

AN  
**PHOBLACHT**  
Republican News

IRELAND'S BIGGEST SELLING  
POLITICAL WEEKLY



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# Brit dies in Divis blast

IN A meticulously-executed operation against crown forces in West Belfast on Wednesday, March 27th, Volunteers from the IRA's Belfast Brigade killed a British soldier.

Armed IRA Volunteers, one of them an explosives expert, had earlier placed a 10lbs bomb at a workman's hut at the corner of the flats at St Peter's Square in the Divis flats complex. After placing the device in position, the Volunteers dispersed and took up their pre-arranged positions in the area from which they could monitor all movement.

See  
**WAR NEWS**  
page 2



## MARCH AGAINST EXTRADITION AND PRISON OPPRESSION

2.30pm Saturday 30th March  
PORTLAOISE

*Prominent speakers*

Dublin bus leaves 5 Blessington Street at 12.30. Taille £3.  
For information on transport from other areas  
contact your local Sinn Féin centre.



## 3,000-strong torchlight protest in Dublin *Marching for what?*

WEDNESDAY'S MARCH by more than 3,000 people through the streets of Dublin demanding the enforcement of 'law and order' raises the question — how should anti-social behaviour, within what is euphemistically called a normal society, be dealt with?

People who feel genuine revulsion at the often sadistic crimes against the elderly are in danger of being manipulated in a tide of reaction which offers pious platitudes on the one hand and calls for the return of the birch on the other. Any response along such lines fails to understand that the problem of juvenile crime, and indeed crime in general, is firmly rooted in the inequality and deprivation in society.

Unlike the Concerned Parents Against Drugs Campaign, which organised on the basis of community solidarity to combat the

scourge of heroin, the campaign which began on Wednesday is essentially designed to excuse more repressive legislation by the Dublin government.

Long-term solutions must remove the source of crime — social inequality and deprivation — a remedy which neither the Criminal Justice Act nor the opening of Spike Island as a prison for young people will accomplish.

It should not be forgotten, moreover, that there are crimes, both North and South, which are not answerable to 'law and order'. These are the crimes of the 'haves'

— the exploitation of the poor, non-payment of workers' insurance, the concealment of vast sums of money in property or financial speculation and the lucrative 'expenses' given to management.

This ability to exploit others is, apparently, the measure of 'success' in Ireland today, as it is throughout the capitalist world, where 'dog-eat-dog' is deemed a virtue.

The Dublin march, and the hyped-up reaction to anti-social behaviour we are witnessing today, will not cure the problem. They will, however, provide ammunition for the forces of repression in this part of Ireland who will use them to introduce further

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## OPINION

# No accident

THE APPEARANCE of the front-page story in the *Mail on Sunday* newspaper last weekend was no accident. Nor was it a figment of some journalist's imagination.

Had the story appeared in the *Sun*, which has all the credibility of the *Beano* comic, then it could have been easily dismissed. However, the *Mail on Sunday* is a prestigious newspaper whose stories tagged 'exclusive' usually turn out to be fairly accurate.

And since the *Mail on Sunday* is close to the Tory political line, we can be certain that last weekend's article was deliberately inspired, presumably by a source close to the British government, and was aimed at creating a number of specific effects in Ireland.

Ever since the Summit debacle last November, when Thatcher contemptuously dismissed the proposals contrived in the Dublin Forum report, the loyalists have felt secure with British assurances and especially with the policy of summary executions of captured republicans.

But if Thatcher assured loyalists, she was subsequently advised of the damage which her "out, out, out" statement had done to the credibility and morale of her faithful lackey Garret FitzGerald and to the SDLP, whose potentially vulnerable position of supremacy over Sinn Féin in the North rests on their case that constitutional nationalism can deliver.

In recent months, therefore, the British government has been carefully cultivating the Dublin government, whose collaboration is vital if British control in the six counties is to be maintained.

In addressing the United States Congress, Thatcher talked favourably about FitzGerald and about 'Anglo-Irish' co-operation. Last week she despatched one of her senior Cabinet ministers, Geoffrey Howe, to Dublin along with Northern direct-ruler Douglas Hurd.

All of this is gratifying to the ego of a Free State premier who, for domestic reasons, wants to be given credit for developing relations with Downing Street to the extent of being consulted about the North and having a special channel, over and above embassy level, for lodging hypocritical complaints about the judiciary and the 'excesses' of crown forces.

Given that FitzGerald learned a humiliating lesson in British diplomacy last November and given British efforts to reassure him since then, does his statement about "novel" structures for the six counties, coming as it did only hours before the *Mail on Sunday* article, indicate that some movement, however insubstantial, is now underway?

Firstly, in the estimation of the Republican Movement, the political determination of the British government to maintain its control of the six counties has not snapped or been sapped just yet — despite the strain and cost which 16 years of war has imposed on them.

The apparent movement now being talked about does not, however, fit in with the current immovable position of the British. Why then the movement?

This can best be explained and understood in the context of present British needs for more co-ordinated joint repression. Furthermore, it will give the SDLP, in the run-up to the local government elections, enough speculation, with some substance, to see them through canvassing.

Britain knows that it has to occasionally relieve the frustrations of the Dublin government and the SDLP with some minor concessions, if constitutional nationalism, particularly in the North, is to remain an effective and credible bulwark against republicanism.

Their problem has always been to balance such concessions against triggering off loyalist paranoia about a 'sell-out'. Thus, in recent days, the loyalists have received verbal and written assurances from the British, including Douglas Hurd, that there were no plans to involve the Dublin government in even a consultative role in the administration of the North.

The manoeuvring of the last week — and the meeting between Thatcher and FitzGerald in Rome this weekend should confirm this — would appear to be part of the exercise in lending credibility to constitutional nationalism and not any serious testing of loyalist resolve which is as dogged as constitutional nationalism is spineless.



● The Divis cul-de-sac in which one Brit was killed in an IRA ambush

# Divis blast

(Continued from Page 1)

Around 12.30pm a British army foot-patrol from the King's Own Border regiment, which was acting as back-up to an RUC patrol, was making its way through the alleyway. Republican sources in Belfast made it clear that had there been any risk to adults, or to children in the nearby St Comgall's school, the bomb would not have been detonated.

Having ensured minimum risk to civilians the device was detonated, completely destroying the hut and killing one British soldier instantly.

Scores of RUC and British troops immediately saturated the area. All roads in the immediate vicinity were blocked and a massive search undertaken by the crown forces. However, all of the Volunteers safely withdrew from the area.

## ARMAGH

Two days before this attack, on Monday evening, March 25th, IRA Volunteers of the 2nd Battalion, North Armagh Brigade, were forced to withdraw from the

Abbey Street area of Armagh city before they had time to prepare a bomb attack against crown forces in the area.

An IRA active service unit had commenced work on the ambush earlier that day and shortly after dark had moved into position in the narrow driveway between Abbey Street and the Southern Health and Social Services Board offices. A sophisticated bomb had been prepared by IRA engineers using a radio remote-control device.

An RUC mobile patrol unex-

pectedly moved into the area and the Volunteers, knowing that they had been spotted, quickly left the area. Almost immediately dozens of UDR and RUC personnel moved into Abbey Street and sealed off a wide area including College Street, Lower English Street and Dawson Street. All of the Volunteers, however, safely withdrew.

In a follow-up statement on Wednesday, March 27th, and in reply to spurious claims that civilians were at risk from this operation, the 2nd Battalion said that "great care was taken to ensure that there was no danger to civilians when bombs were being placed at Abbey Street".

## KILKEEL

A UDR soldier had a narrow escape when he spotted a booby-trap bomb under his van on Friday night, March 22nd.

The van was parked in a housing estate in Kilkeel, a small fishing village in County Down, when IRA Volunteers placed an explosive device under it. The soldier, however, checked his van before driving off and spotted the bomb. The area was cleared by the Brits who then took over four hours to defuse the device.

# Informer executed

THE IRA claimed responsibility for the execution of a paid police informer in Cork on Saturday, March 23rd.

In a statement, the IRA said that John Corcoran, a 45-year-old man from Ballyvolane in Cork, had admitted to giving information about IRA Volunteers to a named garda detective for the last seven years.

He had given information that was respon-

sible for the arrest and charging of three men for the raid on Togher Post Office in 1981. The detective, who is based in Cork city, but who is rumored to be from Barrow, outside Tralee, had arranged for Corcoran to supply the IRA with information about a £25,000 raid which would have been allowed to succeed. This was intended to ingratiate Corcoran with the IRA and put him in a position of confidence from which he could do further damage, endangering the lives and liberty of Volunteers.

"Given that the Special Branch are now copying the tactics of the RUC, we are offering a 14-day amnesty to informers in the twenty-six counties who have been recruited as a result of intimidation or blackmail" the IRA statement went on, and added, "finally, we would remind this detective and his ilk that their ruthless misuse of power makes them responsible for the fate of John Corcoran."

# Marching for what?

(Continued from Page 1)

assaults on what remains of civil liberties, giving free rein to repression.

They are the same forces who condemn the IRA's response to crime within nationalist areas of the six counties. Even though crime in this blatantly abnormal society preys on an already politically, socially and economically-deprived people who are without recourse to the protection of law,

the paragons of virtue attack republicans who have to respond to the situation with the regrettable use of force.

The IRA has stated its attitude to anti-social behaviour on many occasions. While forced to use strong measures to counteract crime against the nationalist people, they are under no illusions that this will solve the problem which oppressive conditions have created. Theirs is a response dictated

by the special conditions which apply in nationalist areas of the six counties.

Such remedies are neither necessary nor desirable in a relatively 'normal' society, such as exists in the twenty-six counties. There, only community solidarity can combat the inexcusable crimes being perpetrated against the elderly — and only a radical restructuring of society will provide the complete answer.

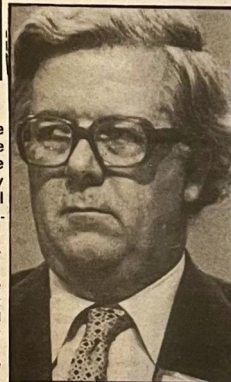




● British direct-ruler Douglas Hurd during his recent visit to Dublin for talks with Free State collaborationists FitzGerald and Spring



● GARRET FITZGERALD



● GEOFFREY HOWE

agreed there should be no constitutional change in the six counties without "majority consent".

Changes in the RUC and judiciary were being examined, as was some form of devolved executive power, but only for "those parties who reject violence", naturally.

However, in spite of the grand words and clichés, all FitzGerald said was that his government had given up on the Forum options — all of which involve constitutional change, which is vetoed by unionists — and that his and Thatcher's governments were trying to hammer out some package which the SDLP could then sell to the voters as it returned to Stormont and some watered-down form of power-sharing.

The mere mention of reforms of the RUC and the courts sent the unionists frantic. "Monstrous", said OUP leader James Molyneux. This was tantamount to "recite authority" and was a "recipe for bloodshed".

And then Jim Allister of the DUP warned that if the consti-

tutional position was affected, the scheme was "doomed". When the *Mail on Sunday* article appeared the next day, it could only confirm the unionists' worst fears.

#### TRIP

To top it all, British direct-ruler Douglas Hurd left on Sunday for a week-long trip to the US. Unionists normally welcome such trips, which they hope will contribute to cutting down Irish-American support for the Irish struggle.

However, on Monday, March 25th, it was revealed that the Free State government was trying to obtain a package of financial aid for the six counties, funded jointly by the US government and the EEC, in the event of a "political settlement".

In London, British Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe declared that he was favourable to such a scheme — which would, of course, save the British exchequer millions of pounds...

This was perceived immediately by unionists as part of a conspiracy by the British government, the Dublin government and the US, to bribe and force unionists into a united Ireland. The American government was "approaching the Irish problem with a cheque book in one hand and an Armalite in the other", Enoch Powell jibed.

It is quite obvious that the British are not prepared to remove the unionist veto, and therefore 'joint authority', like the other two Forum options, is definitely out. 'Security' collaboration with Dublin and political 'normalisation' of the six counties are the two declared aims of the present British government, and there is no reason to believe otherwise.

Therefore, minor reforms of the judicial system — three Diplock judges instead of one, for instance — will probably be sold to the unionists along with, for example, a test case to sue Sinn Féin for damages accrued through IRA operations. Back to the old Baker report which unionists welcomed so enthusiastically.

#### CHANGE

The RUC complaints procedure might be changed and there will be an all-out effort to recruit more Catholics into the RUC. That should satisfy Dublin and the SDLP for starters. As for

joint security meetings, unionists have never objected to them as long as the gardai do not patrol Harold McCusker's estate in Armagh.

The setting up of a parliamentary tier is a purely cosmetic exercise which will look good abroad, particularly in the US. As for 'power-sharing', this is the only item mentioned in the "uninspired" article which is definitely not on, in the 1973 "Sunningdale" meaning of the term.

However, what is meant is a winding down of the Assembly and increased local government powers, this could probably pass in Dublin for a first step towards 'peace and reconciliation' — except for the presence of Sinn Féin councillors, of course. Therefore, the British government has two short-term political aims in the six counties: to soften up the unionists, and give the SDLP all the electoral support they can get. The recent spate of rumours, articles and declarations can be said to fulfil the latter.

And as if to illustrate the unchanging face of British rule in Ireland, two appointments were made last week by the British: token 'wet' and token Catholic Christopher Patten, one of Hurd's aides, was appointed by Hurd as a go-between to meet all constitutional parties in the North, in the hope of getting inter-party talks going again. That's for the 'softening-up'.

#### GENERALS

Meanwhile, among the new British army generals to be appointed to the North, it was announced that the new GOC would be Brigadier-General Robert Pascoe, of the Green Jackets, who worked under Maurice 'the Mole' Oldfield in 1979, and his second-in-command, Brigadier Anthony Jeapes, a former SAS commander. That's for the 'robust security policy'.

Unionists can rest assured that nothing has changed in Britain's last colony. As for nationalists, in spite of all the propaganda surrounding each word of Garret FitzGerald, each trip abroad of John Hume, they are aware for the most part that only the might of republican resistance will ever succeed in shifting the British.

# DEAL DENIED

BY HILDA MacTHOMAS

"HOPE of peace highest for 70 years", announced the British newspaper the *Mail on Sunday* on March 24th. The article announced that Dublin and London were on the verge of hammering out a package deal including joint security meetings of the two governments, reforms of the judicial and police system, the setting up of an Anglo-Irish parliamentary tier and power-sharing.

Leak, 'plant' or speculation, such an article was bound to cause reactions, especially from the unionists, and therefore its contents were swiftly rebuked by British direct-rule minister Nicholas Scott on RTE radio the same day. "It is still not possible to tell if agreement is possible," Scott said, describing the article as highly "speculative". "Overblown" was the word used by direct-ruler Douglas Hurd, who added that dialogue between London and Dublin was continuing "within the Chequers parameters" — understand: the complete exclusion of any of the Forum options.

#### PREDICTABLE

Unionist reactions were as swift as they were predictable. "We will not have the destiny of Ulster settled in Dublin," fulminated Paisley from the platform of his party conference, while Sammy Wilson of the DUP spoke of the "potentially treacherous nature" of the British government.

OUP leader James Molyneux said the article was a bid to "unnerve" unionists, while OUP member Robert McCartney warned this would undermine the attempt to rekindle "inter-party talks", started a few days previously by the British, using the good offices of direct-rule minister Christopher Patten. SDLP leader John Hume called the article "unhelpful". As for Fitz-

Gerald, he described it as "uninspired".

The *Mail on Sunday* article came after an impromptu visit to Dublin by Douglas Hurd and British Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe on Friday, March 22nd. Hurd and Howe met with Free State premier Garret FitzGerald, deputy-premier Dick Spring and Foreign Affairs Minister Peter Barry.

This was a return visit after Barry's trip to London in February and was followed by a similar bland statement and no comment.

#### RUMOURS

The media, however, reported rumours of "progress", and hints of "hope". But in the South, newspaper editorials remained very distrustful of the whole process. Hurd never said anything new and kept repeating the same old line in his "old-fashioned" "pro-consular" style, the *Irish Press* complained, while the *Irish Press* launched an attack on joint sovereignty and asked for light to be shed on the talks immediately.

However, some details seemed to emerge later that day in a speech given by FitzGerald at a press function in London. Both governments were seeking a "novel political structure", he said, which recognised "both identities". After waffling on at length about the ethnic origin of the "two communities", he admitted that "both governments" had



# Thatcherite threat to workers

BY CHARLIE McFADDEN

AFTER MONTHS of pressure, the Dublin government has responded to Federated Union of Employers demands for a change in the industrial relations law. The Free State Minister for Labour, Ruairi Quinn, has drafted proposals which have met with an enthusiastic response from employers' organisations.

The major thrust of this policy is to replace the 1906 Trade Disputes Act, under which trade unions are immune from prosecution for various industrial actions, including unofficial strikes and occupations. What the employers wish to do in both the private and public sector is to dictate to the workforce when and how they will be allowed to take industrial action.

Congress president Matt Merrigan has stated:

*"It's the Thatcherite philosophy: cripple the unions by market forces and if that doesn't work, use the law. It's simple monetarism."*

When this new legislation is enacted at the end of this year a whole new range of powers will become available to the employers and the state in their ongoing war against the working class. The courts will be used to sequester trade union funds, jail workers and limit the number of pickets. Greater use will be made of the gardai in a dispute situation. Before workers could withdraw their labour, the trade union representing them would be legally obliged to comply with three separate conditions:

1. Independent dispute procedures to be fully exhausted first;
2. A mandatory secret ballot to be held;
3. 'Proper' notice to be served on employers before strike notice is implemented.

All of the above is repugnant to basic trade union principles and will amount to state interference with the right to strike and how trade unions conduct their internal affairs. Over the years, individual trade unions have evolved their own democratic procedures which allow for full consultation with the membership in any given situation. Any attempt to impose anti-democratic restrictions on them will be strongly resisted.

Other aspects of the package are not as objectionable and, indeed, have received a cautious welcome from trade union sources. The establishment of a permanent industrial relations commission would certainly be welcome and will eliminate a lot of the delays with the present labour court conciliation services.

The proposed legislation chooses to ignore the existing bias in favour of capital within current labour law. There is no mention of legal obligations on employers to honour agreements, nor to disclose information to employers on the true state of companies.

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An estimated 200 workers are likely to lose their jobs following the fiasco at the Insurance Company of Ireland (ICI), it was revealed this week.

However, worker severance pay is not expected to be up to the standard of the golden handshake received by ICI chairperson, Peter Green, on his retirement last September. Informed sources reckon this sum is close to £66,000.

It would appear that there are some people who think that executives should be amply rewarded for their part in bringing a company to its knees. Prior to the collapse of the state-owned Irish Ship-



● Post office workers picket the sorting office in Derry over the breach by management of an internal promotions agreement

ping, the then chief executive, William O'Neill, also received a £66,000 lump sum on top of a yearly pension of £20,000.

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The anti-trade union bias of management at Keelings Fruit Farm in North County Dublin has been blamed for the apparent victimisation of women workers who lost their jobs just two weeks after joining a union.

Brigid McGurk and Fiona Callaghan, who were instrumental in forming a branch of the ITGWU at the fruit farm in January this year, were amongst ten

workers who were 'temporarily' laid off a fortnight later.

Although nine of the ten laid off were union members, it was the non-union worker who was given her job back after just a few days. And despite assurances from management that all the rest would be re-employed, this has not happened.

Sinn Féin in Ballymun have called for support for the women's fight to recover their jobs, and have asked trade union members not to handle Keelings produce.

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On Friday, March 22nd, Gateaux Ltd, the Finglas cake manufacturers, railroaded its workforce into accepting new working conditions under the threat of closure of its production operation. The company had intended to distribute cakes imported from the plant's English parent company, Lyons Holding Ltd.

Gateaux, who have a history of using the threat of closure to implement changes in work practices, had refused to implement a Labour Court recommended pay increase of 4%, due since August 1984, unless its workers agreed to new stringent work practices.

The new conditions include a decrease in sick pay, distribution cutbacks, shiftwork for some departments and job losses in the production area. In addition the workers had to relinquish a 15-minute tea-break and agree to new security measures.

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The 650-strong workforce at the Irish Steel plant in Haulbowline, County Cork, have been put on protective notice.

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In the six counties, the Irish National Teachers Organisation (INTO) last Thursday, March 21st, began a campaign of industrial action in response to the direct-reuse Department of Education's continued refusal to negotiate a new pay deal.

Members of the INTO, which represents about one-third of the North's 18,000 teachers, are currently refusing to cover for absent colleagues or take part in out-of-school activities.

The education authorities' refusal to make a pay offer has infuriated the vast majority of local teachers. Members of the NAS/UWT have already begun industrial action and a substantial majority of INTO teachers, in a postal ballot, have said they are prepared to take further

action which would affect public examinations.

The INTO, which is predicting a long dispute, has asked the other teachers' unions to co-operate in planning a co-ordinated campaign of action.

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The creche provided for workers at Belfast's Royal Victoria Hospital is under threat from new financial cutbacks. Responding to a British government directive to review all 'uneconomic' units, the Eastern Health and Social Services Board has delivered an ultimatum to parents that unless the creche can be made financially self-sufficient, it faces imminent closure.

More than 50 children currently attend the creche, and if it closes, women in particular who depend on paid work to feed their families, and provide much-needed skills for the community, could be forced to leave their jobs.

Parents and shop stewards at the hospital plan to lobby the EHSSB meeting today (Thursday) at which the fate of the creche (and other proposed cutbacks) is expected to be decided.

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George Ball (Shipping Management) Ltd plan to reduce the workforce on their container ships from 156 to 100.

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Twenty redundancies are being sought among dockers at Galway Stevedores Ltd. This would reduce the workforce to 30.

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The Irish Congress of Trade Unions has called on Dunnes Stores to "recognise the sincere convictions on an issue of conscience" of the 11 anti-apartheid strikers in Dublin's Henry Street.

On Saturday, March 23rd, British Labour Party MP Terry Fields joined the picket-line to show his solidarity. Not one of his Free State Labour Party counterparts has made any similar gesture during the 36-week dispute.

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Unions representing over 150 workers at the Cork Gas Company have voted for official strike action and intend serving two weeks notice by the end of this week unless management agree to negotiate on its present position.

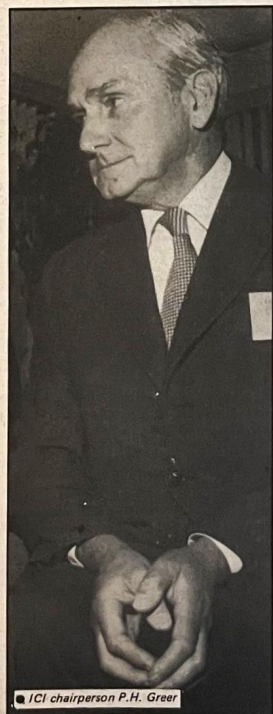
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Derry postworkers went on strike on Saturday, March 23rd, after two months of intensive negotiations failed to overturn the head postmaster's decision to break a long-standing agreement with regard to internal promotions on the basis of seniority.

Local unemployed people, who subsequently failed to get their unemployment giro cheques delivered, gathered at the post office sorting office. After speaking to the picketing postworkers, the crowd, which was a few hundred strong, directed its protest at the post office management who were skulking inside the office.

Pressure on management to distribute the giros built up, both from the strikers and the unemployed, but this was defused with the intervention of SDLP Mayor John Tierney and his deputy, Liam Bradley of the IIP. Following nearly an hour of fruitless negotiation with management, Tierney and Bradley emerged from the post office to urge the strikers to return to work.

Since pressure had effectively been taken off management, the strikers had little option but to call off the strike out of sympathy with the unemployed.



● ICI chairperson P.H. Greer



## BY JACK MADDEN

● ICI headquarters, Dublin

## A black and white photograph of a building facade. The word "MOLINS" is prominently displayed in large, bold, white capital letters on a dark horizontal band. Above the text is a row of large, multi-paned windows. Below the text is a dark area with some smaller, less distinct windows or architectural details. The photograph is framed by a thick black border.

# TRAVELLERS' EVICTION RESISTED

● Mitchel McLaughlin (left) confronts a DoE official at the travellers' site







## Tullamore water rates protest

A STORM has erupted over Tullamore, County Offaly, urban council's latest desperate attempt to stem the growing tide of resistance to the water rates charges.

Patrick Smith, a 65-year-old retired council worker with 23 years' service, who is a member of the National Association of Tenants Organisation and the Federated Workers Union of Ireland, withheld payment of what he and many thousands of others see as a double-tax.

But when he received his pension gratuity through the post, he found a note thanking him for the £100 water rates arrears which he had refused to pay. It was a deduction made totally without his consent.

Last Sunday, March 24th, trade unionists and anti-water rates campaigners rallied in Tullamore Town Square to demonstrate their opposition to the urban council's contemptuous attitude.

## Sharpeville anniversary



THE 25th anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre was commemorated at the Nelson Mandela monument in Dublin's Merrion Square on Thursday, March 21st.

The horror of Sharpeville, when 69 people were killed by South African police, was recalled by Reverend Terence McCaughey, president of the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement.

Marius Schoon, a former political prisoner whose wife and six-year-old daughter were murdered by South African agents in June of last year, and Mary Manning, representing the Dunnes Stores anti-apartheid strikers, laid a wreath at the monument.

The ceremony ended with Bill Meeks singing his own composition, *Cry Africa*.

## New advice centre

DUBLIN Sinn Féin has opened a new part-time advice centre in the North Inner City at 50 Sheriff Street.

Open from 10am to 1pm every Friday, Christy Burke and Sinn Féin community workers will be available to help with any problems relating to Corporation maintenance, social welfare benefits, PAYE/PRSI, drug abuse etc.

## Cancelled

THE proposed meeting of Dublin directors of elections and candidates, planned for Saturday, 30th March, has been cancelled. It will take place at 12pm on Saturday 6th April, in 6 Blessington Street.



● Ballyfermot residents occupy a play centre in the area in protest at its closure by Dublin Corporation

# Demands for fair play

PLAYGROUNDS in working-class areas both North and South of the border have been the target of the authorities during the week. In Cookstown, County Tyrone, the bigoted local council refused to contemplate the request for play facilities in a nationalist area of the town while in Ballyfermot, Dublin, the Corporation closed down a play centre.

Angry parents, together with local Sinn Féin community activist Jimmy Delaney, reopened Ballyfermot's only remaining play-centre on Thursday, March 21st, after it had been closed by Dublin Corporation.

The closure followed a gun threat against a member of the centre's staff on his way home the previous Tuesday evening. However, it is thought that the incident was not connected with the centre and the closure decision has been widely condemned as an over-reaction by the Corporation.

Rose Saul, one of the parents using the pre-school group in the building, told AP/RN: "There are 30 children in the pre-school group every morning. Every other group in the area is full, so if this place goes then so does our group."

Ann Barry, who works at the Kylemore Avenue centre, said:

"If this is taken away, I'll have to stand at my door every day to watch my kids when they're playing on the street. We're doing this so that Ballyfermot's kids have some chance of growing up in a decent environment."

### PETITION

A petition organised by the Save Ballyfermot Playcentre Committee has collected over 800 signatures in just two days. Plans are also being drawn up for further protests at Dublin Corporation's offices in Wellington Quay next Thursday morning (March 28th) if the centre is not officially reopened.

Sinn Féin's Jimmy Delaney, himself a Kylemore resident, said:

"Ballyfermot's summer project is now in jeopardy. If Dublin Corporation and Leinster House politicians are genuinely concerned about joy-riding and youth alienation then they'll reopen the playcentre."

"Our communities, and especially our youth, need more facilities, not less."

### COOKSTOWN

On Monday, March 25th, loyalist-domin-

ated Cookstown Council refused to discuss a request for play facilities in a nationalist area of the town, and voted to ignore future representations from the local tenants' association.

The association, which represents Green-vale/Sullenboy/Rathene estate, had written to the council seeking amenities for a children's play park under construction in the area. Their modest requests included a safety fence, to prevent youngsters from straying onto a nearby road, and dual-purpose goalsposts to enable the playing of both gaelic and soccer football.

The council's recreation officer, paid official Paddy Devlin, was due to raise the proposals at Monday night's council meeting, but before he could do so, DUP Councillor Alan Kane launched into a ludicrous tirade against both the tenants' association and the entire local population, whom, he ranted, were "republican thugs".

### OSTRACISE

On Kane's instigation, the council decided by five votes to three to ostracise the tenants' association and to instruct council officials to ignore all correspondence from it.

After the meeting, Kane's allegations that the tenants' association was a Sinn Féin "front" were strongly denied by its spokesperson James Ball, who pointed out that the association is "an open, democratically-elected body endorsed by the people of the area at the annual general meeting held last month".

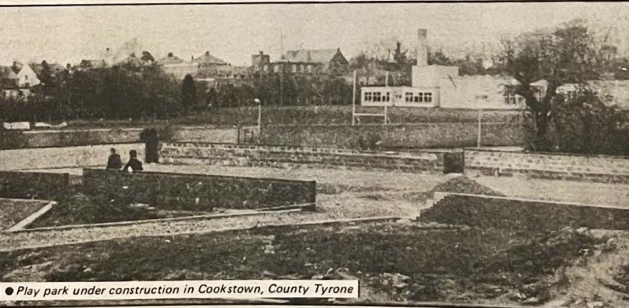
The tenants' group has referred both the allegations and the council vote to the local government 'ombudsman' and is considering legal action.

### DISMISSED

The council's actions were also condemned by Christopher Neeson, Sinn Féin candidate for Cookstown Central, who pointed out that the bigoted loyalist councillors had "completely dismissed the genuine needs and interests" of local nationalists.

He described the incident as "an extension of the DUP's policy to ostracise not only Sinn Féin, but the nationalist people as a whole".

Neeson added that the forthcoming local government elections give Cookstown nationalists the opportunity — by electing republican candidates — to challenge from within the council's longstanding sectarianism.



● Play park under construction in Cookstown, County Tyrone

# Women's protest

NEARLY 200 women marched through Dublin to a rally at the GPO in O'Connell Street on Saturday, March 23rd.

Banners and placards declaring that "Women are Angry" were carried on the march which was in protest at the continuing denial of women's rights in Ireland. The march was organised by women's groups based in the Women's Centre, Dame Street, Dublin.





# Democracy Paisley-style

BY HILDA MacTHOMAS

LAST WEEKEND'S annual conference of the DUP was a rather small, sedate, middle-aged and predictable affair. Middle-aged, that is, except for the handful of young wolves on the platform, the Sammy Wilsons and Peter Robinsons.

And sedate it was, except of course for Paisley's sermon — pardon, address — which was full of fire and brimstone and Sinn Féin and conspiracies, as befits a DUP pre-electoral speech.

The conference passed the usual unanimous resolutions — twelve in all — asking the British government to intensify armed repression against republicans, asking for hanging to be brought back and for Sinn Féin leaders to be "massacred" at the poll — or in any other way.

## ATTACK

Paisley launched into an attack on the British government's reported plans to give Dublin a consultative role in Northern affairs, then on the Catholic hierarchy which he said had a "vested interest"

in "IRA atrocities", then back again to the British government who was preventing the RUC from "beating the IRA".

"Let us trample the sinners in the grave of electoral massacre", belowned Paisley. And once again, as in May 1984, he made the outpolling of Sinn Féin his party's main electoral target — with again no mention of the fact that the six counties were gerrymandered precisely for that purpose.

The DUP, Paisley argued, was the only party to oppose republicans. Treachery was everywhere. From the British government who have tied the RUC's hands, to 'Viscount' Brookeborough who supported the disbandment of the 'B' Specials, to the DUP's rival party, the Official Unionists, who were slow to second anti-Sinn Féin motions in Belfast City Hall.

## TRAITORS

This long list of traitors to the loyalist cause even included the six-county judiciary which, according to a Walter Millar from Cookstown, had the gall to sentence three men for attempting to kill Gerry Adams...

Paisley's campaign speech was followed by similar calls from Peter Robinson, Ivan

Foster and Nigel Doods. Doods warned that Sinn Féin would probably win 40 or 50 seats, and that "local government would never be the same again".

The answer, Robinson-style, was to put all Sinn Féiners in jail — and there was, he said, enough "evidence" to do it, implying that the British government was actually preventing the arrest of those killers and would-be killers". And Robinson added, hoping his suggestion would be taken up, "I can think only of one place better than jail for them to be".

Pending mass arrests and assassinations of Sinn Féin members, the DUP, however, would not remain idle. Their efforts, Peter Robinson outlined, would be concentrated on keeping Sinn Féin out of councils, ostracising them, excluding them from delegations, and in the last resort, DUP councillors would have to be prepared to "literally strike a blow for democracy".

And so ended the conference, a predictable if horrifying exposition of 'democracy' the loyalist way: in which political opponents are to be ostracised, beaten up, arrested or killed. A timely reminder to all nationalists of the true nature of the six-county state.

IAN PAISLEY

# Hooded witnesses in court

THE trial of three Belfast men, accused of running a building site protection racket in the city, ended dramatically on Tuesday, March 26th, when 33 charges against them, including demanding money with menaces, and possessing firearms to commit blackmail, were withdrawn by a DPP lawyer.

The three men — James Pratt Craig (43), a well-known and leading member of the UDA from Northland Street, David Fee (31), of Chief Street, and William John Quee (28), of Crosslands Court, were released when the DPP lawyer told the court:

"Having considered the proceedings in court yesterday and the fact that the witness felt unable to provide his name, the DPP has concluded that the prosecution cannot ask for the return for trial of any of the defendants on any charges against them".

The hearing had caused grave disquiet when it was revealed that prosecution witnesses were giving evidence wearing balaclava helmets, parkas with the hoods zipped up and gloves. The five witnesses, believed to include company directors and building site bosses, had refused to give their names throughout the hear-

ing, and were referred to as P, C, J, T, and A4.

Witness 'A4' told the court that he had been approached by Craig and Fee in 1982 and told to hand over £500 in return for security on the site. The money was paid a week later. Witness 'T' told the court that Craig and Fee had demanded £2,000 from him or work would not continue on the site. When Craig and Fee returned, they were accompanied by Quee. Witness handed over £800. During one of the meetings, witness 'T' claimed Fee had produced a handgun.

## TACTIC

This is the first time the RUC have employed the tactic of using unidentified, disguised witnesses in court, although a similar technique of using anonymous witnesses was used to identify internees in the early Seventies.



UDA headquarters, Belfast

This latest ploy by the RUC was bitterly attacked as a further eroding of defendants' legal and civil rights as it effectively prevented defence barristers from challenging the credibility of witnesses.

Many, both republican and loyalist, as well as leading lawyers, felt that there was a real risk of this technique being employed by

the RUC to supercede the faltering paid-perjury system, which in recent months has suffered a stream of serious setbacks, many as a result of the destruction of the individual paid-perjury's credibility as prosecution witnesses.

The introduction of anonymous and hooded witnesses would have overcome this difficulty for the RUC and at the same time



JAMES CRAIG

given legal respectability to a method of identification never before used in court cases.

# Predictable bias

BY ROBERT CARLIN

A FIREARMS CHARGE against ex-DUP man George Seawright was predictably withdrawn at Belfast Magistrates Court on Friday, March 22nd, following an application by a DPP lawyer.

The charge arose out of an incident on October 18th 1984 when Seawright, along with a number of accomplices, produced a firearm in the course of removing a Tricolour from the roof of the Whiterock Leisure Centre.

The charge of having a gun and five rounds of ammunition under suspicious circumstances was withdrawn, leaving Seawright to face the other, less serious charge of conduct liable

to cause a breach of the peace. Seawright (33), of Forthriver Road, Belfast, has pleaded not guilty to the charge. He was remanded on continuing bail to appear at a special sitting of the Magistrates Court on June 6th.

Recent reports suggest that, in the course of the incident, Seawright pointed his gun at a member of staff, who said he feared Seawright might have shot him. Staff at the leisure

centre are angry at the withdrawal of the charge and at the DPP's refusal to press a charge of intent to endanger life.

## THREATENED

Meanwhile, in contrast to the peaceful and dignified raising of the national flag over White-rock Leisure Centre, staff at the Shankill Leisure Centre were threatened by seven masked men who raised a number of loyalist flags and vandalised the building, causing damage estimated at £500.

And on Monday morning, March 25th, Seawright, with the ever-present ladder and ac-



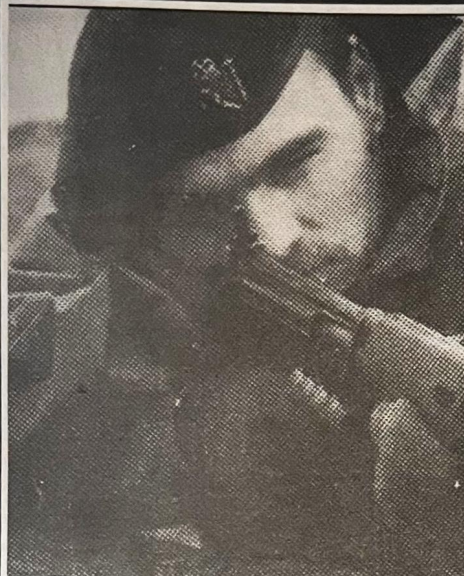
After the charges were dropped, Seawright tried to boost his flagging fortunes by a repeat of the stunt — minus the gun — that landed him in court in the first place

company by a number of men, hoisted a Union Jack and several Ulster flags on the roof of the Ballysillan Leisure Centre, replacing flags which had

been removed a short time before.

A small force of RUC looked on while the flags were raised, but took no action.





## THE ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE ULSTER DEFENCE REGIMENT

# 15 YEARS OF B

IN OCTOBER 1969, amid a blaze of publicity, the Hunt report recommended the disarming of the RUC and the total disbandment of the 'B' Specials.

These recommendations followed a hurried inquiry into RUC and 'B' Special participation in anti-civil rights violence which culminated in August 1969 in the RUC assault on the Bogside and the 'B' Specials-led pogroms in Belfast.

The Hunt report, despite its predictably diplomatic language and its praise for the work of the Specials, was, in its recommendations, a clear indictment of 50 years of unionist terrorism spearheaded by the paramilitary police force and its reserve.

With the ink on the report barely dry, the anticipated political eruption occurred. Unionist leaders attacked the report as a surrender to the civil rights murderers and looters on our streets.

"The recommendations... are a complete capitulation to the murderers and looters on our streets."

The general nationalist welcome for the report, led in those politically naive days by the moderate and generally apolitical middle class, was more a response to the unionist outcry than a realistic analysis of the report itself. John Hume commented:

"I welcome the report and I think it gives us a basis for a proper impartial civil police force."

The *Irish News* echoed these sentiments and declared the Hunt report to be the "key to a better era".

A detailed reading of the report would have revealed a more ominous purpose to the supposed reform of the state forces, as Hunt himself pointed out.

"It is self-evident that the government of Northern Ireland has a vital interest in the defence of the province which must continue to be recognised...



Furthermore, we see great merit in the continuing presence of a local force, with local knowledge, capable of being at instant readiness..."

He then went on to express the hope that the Specials would join the new forces.

### EVIDENCE

Further evidence that the forces of the sectarian state were being reorganised and modernised rather than being removed came on Monday, October 13th, only three days after the report was published. The Stormont prime minister, Major J.D. Chichester-Clark, declared:

"The name and organisation of the Specials, will change... our new security reserve will have the arms and other equipment it needs to be a highly effective defence force, not for

SINCE ITS FORMATION 15 years ago, the UDR has proved itself a worthy representative of the sectarian Orange state.

Besides a long catalogue of 'illegal' murders in the 1970s, UDR members have, in recent years, been involved in a series of 'legal' murders of nationalists, particularly in Armagh and Belfast.

The murders of members of the Miami Showband, Peter and Jane McKearney, Denis Mullan and two GAA supporters travelling through Newtownhamilton, are just a few of the 'illegal' murders.

A total of 315 weapons have 'disappeared' from UDR armouries to be used in sectarian murders, either by the UVF, UDA or the Protestant Action Force — a cover name regularly used by the UDR.

the conditions of '21 but for the Seventies."

It was becoming clear that the Hunt report was a recognition that the 'B' Specials, as an effective military force, were 50 years out of date. In addition, because the Specials had always played a major role in the suppression of nationalist resistance, they were to be used as a scapegoat for the sectarianism which stemmed from the state itself and of which they were simply the crudest reflection.

So, despite the premature reactions, the Hunt report was openly aimed at the preservation of the sectarian state through the creation of new and more effective forces.

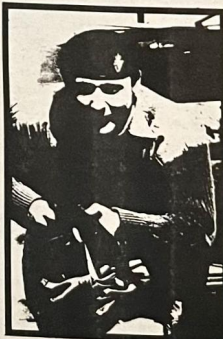
It would soon become clear that the sectarianism which is the sole *raison d'être* of the six-county state would quickly infect any structures created within its confines. The Ulster Defence Regiment, born of the Hunt report, would soon provide ample evidence for these arguments.

On April Fools Day 1970, the UDR came into existence as an operational unit of the

The infamous Shankill Butchers gang, which terrorised nationalists in Belfast, accounted for 19 brutal and sadistic murders. Not surprisingly, the gang included UDR members, one of whom, Edward McIlwaine, received a 15-year prison sentence for his 'off-duty' activities.

Martin Malone, Tony Harker, Adrian Carroll and Peter Corrigan are just a few of the UDR's victims in this decade. Others include the young joy-riders who have been shot dead since 1981, the latest being Paul Kelly who died at the hands of the UDR in January this year.

In this article, Aidan McSorley traces the origin and development of the UDR from its roots in the 'B' Specials to its role as a primary element in British repression today.



British army. Armed with the most modern military equipment available, it was initially composed of seven battalions, one for each of the six counties and one for Belfast.

### PERCEPTION

Early recruitment to the UDR was inevitably influenced by the public perception of the new force, Unionist opposition to the disbandment of the 'B'

Specials created an initial, if short-lived, reluctance on the part of extreme loyalists to join the UDR.

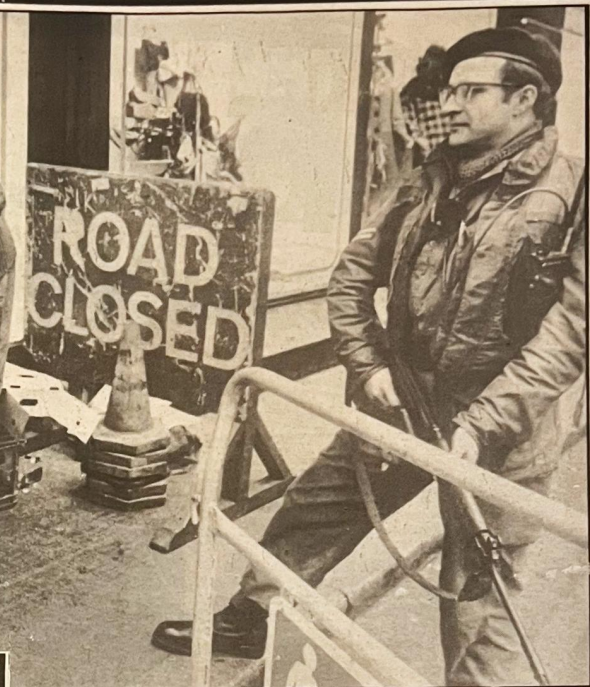
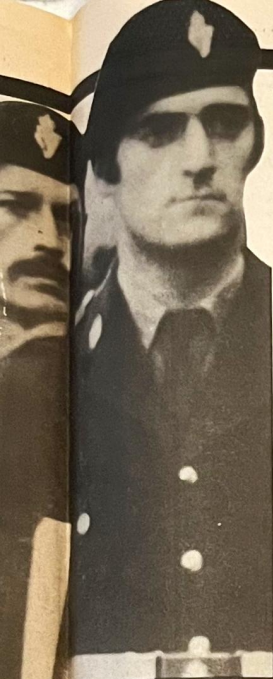
Conversely, however, some Catholics, particularly middle class and professionals, felt they should follow the advice of politicians like Austin Currie and many of his SDLP colleagues who encouraged Catholics to join the UDR. In its first months of existence, therefore, the UDR achieved a Catholic membership of 1,600, which represented 18% of the total numbers.

However, within the Catholic working-class ghettos, and in the poverty-stricken areas west of the Bann, an instinctive reluctance prevented significant recruitment.

The first recruits to the UDR were left in no doubt as to where they stood politically. Within the force they were surrounded by the symbols of loyalism, new members were required to swear their loyalty to the British queen and all the trappings, pomp and ceremony of imperialist jingoism were incorporated into the routine life of the UDR.

In fact... been sent... general re... began, to... first from... the UDR... almost h... join can... 700 out... By M... 'B' mer... while oth... RUC... RUC its...





# BIGOTRY

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Adding to nation-  
alist misgivings were  
the specific and largely  
successful efforts made to recruit  
'B' Specials, which  
the new force had,  
ostensibly, been cre-  
ated to replace. As  
the 'B' men queued  
to hand in their  
uniforms and a lesser  
number of their weapons  
(the remainder of  
which formed the  
bulk of UVF armaments  
in the early  
Seventies) they were  
each personally urged  
to join the UDR,  
the RUC or the new  
RUC Reserve force.

## FORM

In fact, a special form had  
been sent out six weeks before  
general recruitment to the UDR  
began, to facilitate easy transfers  
from the 'B' Specials to  
the UDR. In the first month,  
almost half the applications to  
join came from 'B' Specials,  
700 out of a total of 1,625.

By May 1972, 2,487 ex-  
'B' men were in the UDR  
while others had joined the new  
RUC Reserve or, indeed, the  
RUC itself. The 'B' Specials



may have been disbanded but  
the 'B' men were certainly not  
deterred, they simply donned  
the new uniforms and continued  
as before.

Within months, the UDR was  
asserting itself as a willing and  
enthusiastic arm of the Orange  
state and the inherent sectarian-  
ism of this position was becom-  
ing increasingly obvious and  
reflected in its membership.

## COSMETIC

Cosmetic as they were, the  
British-inspired reforms of late  
1969 and early 1970 failed to  
quell the growing nationalist re-  
volt. The struggle for basic  
rights had outgrown the naive  
reformist demands of the civil  
rights campaign.

As the irreformably oppressive  
nature of the six-county state  
became increasingly clear, the  
struggle against oppression con-  
sequently became a struggle  
against the state itself, and as  
this developed, the British war  
machine came quickly to the  
defence of the threatened union-  
ist regime.

The Falls Road Curfew in  
July 1970, when 3,000 British  
soldiers attacked the small na-  
tionalist ghetto killing five and  
arresting 300, was in its scale  
and ferocity an implicit declara-  
tion of war on the nationalist  
areas. The inevitable battle be-  
tween the forces of imperialism  
and those of liberation had  
begun.

The UDR, as an integral  
unit of the British army, were  
fully involved in the growing  
war. So, it is not surprising,  
given both the external and in-  
ternal developments, that, from  
the Summer of 1970 on, there  
occurred a steady stream of re-  
signations from the UDR by  
Catholic members.

These resignations led to a  
sharp decline in the Catholic  
membership of the force which  
fell from 18% in its first months  
to 5% in early 1972 and down



eventually to its present 2.5%.  
(This present 2.5% represents  
175 Catholics out of a total  
membership of 7,250 in the  
UDR.)

If the sectarian character and  
make-up of the 'B' Specials  
was being mirrored in the  
UDR, in other ways the new  
force was different, and con-  
sequently more dangerous than  
its forerunner. Training and  
equipment for the UDR was,  
of course, much more advanced  
than that which had been  
available to the Specials.

But, of more significance, the  
centralised command structures  
of the UDR, as opposed to  
the local autonomy of the Specials,  
meant that, from the  
beginning, UDR members were  
an indispensable source of local  
information for British intelli-  
gence.

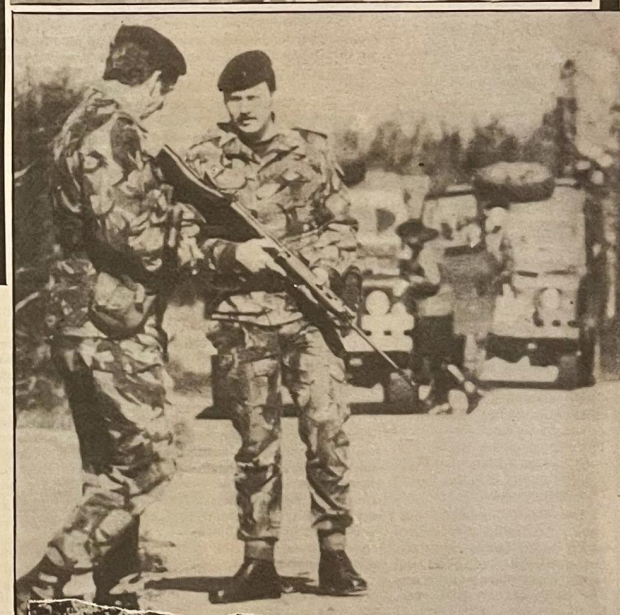
As the Kitsonian theories of  
counter-insurgency were put  
into practice, the UDR became,  
as the RUC Gazette said, "the  
eyes and ears" of the British  
war machine. UDR men were  
instructed to use their full-  
time jobs as milkmen, postmen,  
bus drivers etc, to spy on their  
Catholic neighbours.

Besides the fact that they  
are always armed, UDR men  
are never off-duty.

## THREAT

Apart, of course, from the  
official developments within the  
UDR, by 1971 the force was,  
in other ways, becoming a more  
immediate threat to the nat-

(continued on next page)



● Aftermath of the Miami Showband massacre in 1975



(continued from previous page)

lonalist community.

After their initial opposition to the disbandment of the 'B' Specials, loyalists quickly realised the advantages offered by the UDR. By late 1971, the UVF and the newly-formed UDA were actively encouraging members to join the UDR whilst simultaneously launching a recruitment drive from within the force.

The formation of four new UDR battalions, following the introduction of internment, coincided with areas of most extreme sectarianism and in which the loyalist paramilitaries were at their most advanced. In the North Armagh area particularly, whole UVF units were recruited into the UDR.

The UDR quickly became the most ready source, not only of training for the loyalist gunmen, but also of intelligence and arms with which to carry out their attacks. UVF and UDA men within the UDR organised a string of arms raids which provided the loyalist terror gangs with the most modern weapons available.

From 1970, loyalists have, with incredible ease, stolen 315 weapons from UDR armories. In May 1978, a South Derry UDA/UDR man was jailed for his role in the theft of over 200 rifles, machine-guns and pistols from Magherafelt UDR camp in June 1976.

## CAMPAIGN

Throughout the mid-Seventies, loyalist terror gangs, trained and armed courtesy of the British state, were waging a murderous campaign against the nationalist community.

Despite a reluctance to investigate loyalist terror attacks on the part of the equally sectarian and often sympathetic RUC, there has been, since the formation of the UDR, a steady stream of arrests and convictions of UDR members which testify to the real nature of the force.

Members of the UDR have been involved in every conceivable type of crime from handling stolen goods and robbery right through to kidnapping, sexual offences and murder. The abnormally-high crime rate, quite apart from their politically or religiously-inspired terrorism, and the equally high suicide rate within the UDR, are indications of the quality of its membership.

The Miami Showband massacre is probably the incident which most clearly illustrates the overlapping of UDR and loyalist paramilitary terrorism. The death of two UDR men, killed by their own bomb at the scene, led eventually, and despite all the efforts of the RUC and the British authorities to conceal the facts, to the exposure of the UDR as a seedy cloak of convenience for the UVF (as in this case) and the UDA. Two other UDR/UVF members were subsequently convicted of the Miami murders.

The presence of unavoidable evidence, coupled with the international outrage which followed the Miami Showband massacre, forced the reluctant RUC to act against one loyalist terror gang within the UDR.

Apart from an almost identical incident three weeks later, when two Catholics were murdered at another UDR/UVF road-block, there was a general fall-off in loyalist terror, directly connected to the UDR, following the Miami incident. This fall-off was much more the

# THE BUTCHERS

A Political Crime of Terror and Degradation

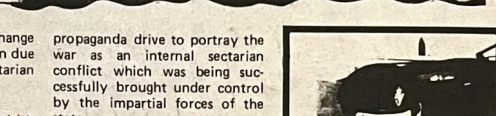
## UDR SHOOT YOUTH DEAD IN LOWER FALLS 'B' SPECIALS BACK IN ACTION

THE DELIBERATE and explicit killing by the UDR of a young joy rider in the lower Falls district of West Belfast, on Friday 20th March, has shocked the nationalist community.

A 17-YEAR-OLD YOUTH was shot dead and four of his riding companions were injured when members of the sectarian UDR fired on their stolen car at a checkpoint in West Belfast early on Tuesday.

The fatal shooting was Paul Kelly of Whitcomb Crescent, Ballymurphy. A second youth was shot in the stomach and his condition was later described as 'serious'. Another suffered a bullet wound to the right leg. Two others were not shot, according to reports, but one had a broken leg and the second suffered head injuries. All four were detained in hospital.

The stolen Ford Granada car was fired on shortly after midnight by a UDR patrol at the Kennedy Way roundabout below the M1 flyover. The vehicle had come under observation earlier in the night and seven firms were tracking its



result of a fundamental change in British war strategy, than due to the efforts of the sectarian RUC.

## POLICY

During 1975, the British government initiated a new three-pronged policy aimed at initially containing, and eventually suffocating, nationalist resistance in the North. This policy was known as criminalisation/ulsterisation/normalisation.

Criminalisation was, of course, the aspect of the new policy which most directly affected the republican struggle, leading eventually to the heroic hunger-strike in 1981. But Ulsterisation and normalisation were to have almost as profound an effect on the British and loyalist forces in the conflict.

Firstly, normalisation, i.e. the creation of an illusion of normality within the inherently unstable six-county state, demanded an end to the vicious spiral of sectarian murders which, up to 1975, had been tacitly sanctioned, and, at times, actively encouraged by the British administrations.

Loyalist gunmen who had previously been allowed to operate with an almost free hand, now found themselves being arrested and charged as the British launched a simultaneous

propaganda drive to portray the war as an internal sectarian conflict which was being successfully brought under control by the impartial forces of the state.

During 1976, the loyalist paramilitaries were rendered ineffective in many areas and in some, most notably East Antrim, the entire UVF organisation was wiped out.

Alongside these developments, Ulsterisation was placing the locally-recruited forces of imperialism in the front line of the conflict. The rationale behind this move was that the number of British casualties would be reduced, with a consequent reduction of interest in and opposition to the war, in Britain.

Furthermore, with locally-recruited forces almost exclusively Protestant, Ulsterisation would add further to the portrayal of the war as an internal sectarian conflict. For these reasons the UDR replaced the British army in the front line in all but the most dangerous areas of the North.

The UDR, willing cannon-fodder for British imperialism, suffered the consequences of Ulsterisation as the IRA maintained the war against oppression.

## ALTERATION

The suppression of the loyalist paramilitary terror gangs and the placement of the UDR in the front line of the war brought a long-term alteration in the overall make-up of the loyalist forces. No longer able to operate with immunity, young loyalists found it safer and more profitable to vent their sectarianism through the official state forces, primarily the UDR. As the UVF and UDA went into political decline, the UDR assimilated many of their members still at liberty.

By 1980, the membership of the UDR had swollen to 8,000, 97.5% of them Protestant. Beatings and harassment which had previously been carried out by British soldiers were now taken over, with un-



disguised and unrestrained zeal, by the UDR, and with this transfer of 'duties', the oppression took on the overtly sectarian character of the 'B' Special days.

Ulsterisation allowed the UDR to replace the UVF and UDA as the most brutal instrument of the sectarian state.

The curbing of the loyalist terror gangs did, however, leave a gap in British military strategy. The arbitrary arrest of prominent republican activists would publicly contradict the British attempt to 'criminalise' the republican struggle, and consequently also threaten the normalisation policy.

A more insidious method of 'neutralising' political activists was, therefore, developed. To this end, British agents were infiltrated into the UDA and, ironically and more significantly, into the UDR also. The purpose of this infiltration was to instigate, organise and provide the intelligence (and weapons, if necessary) for the murder of key political activists.

The use of loyalist gunmen would reduce the risk of exposure of British involvement and these gunmen, when their usefulness was exhausted, could be arrested, thus giving a degree of credibility to the 'impartial' state forces. The campaign of British-controlled political assass-

sination began in October 1978 when the UDA murdered Maire Drumm in the Mater Hospital, Belfast.

## INVOLVEMENT

In many of the subsequent murders and attempted murders, British involvement became obvious. At the trial of three UDA men, who were convicted of the murder of John Turnley, one of the accused, Robert McConnell, read out a statement outlining how two SAS men had supplied the weapons to his gang and had discussed the movements of Turnley, Miriam Daly and Bernadette McAlliskey.

While the UDA was the medium for British murder in Belfast, it was the UDR, using the cover-name the Protestant Action Force, which conducted a simultaneous campaign in the North Armagh area.

It was not until 1984, when investigations by two independent journalists forced the reticent RUC to act, that a large number of UDR men from Drumadd Barracks were arrested and charged with a long series of sectarian and political attacks including the murder of Sinn Féin activist Peter Corrigan.

The speed with which the RUC were able to arrest this gang demonstrated that the RUC were already well aware of who was responsible for the attacks in the area but were under instructions to allow the gang to operate freely.

Even after the arrest of 13 UDR men from Drumadd Barracks in Armagh, British approval of their activities was pointedly demonstrated in two separate and highly-publicised visits when Margaret Thatcher and the Duke of Edinburgh, Prince Philip, visited this notorious barracks and paid tribute to the activities of the UDR men stationed there.

At present, there are 15 serving UDR members on remand for sectarian and political offences. Five of these, all stationed at Drumadd, are charged with murder.

## SHOOT-TO-KILL

Running parallel to the 'illegal' terrorism of the UDR is the escalating shoot-to-kill policy which has given the UDR, with the other state forces, a free hand to 'legally' murder innocent Catholics.

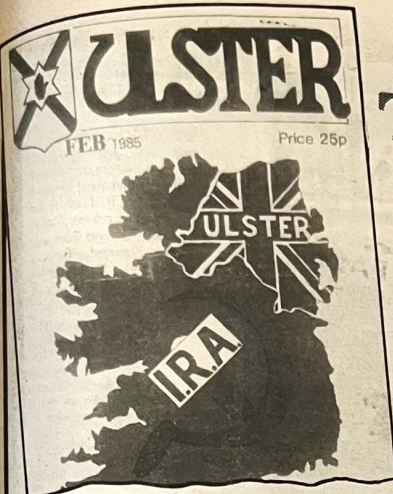
The terrorism of the UDR, within the wide parameters of British legality or otherwise, has led to consistent nationalist demands for the disbandment of the force. Predictably, the loyalist politicians, who in 1969 condemned the disbandment of the 'B' Specials, are today even more vociferous and vigorous in their defence of the UDR.

In terms of their sectarianism, their criminality, their brutality and violence, they have surpassed their illustrious forerunners and have proven themselves a more efficient instrument of British state terrorism.

The UDR, in conjunction with the RUC, may be the brutal instrument of sectarianism and oppression, but it is the artificial six-county state which lies at the heart of sectarianism and in defence of which the UDR acts.

The UDR should, of course, be disbanded, but the only real and permanent solution to sectarianism and violence, whether this comes from the UDR or the 'B' Specials, the RUC or the UDA, is the removal of British imperialism from Ireland and the dismantling of the six-county state.





THE LATEST EDITION of the UDA magazine *Ulster* is yet again a mish-mash of confused ideas, racism and sectarianism. On the one hand there is an attempt to stake a claim on the 1798 Rebellion (the ideals of which were sullied by the Catholics, it says), to complain about the unionist upper classes dividing Protestants and Catholics, and an admission that discrimination took place.

However, on the other hand there are raving and ranting articles on the Knights of St Columbanus, on Catholics in senior positions within the local BBC and UTV in Belfast and a regurgitation of an alleged Jesuit oath which OKs the eating of Protestants for breakfast.

Fairly silly and yet sinister stuff, especially to the minds of the impressionable. The magazine also advertises "Hang the IRA scum" T-shirts and "We hate the IRA" cassette tapes of loyalist songs.

One article proposes a settlement based on all you Northern nationalists going on a short trip in the back of a furniture lorry to new homes south of a line from Bundoran to the border, to allow the beaches of Downies and the fishing port of Killybegs to become part of Britain. If you don't like the twenty-five counties then you can go to Australia or the USA.

"As all the Catholics are moved out of Northern Ireland, the problem will decline and eventually disappear altogether."

All in all, the magazine is a psychological reflection of the muddled thinking of the UDA and must be of some embarrassment to its authors. The caption on one photograph reads "Undercover soldiers—a familiar sight at Ulster's border", which is actually a photograph of two IRA Volunteers reproduced, seemingly unwittingly, from the 1985 Republican Calendar.

In another illustration the designer has accidentally cut off part of the brains of UDA guru John McMichael. He now looks like British pop star Alexis Sayle of Hello John, got a new motor fame.

Now that larger premises are currently being constructed for the gardai in Monaghan, those avid col-

lectors of republican memorabilia, Special Branchmen Lynam and Moroney, have returned to the Sinn

# The Liam Óg column Moronic mish-mash

Fein shop in that town hoping to pick up some items on the cheap.

Under the guise of seizure of illegal matters, they attempted this Wednesday to add some new T-shirts and publications to their already large collection, also taken from the same shop during the run-up to the EEC elections.

Unfortunately, only one T-shirt, proclaiming

"Onwards to Victory — the IRA", was on display in the window and, marked 'M' for medium, it was much too small for these giants of goodwill. Anxious to add extensively to their collection for the 'trophies room' in the new barracks, they promised to return. No doubt they will receive an even bigger *faillte* next time they call to No. 21.

SANDHURST-TRAINED British army officer Peter Smith's graduation into a life of crime came to a sorry end when the bold lieutenant was caught on the roof of a Staffordshire garage.

Having been inspired by an article in a newspaper, entitled *A Burglar's Tale*, Smith returned to England on leave from the Royal Signals in West Germany. He hatched a plan to steal a new £15,000 Mercedes and forged a British services registration document so that he could get the car through customs.

It was said in his defence, and I really believe it, that Peter (who, by the way, was an all-England athlete with a university law degree and who had ambitions to be a policeman) had a last minute change of heart in his initiation into crime as he was parked on the roof of the car showrooms contemplating how to get in. Unfortunately, his change of mind coincided exactly with his being spotted by the police.

When his home was searched, a CS gas grenade-launcher and cannisters were found along with a list of burglar's tools. Peter was given a 12-month jail sentence, suspended for two years, and was ordered to pay £250 costs.

Isn't he going to make frankfurters out of the author of *A Burglar's Tale* when he catches up with him.

TORY HOTSPOT, the Grand Hotel in Brighton, is to be rebuilt and refurbished at a cost of £8 million. The work will be completed by August 1986 and the hotel will be re-opened by British prime

minister Margaret Thatcher in a special ceremony.

One person who will not be on the guest list will be Mr Roy Walsh — the only visitor to the hotel prior to the IRA bomb attack in October

1984 who has not been traced.

And there's been more fall-out from the Brighton bomb.

After the IRA attack on the British cabinet, a special committee consisting of senior MPs, leading parliamentary officials and police chiefs spent months reviewing and upgrading security.

However, on budget day a fortnight ago, two youths (for a bet) dandered into the House of Commons and wandered along corridors and stairs normally blocked off to the public, only yards from Cabinet ministers' rooms. They were stopped before they could ask Norman Tebbit for a light.

Now the British government plans to spend £1.25 million in a protection racket aimed at keeping the IRA at bay.

The new measures proposed include:

- Seven-foot-high perimeter railings round unprotected areas of the palace of Westminster, including Speaker's Green, costing £800,000;

- X-Ray machines at the main Commons and Lords entrances to check visitors' bags and parcels;

- A 10% increase in police and security staff to operate new equipment and carry out extra checks on vehicles entering parliament;

- Infra-red beam devices, alarms and possibly cameras inside Commons and Lords' rooms and corridors;

- Increased random identity checks.

I hope those details turn out to be of some use, given the great lengths I have gone to get them, Mr Walsh.

A CITIZEN of the twenty-six counties who has a grudge against the fire service, the gardai, the customs and butchers' shops got it out of his system in the early hours of last Saturday morning, March 23rd.

The incidents began around 2am with the theft of a 12-ton fire engine from the station at Nobber, County Meath. The driver sped the vehicle across country and took the original and unorthodox step of ramming the small, single-roomed, inoffensive-looking garda station at Castlebellingham until the front wall collapsed and put out a cigarette butt which the station sergeant had forgotten to extinguish before going home.

Sensing trouble in Carrickmacross, County Monaghan, the apprentice fireman (whom we'll call Fred), who had apparently found his vocation in life, and who has since had solidarity groups set up in Divis flats and Coolock, set off across the land again.

The fire engine overtook Sergeant Con Nolan and Garda Roger Judge five miles from Carrickmacross, pulled to a halt and reversed back into their car, for whatever they had done. Just outside Carrickmacross another patrol car, whose occupants must have said something, had their vehicle charged by the 12-tonner.

The fire engine continued to Castleblayney, 30 miles from Nobber, and rammed a customs car driven by an officer who probably stole a pencil off Fred-the-fireman when they went to school together 20 years ago. The customs car didn't stop there, but was pushed through the front window of a butcher's shop in the Main Street.

The engine was discovered abandoned three miles outside of the town around 8.30 on Saturday morning and one hell of a chip had been removed from one citizen's shoulder.

The gardai are not overly concerned about this incident since they bought 324 cars, 25 vans and 40 motor-cycles which they didn't need because they already had 166 new vehicles in stock. However, at the end of 1983 they discovered they had some cash over which they hadn't spent so they decided to really go mobile.

In an incident at Dublin Docks last week, two detectives jumped out of their vehicle and gave chase to a gang of jewel thieves. While they were away, somebody stole their car and it was later found burned out at Sheriff Street.

It certainly is a most distressing country...

THE British armed forces are riddled with supergrass, according to figures released this week. A total of 336 servicemen were convicted of offences involving drugs last year, compared to 122 three years ago.

The number of sailors and Royal Marines convicted of drug offences has fallen sharply over the same period, while the number of soldiers and airmen has got higher, so to speak.





## Imeachtaí

**SINN FEIN  
TRADE UNION GROUP  
MEETING**  
8pm Thursday 28th March  
44 Tala Park  
**SHANNON**  
County Clare  
Ard chomhairle member  
will attend  
All Sinn Fein members  
and supporters welcome

**DUNNES STRIKERS  
BENEFIT FUNCTION**  
Featuring Don Baker  
9pm Friday 29th March  
Meeting Place  
Dorset Street  
**DUBLIN**  
Taille £2 (£1 unemployed)  
Organised by Sinn Fein

**SALE OF WORK**  
1pm Saturday 30th March  
Butt Hall  
**BALLYBOFEY**  
County Donegal  
Organised by Sinn Fein

**FUNCTION**  
With traditional music  
10pm Saturday 30th March  
No. 5 Club  
Blessington Street  
**DUBLIN**  
Taille £1  
Organised by Inner City  
Sinn Fein

**IRISH NIGHT**  
8.30pm Saturday 30th March  
Hogan Stand  
**DUNDALK**  
Taille £1  
Organised by Sinn Fein

**BALLAD SESSION**  
Music by Latch  
Saturday 6th April  
Cassidy's Lounge  
**COLLON**  
County Louth  
Taille £1

**FUNCTION**  
Featuring Union of Hearts  
Easter Sunday night  
Hibernian Hotel  
**CLONES**  
County Monaghan  
Taille £3  
Organised by Sinn Fein

**IRISH CLASSES**  
7.30pm every Tuesday  
Nicholas Court  
**NEWRY**  
County Down  
8pm every Wednesday  
Technical School  
Quay Street  
**SLIGO**

**STRIP-SEARCH  
SEMINAR**  
3pm Sunday 14th April  
Forresters Hall  
**ENNISKILLEN**  
County Fermanagh  
Speakers: Sean McBride, Des  
Wilson and ex-Armagh POW



**EASTER LILY metal badges**  
are available from:  
Republican Publications,  
2a Monagh Crescent,  
Belfast. Tel: 620768  
Price: £1.30 each or 90p each for  
bulk orders over ten.

Republican Publications,  
44 Parnell Square,  
Dublin 1. Tel: 747611  
Price: IR£1.50 each or IR£1.10  
each for bulk orders over ten.



## Missing the point

A Chara,  
A recent story in *AP/RN*  
seems to have missed a very  
important political point in  
trivialising the story about a  
Scottish man who hijacked  
two RUC cars and was eventu-  
ally arrested after a 50-mile  
joy-ride.

Instead of asking silly ques-  
tions like "Where was Rob  
Roy?" "Did Roy surrender?"  
etc, *AP/RN* should have been  
asking how this armed joy-  
rider avoided being shot at and  
was the fact that he was not  
in West Belfast the reason the  
RUC fired no shots at all?

Now that the RUC have  
demonstrated that they can  
arrest joy-riders without shoot-  
ing-to-kill, will this new ap-  
proach apply to nationalist as  
well as non-nationalist areas?  
Why has the media not  
asked these questions? *AP/RN*  
should ask these questions, if  
only to draw attention to this  
example of RUC even-handed-  
ness.

Donal Dennison.

## EEC farm prices

A Chara,  
The EEC farm prices pack-  
age which must be negotiated  
by April 1st threatens severe  
cuts for farmers in the twenty-  
six counties. Farmers who last  
year were caught by the quota  
super-levy system imposed on  
milk were advised to go into  
cereals instead. Now, in March,  
far too late to influence  
sowing, the EEC is threaten-  
ing a cut in cereal prices of  
3.6%. In real terms this repre-  
sents at least a 10% price-fall.  
The price-cuts for grain  
come in a proposed package  
of across the board cuts in  
all staple agricultural products.  
Milk prices are to rise by  
2.5% which means a cut in  
real terms of at least 5%.  
There is a proposed price  
freeze for pig, beefmeat and  
sheepmeat which implies on  
current estimates of inflation,  
price cuts of around 7.5%  
in real terms.

This price package repre-  
sents a reversal of previous  
EEC farm policies, the first  
signs of which were clearly  
evident with the imposition  
of the milk super-levy. The  
EEC and the CAP in particu-  
lar were founded on the  
basis of self-sufficiency in  
food for Western Europe  
which necessitated a policy of  
protection and heavy subsid-  
isation of farm income and  
price. This has led to the food  
mountains. The policy of pro-  
tection is now dead.

For the first time, the EEC  
finance ministers this year  
are in control of the EEC  
agricultural fund. In previous  
years it was the farm minis-  
ters. This change has meant  
that Thatcherite monetarist  
policies of a return to the  
discipline of the price mechan-  
ism and an end to subsidies  
and protection, are the new  
order.

# mála poist



# CONCESSIONS

A Chara,

Once again, the twenty-  
six-county government is  
conceding to EEC pressure  
to give away Irish resour-  
ces. This time it is Irish  
fisheries. The bottom line  
in the negotiations with  
Spain on the terms of their  
accession to the EEC were  
stated clearly by Foreign  
Minister, Peter Barry: he  
would not allow access to  
Irish fishing waters during  
this century.

However, junior minister  
O'Keefe is on the verge of  
conceding that Spanish fisher-  
men would have access after  
ten years.

The history of our nego-  
tiations with the EEC over  
our fisheries has been a cata-

logue of concessions and de-  
feats whereby Ireland's inter-  
ests have been sacrificed to  
those of the most powerful  
countries in the EEC bloc.

The common fisheries pol-  
icy, completed in 1983 after  
seven years of negotiation,  
gave the twenty-six counties,  
which contributed one quarter  
of the fishing waters, a mere  
4.6% of the fish quotas for  
each of the seven main species  
of fish covered by the agree-  
ment.

In reality, the situation is  
even worse: the larger EEC  
fleets ignore with impunity  
the negotiated quota alloca-  
tions and fishery agreements.  
As Frank Doyle of the IFO  
said recently of the Dutch fleet,  
which has already taken twice  
its mackerel quota for 1985:

*"They say that if they are  
caught it doesn't matter be-  
cause if they are taken to the  
European Court, it will be  
four or five years before the  
case is heard."*

Already this year, 14 Span-  
ish trawlers have been ar-  
rested in Irish waters. This  
does not include those Span-  
ish vessels flying British or Irish  
flags! The greatest number of  
illegal fishing vessels caught  
have been Spanish. Last year  
30 altogether were arrested,  
five of them Spanish ships  
flying British flags and one a  
Spanish trawler registered in  
the twenty-six counties.

Spain has the fourth largest  
fishing fleet in the world with  
17,000 vessels. They represent  
70% of the entire EEC fleet.  
Ireland, with only 3,000 ves-  
sels - only 10% of which are

over 100 gross tons - has little  
chance to compete.

And what, it might be  
asked, is Ireland to get in  
return for agreeing to Spanish  
plunder of Irish fisheries?  
What will be Ireland's gain  
from Spanish membership of  
the EEC?

Exports from the twenty-  
six counties to Spain were  
valued at £107 million. What  
reason would we have to ex-  
pect these to increase on  
Spain's accession to the EEC?  
The likelihood is, rather, that  
US and Japanese investment  
will flow into Spain, attract-  
ed by their lower real wages  
and the skilled labour force,  
giving import substitution for  
Spanish imports.

Recent figures for Japanese  
foreign investment in Spain  
show that this is exactly what  
is happening. Japan now has  
more production units in  
Spain than in any EEC coun-  
try except Germany.

It is also certain that,  
with Spanish accession to the  
EEC, what benefits there were  
to be gained through the social  
fund for disadvantaged areas  
will now be spread more thinly  
over a wider area - to the  
detriment of the twenty-six  
counties.

Is it not time, then, that  
the twenty-six-county govern-  
ments drew the obvious con-  
clusion that membership of  
the EEC bloc is detrimental  
to our economic interests?  
They should do this before  
the resources left to Ireland  
are lost to future generations.

Once freed of the con-  
straint of an open competition  
with the largest corporations  
of Europe, Ireland might yet  
be able to develop these re-  
sources for the benefit of the  
whole Irish people.

Sean Lynch,  
Sinn Fein councillor,  
Longford.



## Nicaraguan band

A Chara,

The Heroes and Martyrs of  
San Francisco del Norte is a  
band made up of farm work-  
ers and trade unionists from  
the San Juan de Las Pences  
area of North-West Nicaragua.  
They are all members of the  
Nicaraguan Agricultural Work-  
ers' Union (ATC).

After their arrival at Shan-  
non Airport on Tuesday, March  
19th, their Irish tour started  
in Limerick city where they  
held a press conference.  
During the month of April  
the band will visit Clare,  
Galway, Sligo, Leitrim, Derry,  
Belfast, Dublin, Wexford,  
Cork and Kerry.

They will spend four days  
in Derry over the Easter pe-  
riod, where their visit will  
open with an evening of  
music and political discussion  
in Pilots Row Community  
Centre on Wednesday evening,  
April 3rd. The band will meet  
local trade unionists in the  
Pilots Row Centre on Friday  
morning, April 5th at 11am,  
and on Friday evening they  
will be joined by musicians  
from the local branch of  
Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann  
for a concert in the Gweedore  
Bar.

The band, composed of  
guitars, double bass and accor-  
dion, sing modern lyrics to tra-  
ditional tunes and their songs  
reflect the struggle for free-  
dom of the Sandinistas.

They are named after the  
Sinn Fein Agriculture  
Department.

people of the village of San  
Francisco del Norte who were  
massacred by forces financed  
and armed by Reagan and  
the CIA.

The Sinn Fein Foreign  
Affairs Bureau welcomes the  
Nicaraguan group and urges  
all members and supporters  
of Sinn Fein to attend their  
concerts, details of which will  
be carried in *AP/RN* in the  
relevant issues.

Lucilia Bhreathnach,  
Sinn Fein  
Foreign Affairs Bureau.



## IRIS

Dear Editor,

Please me a small space in  
your letters' column to appeal  
to your readers. I require  
*IRIS* - the republican mag-  
azine, issue No. 3, to complete  
the set I am collecting.

I was unable to get *IRIS*  
No. 3 when it was published  
and have tried all my friends;  
however, none of them have  
it. I would be grateful if any  
of your readers could help me  
with this request, I am willing,  
of course, to pay for it.

Jimmy Loughran,  
Whitaker Gardens,  
Belfast.



# REVIEW

## stranger than fiction

BY AINE MARTIN

POLICE CORRUPTION, the TV presenter informed me, was to be the subject of the Monday film on BBC1. Refusing to believe that such a thing could exist — except for the "few bad apples" we're always hearing about — I tuned in to *Operation Undercover*.

Based (of course) in New York, the film followed the bad fortunes of a super-thick, eager-beaver young cop who was only trying to do his job and who, because of his innocence, becomes the fall-guy for his ambitious superiors when things go wrong.

Without authorisation, the superiors allow an undercover narcotics cop, with the unlikely name of 'Chiclet' (Susan Blakeley), to move in with a dealer in order to get information on his movements. They know that the authorisation would not be forthcoming, if sought, and yet place her in a dangerous situation because a successful operation would earn them

promotion — "I want a district and you want a squad, right?"

The innocent greenhorn ordered to ask questions about Chiclet in the area in which the dealer operates, in order to authenticate her cover as a runaway. Unfortunately, our walking, talking vegetable fouls things up by becoming too eager and, to cut a long story short, blows her to kingdom come by accident.

The superiors, fearing that their unauthorised operation will be discovered, frame Vego with her murder. And he, with his appalling sense of timing, hangs himself in his cell just before the truth is revealed and he is to be freed.

Well, I didn't believe it any way.

Police officers would never use their subordinates as pawns to further their own careers. Internal power politics plays no part in any police force. And the most glaring flaw of all — of course there are no thick cops.

Yes, I'm convinced, it was all pure fiction.

On Tuesday, March 26th, the final episode of the seven-part *Robin of Sherwood* series was screened on RTE1. The series provided a new look at the age-old revolutionary who has endured for decades as the hero of the poor and oppressed.

With its emphasis on the mystical side of Robin Hood's quest for justice in a corrupt state, and accompanied by an excellent music score by Clannad, the series provided colourful and entertaining viewing.

The story ended with the ambush, by the sheriff and

Dear Sir,

Thank you for your letter of the 1st inst.

You seem to me to be rather cross with Newstime, but for the wrong reasons.

It may have slipped your notice in recent programmes falling the Ballinamore shootings, that Newstime questioned in public and on air, the type of machine pistol used, and the calibre of bullet that found their mark in the bodies of members of the security forces. It is a question that has never been answered officially, despite attempts to gain access to such information nor was it revealed at the inquests on these persons.

Bearing that in mind, do you think we have found it easy to have the questions which you asked, answered? We shall continue to ask questions on behalf of the public, but it becomes tedious to repeatedly tell the world that our questions are not being answered.

Yours faithfully,

*David Kelly*  
EDITOR,  
NEWSTIME

4th March, 1985

Ballinamore, Co. Fermanagh  
Newstime  
c/o Ballinamore  
c/o Ballinamore

his thugs, of Robin and his band of merry men. In a very open-ended conclusion, we can only presume that Robin has been killed, as his followers remember the good times they had with him as leader.

Sorrowful yet determined, they resolve to continue Robin's struggle against the forces of oppression and bring justice to the people.

Which only goes to prove — you can kill the revolutionary but never the revolution.

\*\*\*

In recent months, during the course of certain correspondence between an *APR* reader and Peter McNiff, editor of RTE's *Newstime* pro-

gramme, the issue of RTE's coverage of the Ballinamore shootings arose.

In reply to criticisms of biased and unresearched coverage, McNiff stated:

"Newstime questioned in public and on air, the type of machine pistol used and the calibre of bullet that found their mark in the bodies of members of the security forces."

"It is a question that was never answered officially, despite attempts to gain access to such information; nor was it revealed at the inquests on those personnel."

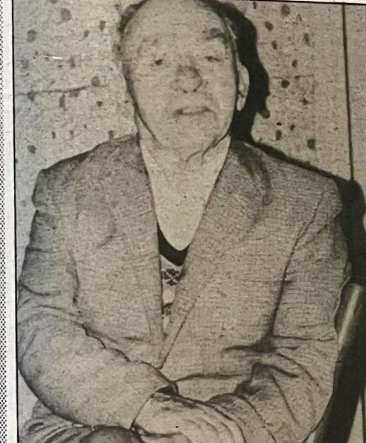
Given this type of private response to inquiries, inferring that there are questions to be answered which have been ignored, why is it that RTE news coverage of the Ballinamore events consistently state categorically that the IRA were responsible for the deaths of both the Free State soldier and the garda?

And why has RTE not issued a statement on the Free State government's withholding of information and condemning same?

McNiff concluded that "it becomes tedious to repeatedly tell the world that our questions are not being answered."

Tedium, it would appear, prevents a fair balance of news reporting.

## Sármholadh do Joe Shéamuis Sheáin



• JOE SHEAMUIS SHEÁIN

### LE DOMINIC MAC DIARMADA

BHÍ ÁTHAS an domhain orm an leabhar seo filíochta a léamh. Clúdaítear na réimsí go léir iontu; an aising, dánta diaga agus cráifeacha, dánta ina bhfuil moladh agus caoineadh.

Tá an dúla i réim síos fríd, cor-laof fíannaíochta agus dán nó dhó eacthaíochta. Saol na ndaoine agus an chumarsáid ag Joe Shéamuis Sheáin, file an leabhair, agus an méid atá le rá aige faoi atá aige sa chnuasach.

I gCois Fharraige a rugadh agus a tógadh an file agus níor breacadh na dánta ariamh síos go dtí go ndeachaigh Peadar Mac an Iomaire i mbun na hoibre. Ar ndóigh, bhí go leor de fhilíocht Sheasaimh i mbéal na seanmhuintire sa bhaile. Mar a deirtear sa reamhrá breá "bheadh an scéin chéanna roimhe agus a bheadh roimh shagart paróiste nó roimh bhean fása."

Tá deich ginn in scór de phoifí filíochta sa chnuasach. Níl dheas do Ghaeil bheith in ann focail mar seo a scríobh,

in LÁ an Bhreithúnaís:  
Is tiocfaidh Mac Muire lú an chuntais,  
Le breithúnaís a thabhairt ar an saol,  
Is lasfaidh an fharraige bhíonach  
Is sílfidh gach dluthcharrag deoir.  
Páganagh, polaiteoir' is Críostaithe;  
Daoine a fuair bás leis an ól;  
Daoine nar choimilín na hailteanta;  
Is treibhe nár baisteadh go fóill.

Tá an bás, an creideamh, an eaglais an tsamhláocht ag sníomhú le chéile sa dán seo. Tá an tsamhláocht chomh gair sin go gcuirfí Wilfred Owen an Bhárla, nó André Malraux i gcumhine, sin go raibh an creideamh imithe in

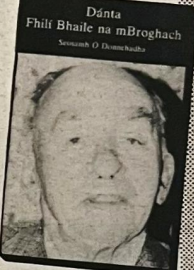
intinn na ndaoine agus ealaíon ina áit, i bhfoirm na filíochta mar atá inti seo.

Ní hé Seosamh a chum iad go léir ach óna bhéalaithris féin a thánagadar. Tá eolas ar áiteanna, ar an stair agus ar an nádúr iona. Is traidisiún beil atá i gceist go bunasach, óir, ní raibh a chomharsona saite sa leitheoireacht i ndiaidh líe cruas oibre ó éirí gríne.

Tá gontacht agus léiriú ar dhroch-chás mhuintir Chonamara in Taltat a sinir a rugaíodh iad fré-chéile as, mar b'éigean doibh faíl ón léirsíochas is ón áir.

Níl móran tracht déanta ar an pholaitíocht, áfach, ach i LÁ na Fola a scríobh se i 1937 tá tairgneacht ann go mbeidh "lá na fola ag teacht is faoi chomhair an dómhain cráite, tá gach náisiún ag feistiú i gceart... nach iomaí fear breá a bheas i bpian... is é mo chrá m'rugadh mé riamh."

Tá buanna na seanfhilí ag Seosamh Ó Donnchadha agus



molaim go mór an leabhar seo. Tá an fhilíocht chomh maith le aon rud atá léite agam leis na dánta. Blas na Gaeltachta, blas an ama atá caite, athrú saoil, brón agus áthas. Bhí áthas orm an leabhar seo a fháil.

Is leabhar an-phreasanta é ach is féidir mótachúin an lathair a bhrath, siúl isteach san aimsir atá imithe thart. Dáan sin.

Dána Phil Bhaile na mBroghach le Seosamh Ó Donnchadha Cló Chos Fharraige. 1984. Níl praghas luaithe.

## music

# Festive experience

BY PHIL TONER

A FORTNIGHT AGO, in a preview of the Dublin Irish Music Festival '85, I mentioned that Macalla, a band of 23 women, would be featured on the opening night.

Their performance lived up to all my expectations and I now hear that they have just recorded a programme for BBC television. It says a lot about the powers-that-be in RTE that they have yet to accord recognition to Macalla, one of Ireland's premier new traditional groups.

The main event of the festival, a concert in the luxurious National Concert Hall, was very well attended and was most memorable for the performance of Dick Gaughan from Scotland. His brilliant — but all too brief — set earned him a well-deserved enthusiastic reception from the audience.

Most of the 'crack' during the festival was to be found in the Harcourt Hotel where there were sessions featuring Jackie Daly, Denis Doody, Jackie O'Connor and Seamus and Manus McGuire. To see musicians of this calibre inspire each other to even better playing in a relaxed atmosphere was an experience not to be missed.

Arty McGlynn, fresh from an Australian tour with Van Morrison, played an incredible set with Nollaig Casey, Mick Hanley, playing with Philip King and Declan McNellis, ended up their session with a rowdy version of *Save the last dance for me*.

With talent like that coming together, all that can be said is — roll on next year's festival.

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Last week I saw a Cork band, The Stargazers, for the first time. There are only three musicians in this band, whose jazz-based vocal material is reminiscent of the fabulous Mills Brothers.

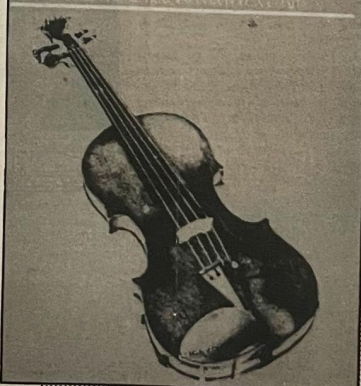
With a wide range of vocal harmonies, The Stargazers released a single titled *Glow-worm* a couple of months ago. Although they have appeared on that awful *Screen Test* programme, don't let that put you off.

The Stargazers are worth going to see and their single is worth buying as well.

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Hotfoot are another jazz band I finally got to see re-

### DUBLIN IRISH MUSIC FESTIVAL '85



cently. They feature Jimmy Faulkner on guitar. His Django Reinhardt impersonation convinces me that there must be a bit of a gypsy in the man. If you like Hot Club,

Stephan Grappelli or Django Reinhardt-type music, then go and see Hotfoot if you can get a chance.

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Does anybody out there remember *Tir na nÓg*? Well, to refresh your memory, that was the name of Sonny Condell's first venture into the music business, a duo that he formed with Leo O'Kelly. *Tir na nÓg* were very popular in the early 1970s, releasing three albums to critical acclaim.

Now that his latest band, Scullion, have bitten the dust, Condell has teamed up with O'Kelly again, and they are about to embark on an extensive tour of Ireland, a tour which is being well advertised with the regular airplay their new single, *Love Is Like A Violin*, is receiving.

Dates for their reunion tour in April include Galway (4th), Ennis (9th), Carlow (10th), Waterford (11th), Trim (12th), Cork (14th), Drogheda (15th), Belfast (16th), Mountmellick (19th), Castlebar (20th) and Dublin (21st).



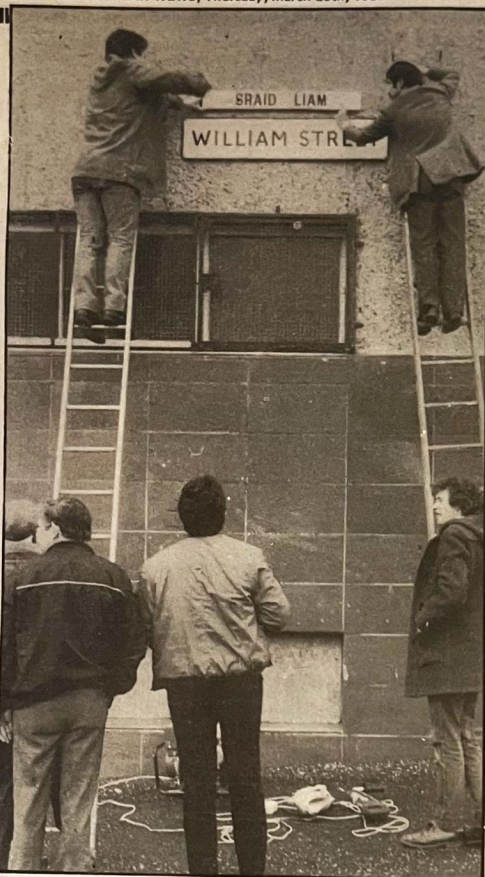
# Gaelic street names

DERRY Sinn Fein Cultural Department took the first step in their project of gaelicising the street names in the city on Monday, March 25th.

Gaelic street signs were erected at both ends of William Street or Sraid Liam as it will now be known. Residents of the street had been petitioned and had warmly agreed to the erection of Irish street signs.

Barney McFadden of Derry Sinn Fein said that the project was part of Sinn Fein's campaign for the revival of Irish culture and added:

"Sinn Fein will pursue this policy of language revival and hope that when we enter the city council, there will be Gaelic names on every street in Derry with in the year."



# Tuarascáil Dooge - tubaist

LE TOMÁS Ó SÉ

TÁ TEIPTHE ar an gComhargadh. Is fuirist an tuairim sin a chruthú i gcás na hÉireann. O ghlacamar ballraíocht ann tá méadaithe ar an mbearna idir thíortha saibhre an láir agus na tíortha bochta, mar Éire, atá ar an imeall. Tá dí-fhostaíocht ag meidíú gan stad.

Fíú agus an teip sin ag stáinadh san aghaidh orthu leanann FitzGerald agus a phupéad Dooge ar brú ar aghaidh le haontas níos laidre a bhaint amach le tíortha an CEE. Foilsíodh tuarascáil Dooge le déanaí. Séard a bhí ann ná tuarascáil ó choiste le hionadaithe cheannairí rialtais thíortha an CEE. Bhí Dooge sa chathaoir ar an goiste sin agus is scanallach a bhfuil ann mar thuarascáil.

Ó thaobh cúrsaí eacnamaíochta de deirtear sa tuarascáil go gcuirfeadh chun cinn mar a deir siad "comhchlaonadh eacnamaíúil." Deir siad go bhfuil gá le polasaithe le sin a thabhairt i gcrích.

## IMIRCE

Ach 'sé taithí na hÉireann de nach bhfuil rialtais na stáit saibhre sásta an t-airgead a chur ar fáil chuige sin. Níl faic sa tuarascáil le fadhbanna eacnamaíochta na hÉireann a leighas.

Ní fíor sin go hiomlán. Deirtear sa tuarascáil go mba chóir go mbeadh "saor ghluaiseacht éifeachtach ann do shaoránaigh na

hEorpa." An t-imirce nó an bád bán a bheas mar réiteach ar áir bhfadhbanna.

Tá sé i gceist leis go gcuirfeadh deirthead leis an gceart crosta atá ag rialtais eagsula. Chuirfeadh sin deirthead le pé neamhspleáchas i gcúrsaí eacnamaíochta atá fágtha ag rialtas na sé chontae fíchead. Tá sé i gceist leis go mbeadh níos mó comhachta ag an bPárlaimint i Strasburg. Céin éifeach, a bheidh ag ocht MEP déag o Eirinn i bPárlaimint de 435 MEP.

Gealladh agus stáit na sé chontae fíchead ag glacadh ballraíochta sa CEE go mbeadh neodracht traidisiúnta an stáit cosanta. Diaidh ar ndiaidh tá an stáit sin á slogadh isteach i gcúrsaí "cosanta".

## NEODRACHT

D'éasaontaigh Dooge leis na moltaí maidir le haontas míleata. Ach moltar sa tuarascáil go dtabharfaí na tíortha le chéile diaidh ar ndiaidh. Sin atá ar siúl agus nuair a chuimhnítear go ndúirt FitzGerald le déanaí i Londain "Sé ar dtuairim go bhfuil Aontas Cosanta na hEorpa oir-



JAMES DOOGHE

línach mar fhóram chun ceist na cosanta a phlé."

Tá Aontas Cosanta na hEorpa ceangailte go foirmeálte le NATO. Má glactar ballraíocht ann is ionann sin agus deirthead a chur le neodracht na sé chontae fíchead.

Tá Dooge tar éis a fhógairt go bhfuil na sé chontae fíchead i bhfábhair páirt a ghlacadh i gcomhdháil eadar rialtais le conradh a dhreachtadh d'Aontas Polaitiúil na hEorpa.

In ainneoin a bhfuil de thubaist is de bhaol sa phlean sin leanfaidh siad orthu. Agus a leitheoirí níl in ábhar an ailt seo ach cuid den baol sin. Molaim do gach duine Tuarascáil Dooge a léamh agus a phlé. Mar ní tubaist go dtí é.

# WORLD VIEW Lebanon

ON THURSDAY, MARCH 21st, the Israeli military command in Tel Aviv issued the following statement:

"Since the morning hours, searches and arrests of terrorists have taken place in two villages. During the searches 20 terrorists were killed."

The cynical attempts by the Israelis to describe men, women and children murdered by their forces as "terrorists" (a blueprint of the US war in Vietnam, where all Vietnamese were potential "terrorists" or "gooks"), is usually accepted by a passive world media, who report Israeli statements as fact.

But unfortunately for the Israelis, during their "search and destroy" mission in the villages of Kfar Melki and Anqum, an "over-zealous" tank commander blew a Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) cameraman and his soundman to bits. The Israeli army brushed aside all protests, coldly declaring that the two media men had "taken their risks".

The fact that the two CBS men were Lebanese and not American made it much more acceptable, allowing the President of Israel, Chaim Herzog, to brush off strong protests from CBS News as "prejudiced and hysterical". President Reagan defended the Israeli action, declaring that the CBS journalists were "working amongst armed terrorists".

The whole situation highlights the desperation of the Israelis as they struggle to maintain their presence in Southern Lebanon. Despite the Israeli government's January 14th declaration of a total pullout from Lebanon, the actions of the Israelis,

with their use of a deliberate 'scorched earth' policy, point the way towards the setting up of a 'security zone' in Southern Lebanon. This will be on much the same lines as the zone that was in operation before 1982, and policed by Major Saad Haddad, only this time directly controlled by the Israelis.

The Lebanese have realised this for a long time, hence the ever-escalating guerrilla war against the occupation forces. In 1984, 1,500 attacks were launched against the Israelis, resulting in over 5,000 casualties, including over 600 Israeli soldiers killed. Since the beginning of 1985 the Israelis have been attacked 500 times — 200 times this month alone — resulting in a rapidly-mounting casualty rate.

With more and more bodies being sent back to Israel, and the cost of this war estimated at 1 million dollars a month and rising, the Israeli administration is coming under extreme pressure to disengage.

But foremost in the minds of the Israelis is Israel's "security", and it is this that is the governing factor in all of the Israeli government's actions.

Thus it comes as no surprise to learn that the US administration has granted financial aid to the tune of 1.2 billion dollars for 1986, and is in the process of granting a further 1.4 billion dollars for this year — a move which guarantees more years of misery and murder for the hopeless Lebanese population.



# South Africa

IN THE AFTERMATH of last week's massacre of at least 19 people in the South African town of Uitenhage, the South African regime has been accused of "summary execution" some of those who were lying wounded after the unprovoked attack by the police.

The cold-blooded killings and the wounding of a further 40, coming as it did on the very day of the 25th anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre, when 69 people were murdered, has brought sharply into focus the evil of apartheid. Despite the fact that March 21st was designated 'International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination' in memory of those murdered in Sharpeville, the South African regime had no hesitation in marking that anniversary by cold-bloodedly firing into a crowd of 4,000 mourners, who were attending a ceremony to mark the deaths of nine other people also killed by the South African regime.

Witnesses to the massacre claimed that they saw the police kicking bodies, and any that showed signs of life were instantly dispatched with a gunshot to the head. The police then placed rocks and stones in the hands of all those they had killed. Those people who had survived the attack were taken to hospital, where a ring of steel was placed around them, and relatives were refused admittance.

A leading campaigner against the apartheid regime, the Reverend Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, described the police action as "summary execution and cold-blooded murder". Boesak was subsequently arrested this Tuesday leaving a demonstration against the massacre.

The South African regime's reaction

was predictable with President Botha declaring "I'm going to keep order in South Africa and nobody in the world is going to stop us." This arrogant position received instant backing from the Reagan administration, when Reagan at a White House press conference justified the action with what was described as embarrassing off-the-cuff remarks. Reagan declared "There is an element in South Africa that wants trouble in the streets", he then declared to a chorus of laughter from the assembled journalists, that "some of those enforcing law and order were black policemen".

This embarrassing outburst was in sharp contrast to other US politicians, including the US Assistant Secretary for African Affairs, Chester Crocker, who stated, "We cannot condone lethal use of violence as a first recourse."

Despite condemnations from politicians in the US, most of it is pure verbalising, none of them want to take any form of action against the apartheid regime, content to support Reagan's policy of "constructive engagements" i.e. no sanctions.

Meanwhile the body count goes up. Over 250 people have been killed in the past six months by the police and the army, 30 of them in the past two weeks. But it appears that the South African regime is as immovable as it was 25 years ago and will be for another 25 years unless the world acts to end the days of this evil administration.



# Tribute to Willie Stewart

THE FUNERAL of the late IRA Volunteer Willie Stewart took place on Sunday last, March 24th, in his native Dundalk. In 1936 Willie joined the IRA and, together with Paddy Dermody, Richie Goss and Paddy Murphy, he operated in an IRA column in the Midlands, taking part in many raids and ambushes.

These included the raid on Gough Barracks in Armagh in the 1950s - which netted the IRA a considerable amount of war materials - and the raid on the Magazine Fort in Dublin's Phoenix Park in 1939.

Following the Magazine Fort raid he had to go 'on the run' along with Richie Goss. Goss was captured in 1940, branded a danger to the state and, after a mock trial, was executed in Portlaoise Jail.

Paddy Dermody was shot dead by the guards Special Branch at his sister's wedding in County Cavan and Willie himself was eventually captured in Drogheda. Tried before a military court, he was sentenced to a long term of imprisonment and 12 strokes of the cat - a barbaric torture weapon with nine thongs of leather, weighted with lead, which lacerated the flesh.

Paddy Murphy received a similar sentence.

## STATUS

Both men were sent to Portlaoise where they joined the fight for political status, refusing to wear the prison uniform and spending five years in solitary confinement as a result.

At his funeral in Dundalk, attended by several hundred people, Willie Stewart's former comrades provided an advance guard while a second guard of honour was formed by members of the Republican Movement. Pádraig Duffy led the cortege and Sinn Féin councillor Fr. Borge chaired the graveside proceedings, introducing Sinn Féin elected representative for Armagh, Jim McAllister, who delivered the oration. Referring to Willie Stewart as "an unswerving republican", McAllister said:

"Willie, and people like him,

did their bit down the years to gain the republic, the true republic. They suffered greatly for it and they sowed the seeds of ideas and ideals which led to the present and final phase of the war for independence.

"Willie was proud of the Republican Movement of today and in it he saw, at last, the movement which would bring to fruition his dream - a democratic socialist republic.

"My own sympathy and the sympathy of the Republican Movement go to his family and friends. Remember, the only true tribute, the only lasting tribute, we can give Willie is our work on behalf of the Irish republic."

# John Martin

BY PETER O'ROURKE

JOHN MARTIN, Young Irelander, journalist and politician, was born at Loughorne, near Newry, County Down, in 1812.

The son of a Presbyterian clergyman, he was educated at Dr Henderson's school in Newry. Here, he first met John Mitchell and a life-long friendship was formed.

In the early 1840s, mainly due to the influence of Mitchell and the teachings of Thomas Davis in *The Nation*, he joined O'Connell's Repeal Association. When O'Connell made it plain that he did not want the radical Young Ireland group in the organisation, Martin, along with Mitchell, helped William Smith O'Brien to found the Irish Confederation.

He supported James Fintan Lalor's radical views on the land question and became a contributor to Mitchell's *United Irishmen*. Following Mitchell's arrest in 1848 and the suppression of his paper, Martin founded the *Irish Felon* to continue the struggle.

His revolutionary nationalist thinking was outlined in the first issue which appeared on June 24th 1848 in which he wrote:

"I regard the Act of Union as a

## REMEMBERING THE PAST

usurpation and refuse to acknowledge the authority of the London parliament. So long as such a 'government' presumes to injure and insult me, and those in whose prosperity I am involved, I must offer to it all the resistance in my power... I hope to witness the overthrow, and assist in the overthrow, of the most abominable tyranny the world now groans under - the British imperial system."

## ARRESTED

Before the third issue was published, Martin was arrested, charged with treason felony and sentenced to ten years transportation in Van Diemen's Land (now Tasmania).

Here he remained until 1854 when he was released on condition that he did not return to Ireland. In January 1856 this condition was removed and

he returned to County Down.

Martin supported the tenants rights movement of the 1850s and 1860s and was a founder member of the Home Government Association of Ireland in May 1870. The following year he was elected MP for Meath.

He became ill immediately after Mitchell's death and died nine days later on March 29th 1875, 110 years ago this week.

# IN DUL CHUIMHNE

**CAMPBELL, Patrick.** (13th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Patrick Campbell, 2nd Battalion, Belfast Brigade, Oglagh na hEirann, who was killed on active service on March 25th 1972. I measaíoch na nGael go raibh a anam dílis. Always remembered by his friends and comrades in the Belfast Brigade.

**CAMPBELL, Patrick.** (13th Anniversary). In loving memory of our dear son and brother Vol Patrick Campbell, Belfast Brigade, Oglagh na hEirann, who died on active service on March 25th 1972. RIP, St Patrick, pray for him. So they laid him in a grave where the weeping willows wave, our son of Ireland brave, farewell to thee. Always remembered by his parents, brothers, sisters and family circle.

**CAMPBELL, Patrick.** (13th Anniversary). In loving memory of my dear brother Vol Patrick Campbell, 2nd Battalion, Belfast Brigade, Oglagh na hEirann, who was shot dead on active service on March 25th 1972. RIP, St Patrick, pray for him. Lovingly remembered by his brother Anthony, sister-in-law Bernadette and baby Anthony.

**CAMPBELL, Patrick.** (13th Anniversary). In proud memory of my dear brother Vol Patrick Campbell, 2nd Battalion, Belfast Brigade, Oglagh na hEirann, who was shot dead on active service on March 25th 1972. RIP, Mary, Queen of the Gael, pray for him. Always remembered by his loving brother Brendan, Josephine and Siobhán.

**CAMPBELL, Patrick.** (13th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my brother Vol Patrick Campbell, who was killed in action on March 25th 1972. RIP, St Patrick, pray for him. I'd give the world if I

could say I'm going to see my brother today. Always loved and remembered by his sister Aine and Manuel.

**CAMPBELL, Patrick.** (13th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of our uncle Vol Patrick Campbell who was killed in action on March 25th 1972. Always loved and remembered by his niece Patricia and nephew Eamonn.

**CAMPBELL, Patrick.** (13th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my brother Vol Patrick Campbell who was killed on active service on March 25th 1972. Mary, Queen of the Gael, pray for him. No longer in our lives to share, but our hearts you are always there. Remembered always by his loving sister Kathleen, brother-in-law Colum, niece Patricia and nephew Eamonn.

**CAMPBELL, Patrick.** (13th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my brother Vol Patrick Campbell who was killed in action on March 25th 1972. To die for one's country is to live forever. Always remembered by his brother Harry, Margaret and Flanna Eirann.

**McCABE, Patrick.** (12th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my brother Vol Patrick McCabe, Belfast Brigade, Flanna Eirann, who was killed on active service on March 27th 1973. I measaíoch na nGael go raibh a anam dílis. Always remembered by his friends and comrades in Flanna Eirann.

# Comhbhrón

**CAMPBELL.** The staff of An Phoblacht/Republican News, Belfast, extend deepest sympathy to our comrade Joe 'Bingo' Campbell and the family and friends of his brother Thomas who died on Saturday, March 23rd 1985. A Muire na nGael déan idir gúir ar shon.

**CAMPBELL.** The Sinn Féin POW Department, Belfast, extends deep and heartfelt sympathy to our friend Joe 'Bingo' Campbell and family on the death of his brother Thomas. Ar dheis Dá go raibh a anam.

**CAMPBELL.** The staff of the Republican Press Centre, Belfast, extend most deep and heartfelt sympathy to our comrade Joe 'Bingo' Campbell on the death of his brother Thomas on March 23rd 1985. A Muire na nGael déan idir gúir ar shon.

**CAMPBELL.** The Republican Prisoners Welfare Committee, transport section, extends deepest and heartfelt sympathy to our friend Joe 'Bingo' Campbell on the death of his

brother Thomas. Go ndána Dia tríocair ar a anam.

**CUNNINGHAM.** The republican prisoners and friends in Long Lartin Prison extend their deepest sympathy to our friends and comrades Busty and Gerry Cunningham on the sad death of their father Robert. Ar dheis Dá go raibh a anam dílis.

**CUNNINGHAM.** The POW Department, Belfast, extends deepest sympathy to Busty and Gerry Cunningham on the death of their father Robert. Go ndána Dia tríocair ar a anam.

**DAWSON.** Sincere sympathy is extended to Paddy Dawson and family on their recent bereavements. From the Barry/McKerr Sinn Féin cumann, Tallaght.

**DIXON.** Deepest sympathy is extended to the family and friends of the late Bill Dixon who died recently. From the Comhairle Aitha Claithe Sinn Féin.

**DIXON.** Deepest sympathy is extended to the family and friends of Bill Dixon who died recently. From the Maire Drumm Sinn Féin cumann, Clondalkin.

# Beannachtaí

**COLLINS, Liam.** (H7-Block). Birthday greetings, Liam. All the best from Geraldine, Peter and kids.

**COLLINS, Liam.** (H7-Block). Birthday greetings, Liam. From the Joseph Cunningham Sinn Féin cumann, Newtownabbey.

**FERRIS, Martin.** (Portlaoise). My best wishes for your birthday on the 28th, Pony. As always, you have all my love and thoughts. From Marie.

**FERRIS, Martin.** (Portlaoise). Have a happy birthday, Daddy. We love and miss you very much. Lots of love from EJ, Oonagh, Tóiréasa, Deirdre and Cianán. XXX

**FERRIS, Martin.** (Portlaoise). Many happy returns, Always thinking of you. The Buffalo misses the Pony. Love from Marie, Buffalo and family.

**FERRIS, Martin.** (Portlaoise). Many happy returns, Martin. Another few grey hairs! From Eileen, Monica and, of course, Gerry too.

**FERRIS, Martin.** (Portlaoise). Thinking of you and all your comrades. We will have a drink for you on the 28th. Best wishes always. Love from Kevin, Maureen, Kerry, Erin

and Sean, Melbourne, Australia.

**FERRIS, Martin.** (Portlaoise). To a sincere and close friend, Martin, happy birthday. We are thinking of you. With love and best wishes from Peter, Siobhán, Shane and Peter; also from Lou. xxx

**GUILFOYLE, Pat.** (Albany). Happy birthday, Pat. From Marie and Gerry.

**GUILFOYLE, Pat.** (Albany). Happy birthday, Patrick. From the George McBearty/Charles Maguire Sinn Féin cumann, Letterkeny.

**GUILFOYLE, 'Tipp'.** Lots of luck on your birthday, 'Tipp. The celebrations can wait for a few months anyway. All the best. From Margaret and Martin Os.

**GUILFOYLE, 'Tipp'.** Congratulations, Tipp. Greetings from Down Under. Hopefully the last one sent behind bars. Regards from Barry and Rhonda, Australia.

**GUILFOYLE, Patrick.** (Albany). Birthday greetings and best wishes for the future. Patrick. From Au Cumann Cabhrach, Walkinstown, Dublin.

**MCGUIGAN, Ellen.** (Armagh). Happy birthday, Ellen. From your brother Joe, Joanne, Michael and Joanne.

**MULRYAN, Pat.** (England). Happy birthday, Pat. Wishing you all the best. From John B., Glasgow.

# PHRASES

Ó am go ham - from time to time.

Ó mháidín go hoíche - from morning to night.

Anois is arís - now and again.

Uair se mhí - once a month.

Ag tús na seachtaine - at the start of the week.

De lá agus d'óiche - by day and by night.

I rith an lae - during the day.

An lá arís mhárach - the following day.

Baithís éille ag an bPárach - there will come another day; there will be another chance.

Cén lá den tseachtain é? - what day of the week is it?

Ar phé seachtaine - on a weekly wage.

Coicís - a fortnight.

I bhfaiteadh na sóil - in the twinkling of an eye.

Tiofaidh ár lá - our day will come.

In am trátha - at the proper time.

San am atá le teacht - in the time to come.

Inné - yesterday

Amárach - tomorrow

Ár inné - the day before yesterday

Ár amárach - the day after tomorrow

Anuairidh - last year

Ár anuairidh - the year before last

## Join Sinn Féin

ANYONE interested in joining Sinn Féin should contact their local cumann; head office at 44 Parnell Square, Dublin, 51/53 Falls Road, Belfast; or 15 Cable Street, Derry. I am interested in becoming a member of Sinn Féin

NAME.

ADDRESS.





# RUC torture proven

BY EAMON TRACEY

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL, the human rights organisation, has demanded that the RUC make public the facts concerning the torture last August in Castlereagh Interrogation Centre of Derryman Paul Caruana (23).

Their demand comes on the day that another Brit cover-up action moves into full swing with the DPP announcing that no criminal proceedings will be instigated against Caruana's torturers.

Caruana was arrested on August 11th 1984, under a seven-day Section 12 order of the PTA. He was taken to Strand Road RUC Barracks and then to Castlereagh. After one day of interrogation, he had to be taken to hospital where he was X-Rayed and had a surgical collar fitted. He was then taken back to Castlereagh where he says he was "subjected to more ill-treatment".

After his release, he received thorough medical and psychiatric examinations, the results of which were given to a delegation from Amnesty International who arrived in Derry on September 17th.

According to the psychiatric reports, Caruana's treatment by the RUC was "above and beyond that which would be considered reasonable and should not be permitted in a civilised society. At present, he is suffering from a severe anxiety state. He did not strike me as being the type of person who would exaggerate his complaints. Physical findings were in keeping with alleged abuses. It appears that a considerable effort was made by his interviewers to cause as much pain and suffering as possible without leaving evidence."

The medical report catalogued a list of physical complaints.

"If the medical examination of Mr Caruana on his arrest is available and does not record any evidence of the bruising as outlined, the only logical conclusion



● Castlereagh Interrogation Centre, Belfast

must be that the bruising occurred while Mr Caruana was in custody.

"The sites, sizes and appearance of the bruising on Mr Caruana's body are consistent with the types of injury he alleges were inflicted on him while in custody."

## EXAMINED

The Amnesty International delegation, which consisted of Jurgen Kelstrup, a doctor from Denmark, and Dick Oosting, a lawyer from Amsterdam, also examined Paul Caruana. In a statement issued on Wednesday, March 27th, Amnesty International said that Kelstrup's report, "concluded that there was consistency between Paul Caruana's account of ill-treatment and the signs and symptoms found".

Amnesty also revealed that, in December 1984, it asked the British government, "to investigate the case fully and prompt-

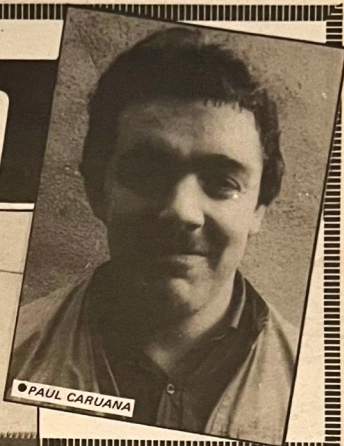
ly, and to say whether the interrogation had been monitored on closed circuit television by senior officers — one of the procedures introduced in Northern Ireland in 1979 after an official inquiry into reports of ill-treatment of security suspects".

Amnesty International also asked for an explanation concerning the lengthy delay in Paul Caruana having access to his solicitor.

In its statement, Amnesty International says that:

"The authorities replied that an internal police investigation had been carried out and the results sent to the Director of Public Prosecutions to decide whether there would be criminal proceedings in connection with the prisoner's treatment. The file would then be sent to the official police complaints board to decide whether there would be disciplinary action."

Obviously unhappy with this procedure, Amnesty emphasised that "the findings of official inquiries should not be confined to the au-



● PAUL CARUANA

thorities responsible for investigating the case". The facts should be made public.

## WELCOMED

Martin McGuinness, Sinn Féin elected representative for Derry, welcomed the Amnesty International report. He said that Amnesty's findings substantiated Sinn Féin's claims of RUC brutality.

"On numerous occasions we have stated that young men and women are being systematically beaten and abused in RUC holding centres and not one churchman, politician or media agency has seriously sought to investigate, or comment upon, our claims."

"Individual Special Branch officers did not decide to reintroduce mass torture on a whim. The decision to engage in systematic torture is sanctioned at the highest levels of the NIO and Thatcher's Cabinet."

"It is clear that the silence of the Irish establishment in the face of overwhelming evidence of RUC brutality is partly responsible for the ease with which ongoing torture has been institutionalised."

"Most importantly, and a fact that we must never lose sight of, is that this young man, under such intense and oppressive interrogation, might have signed incriminating statements inevitably leading to a long term of imprisonment imposed by a judiciary impervious to the fact that torture is an essential and all-prevailing aspect of RUC strategy."

McGuinness ended by emphasising that the prisons of the six counties are filled with people who have signed statements under duress. Amnesty International should now examine that damning facet of British rule in Ireland.

A SPONSORED walk from Downpatrick, County Down, to Dundalk, County Louth, took place on Saturday and Sunday, March 23rd and 24th.

The walk was organised by the South Down Stop the Armagh Strip-Searches Committee and was also in support of the prisoners in Portlaoise.

Five members of the committee, Paddy Fitzsimons, Margaret Fitzsimons, Oliver Mathers, Paula Fettes and Ignatius Wynne, started out from Downpatrick at 7.30am on Saturday morning. They reached Newry at 6pm, where accommodation had been arranged for them overnight. On Sunday morning, they started out for Dundalk.

As the marchers crossed the border at Killeen, they were stopped by a squad of British paratroopers and two RUC men. They were verbally and physically abused and subjected to repeated searches, Paddy Fitzsimons being searched five times. Oliver Mathers was ordered to remove his shoes, and when he refused he was knocked to the ground and his shoes pulled off.

Although shaken by this experience, the group carried on to Dundalk where they were welcomed by Angela Taggart, of the Dundalk Stop the Armagh Strip-Searches Committee, Sinn Féin Councillor Fra Browne, the Dundalk Martyrs Memorial Band

and local Sinn Féin members.

The walk is expected to raise £200 for the campaign against strip-searching, as well as drawing public attention to what is happening in Armagh.

## LIMERICK

Protests organised by local Stop the Armagh Strip-Searches committees took place during the St Patrick's Day parades in Limerick and Shannon.

The Limerick committee, who had prior permission to participate in the city's parade, were nevertheless harassed by Garda Special Branchmen. The 20 people in the protest carried on past the reviewing stand, where Free State Minister for Justice Michael Noonan was among the reviewers. The protest was well-received by many of the large attendance.

More than 30 people took part in the Shannon protest in Shannon town centre later in the day.

The Limerick committee maintains a weekly stand in the city centre as part of its activities to highlight the degrading practice of strip-searching prisoners in Armagh Jail.

# Marchers abused



● Despite RUC and Brit harassment, the South Down marchers (above) finished their sponsored walk in Dundalk while (below) the Limerick protest was successful in spite of garda interference

