only variation in the routine during this time was the arrival once a week of the guards to forcibly dress the prisoners so that they could be brought before the governor to receive an additional week in the punishment cells for "violating the rules on conventional dress".

In January 1941, led by their O/C, Joe Collins, the political prisoners, embarked on a hunger-strike in a final attempt to gain political status. On the fifth day of the hunger strike all the hunger strikers, including Malone, were force fed by the senior medical officer in Parkhurst, Dr. Hickson. This agonising ordeal was repeated during the following days.

The procedure involved the prisoner being forcibly held by warders in a chair in his cell while the feeding proceeded. This was resisted at first but, after a few feedings, the mouth was so raw that the excruciating pain soon overcame resistance. A special tool was then inserted. With a bed for the teeth it opened like a scissors by means of a screw, and forced the mouth fully open.

The rubber tube was then forced down the throat and a funnel at the end was used to pour liquid food, such as eggs, beef tea and milk into the stomach. The operation was made deliberately more painful by withdrawing the tube several times and then reinserting it, so that it struck the bottom of the stomach forcibly.

"I was in a cell next to Joe Malone", Collins the prisoners O/C later recalled, "on the second day of feeding there was no sound from his cell for half-an-hour after the 'screws' leaving. When he spoke from his window he told me he had lost consciousness while being fed."

"He woke up later lying on the floor alone with the door locked. He was wretchedly sick and spitting blood. Looking out on the prison wall he remarked: 'It would be a decent thing for them to take us out and put us up against that wall and shoot us.'"

Later that day, January 21st 1941, Collins ordered Malone off the hunger strike, which ended several days later with the prisoners demands for political status, including segregation, being granted.

Malone was in constant pain during the following 12 months and never recovered from an operation following damage to vital organs caused by being force fed while on hunger strike. He died a year to the day after ending his fast and was buried in the republican plot in Milltown Cemetery, Belfast.

Volunteer Joseph Malone died as a result of being force fed while on hunger strike in Parkhurst Prison, Isle of Wight, on January 21st 1942, 50 years ago this week.

Republican Resistance Calendar 1992

Still available from: Republican Publications, 44 Parnell Square, Dublin 1 or 51/55 Falls Road, Belfast12

PRICE £2

Imeachtaí

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

PICKET ON US EMBASSY: Opposing US policy in Central America. 11.30am-1pm, every Saturday, Ballsbridge, DUBLIN

GIORICAL COMHRA: Chaille Luan 9-10.30am, Club Chonradh na Gaeilge 6 Sráid Fhearcair, BAILE ATHA CLIATH, Cleachtaigh do Ghaeilge linn

SOCIAL NIGHT: Music by Phoenix. Friday 24th January, The Emerald Bar, DUNDALK. Adm £1.50

BLOODY SUNDAY COMMEMORATION: London Rally calling for British withdrawal from Ireland. Prominent speakers and flute bands. Assemble 12 noon Saturday 25th January, Hyde Park, marching to a rally in Kilburn, LONDON. All banners welcome

STEWARDS MEETING: For the Bloody Sunday march. 7.30pm Thursday 23rd January, Red Rose Club, Seven Sisters Road, NORTH LONDON. Tel: 071-6091743 for further information

BLOODY SUNDAY COMMEMORATION: Bus to Derry. 10.30am Sunday 26th January, Francis Street, NEWRY

BLOODY SUNDAY COMMEMORATION: Buses to Derry, Sunday 26th January, leaving 8am - DUNLAOGHAIRE: 8.30am - GPO: 9am - FINGLAS. The bus is returning the same day and the fare is £7. Bookings are necessary. Phone 308664

PESP PUBLIC MEETING: Trade Unions and unemployed against the programme, Renegotiation — why you should vote no. 8pm Monday 27th January, Connolly Hall, CORK. Prominent speakers. All welcome

DISCO: 8.30pm Sunday 2nd February, JJ Smith's, Aungier St, DUBLIN. Adm £1.50. Organised by the Mairéad Farrell Sinn Féin Cumann



Republican
Resistance
Calendar
1992

InDíl Chuimhne

COEN, Kevin; KELLY, John; McNULTY, Peter; STONE, John; TIMOTHY, Mick. In proud and loving memory of Volunteers Kevin Coen, John Kelly, Peter McNulty, John Stone and Mick Timothy who died in Ireland's freedom struggle. I measc laochra na nGael go raibh siad. "They may kill the revolutionary but never the revolution." Always remembered by their friends and comrades in the Republican Movement.

DELANEY, Thomas (1st Ann). In proud and loving memory of my dear husband and our dad Thomas (Dad) Delaney who died on January 26th 1991. RIP. St Patrick, pray for him. We cannot bring the old times back when we were all together, the family chain is broken now, but the memories will last forever. Always remembered and still sadly missed by his loving wife Marie, sons and daughters, sons-in-law, daughters-in-law and grand children. Sadly missed by your son Tommy and wee Seamus.

Always remembered by Malachy, Jean and family.

HARKER, Tony (10th Ann). In proud and loving memory of our dear friend Tony Harker murdered by the UDR on January 24th 1982. We will never forget. Still sadly missed and always remembered by Pat and Cormac.

Always remembered by Ann and Mary JJ.

Remembered with pride by Brian, Lorna and Kids.

Remembered always by Paddy D.

In proud memory from all his Dublin friends.

KELLY, John (17th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Vol John Kelly who died on January 21st 1975. Always remembered by John, Mary and Ann Stone and Francis.

Always remembered by Teresa and Eddie Butler and family.

Always remembered by Kathleen Jones and family.

Always remembered by Mick Kelly and family.

MCGUIGAN, John (1st Ann). In memory of a beloved husband and father who died on January 20th

1991. Always remembered by his wife Mary, sons, daughters-in-law and grandchildren. Ar láinn dheis Dé go raibh sé.

O Sheán Mag Uidhir agus clann.

McMAHON, Jake (14th Ann). Always remembered by the Republican Movement in the Short Strand and Markets.

STONE, John (17th Ann). In proud and loving memory of our dear son Vol John Stone who died on January 21st 1975. Sacred Heart of Jesus, pray for him. Always remembered and loved by his daddy and mammy.

Always remembered by his brother Francis.

Remembered with love and pride by his sister Teresa and brother-in-law Eddie and family.

Remembered always by his sister Kathleen and family.

Always remembered by his sister-in-law Mary.

Never forgotten by his nieces and nephews Roisin, Marica, Colette, Seán, Jim, Martina, Anna Marica, Eamon John, Edward, Bridgett, Michael, Sean and Arron.

Always remembered by the Lower Falls Commemoration Committee.

Always remembered by Micky Kelly and Family.

TIMOTHY, Mick (7th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Vol Mick Timothy who died on January 26th 1985. "The guerrilla fighter's secret weapon is nothing more than to inspire a state of mind in others." Always remembered and never forgotten by his loving wife Alice and children Ciara, Fiachra and Fionan.

Always remembered by mum, dad and Joe.

Remembered with pride by Patrick, Ann, Matthew, Mary, Lucy, Liam, Joseph, Helen, Kate and Luke.

Always remembered by Honoria, Tony, Daniel Catherine and Maria.

Remembered always by his mother-in-law Elizabeth Sillery.

Always remembered by Liz, Gerry, Noel, Keith, Caroline and Aisling.

In proud memory from Noel and Theresa.

Always remembered by Larry.

Remembered with pride by Brenda, Jim and Daragh.

Always remembered by the staff of AP/RN.

Comhbhrón

GORMLEY. Deepest sympathy is extended to the Gormley family, Carrickmore, on the death of Vincent. Go ndeana Dia roisain ar a anam uasal. Always remembered by his friend Barry McElduff (Crumlin Road)

GRIMES. Deepest sympathy is extended to the family of Pat Grimes, Carrickmore, especially his son Patrick (Long Kesh). Ar dheis de go raibh a anam uasal. Always remembered by Barry McElduff (Crumlin Road).

HANLEY. Sincere sympathy is extended to Mick Hanley and family on the death of Jude. From the Celtic Supporters Club, Limerick.

LARKIN. Sincere sympathy is extended to the Larkin family on the death of Alf from The Republican Movement.

From Limerick City Sinn Féin

From Anita and Gerard

Mac AIRT. Deepest sympathy is

extended to the Mac Airt family on the death of Proinsias. From Patrick Wilson ('A' Wing Crumlin Road). From Leo and Maureen Wilson. From Paul Wilson and family. From Mary, Cleaky and family

MURRAY. The Terence MacSwiney Cumann, Shannon, offers deepest sympathy to Charlie Murray Jr and the Murray family on the tragic death of his wife Kerry on New Year's Eve.

Beannachtai

McKEE, Eugene (Long Kesh). Birthday greetings to my dear husband. Love and miss you, Regina.

To my daddy. From your wee son Eoghan.

To my son Eugene. Always thinking about you. Love Ma.

To my brother. From Eddie, Liam, Diane, Ben, Patsy, Liz, Joe and kids.

From the McLaughlin family, Strabane.

From Mary and all at No 7.

McSTRAYOTE, Hugh (H-3). Happy Birthday to you. Love Barbara.

Sectarian gang leaves student paralysed

A SECTARIAN ATTACK by a gang of loyalists has left a West Belfast student partially paralysed and speechless. The 21-year-old University of Ulster student was travelling home in a black taxi in the early hours of Saturday morning when it was stoned by a gang of loyalist youths in North Howard Street, off the Falls Road.

Cormac Quigley, who was in the front passenger seat of the taxi, was hit on the head when a breeze block smashed through the windscreen. The gang continued to stone the vehicle as it careered out of control and hit another taxi, causing a four car pile-up.

Other passengers in the vehicles miraculously escaped injury. Cormac Quigley was rushed immediately to the nearby Royal Victoria Hospital. The young student, who was in neurosurgery for over three hours, remains seriously ill in intensive care at the hospital. The left side of his body is still paralysed and he has lost the power of speech. Commenting on the attack, a close relative of the young

man said that his family feared that his life may have been ruined. Outlining Cormac's considerable academic achievements his uncle said that "He had a brilliant future ahead of him. Yet now he is lying partially paralysed and unable to speak in a hospital bed."

Eyewitnesses reported that the attack had taken place in full view of a British army sentry post and that when the RUC arrived the loyalist mob ran back down North Howard Street which links the Falls with the Shankill, passing a British army base and occupied sentry post unhindered. After the RUC left the mob was able to return to the scene and resume stoning vehicles travelling on the Falls.



● The attack on the student took place in full view of the British army observation post in North Howard Street

Fascist/loyalist attacks in Glasgow

ONE OF SCOTLAND's only remaining progressive bookshops, Clyde Books in Glasgow, was attacked this week by a trio of neo-fascist thugs.

The bookshop, which stocks many Irish publications, specialises in politics, ecology, environmental and women's politics as well as Scottish and Irish literature. It has often provided a soft target for the British National Party's supporters.

After a brief survey of the premises at 11am on Tuesday, January 21st, the three fascists proceeded to ransack the shop, trying to do as much damage as possible to stock, shelving and postcard

racks before running away. Their threatening behaviour was designed to frighten staff and customers. In the past their attacks came during the night with spray cans being used to disfigure the shopfront with BNP and neo-Nazi slogans.

Apart from Irish political material, the shop stocks *Searchlight*, Britain's leading anti-fascist magazine, as well as other Irish, gay and lesbian and trade union magazines, all of which would

attract the righteous rage of your average Neanderthal National Front supporter.

The bookshop has been forced to launch a special appeal for funds to improve security in the interests of staff and customers.

This attack comes just days after the first Bloody Sunday march to be allowed into Glasgow city centre since the 1981 Hunger Strike was also attacked by a pack of BNP supporters and loyalists. Some 300 people took part in the march, organised by the Labour Committee for Ireland, while 800 police officers hemmed them in. The march and rally to commemorate the 20th anniversary of Bloody Sunday went ahead peacefully although mounted police had to be used at one point to keep back a fascist mob.

For readers who wish to make a donation to Clyde Books, they can contact Seb Fischer at 19 Parnie St, Glasgow G1 5RJ. Tel: 041 552 4699.

Brixton escapees made Grand Marshals

UNITED IRISH SOCIETIES HONOUR QUINLIVAN & McAULEY

THE UNITED IRISH SOCIETIES of San Francisco has named Brixton Jail escapees Nesson Quinlivan and Pearse McAuley as joint honorary Grand Marshals of the 1992 St Patrick's Day parade in that city.

McAuley from County Tyrone and Quinlivan from County Limerick were awaiting trial on conspiracy charges of the type which are frequently used against Irish people charged with political offences in Britain. The two escaped, however, from Brixton Jail last July and have not been seen since.

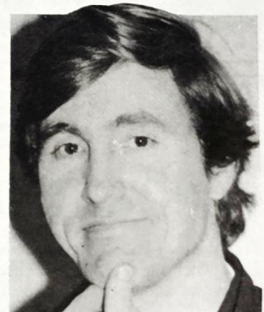
The motion to name the two as honorary Grand Marshals passed unanimously. The move is seen as a further indication of the growing nationalist sentiments among San Francisco's large Irish community.

In recent years a long list of republicans have held the position of honorary Grand Marshal of the local St Patrick's Day parade. Last year the position went to Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams, the year before that to Joe Doherty, who at the time was fighting deportation from the US to Britain.

Three years ago veteran Irish Northern Aid activist Dan McCormick was selected as Grand Marshal. This decision caused visiting Dublin government officials to boycott the parade.

Bill Quinn, a native San Franciscan, who was extradited to Britain on charges relating to IRA activity, also held the position of honorary Grand Marshal as did several of the 1981 hunger strikers.

The United Irish Societies, which is the largest Irish organisation on the



● Past Grand Marshal Joe Doherty west coast, representing 33 sporting, political, social and cultural groups also voted recently to remove the Dublin government's consul to the city from his position as honorary chairperson of the group.

The consul was dropped as a protest against the Dublin government's extradition of Dessie Ellis to Britain.

"The cases of the Birmingham Six and the Guildford Four have had a profound effect on the Irish in San Francisco," said Sean Murphy of San Francisco INA. "By their daring escape from British injustice Quinlivan and McAuley have become heroes in San Francisco."



● A group of New Consensus supporters blocked access to Sinn Féin's Dublin head office on Monday, January 20th, in another of their one-sided displays of moral outrage directed against republicans. Gardaí took no action against the protesters, despite complaints that they were preventing entrance not only to Sinn Féin's bookshop and offices, but also to a photography business situated in the same building and to a top storey private residence. That the Garda's inaction was politically motivated can be easily demonstrated by any republican with a length of chain and a desire to block entrance to, let's say, Fianna Fáil headquarters in Mount Street. Members of the Workers' Party were most prominent in Monday's protest.

Eight killed in Tyrone attack

IN THE EARLY EVENING of Friday, January 17th, seven collaborators returning from the Lisnally British barracks in Omagh, County Tyrone, where they were engaged in refortification work for the British forces, were killed when a 1,500lb landmine exploded as their Ford Transit van passed by. An eighth member of the team died later in hospital. The attack took place near the Teebane crossroads on the main Omagh to Cookstown road.

In claiming responsibility for the attack the IRA repeated its call to all those involved in such work which is essential to the maintenance of British military repression to desist.

■ PORTADOWN INCENDIARIES

In the early hours of Sunday, January 19th, a number of incendiary devices exploded in stores in Portadown. Three stores were completely destroyed and a further two seriously damaged. In a statement the IRA claimed responsibility for planting the

devices which were left in five stores, Portadown Carpets and Superglaziers in Bridge Street, Kidd's furniture store and Speer's Carpets in Meadow Lane, and Gill's Carpets, which caused damage estimated at £1m, five fire crews were called to the scene.

■ BELFAST BLAST

In Belfast, the IRA continued to bypass the massive ring of steel around the city with a series of incendiary and blast incendiary attacks. Over the weekend an incendiary device caused

extensive damage to a sports shop on the Duncrue Industrial Estate. Another device was discovered when it failed to explode at the Parson and Parsons dress hire shop in Wellington Place.

On Sunday, January 19th, the IRA launched an attack on a British army footpatrol in the Flax Street area of Ardoyne. In a statement the IRA said that an improvised grenade had been thrown at the patrol. There were no reports of any injuries.

A 5lb blast incendiary device, placed on the roof of Belfast's Central railway station was defused by the British army on Thursday after it failed to explode. The following day, a blast incendiary device, planted at the May Street branch of Ulster Bank, only partially exploded causing no serious damage.

On Tuesday, January 20th, a blast incendiary device which had been placed in a car outside a nightclub on the Dublin Road, exploded after a 20-minute warning by the IRA. The

WAR NEWS

two kilo device which detonated shortly after 1.30am, caused considerable damage to a number of buildings in the surrounding area.

In a second attack extensive damage was caused to a South Belfast pub and restaurant. The blaze at the King's Head on Lisburn Road, which was attended by four fire crews, broke out shortly after 8am. The ground floor was reported to be completely gutted with smoke damage throughout the building. In a statement claiming responsibility for the attack, the IRA said that the bar is frequently used by off-duty members of the crown forces and in the past has been used as a meeting place between them and informers. A 5lb bomb planted in the Victoria Centre was defused by the British army when it failed to explode.

■ DERRY

On Thursday, January 16th, two bombs exploded. The first device was placed at the insurance company in the Diamond area of the city, exploding at

12 noon. The second device was placed at the Tax Office in Foyle Street and exploded at the same time as the first. Warnings were given and the immediate areas evacuated. Extensive damage was caused to both premises.

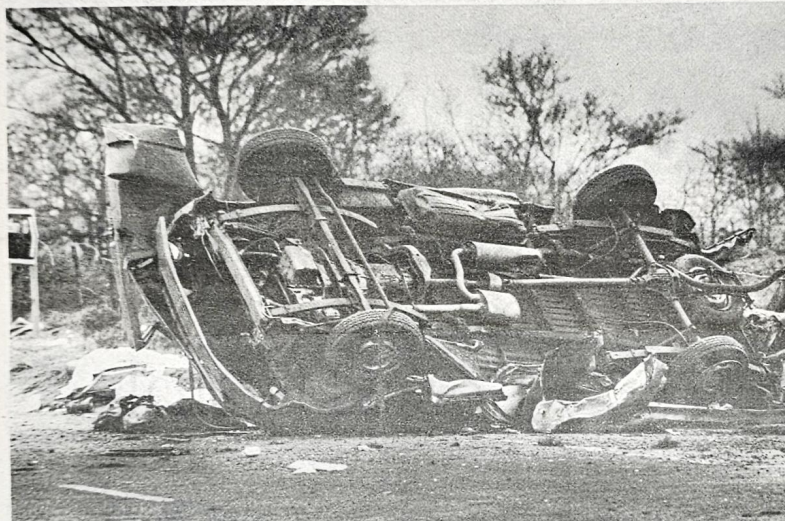
On Wednesday, January 22nd, three bombs were placed in separate locations in Butcher Street. The first two were placed in premises belonging to a bank and a building society.

In a statement the IRA said two of its Volunteers ran into the two premises and placed explosive devices, shouting a warning as they ran from the buildings. The two devices exploded and there were no injuries to the civilian population.

The third device was placed in a car, also in Butcher Street. It was set to explode 40 minutes after the others so as to catch members of the crown forces. It exploded but no casualties were reported.

■ BRITISH SOLDIER SHOT

In a statement issued to the media the IRA in Tyrone said that its Volunteers had acted on accurate intelligence in targeting a British soldier, a member of the UDR, who was wounded in a gun attack at Fyfinn Road, near Castlelderg on Wednesday. The statement contradicted reports that he was a former member of the regiment.



● Wreckage of the Teebane ambush

The background to the Teebane ambush

THE deaths of eight people, ambushed by the IRA on their way from working on a British base, happened against the background of a long campaign by the British government to reinforce and refortify its military installations in the Six Counties. This campaign, thwarted by successful IRA attacks on dozens of barracks and other posts, has as an essential element the use of civilian contractors to assist the military in their work.

Since the IRA first warned such contractors against actively assisting the British war effort scores of them have pulled out of work in many areas of service to the crown forces.

In 1984, the British embarked upon a two-fold policy which, they had hoped, would greatly assist in the defeat of the IRA and of the national liberation struggle. The first stage in this policy was the blocking and destruction of border roads regardless of the inconvenience caused to the

local inhabitants. They cratered the roads by detonating massive explosive devices and by placing concrete bollards on the road, blowing bridges up and in some cases excavating entire stretches of roads.

The second stage, as announced by the Northern Ireland Office, was a multi-million pound operation involving the refortification and refurbishment of existing military installations and the construction of border spy-posts and permanent checkpoints.

Although the architects for this construction programme were military, it was intended that those involved in the labouring process would be firms from the Six Counties rather than military personnel. The military logic of employing local contractors was quite simple: employing the local population freed soldiers, who would otherwise be engaged in such work, for duty in the front line. To the military chiefs and their political masters such contractors were a back-up to the military war machine.

The IRA foresaw the dangers of such a tactic and engaged in a series of co-ordinated attacks designed to frustrate the crown force's strategy. From 1985 until the present day the IRA has attacked some 111 British army/RUC bases and border posts.

It successfully demolished 33 British army/RUC barracks; severely damaged 57 others; destroyed two border posts and damaged 21 others. In the same period eight courthouses were attacked with one being totally demolished and a further six being extensively damaged.

The effectiveness of the IRA's campaign was quite apparent as British military chiefs were forced to concede they could no longer offer protection to all their installations and they ordered an immediate withdrawal from a number of their posts and barracks.

The political fallout caused by the IRA's success was sufficient for the NIO to order an intensive refurbishment programme to be initiated. It was then that the IRA issued a warning to those engaged in such work.

The IRA statement of August 1985 warned builders and contractors against collaborating with the crown forces. In its statement the IRA said:

"We are of the opinion that the contractors involved are assisting the British in reinforcing their illegal and immoral presence...we view their activities as mercenary — making money at the expense

of the oppressed nationalist people...They are building fortresses and interrogation centres which are being used to oppress our people and subject them to continuing undemocratic rule."

Within a week the first of those engaged in assisting the British war machine was executed. In its statement the IRA said that Tyrone contractor, Seamus McAvooy "had been given many, many warnings — by telephone, by letter and by IRA attacks on his premises in Coalisland — about his collaboration with the occupation forces in the North".

Since then the IRA has repeatedly warned collaborators and have called upon them to stop providing essential back-up to the military repression being employed against the nationalist people.

The consequence of the British military using civilians to assist them has been the deaths of 27 of those collaborators who ignored the repeated warnings and continued to act as a mercenary back-up force. For that the ultimate responsibility lies with the British government, the presence of whose administration, armed forces and military infrastructure is the engine which drives this tragic conflict.

The IRA statement

In a statement on the Teebane ambush issued in Dublin on Sunday, January 19th (three days before an eighth worker for the crown forces died as a result of the attack) and signed "P O'Neill, Irish Republican Publicity Bureau", the IRA said:

"Following the bomb attack in which seven crown force collaborators were killed the IRA reiterates its long-standing call to those who continue to provide services or materials to the forces of occupation to desist immediately."

"Since 1985 the IRA has adopted a policy of taking military action aimed at ending Britain's cynical use of non-military personnel for the servicing and maintenance of British crown forces bases and installations."

"That Britain has continued in spite of previous operations to exploit non-military personnel in this fashion is a measure of its total disregard for the safety of those it deems expendable."

"For our part we in the IRA will not tolerate a situation where military personnel are freed from essential services and maintenance tasks and then deployed where they can carry out wholesale repression within our community."