



An Phoblacht

REPUBLICAN NEWS

Sraith Nua 1ml 15 Uimhir 9
(Britain 45p) Price 40p

Déardain, 4 Máirt
Thursday, 4 March 1993

IRA



Barracks Buster

THE ARRIVAL of the IRA's latest weapon has deeply worried the British army in the North and it is clear that the new mortars will mean that yet further highly disruptive and hugely costly refortifications of British bases will have to be undertaken.

The latest IRA technical development has made redundant the massive reinforcement programme which the British carried out to their military bases across the Six Counties during the 1980s.

The new Barracks Buster mortar, which devastated the Bessbrook RUC base last Monday evening, was displayed to journalists earlier this week along with a general purpose machine-gun, capable of shooting down

British helicopters.

The military display in South Fermanagh was staged by the IRA unit which attacked the British army checkpoint at Derryard on 13 December 1989. During the Derryard attack the IRA used a flame thrower, two bombs weighing 400lb and 300lb, two RPG7 rocket launchers, Armalite and AK47 automatic rifles, hand grenades, and two general purpose machine-guns. The British position was wiped

out and two British soldiers killed during the attack. Others barricaded themselves into a bunker following an IRA call on them to surrender.

The Barracks Buster mortar launcher can be fitted to a variety of vehicles including tractors, jeeps and commercial vans. This makes for a highly mobile launcher which can be set up and dismantled in minutes.

During the IRA's demonstration the mortar, which has a diameter of 16 inches and measures some four-and-a-half feet in length, was test-fired using 19% stones of gravel. However

the IRA said that the launcher can accommodate anything between 350 and 500lbs of explosives, either commercial mix or Semtex high explosives.

The mortar bomb is fitted with directional aids which guarantee accuracy and has a range of up to 150 yards. It can reach a height of 60 feet, more than enough to take it over existing British fortifications.

There are four different firing mechanisms in the launching tubes. As the mortar comes down on target within the heavy blast walls, behind which crown forces previously thought themselves secure, it explodes on con-

tact. The resulting explosion uses the blast walls to double its force against the main barracks walls.

The irony that British reinforcements such as blast walls are now being used by the IRA to increase the effectiveness of barracks attacks will not be lost on British military chiefs who are now frantically scrambling to find a way of defending their fortifications in the Six Counties. The British will also be deeply embarrassed that the world is aware that in their ongoing war in Ireland the IRA is one step ahead.

— See the British garrison in Ireland p7 to 10.

British forces under siege in Armagh

WAR NEWS

TWO IRA BRIGADES in County Armagh struck with devastating accuracy at the British crown forces in attacks in which two RUC members were killed and an RUC barracks was severely damaged.

IRA Volunteers operating near Moy in North Armagh placed an explosive device underneath a car owned by an RUC member on Wednesday evening, 24 February. The IRA's North Armagh Brigade statement said that Volunteers had the RUC member under observation for several days, and after spending most of Wednesday at Armagh golf club he drove to a public house in Moy shortly before 9pm.

Later at 11.30pm as he drove his car along a narrow laneway off the Lislasley Road outside Moy, the explosive device detonated. Severely wounded in the blast he died a short time later. He had been in the RUC for 18 years.

■ SOUTH ARMAGH SNIPER ATTACK

In South Armagh, the IRA continued to pin down the heavy crown force presence in the Crossmaglen area, when they shot dead an RUC officer on Thursday, 25 February.

The shooting happened at 12.38pm on the Castleblaney Road, 200 yards from the heavily fortified RUC and British army barracks, with its extensive surveillance equipment overlooking the area.

According to the statement supplied by the South Armagh Brigade, Oglach na hÉireann, the British foot-patrol, consisting of eight British soldiers and two RUC personnel, had just left a field and were in the process of

setting up a checkpoint when the IRA sniper with pinpoint accuracy fired a single shot hitting the RUC member in the chest. He died instantly.

The crown forces have admitted that they do not know which direction the shot came from. A British soldier told several local people at a checkpoint that he had one month left of his tour and after that, had no plans of ever returning to Crossmaglen.

"We are not safe on patrol, or in the base," he said, probably referring to the IRA mortar attack which caused substantial damage to the Crossmaglen barracks two weeks ago.

■ BARRACK BUSTER IN ACTION

Another mortar attack, again carried out by the South Armagh Brigade, was launched at the RUC Barracks in Bessbrook on Monday evening, 1 March. Less than 24 hours after the IRA displayed the latest addition to its armoury, two 'Barrack Buster' mortars were launched at 6.30pm from a position close to the heavily fortified RUC barracks in Bessbrook village.

Both explosions were heard up to ten miles away and the IRA statement revealed that each mortar contained 80lbs of explosives. The first of the mortars was launched from the back of a Suzuki jeep with the second being fired from an adapted commercial Ford Transit van.

Both mortars struck the rear of the RUC barracks and blew apart the reinforced steel security fencing, the roof and a section of the barracks wall. Communications were cut off as phone lines and radio masts were brought down by the force of the explosion.

The main oil tank, which provides the heating at the base was also destroyed, as were several surveillance cameras which cover the area, but which did not spot the IRA Volunteers involved in the attack.

Bessbrook is acknowledged by the British army as the most heavily patrolled village in the Six Counties, with checkpoints on all the main routes into and out of the village, but IRA Volunteers managed to bypass them.

Close to the blasted RUC barracks is the British army's main border heliport (the busiest in western Europe) from where British military operations are launched into the South Armagh, South Down and South Tyrone areas. The large number of helicopters (both gunships and troopcarriers), a vital necessity for British movements of troops and supplies in the region, are now very vulnerable to a similar IRA attack.

■ FERMANAGH MORTAR BOMB ATTACK

South Fermanagh Brigade, Oglach na hÉireann, claimed responsibility for a mortar bomb attack on Tempo RUC barracks early last week. The bomb was launched from a commanded van parked 60 yards from the base. It landed inside the perimeter wall of the barracks fortification, but due to a fault

in its firing mechanism it failed to detonate. Local people reported that the crown forces only moved into the area after daylight, with British helicopters providing cover.

■ BELFAST CITY CENTRE ATTACKS

The Belfast Brigade has revealed that following the shooting and serious wounding of a serving member of the Royal Irish Regiment on Saturday, 21 February (when one Volunteer was attacked and forced to open fire to defend himself against two men who had emerged out of a nearby bar) it has become known that both assailants were in fact also serving members of the RIR. The other two wounded RIR personnel apparently demanded to be taken and guarded by the British military in a secure hospital location!

In two daring city centre rifle attacks on British army/RUC patrols at the weekend the IRA forced enemy forces to pull back closer to their fortified bases. In the first rifle attack on 27 February, IRA Volunteers moved into position in the city centre beside the Westlink motorway at York Street near the New Lodge Road area. Operating from a house in the Molyneux estate they waited for a British military patrol to set up one of their frequent checkpoints around the city centre. As the enemy patrol set up their checkpoint, the Volunteers opened up with automatic fire. A total of 20 rounds were fired striking one of the armoured personnel carriers.

In the second city centre attack another British army/RUC checkpoint was the target on 28 February. Less than 400 yards from Belfast's City Hall, Volunteers moved into a position near the checkpoint armed with two assault rifles. Waiting until civilian traffic had cleared the Volunteers opened up a sustained burst of fire. The crown forces quickly took cover and did not return fire.

The Belfast Brigade released details of the arrest of a suspected informer.

The statement said that Volunteers last week held the man for interrogation. Séan Osbourne, from the Twinbrook area, admitted he was working for the RUC's Special Branch and on and off for the past five years. He also admitted accepting various small sums of money from the Special Branch.

Volunteers later released Osbourne within 48 hours. The statement said:

"Belfast Brigade has ordered Séan Osbourne from the Twinbrook area to leave the country after he admitted acting as a Special Branch informer. No other action was taken against Osbourne as we believe he is psychologically exploited this weakness to pressure Osbourne into agreeing to work as one of their agents."

Belfast Brigade reiterated previous statements by saying they would "once again appeal to anyone trapped by the RUC into becoming an informer to come forward and we guarantee they will not be harmed".

■ ENGLAND

Last week saw IRA active service units operating in the north west region of England, and also in London.

In the first multiple IRA bomb attack early on Friday morning, 25 February, three bombs exploded at gas and liquid petroleum holding tanks in Warrington, which lies to the west of Manchester. The gas tanks are situated on a 20 acre site beside a railway line, two industrial sites, and a dual carriageway.

The IRA said that after their Volunteers breached the installation's security fences the first bomb detonated at 4.10am and totally destroyed a massive gas holder. This bomb had been placed halfway up one of the 120 foot gas holders, which contained two million cubic feet of gas. A second gasometer was punctured midway up by the shockwaves from a second bomb.

The third bomb exploded beside ten 80 feet long high pressure gas tanks, which hold natural gas under pressure of 350lbs per square inch. These are stacked horizontally in two layers of five.

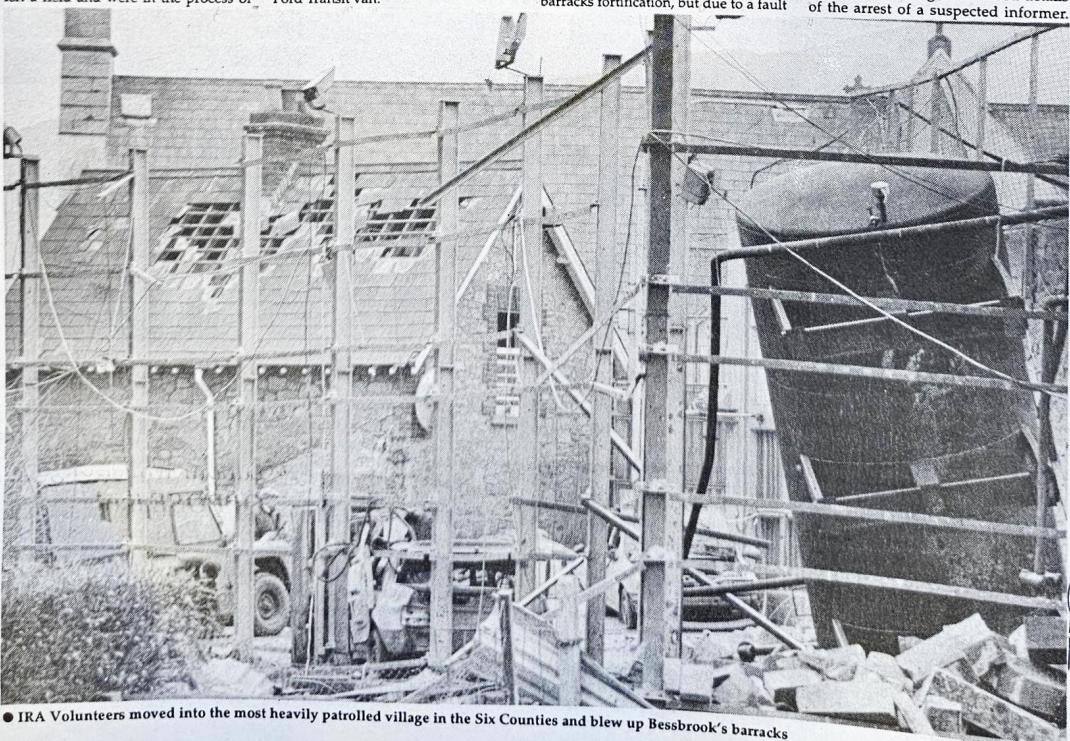
This IRA attack follows a previous bomb attack on 3 December, in Manchester when two IRA bombs exploded causing extensive damage to commercial premises. In 1991 another IRA bomb wrecked an RAF and Royal Navy recruiting office in nearby Preston, with firebombs exploding around the same time in Manchester and Blackpool.

The second IRA bomb attack was carried out in Camden, north London on Saturday, 27 February. Detailing what occurred the IRA said:

"At 12.10pm our Volunteers made coded telephone calls stating that a bomb had been planted outside a food store in Camden High Street. They warned that it would explode in 30 minutes. Three minutes later, secondary coded calls were made warning of a device that had been planted outside a restaurant in Oxford Street.

"In keeping with their long-standing policy the British authorities deliberately failed to act on what were precise and adequate warnings. As a direct result civilians were injured when a bomb detonated in Camden High Street, 40 minutes after precise warnings had been delivered.

"This policy of the British will not deter us from visiting the consequences of their Irish war upon their national territory. But it will, if persisted with, cause further unnecessary casualties to civilians whom our Volunteers are at pains not to place at risk. We again call on the British to desist from this cynical policy."



IRA Volunteers moved into the most heavily patrolled village in the Six Counties and blew up Bessbrook's barracks

News

British rattled by Washington debacle

THE BRITISH did not expect it. They knew of course that there was an Irish-American lobby. But the US political establishment and media had always been by and large pro-British. In their arrogance the British team, including the British prime minister, went to the US unprepared.

The barrage they faced last week in Washington caught them off guard. On Tuesday, 12 senators sent a joint appeal to President Clinton to raise British human rights abuses in Ireland. The next day 34 members of congress made a similar call. Major could not disguise his irritation at a press conference when question after question challenged the British government's handling of Ireland, and in particular its abuses of human rights and the collusion between its forces and the loyalists.

Major's response failed to impress. Rejecting the accusations levelled at his and previous British governments, he tried to lay the blame on the IRA. "The real abuse of human rights in Northern Ireland is the abuse of human rights of people who find bombs in shopping malls when they are going about their everyday business." Back home Mayhew tried to

come to his boss's rescue. Referring to an IRA attack on RUC personnel he said: "I do invite those who are exercised about human rights in Northern Ireland to reflect that these police officers, and many more like them, have lost the most precious right of all."

The Brian Nelson case plagued Major's every step. There again he could not find a suitable defence. In an interview with US journalists on his way back from Washington he had to resort to the old chestnut of 'reactive' loyalist violence:

"The principal problem in Northern Ireland is terrorist activities, and the response to IRA terrorist activity by loyalist paramilitary groups."

This attempt to confuse symptoms and root cause of the conflict, as well as the implications that human rights campaigners were political suspects, only served to further antagonise US politicians, not to mention nationalist

opinion in Ireland. Congressman Joe Kennedy called Major's words on loyalists "unacceptable" and "an insult" to human rights campaigners. Mitchel McLaughlin of Sinn Féin commented that "like his efforts to dismiss the proven human rights abuses of his state, Major's comments reflect the dominant attitude within the British government which perceives loyalism and loyalist violence as allied to the British political agenda and therefore not a threat".

The debate around a US political envoy to Ireland continued throughout Major's visit and beyond. White House spokespersons denied they were about to send a 'peace envoy', rather, in the first instance, a 'fact-finding mission'. This seemed to reassure the British, until Patrick Mayhew started to put restrictions on the facts such a mission could unearth, if it talked to the wrong people for instance. It would be, he said last Sunday, "unwise and undesirable to speak to people who make use of violence for political purposes or who encourage it".

While one could argue that this dis-

qualifies just about everybody in the Irish conflict, including, and especially Mayhew's government, what he had in mind was of course Sinn Féin and all people who hold a republican viewpoint. Given the British government's propensity to extend the label of 'supporter of the IRA' even to lawyers and human rights activists, the US fact-finding mission was in effect being advised to speak only to people who were uncritical of the British government's rule in Ireland.

The probable effect of such an attempt at gagging dissenting Irish voices may well be to further raise in the US the awareness that the British have something to hide, and that there are grounds for some serious and comprehensive fact-finding.

The British have realised this too late. In many ways, and in particular because of his dishonest handling of issues relating to Ireland, Major's trip was a diplomatic flop. Ireland was by no means the only issue — there were many others, from Bosnia to British government interference in the US presidential elections — but the British underestimated its weight.

What the new US administration will or will not do in relation to Ireland remains to be seen, but Clinton needs to retain the support of the Irish-American lobby in the months ahead, and the so-called 'special relationship' as it existed under Reagan and Thatcher is certainly no more.

In Ireland, British defensiveness has already translated into a reaffirming of Britain's unionist agenda. In a speech on Tuesday evening, Patrick Mayhew reassured unionists that the Six Counties had not been pushed "to the brink of the union" and that while a majority wanted it, the union would remain. That would be the case "for the foreseeable future".

Rather than music to unionist ears, which are more attuned to picking up signs of betrayal than of support, Mayhew's words were intended to convince nationalists to shelve their demand for the establishment of an independent Irish democracy. And there is no more chance of the British succeeding in that than in Major convincing US opinion that his government is doing a good job in Ireland.

state's "resources" which was silently, and still is silently, siphoned off from the 26-County economy.

The CSO also admitted they had difficulty in measuring the cash flows because of the ease with which capital can move in the EC single market. This is yet another example of the failure of government policy. They cannot even measure their precious "economic fundamentals".

Jobs go as Coalition sells out

THERE IS ONLY one reason why Digital is shedding 780 jobs from its Irish operations over 12 months — money! Scottish Enterprise had more money to offer than the IDA. Digital could not lose either way. The losers are the Irish and Scottish people, who are the victims of this job market where multinationals sell themselves to the highest bidder, for a limited period only of course.

Two hundred jobs were also lost last week in two engineering firms. Derry and Carlow were the communities that have to absorb these losses. Carlow has an unemployment rate that is already above the 26 Counties' average. The county's major employers are Braun and Greencore. Braun have 1,000 people on site while Greencore employs 350 people in the Carlow sugar plant.

Greencore is the privatised flagship of the Irish agribusiness industry, or at least it was. Last Monday, on 1 March, Greencore sought a 48-hour suspension of its shares from trading on the Dublin stock exchange. The reason was that the Dublin government was looking for a quick sale of its 30% stake in the company.

However the prospective buyers of the Greencore shares are not the Irish pension funds and financial institu-

tions who normally swoop in for the kill at such a share offering but US Agribusiness giant Archer Daniels. Archer Daniels are looking for a European "acquisition". Why? Because there is a lucrative market to be exploited in the EC.

The question is why are the Dublin government not prepared to stay the course using their already reduced stake in Greencore to provide Irish agriculture with a vehicle to fulfil its commitments in the Programme for Government? The programme commits the coalition to "encourage the development of a modern, efficient high quality competitive agriculture and food industry". The Dublin government also promised to "maintain the maximum number of viable farm households" and "implement a development pro-

gramme for the food industry".

The coalition have decided not to wait for the "expert group" set up to produce the development programme for the state's food industry. Instead they are preparing to sell Greencore shares to raise money to put funds into Aer Lingus.

The proposed Greencore sale exposes yet again not only the failure of the coalition's programme but also their collective lack of faith in their own plan. The contradiction was accentuated by the pathetic sight of Ruairí Quinn on his begging mission to Boston asking Digital not to pull out.

The Dublin government were prepared to pull out all the stops to keep the Digital jobs in Ireland, despite the fact that it has been shedding jobs since 1989. The new round of redundancies means that Digital has now laid off 80% of their workers in Ireland.

However, it seems that the same government can't wait to off-load Greencore in exchange for hard cash.

Albert Reynolds has been strangely silent since the coalition took office, as has Dick Spring. Apart from utterings

on Articles Two and Three, the top two are silent. Reynolds did appear in Leinster House Wednesday, 3 March, telling us that he would "ensure that the full resources of the state" would be used to create jobs in Galway for the Digital workers.

It was a good soundbite but in the same breath he was legitimising the sale of some of the said resources by offering up the Greencore shares. Even more damning was the disclosure from the Central Statistics Office (CSO) last weekend that they had overlooked billions of pounds taken out of the state over the last seven years — something which Sinn Féin has been highlighting for years.

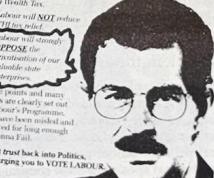
Hundreds of millions of pounds are annually taken out by international firms in management fees and charges for research and advertising. The miscalculation in 1986 was £10 million, £300 million in 1987, rising to a massive £566 million in 1990. This was wealth created using the

■ BY NEIL FORDE

An important message from Dick Spring

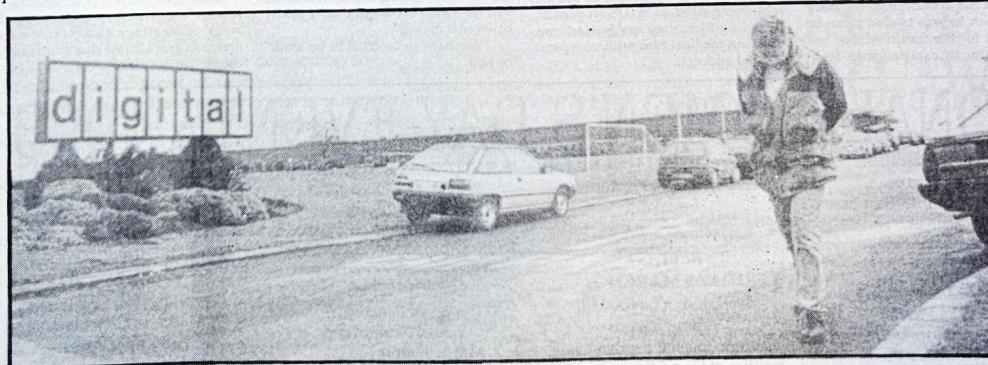
Fionnán Fail lies and distortions are dangerous. They are knowingly spreading these lies about Labour's policies to scare you away from change. To set the record straight:

- Labour's plan calls for a REDUCTION in income tax.
- Labour has NO plans to introduce a new property or house tax.
- Labour will NOT reduce mortgage interest rates. In fact we will increase them at a much faster rate.
- Labour will NOT introduce a Wealth Tax.



LABOUR

- Labour will strongly OPPOSE the privatisation of our valuable state enterprises.



• Irish workers' jobs were sold out to the highest bidder

News

Munitions washed up as Sellafield leaks again

■ BY LIAM O COILEAIN

SVENTY TWO deadly phosphorus canisters were washed up on beaches of the Isle of Man last week. The Isle of Man based Celtic League organisation has demanded that the British government admit exactly, what amount and what type of military munitions have been dumped in the Beaufort Dyke dumping grounds on the floor of the Irish Sea.

Firefighters and bomb disposal experts called in to deal with the waste wore full protective clothing throughout the operation. A spokesperson for the firefighters later said that the type of bomb disposal experts handled the canisters it seemed that they had not been out of the water for at least 30 years. Firefighters later destroyed the canisters through controlled burning.

A spokesperson for a navy base just north of Edinburgh, said that their divers had also recovered about three dozen canisters from the Stranraer area. A spokesperson said that "things are being washed up around the coastline all the time, particularly after bad weather. Our divers say there is enough ordnance from the first and second world wars around the coast to keep them busy well into the next century".

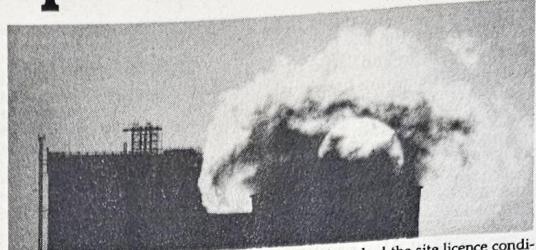
The British Ministry of Defence has admitted that it dumped munitions in the Beaufort Dyke dump up until 1974. The Celtic League is worried that other chemical based material may also have been discarded. It has also demanded to know the exact details of the quantities of material dumped and the type of these explosives. There have been at least nine incidents of military munitions being washed up on the shores of north Antrim in the past 12 months alone.

"It is vital not only for the public but also for the emergency services

that an accurate inventory of the dump contents is given," said League General Secretary Bernard Moffatt in a letter to the British Secretary of State for Defence. "Materials dumped by the Ministry of Defence in much smaller dump sites off Scotland have been shown to migrate due to the effects of weather and tidal patterns. The Ministry owes it to the coastal communities around the North Irish Sea to come clean about the Beaufort dump and also take whatever steps are possible to stabilise it."

The other major threat to the Irish Sea and those who live around it has been in the news fairly constantly for the last few weeks. On Thursday, 25 February, a visit to Dublin by a top level British team to reassure 20 members of Leinster House of the safety of Sellafield and the benefits of the proposed Thermal Oxide Reprocessing Plant (THORP) coincided with news of yet another radiation leak. This was only the latest in a series of recent accidents and abnormal discharges at the plant. The previous leak occurred just two days after the Dublin government presented a document to its British counterpart calling for the closure of Sellafield.

Speaking in Dublin, David Bonser, director of THORP, delivered the usual line that the accidental emission of radioactive material through a ventila-



tion stack was "higher than normal" but within safety limits. The British team in Dublin was led by the British ambassador to Dublin, David Spiby-Blatherwick.

The Irish delegation was reportedly unimpressed by the efforts of the British team to defend Sellafield and their plans for the THORP reprocessing plant, which would process radioactive waste from all over the world. All material would have to pass through the Irish Sea before reaching its destination.

British Nuclear Fuels Limited was also convicted in February of violating nuclear safety rules at Sellafield. The court case followed an investigation into an incident in a building which stores highly radioactive waste.

A heavy radiation shielding door had inadvertently been left open at a flask containing highly radioactive waste was raised. The potentially fatal accident occurred despite an interlock system intended to prevent the raising of material unless the safety doors are securely in place.

In court BNFL pleaded guilty to four charges brought by the British government's Nuclear Installations Inspectorate, alleging that the compa-

ny had breached the site licence conditions at Sellafield. This is the company's third conviction for violating safety regulations.

Even British Department of the Environment ministers and officials have become increasingly frustrated with BNFL over the delay and minimal information they have been getting about leaks.

Last week the British minister responsible for the environment and countryside, David Maclean, used the unusual means of a written answer to a parliamentary question to release figures showing that, in one day last month, through one discharge stack, Sellafield had released nearly ten times as much plutonium as is usually discharged in a year. The British minister described the plant officials' failure to inform the local MP, who was visiting the site at the time of the leak, as "a rather extraordinary courtesy".

The environmental group, Friends of the Earth, has revealed that BNFL is looking for a six-fold increase in the permitted levels of radioactive emissions at Sellafield into the Irish Sea and an eight-fold increase in air emissions to facilitate reprocessing nuclear waste at the THORP plant.

A firm of consultants hired by east coast local authorities to object to the plans to expand Sellafield has also accused the British government of making misleading claims about projected radiation levels from the proposed THORP expansion.

Large and Associates told Dublin County Councillors on Monday, 1 March, that they had evidence that the British figures were "poorly constructed, misleading and in error" and that, despite British claims that there would be a reduction in radiation from discharges, there would actually be "significant increases". The company has demanded that all nuclear activities at the plant be stopped, pending a full public inquiry.

On Tuesday, 2 March, a deadly shipment of plutonium left the Scottish port of Dounreay in Scotland, en route to Sellafield. A protest organised by Greenpeace delayed the sailing by two hours. The 27-year-old ferry was carrying 20 tonnes of flasks full of plutonium waste. The ship was scheduled to pass within 15 miles of the County Antrim coast on Wednesday, 3 March, before arriving at Sellafield at 6am on Thursday. There have been 30 such plutonium shipments in the Irish Sea in the last 20 years.

British Nuclear Fuels claim that the flasks would be safe even in the event of a shipwreck, but this claim is based on a safety test in which a flask was submerged in 200 metres of water for several days without leaking.

These are exactly the kind of potentially environmentally disastrous shipments which would increase if the THORP expansion to Sellafield goes ahead, as ships from countries throughout the world carrying nuclear waste would converge on the Irish Sea.

DRUGS CRISIS VICTIMS SPEAK OUT

■ BY LIAM O COILEAIN

AS THE CAPITAL'S drugs crisis continues to grow the plight of drug addicts and HIV sufferers in Dublin was graphically illustrated in Ballymun recently. A community worker who contracted the HIV virus and a recovering drug addict spoke to the crowd of up to 60 people at a meeting held as part of an awareness week in the area.

The events organised by the Shangan Community Council included a series of meetings, as well as poster and essay competitions in local schools. Introduced by local primary school principal, Tom Hickey the first speaker, a local community worker, gave a brief account of his life, telling how he came to experiment with drugs while he was abroad.

"I put it down to having a very

adventurous personality," he says. It was only years after he had given up drugs and returned home, getting involved in working for his local community, that he found out he was HIV positive. He went for a medical examination and had a blood test. The manner in which he was treated when he went back for the results of that test has led him to campaign to fight

against the paranoia associated with HIV and AIDS.

When he went back for the results the doctor was hostile, accusing him of putting hospital staff at risk by not telling them beforehand that he was HIV positive. This was the shattering way he found out he had the virus two and a half years ago. He said that it took him a year and a half to come to terms with the news. This was the first time he had spoken to a group in public about his condition.

He said that his most pressing concern was to campaign to raise awareness about AIDS and HIV, in particular against the practice in Ireland of placing the bodies of people who have died of AIDS in plastic bags in which they are buried and marking medical files with conspicuous red stickers.

The second speaker, Andrew Kindlon, said he became a "one-man crime wave" because of his drug addiction. He became addicted after he took up drug-taking with his friends. He described his family's desertion of him as a demonstration of "tough love". This led him to the Coolmine Centre and a course which he has now successfully completed. His was a success story and he has been free of drink and drugs for three years. He is back with his girlfriend and child and has rebuilt his life.

There were those in the audience who were at their wits' end because members of their family were addicted to drugs. Kindlon advocated a tough attitude by families. He explained to one worried mother that he became so good at convincing his own mother that he wasn't on drugs that "I nearly believed it myself".

"You have to be cruel to be kind," he said.

Queenie Barnes, a legendary community worker in Ballymun, briefly gave parents guidelines on how to approach their children if they thought they were taking drugs and how to find out if they actually were. She told any concerned parents that they could receive help by contacting the Ballymun Youth Action Project, telephone 8428071.

The Secretary of Shangan Council, Noel Martin, explained to AP/RN later that the group hopes to help organise similar events throughout Ballymun. One immediate problem which they currently have is that residents no longer have any control over who gets flats in the area. As a consequence, drug pushers who have had to leave other areas, have managed to get rehoused in Ballymun.

Sinn Féin Ballymun representative Eileen Murphy, has welcomed the week of meetings as a positive step and congratulated the community council on its work.

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY EVENTS 1993

■ FRIDAY 5 MARCH

Women's Aid Helpline Benefit Night,
8pm, Whelan's, Wexford Street. Tickets £4.

■ SATURDAY 6 MARCH

Picket against Strip-Searching,
2.30pm, O'Connell Bridge, Organised by Irish National Congress

Day of Celebration,

12 noon to 6pm,
Connolly Hall, 43 East Essex Street.

Organised by International Women's Day Committee

■ MONDAY 8 MARCH

Public Meeting,
Changing Politics in Ireland — A Woman's Place,

7.30pm, ATGWU Hall, Middle Abbey Street. Prominent Speakers

BELFAST

■ FRIDAY 5 MARCH
Workshops, Conway Mill
From 12.30pm
Culture, loyalist death squads, politics of Sinn Féin, repression,

■ SATURDAY 6 MARCH

Workshops, Conway Mill
From 12.30pm
Plastic bullets, equality, justice. Radio SF broadcasts 11am to 4pm. Includes interviews with women political activists.

Social Function,
7.30pm Cultúrlann MacAdhaimh/O Fiaich, Broadway.

■ SUNDAY 7 MARCH

Commemoration of women who died in the freedom struggle,
12 noon, Milltown Cemetery gates.

Women Against Oppression
March to City Hall, Assemble 2pm, Dunville Park.

News

Dungannon SDLP confused over RUC

SINN FÉIN Councillor Francie Molloy has called on the SDLP members of Dungannon District Council to clarify what exactly is their party's view of the RUC. Molloy was responding to a statement last week by Anthony McGonnel a senior member of the local SDLP in which McGonnel called for the replacement of the RUC. He stated that the force would never be acceptable to the nationalist people.

Molloy pointed out that only two weeks previous McGonnel's party colleague and SDLP vice chair of the district council, Vincent Currie, had attended an RUC dinner dance in the Inn on the Park in Dungannon. Molloy continued:

"This obvious contradiction needs to be explained. Is it that Currie is a maverick within his own party or McGonnel out of line with party policy?"

Newry and Mourne language victory

IN A MAJOR STEP FORWARD for the Irish language, a speaker from Bord na Gaeilge was invited to address a meeting of Newry and Mourne District Council in Irish. A simultaneous translation system was used for this part of the meeting which was recorded by the BBC for transmission next week.

The chairperson of Bord Na Gaeilge, Micheal O Muircheartaigh, congratulated the council for its work to date and also had praise for Derry Council for its work on the language. He said that the language belongs to all and can in fact be a bridge across the political divide.

Sinn Féin Councillor Brendan Curran speaking in Irish told the council that he was proud to be a part of the historic occasion. Fellow Sinn Féin Councillor Jim McAllister also welcomed O Muircheartaigh to the council. He said that it was a very historic occasion to hear our native language in full use at the council meeting. He congratulated all concerned:

"Since the formation of its Irish language committee, following a Sinn Féin proposal, Newry and Mourne have been to the forefront in the promotion of Irish."

McAllister went on to say that it was noteworthy that initial unanimous animosity to the language committee and use of the Irish language within the council had been defused and O Muircheartaigh had been courteously welcomed by all.

Sinn Féin spokesperson on culture Bairbre de Brún described the inclusion of the Irish language in the council meeting "as an example which hopefully will be followed by other councils". De Brún pointed out that the Irish language belonged to everyone on the island of Ireland.

Derry disabled action

A SINN FÉIN motion in support of better access for disabled drivers in Derry city centre received an enthusiastic reception at Derry City Council last week. Proposing the motion Sinn Féin Councillor Brendan McFadden called on the council to recognise the deprivation and inconvenience imposed on disabled people in the north west by the difficulties they face in gaining access to many premises in Derry city.

McFadden called for funds to be made available for this purpose through the Urban Affairs Office's Regeneration of Business Grant. He also proposed that the council host a public forum on the issue, inviting contributions from the DOE's Development Office, the local Chamber of Commerce, PHAB, Disability Action and others to discuss an action programme. The motion was overwhelmingly endorsed by the council.

Lisburn housing crisis

SINN FÉIN COUNCILLOR Pat Rice has called for "significant government funding to be

■ COUNCIL ROUND-UP

invested urgently to produce the many more homes originally planned under the Poleglass development but which were never built because of unionist objections".

The councillor was commenting as the last families were being rehoused in the newly built Ardkeen area of the estate bringing the number of dwellings in Poleglass to 2,000. Rice continued:

"Originally conceived over 20 years ago to house the overflow from West Belfast, unionist opposition and the British government's acceptance of their demands ensured that the original scheme of 8,000 dwellings was cut to 2,000. In the two decades that the Housing Executive has taken to reach even that 2,000 target, the housing problems in West Belfast have continued to worsen."

Pointing out that this is even failing to address housing needs within the immediate Poleglass area, let alone the original target of addressing the housing crisis in West Belfast, Rice continued:

"It is a scandal that in three years of allocations no one from the B1 list has been housed in Poleglass. Only those on the emergency housing A category lists have been housed. Currently there are 340 families on the B list, some of them for more than ten years. However with 80 families still on the emergency list and with no new housing development scheduled for almost two years, it is quite clear that the housing crisis in this area and consequently in West Belfast is going to get dramatically worse."

Omagh GAA teams honoured

OMAGH District Council officially marked the All-Ireland success of the Tyrone Under 21 and Donegal senior Gaelic football teams. Top officials from the Tyrone and Donegal County GAA boards praised the council's decision to commemorate the success of the teams after a similar plan was controversially shelved by Fermanagh District Council last Autumn.

At a special reception in the Grange last month, management officials and members of the two teams were honoured. The reception was attended by local Sinn Féin Councillors Patsy McMahon, Barney McAleer, Seán Clarke and Francis Mackey who congratulated both teams on their "excellent all-Ireland victories". Describing the GAA as an amateur organisation "whose training, commitment and dedication matches that of any professional set-up" Councillor Clarke said that the GAA teams had brought honour to their counties.

Omagh is the second council to officially commemorate the success of the two teams who scored national success last summer.

Belfast RVH defended

B ELFAST Sinn Féin Councillor Seán McKnight met with senior members of the management at the Royal Victoria Hospital this week. In the latest in a series of meetings to discuss the future of the West Belfast hospital, McKnight expressed the deep concerns of the community.

Speaking after the meeting, which was also attended by Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams, McKnight said that the Sinn Féin delegation had expressed particular concern about the proposals of the Eastern Health and Social Services Board to close the accident and emergency services at the RVH and the wider issues of the job losses and the detrimental impact of that on the local economy. He continued:

"The Royal is a major centre of excellence, a centre for teaching and research and centre for regional specialities. It will be eventually closed if the Board's proposals are implemented."

McKnight said that at the meeting Sinn Féin had pressed the management to clarify its position and to ensure that the local community are fully informed of the management's attitude:

"The battle to prevent the closure of the accident and emergency service can be won if those with a genuine concern, including the hospital management, health unions, general practitioners, community groups and political parties campaign vigorously against the Board's proposals."

ANY CATHOLIC WILL DO

■ BY NEIL FORDE

"There has been a pattern throughout the last 20 years of periods of controlled assassination, a pattern that rises and falls in response to particular events". This was the theme of a lecture to the Dublin '68 Committee by Frank Doherty. Doherty has worked as a reporter on the *Andersonstown News*, the *Sunday World* and as a freelance journalist.

"The war in the Six Counties is not a traditional war" maintained Doherty. "It has a remarkably low casualty rate". It is an intense war nevertheless.

Doherty outlined the influence the British authorities have on the portrayal of the conflict in Ireland. They have access to the BBC and especially its World Service broadcasts, which are used as a news feeder for radio and TV broadcasts all over the world. Reuters and British broadcast papers are also used to feed the British position on the conflict across the world.

They used this media power said Doherty "to demonise the IRA". British counterinsurgency did not stop at propaganda, said Doherty. The British were surprised by the IRA resurgence in the early 1970s. Doherty maintains that by 1972 the British realised they could not confront the IRA, so they set out to terrify and subdue the Catholic population.

Doherty outlined how his analysis of the last 20 years of loyalist murder campaigns shows that they have been in fact orchestrated by the changing needs of the British intelligence services.

The catalogue of killings show the British involvement conclusively. The hallmarks found in the '70s continue through to the present day. He

instanced factors such as the accuracy of fire in particular killings which indicates that the assassins would have had military training. In the early '70s many cars used in killing of nationalists had been taken from the British military car pound in the grounds of the Royal Victoria Hospital.

Special units attached to the intelligence services have been used at different stages to orchestrate the killings. Serving and former British soldiers have been convicted of involvement in murders maintained Doherty. He went on to give examples of people such as Captain Jim Magregor, convicted in 1974 and two other convicted serving soldiers Albert Baker and Davy Nelson.

Doherty continued his analysis through the 1970s into the shoot-to-kill period, Brian Nelson and the ongoing murder campaign today. His lecture was a highly personal narrative of the last 20 years. However the most valuable point he made in his address was that in the 1970s many Catholics were crying out for the RUC or British army to keep these death squads at bay. Their calls were answered not only with an intensified campaign which still persists today, but with a more refined system of control and collusion with that campaign at various levels by British forces.



ISSUE WON'T GO AWAY

PICKETS were placed last week on all four of Dublin's Issue clothes shops. All of Issue's permanent workers are on strike. The shops are now being run by managers, their relatives and part-time scabs, while a contract security firm has been hired to replace sacked staff.

The strike was initiated in the wake of the alleged voluntary liquidation of Issue by Mirror Mirror Purchasing. This company ran the shops under licence from Issue UK, but within days of the liquidation the shops reopened under the same name, the same management, the same stock, and the same British head office.

Sixteen people lost their jobs after eight years of service to the company. They were offered no redundancy payments. Arrears owing in holiday pay were unpaid. The company have refused to enter negotiations with the workers union IDATU. Instead they have started High Court action to stop the legal pickets.



An Phoblacht

REPUBLICAN NEWS

4 MARCH 1993

A REMINDER OF WOMEN'S OPPRESSION

ON THE FACE OF IT, the lot of Irish women has improved dramatically over the last 20 years. Rights to the family home; rights to equality in employment; rights to social welfare allowances and unemployment benefits and assistance; access to contraception; the right to bar violent husbands from the family home, all were unheard of 20 years ago. These rights were all gained as a result of women fighting for them, and not letting up until they were achieved. Legislation covering all these matters are on the statute books of the 26 Counties. We have come a long way, on the face of it.

But then the lot of Irish women like that of the young Kilkenny woman subjected to 17 years of ferocious sexual and physical assault by her father shatters all our perceptions and catapults us all back to a world of fear, pain, humiliation and dependency. The one from which we began our struggle for equality.

What matter, on International Women's Day 1993, that a woman holds the high office of president, that there are 28 women TDs in Leinster House, that women have equality on the statute books in so many areas, when there is even one woman or child living through such a nightmare of abuse? And the Rape Crisis Centre, the Irish Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children and other bodies have said that this case is but the tip of the iceberg, that such appalling stories are not unusual.

But we must not allow all the gains, so hard won and determinedly fought for, seem belittled in our despair, in the horror that these things can still happen. We have come a long way. We will not go back. There was a time when such a story would never have come to light. This is not to exonerate a society and its officials that allowed this young woman to suffer in silence for so long.

The price of freedom is eternal vigilance. Our freedom depends on ensuring that the rights we have fought for are not words on paper or benefit only a few privileged women. Until the laws to protect us are implemented, those gains will have no real meaning and will not guarantee equality until they are accessible to, known by and protect the weakest, the most silenced and most vulnerable.

Women in Ireland, Sinn Féin's policy document on women's rights, gives the clear message that our society often tolerates, and even considers normal, violence against women and children in the home. It says:

"Domestic violence", the repeated assault on women by the men with whom they live, is a hidden problem in Ireland. The lack of official statistics and detailed studies mean that we can only guess at the extent of this form of violence. Women for a number of reasons do not easily admit to being beaten in their home and only seek help under extreme duress. Some women never seek help. Evidence from community workers and the small amount of research available suggests that violence against women is widespread.

"Women in violent relationships need access to housing, (or rehousing) independent social welfare payments and other support services including free legal aid. Women's lack of resources and the failure of society to censure marital (or domestic) violence all contribute to trapping a significant

News

Loyalist double-killer released

THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT is at the centre of a row over the release of a Derry UDA member who was convicted of the murder of two Catholics.

Loyalist double-killer, Leonard Campbell, had been convicted of killing two Derrymen Kevin Mulhern and John Toland who were shot within weeks of each other in late 1976.

Campbell's release from Maghaberry Prison has once again brought into sharp focus the British government's lenient attitude to pro-British killers. This leniency must also be seen as another dimension of the collusion that exists between the British government and these killers.

Describing herself as "devastated", John Toland's widow Marie Newton went on to say she was "very bitter and very sad" to hear of Campbell's release.

Campbell first came to prominence in 1983 when he was sentenced to 16 years imprisonment for his part in a series of farmhouse robberies in the north County Derry area. He was part of a nine-strong gang that broke into

the farms of elderly people in isolated areas. One man, 74 years old James Donaghy, was found dead the morning after his home was raided.

A co-accused of Campbell, John Magee, who hanged himself in his cell, left a suicide note saying that Campbell, pistol whipped Donaghy.

In 1986, three years into his sentence, Campbell admitted his part in the Mulhern and Toland killings. Almost immediately afterwards the RUC and Campbell struck a deal in which he was offered leniency in return for information. It was also reported that Campbell received £40,000 as part of the deal.

Campbell gave evidence at the trial of a number of men, although his evidence was subsequently discredited after it emerged that one of those implicated was in jail at the time the offence occurred.

It was in October last year that Campbell's case once

again made headlines. He went on a hunger and thirst strike because he thought the Northern Ireland Office (NIO) had reneged on the deal he made when turning informer. Minutes after a visit from two NIO officials Campbell ordered a meal.

Now, only seven years into his life sentence, Campbell has been released. A loyalist prisoner smuggled a letter out of Maghaberry saying he had been released. A former neighbour of Campbell's, claims he saw him in Aldergrove Airport in the company of two men thought to be either RUC officers or NIO officials.

Condemning Campbell's release Sinn Féin's Waterside spokesperson, Gary Fleming, called it "an act of utter contempt for the families of the victims".

The issue of the political manipulation of the release system for prisoners serving life sentences has once again been highlighted by the Campbell case. In the past year, eight republican prisoners have been recommended for release by the Life Sentence Review Board, only to have the decision overturned by NIO prisons minister Michael Mates.

PTA move rejected

MOVES by the British Labour Party to end its ten year opposition to the renewal of the Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA) by developing a "cross-party consensus" with the British Tory party were rejected by the British government last week.

Speaking at Hull University the Labour Party front bench spokesperson on the Six Counties, Kevin Mac Namara, criticised the British government. He said "it seems to work on the assumption that the greater the powers under the Prevention of Terrorism Act, the greater the infringement of civil liberties, the more effective the legislation will be".

Mac Namara indicated that the British Labour Party was willing to abandon its opposition to the PTA if the British government would agree to discuss the ending of exclusion orders, reduce seven-day detention powers for suspects to four days and extend the practice of recording of interrogations, already procedure in Britain, to the Six Counties.

Mac Namara's speech

signalled a significant change in the British Labour Party's position on the PTA, but it wasn't sufficient for the British Tory party. Within 90 minutes of Mac Namara making his speech, it was rejected out of hand by the British Home Secretary, Kenneth Clarke. Speaking on BBC radio, Clarke dismissed any criticisms of the PTA and described himself as having "the self-confidence to explain to the Americans and others that I don't believe the legitimate civil liberties of anyone have been damaged by the act".

Stung into response, Mac Namara cited the seven-day detention power and said that the British government had been criticised by the European Court and had been forced to derogate from the European Convention on Human Rights in order to keep it.

The Irish in Britain Representation Group criticised the Labour move and said "the civil and political rights of the Irish community are non-negotiable, and cannot be used as bartering material with the Conservative party".



• The civil rights of the Irish community living in Britain cannot be used as a bartering tool

Sinn Féin £1,000 Draw

PRIVATE MEMBERS

Comhairle na SÉ Chontae and Comhairle na 26 Chontae of Sinn Féin have jointly launched a fund-raising draw to offset election debts and expenses. Tickets for the draw cost £2 and each Sinn Féin cumann retains £1 per ticket sold. Prizes for the draw include a first prize of £1,000. The draw will take place in Sinn Féin Head Office on 24 April.

For further details phone Dublin 726100 or Belfast 241429.

BRITISH GARRISON IN IRELAND



● The increased British militarisation is a highly visible reality on the streets across the Six Counties

IRA forces change in British military policy

■ BY ART MAC EOIN

RENEWED PRESSURE from the IRA is causing severe financial and logistical problems for British forces in the Six Counties. It has also resulted in a clawback from the policy of Options for Change—the post Cold War reduction of the British army.

The realisation that its military involvement here means the British army cannot meet commitments in Europe and that Britain may lose political influence as a result, has caused many in the British military and political establishment to take stock of their role in Ireland.

This has increased for some the urgency of finding a peaceful resolution to the conflict, but for British militarists it has led to fanciful notions of quick-fix solutions, including internment.

The cutback target set for the British army in 1990 was a force of around 120,000 soldiers. Over the following year that figure was trimmed to 116,000—a reduction of 40,000 over three years. The plan was again revised this February, under pressure from the British military establishment and MPs who form part of the powerful military lobby. The current intention is a British army of 119,000 by the mid-1990s.

One of the assumptions of Options for Change was that British troop levels in the Six Counties would remain stable at about 10,500 with ten regular army battalions. However, early in 1991 with increased innovation and efficiency by the IRA, battalions

strength in the Six Counties was increased. In the meantime thousands of British troops have been sent to conflict-riven former

Yugoslavia. On top of all this is the fact that much of the British army is now tied up with reorganisation and withdrawal from Germany.

The result of all this is that the British army is now severely overstretched. In the first week of February a House of Commons report referred to "chronic over-stretch" of troops and acknowledged the strain of the war in Ireland.

Soldiers who are supposed to get two years between emergency assignments are now getting only 15 months. The renewed pressure comes at a time of massive cutbacks under Options for Change, including millions of pounds in public expenditure reductions and the amalgamation of many British army regiments.

The initial determination with which the plan was pursued was evidenced by the amalgamations which occurred in the face of acute imperialist sentimentality about the loss of regiments among the British establishment and a significant section of the British population.

But Options for Change has now come up against the reality of the Irish war. Two years ago a series of IRA bomb attacks against heavily fortified crown forces barracks across the Six Counties resulted in many of them being reconstructed. Several bases were totally demolished.

The British reacted by drafting in extra army battalions—around 900 troops in South Armagh in August 1991. Another battalion was sent to Fermanagh in January 1992 to rebuild permanent vehicle checkpoints. In addition a reinforcement battalion was sent to Belfast in January 1992 and another to East Tyrone. All these extra troops are still in place in the Six Counties.

The IRA's targeting of collaborators helping to reconstruct British barracks has meant that such work is increasingly carried out by British soldiers. Those soldiers working on the reconstruction of barracks have in turn to be protected by other soldiers, and this is causing a substantial drain on resources.

Ironically, the rebuilding of the British army bases to secure them against van bombs has left them more vulnerable to aerial attack.



The IRA's development and deployment of the new Barrack Buster mortar has exposed this weakness in recent months. The new weapon has been fired over perimeter walls and uses the barracks' own defences to concentrate the effects of the explosion inside. Defence chiefs in London are now faced with major logistics problems with the development of the Barracks Buster.

The RUC too is under major pressure. In his 1992 strategy statement made at the beginning of the year, RUC Chief Constable Hugh Annesley said "the uncertainty of future major capital expenditure and insufficient technical staff continue to be major problems". The force launched a massive recruitment drive towards the end 1991.

British army troop levels in the Six Counties are now at their highest since 1979. Total British army strength here now stands at just under 20,000 with about 6,000 of these being members of the Royal Irish Regiment (RIR). Of the British army's 45 battalions there are six resident infantry battalions in the Six Counties and six rotating battalions. There are 8,500 members of the RUC.

The increased British militarisation is a highly visible reality on the streets across the Six Counties. This unimaginative approach is showing up the crisis of British involvement and is in itself exposing further contradictions in British policy. The deployment of more troops in nationalist areas merely increases the determination of nationalist resistance. This in turn increases the effectiveness of those who spearhead this resistance. If the British choose in turn to react once again in knee-jerk fashion, they merely create further political and military problems. The process reinforces the point that only a political solution will suffice.

Signposts pointing to a way out of what is a political and military nightmare for the British have been widely publicised by republicans in recent times. As yet they have refused to follow the path to peace and continue to repeat the mistakes of history.



● The IRA's Barrack Buster has caused serious problems and embarrassment using military bases' own defences to concentrate the effects of the explosion inside the bases

The British Garrison in Occupied Ireland

BELFAST: 1) Dunmurry RUC Barracks; 2) Musgrave Park Hospital British Army Base; 3) Woodburne RUC/British Army Base; 4) Andersonstown RUC/British Army Barracks; 5) Broadway Nurses Home — British Army Observation Post; 6) Fort Jerard — British Army Base; 7) Henry Taggart RUC/British Army Base; 8) Springfield Road RUC/British Army Base; 9) North Howard Street British Army Base; 10) Divis Tower — British Army Observation Post; 11) Grosvenor Road RUC Barracks; 12) Donegall Pass RUC Barracks; 13) Queen Street RUC Barracks; 14) Tennent Street RUC Barracks; 15) Oldpark RUC Barracks; 16) North Queen Street RUC Barracks; 17) Girdwood British Army Base; 18) Antrim Road RUC/British Army Base; 19) York Road RUC Barracks; 20) Templar House British Army Observation Post; 21) Lisburn Road RUC Barracks; 22) Lislea Drive RIR/RUC Base; 23) Malone Road RIR Base; 24) Musgrave Street RUC Barracks; 25) Mountpatrick RUC Barracks; 26) Strand Road RUC Barracks; 27) Castlereagh RUC Barracks;

28) Castlereagh Interrogation Centre; 29) RUC Headquarters — Knock.

COUNTY ANTRIM: 1) Aldergrove RAF/British Army Base; 2) Masserene British Army Barracks — Antrim Town; 3) St Patrick's RIR Barracks — Ballymena; 4) British Army Barracks — Ballymoney; 5) Toome RUC Barracks.

COUNTY ARMAGH: 1) Mahon Road British Army Barracks — Portadown; 2) Lurgan RUC Barracks; 3) Drummard British Army Base — Armagh; 4) Armagh RUC Barracks; 5) Gough Barracks Interrogation Centre — Armagh; 6) Bessbrook RAF/British Army Base/Heliport; 7) Forkhill British Army Base; 8) Crossmaglen RUC/British Army Base.

COUNTY DOWN: 1) Thiepval Barracks — British Army HQ — Lisburn; 2) Palace Barracks, British Army (Paratroop HQ) — Holywood; 3) Ballykinlar British Army Barracks; 4) Downpatrick RUC Barracks; 5) Newry RIR Base; 6) Newry RUC Barracks; 7) Cloghore Barracks;

der Checkpoint and British Army Base.

DERRY CITY: 1) Strand Road RUC Barracks and Interrogation Centre; 2) Fort George British Army Base; 3) Ebrington British Army Barracks; 4) Lisnagelvin RUC Barracks; 5) Rosemount RUC Barracks.

COUNTY DERRY: 1) Ballykelly British Army Base; 2) Magherafelt RUC Barracks; 3) Derry/Muff Border Checkpoint; 4) Derry/Buncrana Border Checkpoint.

COUNTY TYRONE: 1) Lifford/Strabane Border Checkpoint; 2) Cookstown RIR Base; 3) Checkpoints Oman Street Cookstown; 4) Omagh British Army Barracks; 5) Coalisland RUC British Army Base; 6) Dungannon RUC/British Army Base; 7) Aughnacloy Border Checkpoint.

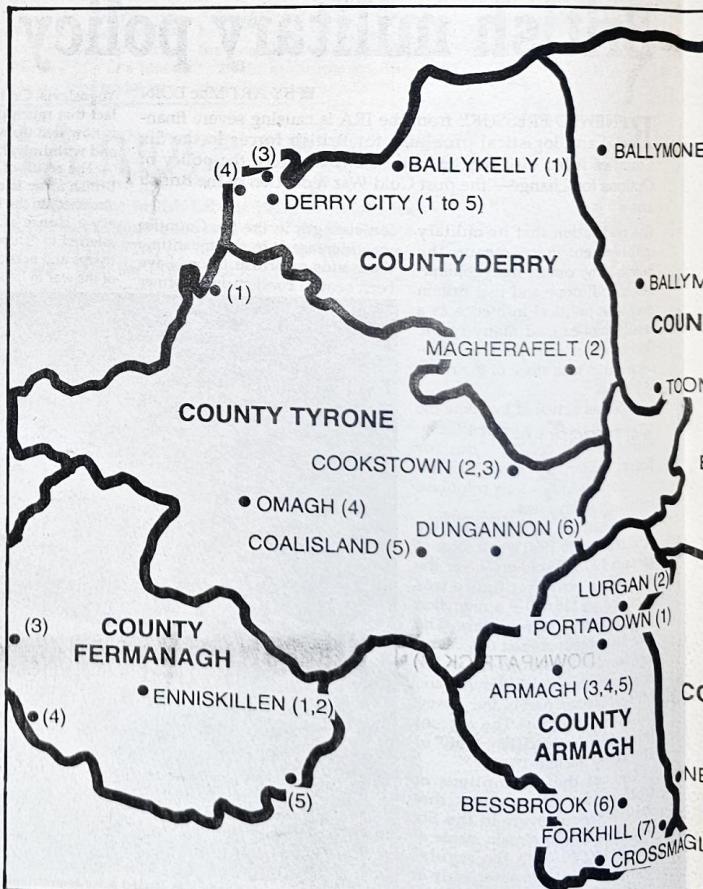
COUNTY FERMANAGH: 1) St Angelo British Army Barracks — Enniskillen; 2) RUC Barracks — Enniskillen; 3) Pettigo Border Checkpoint; 4) Derryvullan Border Checkpoint; 5) Dooard Border Checkpoint.

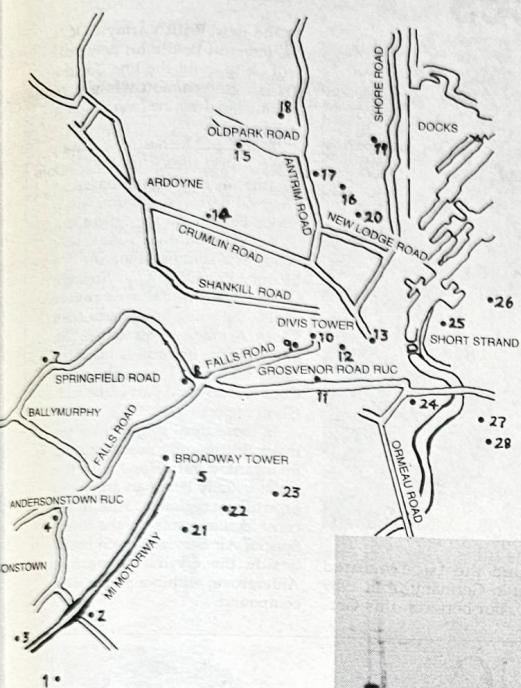
BRITISH ministers have repeatedly claimed that they are 'neutral' in the conflict which has raged in the Six Counties for over 23 years. They imply that their role is 'peacekeeping' and that their presence would not be necessary were it not for the IRA. Yet throughout Irish history British rule has been maintained only with the aid of coercive laws and military power. That's still the case today.

In the Six Counties Britain imposes its rule with the aid of tens of thousands of soldiers and armed paramilitary police. In addition, it uses loyalist gangs selectively to remove political opponents of the state and to strike terror into the entire nationalist population through random assassinations of Catholics. Here we only show the main barracks and bases from which the British crown forces operate. They are located in hospitals, schools, residential accommodation and factories, effectively using civilian populations as human shields. From these they mount foot and mobile patrols around the clock, set up vehicle checkpoints, raid homes and carry out arrests. At British HQ in Lisburn the network of British intelligence in the Six Counties is centred and the activities of the occupying forces coordinated. There are many more smaller posts and nationalist areas of the Six Counties are proliferated with a wide variety of spy equipment by means of which British forces seek to monitor the population and keep military control over the territory.

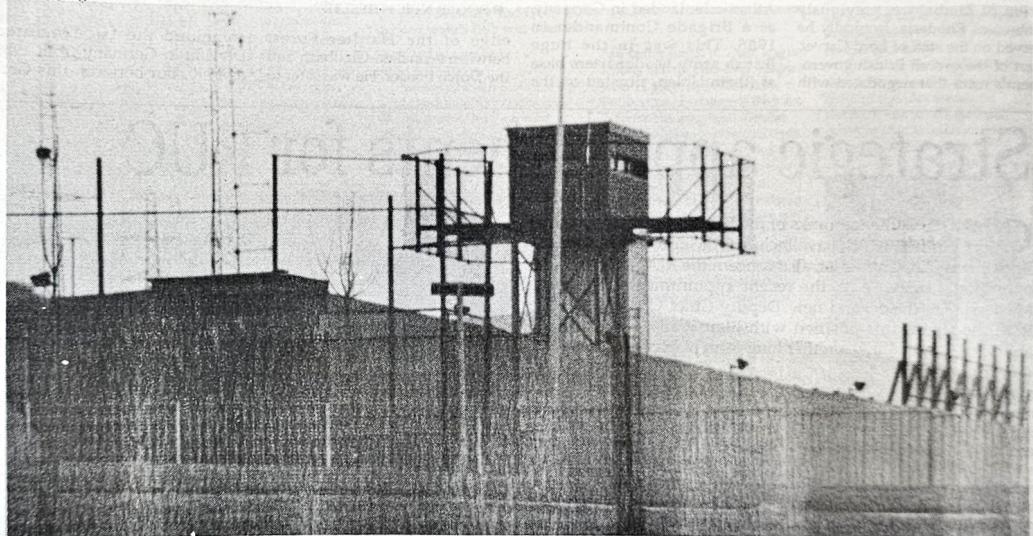
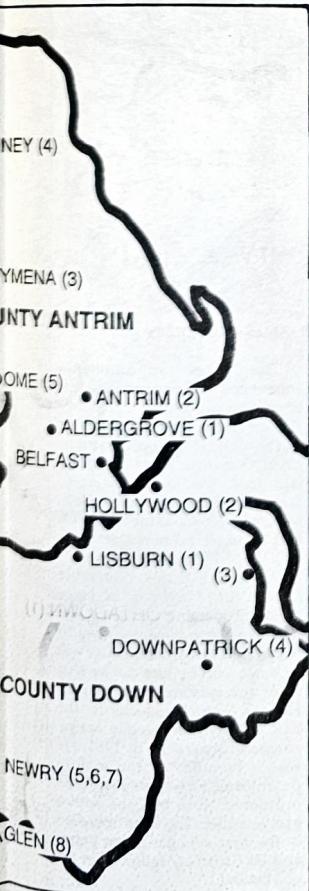
Militarised border

ONE of the most prominent and obtrusive aspects of British occupation is the militarisation of the border and the closure of border roads. By this means the British seek to control and monitor cross-border traffic. Between Donegal and Tyrone there are 23 roads closed; Not one road between Leitrim and Fermanagh remains open (When the Ballyconnell to Ballinamore canal reopens there will be a canal and no road joining these two Irish counties); twenty-six roads between Monaghan and Fermanagh are closed and eleven between Monaghan and Tyrone.

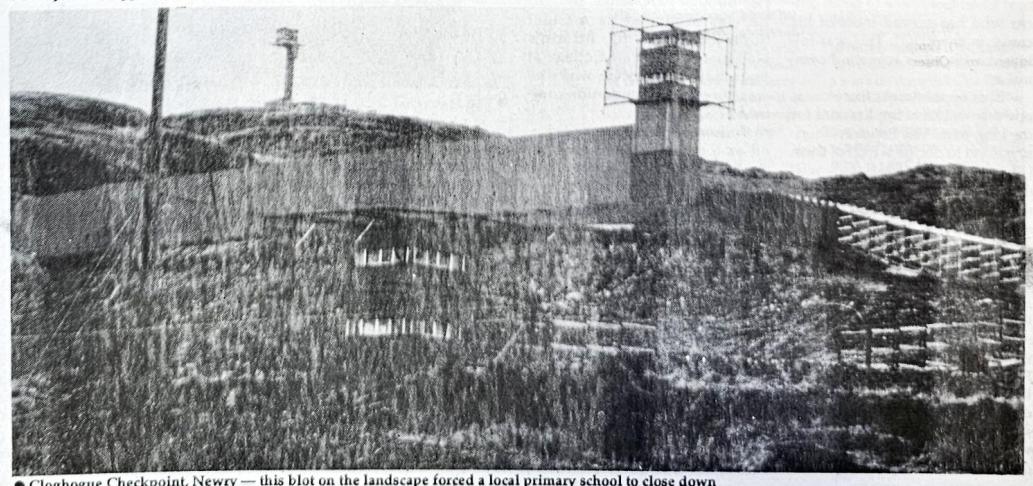




● Andersonstown RUC/British Army base, situated in a densely populated nationalist area in Belfast



● Fort Jericho, Upper Springfield Road, this former industrial site was arbitrarily taken over by British soldiers



● Cloghogue Checkpoint, Newry — this blot on the landscape forced a local primary school to close down

BRITISH GARRISON IN IRELAND

British GOC directs terror forces

THE British army in the Six Counties is commanded by Major General Roger Neil Wheeler, previously an Assistant Chief of the General Staff of British forces. He took over from his predecessor on 7 February. During his long British military career he has been a battalion commander with the Royal Irish Rangers and before this was in the Royal Ulster Rifles. Both of these regiments are now defunct, having been subsumed into the loyalist militia the Ulster Defence Regiment, to form the present Royal Irish Regiment.

The new GOC also has historical links with the Six Counties. His father, TNS Wheeler commanded the 39 Brigade in the early 1960s under the unionist Stormont regime.

Fifty-one-year-old Wheeler has had a long history of serving in Britain's colonies with his early beginnings in Borneo from 1964 to 1970. This was followed by a stint in Cyprus in 1974, when his rank was Brigade Major.

In 1977 he was a member of the British army's delegation to the Lancaster House talks on the liberation of Zimbabwe, previously known as Rhodesia. Ironically he served on the staff of Lord Carver, part of the overall British government's team that negotiated with

Zimbabwe's liberation movement, which they had previously described as 'terrorists' and said they would not negotiate with them.

Between 1979 and 1982 he was in Belize, in Central America, Gibraltar, Berlin and Canada. This was followed by six months in the Malvinas islands as Chief of Staff. In 1983 he was decorated by the Thatcher government for his services in the Malvinas, getting the Commander of the British Empire medal.

After leaving the South Atlantic he landed in Germany, as a Brigade Commander in 1985. This was in the huge British army headquarters base at Rheindahlen, situated on the



● ROGER NEIL WHEELER

edge of the Hardter Forest between Monchen-Gladbach and the Dutch border. He was later to

command the 1st Armoured Division in Germany from 1989 to 1990, but between this Ger-

man stint he was briefly appointed Director of British Army Plans from 1987 to 1989.

The new British army GOC's foremost task in his new brief will be to 'hold the line' for the British government while they continue to deny the Irish people a lasting peace.

To this end he has three British army brigades under his command, 39 Brigade based in Thiepval Barracks, Lisburn, which covers Belfast and the eastern half of the Six Counties. Also under Wheeler's command are the 3rd Infantry Brigade (HQ in Armagh) whose operational area covers almost the entire border area from South Armagh to Strabane. The 8th Infantry Brigade is his third force, taking in Derry city, north County Derry and part of the mid-Ulster region.

In these three brigades are ten major British units, nine consisting of infantry battalions with the tenth usually being an armoured or artillery regiment. Also in his considerable forces are the covert Special Air Services (SAS) based beside the civilian airport at Aldergrove, within a secure RAF compound.

Strategic appointments for RUC

CHANGES in the top ranks of the British crown forces in the Six Counties, which have included the appointment of new British army GOC Wheeler, also concern the RUC and its future operational plans. With the recent appointment of Kenneth Masterson as the second new Deputy Chief Constable of the RUC (he shares this position with Blair Wallace who got his appointment last June) another long-term plan can be seen to be emerging.

The Northern Ireland Office, through its satellite the Northern Ireland Police Authority, delivered a clear message with Masterson's appointment. This body, which rubber stamps top appointments in the RUC has gone on record recently as saying that "the Police Authority would like the next Chief Constable to be an officer who has served most of his career in the RUC". This was followed with other revealing comments.

This appointment therefore is one that will have implications for the long-term. The Police Authority has yet to decide which of them [Masterson or Wallace] will deputise for Sir Hugh Annesley, when the Chief Constable is absent.

Masterson succeeds Michael McAtamney who retires this month after 46 years in the RUC. McAtamney had headed the RUC's Special Branch. This is a strategic appointment, given Masterson's placements in both the RUC and London's Metropolitan Police. McAtamney's long time counterinsurgency role has been already filled by Blair Wallace, who last June took over command of all RUC covert operations.

After joining the RUC in 1962, Masterson served in the border areas of Fermanagh and Tyrone for a period, later being transferred to West Belfast. During this time he studied law at Queen's University in Belfast, taking first place in the Bar examination in 1978. This ensured him a rapid rise through RUC ranks. By 1983 he was seconded as a Chief Superintendent to Britain's National Police Staff College at Bramshill in Hampshire, where he was director of the junior command course.

Following this he was appointed as a commander with London's Metropolitan Police in 1985. While in London he had responsibility for training and had operational postings to both the East End and North London.

On his return to the Six Counties in 1990 he was appointed Assistant Chief Constable in charge of the southern parts of Counties Down, Armagh and Tyrone. This would have given him a close working relationship with the British army as the majority of crown forces patrols in these areas are carried out by them, especially in their necessary use of helicopter gunship patrols.



● Ken Masterson, RUC Assistant Chief Constable

Before this recent promotion Masterson headed the Management Support Department at RUC Headquarters in Knock, Belfast.

Other notable features in Masterson's career with specific reference to his key role today are;

- 1982 A Graduate of the 19th Senior Command Course at the 'National Police College'.
- 1987 A member in the 87 course at the Royal College of Defence Studies.
- 1992 Attended the Cabinet Office's Top Management Programme.

The counter-insurgency efforts of Deputy Chief Constable Mas-

terson and Major General Wheeler are coordinated on the Northern Ireland Office's Province Executive Committee, where they sit alongside Blair Wallace, who heads it. This group covers all the various British intelligence agencies operating in the Six Counties.

The product of all British intelligence gathering goes through this and is then passed on for use "on the ground". With the stabilisation of British army and RUC operational boundaries in the Six Counties (in place since 1990) the British government hopes that this and other recent top appointments will increase their military pressure in the Six Counties.



● JAMES CRUTCHLEY

The other appointments announced in February were that of Assistant Chief Constable Ronald Flanagan who took charge of the Belfast region; Assistant Chief Constable Raymond White who took over the Management Support Unit at RUC HQ; Assistant Chief Constable Robin McLaughlin who runs Operations HQ.

Assistant Chief Constable James Crutchley is now in charge of complaints and discipline. The degree of seriousness with which complaints from nationalists will be dealt with by him can be seen from one episode in his history. He was District Inspector for the RUC's B Division based in Andersonstown barracks in 1981. He was a member of the mobile patrol one of whose members murdered Nora McCabe with a plastic bullet. The killer travelled in the first vehicle of the patrol and DI Crutchley followed in the one behind.

New League set-up continues to excite

■ BY BRENDAN Mac RUAIIRI

WHEN THE FORMAT for the National Football League was revealed, many seasoned scribes rushed to lament it. Sunday's penultimate series of games in the league section furnished further proof of just how wrong they were.

The most successful league competition in years again served up a solid compliment of quality games with several minnows once more giving lie to the theory that they would be out of their depths in more celebrated company.

Westmeath were the latest underdog to make others sit up and take notice when they edged out resurgent neighbours Offaly at Tullamore. Former Meath All-Ireland hero Mattie Kerrigan has been in charge of the midland county for some time and he certainly appears to be getting a response.

As Kerrigan himself pointed out, this result has been on the cards. It may be just Westmeath's second brace of points, but they have only been narrowly defeated in earlier encounters with strong opposition. If one casts the mind back to last summer's championship they gave Mick O'Dwyer's team many painful moments before their indiscipline rather than Kildare's brilliance.

brought about their downfall. Should Dublin overcome Wexford in the preliminary round of the Leinster Championship they will come up against the midlanders. Pat O'Neill will not dismiss them lightly.

In Section B Leitrim set themselves up for a big day at Carrick-on-Shannon on 14 March. The home side now entertain Kildare and the prize for the victors is a place in the quarterfinals. A place in the last eight of a national competition would be a tremendous step forward for football in the country's most sparsely populated county. Kildare are running into form at the moment and the Lilywhites are unlikely to allow sentiment infringe on their endeavours. A gripping 60 minutes football is surely in store.

All-Ireland champions Donegal guaranteed themselves the top spot in the same section when they disposed of Cork at Ballybofey. The Ulster side are now the only team in the com-

petition with a 100% record. Coming on the back of an All-Ireland triumph this is truly an exceptional effort.

The attractive and close contest at Crossmolina between Mayo and Kerry confirmed the progress that is being made in both counties. They are good value for their qualification places from Section C. Come the knock-out stages, both sides will pose a serious challenge to the current Ulster monopoly of national titles.

Brave Fermanagh faltered again on Sunday, this time in Lurgan, and so their hopes of making the quarterfinals disappeared. But the Erne-siders remain one of the success stories of the new set-up and they will look forward to the visit of the Kingdom as a further good opportunity to pit themselves against top-class opposition.

Dublin and Derry firmly installed themselves as favourites to advance from Section A. The Dubs scored a vital and convincing win over Galway which was effectively a qualification decider. The westerners have produced some very credible performances of late so the authority and competence of Dublin's play on Sunday indicates they will be as



● Aiden Maloney and Gerry Killeen (Clare) — both were on song in their team's fine win over Down

formidable as ever in the months to come.

Section D is the most tightly contested with five teams still in contention. Anyone who thought Clare's exploits of last summer were a flash in the pan

had better forget it. Their league results to date plus their eclipse, with 14 players, of Down in Ennis strongly suggests they are here for the long haul. Doubtless John Maughan would view the National League cup as

suitable company on the mantle-piece for the Munster trophy. Don't rule it out!

Clare with nine points must beat Monaghan at home in the last game to be completely sure of qualification. Down and Meath have eight points but face tricky assignments at Waterford and Westmeath respectively. On seven points each Monaghan and Offaly still harbour outside hopes but their fate is in the hands of others. Clare should go through with Down and Meath playing off for second place as the most likely scenario.

The GAA was, understandably, moved to defend itself after the bad publicity generated by the club football semi-finals and similar incidents in recent league games. Peter Quinn's appearance on the BBC last week was the most significant public initiative on the subject.

The Philistine anti-GAA fringe is always ready to exploit such incidents to the full. Yet as fair-minded commentators have pointed out, the conduct of GAA players and supporters and the manner in which games are policed stand up very well in comparison to other physical contact sports.

Of course the knockers with their hidden (and not so well hidden) agendas should be rebuked, but our Croke Park mentors should leave no room for complacency either.

CUBA DARES TO SURVIVE



● Imperialist propaganda and hypocrisy cannot deny the democratic nature of socialist rule in Cuba

■ BY NEIL FORDE

THERE WERE no congratulatory telegrams from London or Washington to Havana last week, despite the fact that 80% of Cuban voters endorsed communist candidates in elections. 85% of Cuba's 7.5 million voters turned up to vote, a turnout unattainable in Britain and the US.

The media and international focus was on one fact only — that the Cuban elections for the

a candidate received less than 50% of the votes cast they would be rejected. This was not "real" democracy. A spokesperson for the White House rejected the electoral result saying that the US would intensify its embargo until real change took place.

Both Bill Clinton and John Major's Conservative party would have been rejected by their electorates if the Cuban

system had been applied in the US and Britain. Clinton won only 42% of the vote in the US election. The British Conservative Party performed only marginally better in last April's Westminster election.

The US criticised Cuba for being a one-party state, yet in the US democratic choice runs to a two-party state, where even the act of voting is difficult. It is less than 30 years since the Cuban people seized power and control, not only of the

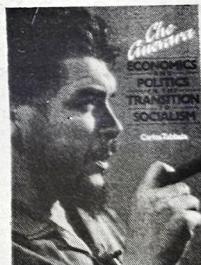
passed legislation to allow Black people to vote, which was seven years after the Cuban revolution. They had been prevented in many states (and not only in the South) from registering to vote. Voter registration is still a political issue in the States today.

It seems that for many western states, usually members of the UN security council, the state of democracy outside your frontiers is an international political issue. This is applied selectively, not having "multiparty free elections" democracy is currently no problem for US adjuncts like Taiwan, Syria, Kuwait etc.

However, fall out with or rather fail to fall in with US plans and you could find yourself on a 'democracy' black list. The Sandinista people's revolution in 1979 did not fall in with US plans and despite a decade of democracy with multiparty elections, the US maintained an economic embargo while waging a war to destabilise the state.

The truth is that the US is not interested in elections or democracy but in pursuing a particular electoral result. This was true in the case of Nicaragua where the US actively campaigned on behalf of Chamorro, promising aid and investment if the voters rejected the Sandinistas in 1991.

The underlying theme of coverage of Cuba is that with the collapse of the Soviet Union, Cuba like many other attempts at planned socialism, will also fail. This ignores what is actually happening in Cuba. It ignores the 34 years since the Cuban people seized power and control, not only of the



political system but of the economic system. There has been an ongoing debate in Cuba on how the transition to socialism should be engineered. This debate has somehow not merited coverage on our TV screens while Cuba crisis-watching does.

Carlos Tablada is a Cuban economist who has written a book on the work Che Guevara. Tablada is currently on a lecture tour of Europe which also merits coverage in the establishment press. Tablada's book is titled *Che Guevara: Economics and Politics in the Transition to Socialism*.

The theme of Tablada's book on Che Guevara's economic writings is that revolutions do not happen in isolation, they must be a political and economic movement or else they will fail. This is what Clinton and his fellow democrats fear so much — real democracy.

Tablada's lecture tour was in Britain during February and goes to Sweden, France and Belgium during March. His book *Che Guevara: Economics and Politics in the Transition to Socialism* is available from Pathfinder priced £10.95.

Cinsireacht cainte sa Ghaillimh

■ LE GRÉAGOIR
Mac CATHMHAOIL

A RDAIODH cás an tSeachta Bhaile Uí Mhurchadha agus an Cuigeard Ard na bhFeá ag cruinniú cinn bhliana de Chomhála na Mac Léinn, Coláiste Ollscoile na Gaillimhe, an tseachtais seo nuair a glacadh le rún a dúirt "Go dtabharfadh an comhála seo cabhair ghníomhach d'fheachas Guth na Neamhchontach atá ag obair ar son saoirse an 12 duine atá faoi ghlás na dás seo".

Cé gur pléadh an rún ar feadh breis agus cuig bhomaite ní raibh éinne ag labhairt in éadan spiorad an bhealaigh. Pé díospóireacht a bhí ann bhí sé faoin bhealach is fearr don chomhála leis an rún a chur i bhfeidhm. Sa deireadh d'aontaigh an cruinniú go mbeadh an comhála féin freagrach as an bheachas sa choláiste agus go ndéanadh an coiste ghnó teagmháil láithreach le mórbhrúpaí an obrióna ar son cearta daonna agus aird na mac léinn a dhíriú ar chruachás na gcamú seo.

Tar éis an chruinniú dúirt Maed

Nic Lochlainn, úrlabhráin an fheachtais sa choláiste go raibh siad sásta go mbeadh an comhála ag obair ar an fheachas feasta, ach go leanfadh an fheachas ar aghaidh cibé sééal, agus go mbeadh baill den fheachas ag freastal ar chruinniú cinn bhliana Aontas Mac Léinn na hÉireann, i Dún Dealgan ag deireadh na míosa seo chun eolás a scaipeadh faoi "mi-impair na córa"!

Glacadh le rún eile ag an chruinniú ag cainneadh cinsireachta agus Alt 31 ach go

háirithe, agus ag gloach ar an aire nua, Michael D Higgins, deireadh a chur le cose mar é.

"Tá iontas orainn a bhí páirteach san fheachtas seo le roinnt bliana anuas gur glacadh leis an rún gan fheachas" arsa Proinsias Ó Maoilcháin, mac léinn sa choláiste. Lean sé: "Roinme seo, nuair a bheadh rún mar 'shaoise cainte' ar chlár cruinniú cinn bhliana bheadh daccine ag labhairt ina aghaidh agus ag déanamh iarrachta an cheist a altrú go dtí ceist faoi Shinn Féin. Anois, afáich, tar éis an mhéid pionlochta a tugadh don chomhdháil ag a bhealach Salman Rusdie, *Let in the Light*, is léir go bhfuil na "lobraílaigh" ag fás, agus náire ar na cinn eile a bheadh ar son cinsireachta. Ba chóir go mbeadh a fhios ag Michael D faoin athrú meoín seo i measc an phobail, agus é ag macnamh faoi na hathruite a bheas i gceist aige i leith Alt 31 amach anseo."

Beidh cinsireacht, Alt 31, agus ceist faoin Cuigeard Ard na bhFeá agus Seachta Bhaile Uí Mhurchadha ó bláthnóna móille i mí Márta nuair a thionólann Aontas Mac Léinn na hÉireann a chruinniú cinn bhliana. Tá suil againn go leanfadh siad sampla mhic léinn na Gaillimhe, agus

tacaíochta a thabhairt don dá rún," arsa Maedb Nic Lochlainn:

"Tá siad fite fuaite le chéile, i mbealach, nó ligean 'cinsireacht' don mhi-eolas a fhás, is nuair nach



BHÍ agóid ag Coiste Atha Cliath de Chomhdháil Náisiúnta na hÉireann (BNÉ) i Sráid an Dáma ar an lá暮igh de Bhanc Náisiúnta na hÉireann (BNÉ) i Sráid an Dáma ar an Déardaoin, 26 Feabhrá. Bhí siad ann le cur in iúl don bpobal an t-Idirthealú Seiceach atá ar siúl ag Banc Tuaiseachach (BT) sna Sé Chontae. Is le Banc Náisiúnta na hAstráile an BNÉ agus an BT.

"seafóid gur féidir le muintir na 26 Chontae mǎ tá an misneach ag daoinne dul trána na línte de Bhrainne a bhíonn taobh amuigh ach ní féidir liom labhairt ar theilifís, nó ar raidió agus níl na páipéar sásta litir uaim a thoiliú ag chogadh aifí annamh. Is é Raidió na Gaeltachta an t-aon eisceacht ar sin, de thairbhe gur dócha nach raibh g leor Gaeilge ag an choinimhlint go dtí na 26 Chontae" dá n-athraíofaí an bhunreacht.

Dúirt urlabhráin Shinn Féin ag an chruinniú, Roibeard Mac Leannacháin, go raibh "clár gniomhaiochta de dhíth ag náisiúntóirí sna Sé Chontae ionas go mbeidh siad ábalta cur in iúl do ríaltas ar bith sra 26 Chontae nach raibh náisiúntóirí sásta a gcearta náisiúnta a dhíol mar chuid de mbhagadh éigin le ríaltas na Breataine".

Chonradh na Gaeilge. Ar fud na tire. 17 Márta, Céadaon. Oiche Rince agus Cheoil. Seomra Soithíon, Ostatá Brandaon, Trá Lí. 9.00pm.

19 Márta, Aoine. Léacht ag Daonlathach, Gaeilge, 10.00am. Chonradh na Gaeilge, 12.00pm. Carrag na Siúire.

20 Márta, Aoine-Domhnach. Dúchas. Caisleán Mumhan. Téama: Carrag Chaisil.

21 Márta, Aoine. An Pháirc le John B Keane. Aisteoirí Choláiste na hOllscoile, Gaillimh. Halla Mhic Easmain, Trá Lí. 8.00pm.

22 Márta, Luan. Siompoisiam — Alt 31 den Acht Croaolacháin, Áras Chonradh na Gaeilge, Corráin Gráftan, Inis Chór, Bás 8.00pm.

23 Márta, Aoine. Caisleán an Bharraigh.

24 Márta, Luan. Bailiúcháin do

Caithfidh iarratais faoi choinne cainteoirí do chuimhneacháin na Cásca 1916 Rúnaí Choiste Cuimhneacháin na Poblachta a bhaint amach Dé hAoine 19 Márta ar a mhaille. Ba chóir mionrudáil de chuimhneacháin a chur chuig an choiste thuslauite agus do AP/RN, 58 Cearnog Pharnell, Baile Atha Cliath 1 le cur sa pháipéar.

Tá Domhnach na Cásca ar an 11 Aibreán i mbliana.

Cosain saorántacht Éireannach

■ LE HOISIN
O MURCHU

A CRUINNIU i mBéal Feirste Oiche Dé Luain, 1 Feabhrá, bhí iar TD agusaire rialtais na 26 Chontae, Kevin Boland, ag caint ar an ghá le hAireagail a Dó is a Trí de Bhunreacht 1937 a chosaint.

Thug Boland gearrchuntais ar stair na buncréacha agus ar na hAireagail. Mhínigh sé go raibh an bhunreacht faoi ionsaí ón tús ag Fine Gael agus frith náisiúntaile eile. Níos thosaigh an t-ionsaí i gceart agus go dtí 1967, bliaín i ndiaidh an 50ú comóracht d'Eirí Amach na Cásca 1916. An bhliain sin mhöll Coiste Uí Chollaí, coiste de pháirtíthe iomlána Theach Laighean gur chóir aithriúth a chur ar an bhunreacht, ach go háirtear Aireagail a Trí. Ag an am sin ní raibh fadhb ag an choinse le hAireagail a Dó a deir go soiléir agus go simpli gur "é oiléan na hÉireann go hiomlán, milleann oiléan agus a fharráig teorann, na críochá náisiúnta".

Mhínigh Boland gur éirigh an t-ionsaí ar na hAireagail níos fiachmháire le túis na streachaile sna Sé Chontae i 1969 go mór mór in

atmaisfeár na cinsireachta agus imeagla a cotháidh sna 26 Chontae chun náisiúntaile aimeallú i bpolaitiocht.

Fuar an comhtháthú pro-aontachtais spreagadh úr ón Chomhaontas Hillsborough i 1985 nuair a ghlac ríaltas na 26 Chontae leis an diúltú aontachtais ar aithantaú na hÉireann. O shin i leith tá feachtais leanúnach ar aghaidh ag Fine Gael, An Chláidhíochas, Páirtí na nOibríthe, Páirtí an Lucht Oibre agus Na Daonlathaithe Forchéimneacha ag long deireadh le hAireagail a Dó agus a Trí.

Dúirt Boland go raibh daone mór le rá i bhFiann Fáil anois ag iarráidh na hAireagail a stíriú. Thrácht sé do ráiteas de chuid an iar aile do Ghnóthach Eacairchá, Gerry Collins, nuair a dúirt sé go gcaithfí labhairt leis an phobal ar an cheist seo leis an ríaltas uile agus a fháil agus a fheachtais leis an aghaidh a bhí i gceist a fháil.

Tá inniú ar Boland go bhfuil an talmach a ullmhú ag an páirtíthe polaitíu i dTeach Laighean chun na hAireagail a scaipeadh. Bhí sé den bharúil nach raibh a dhath ar bith eile ag cur baic ar an ríaltas faoi láthair ach

go raibh gnáthphobal na 26 Chontae mǎ an fóil in aghaidh aithriú ar bith an bhunreacht. Dúirt sé nár chóir go mbeadh náisiúntóirí ró-mhuiníneach faior sea mar chreid sé gur féidir go ndéanfaí iarrachta ní hait aithriú luath ná mull agus go mbainfeadh an ríaltas úsáid as an olchumhacht atá aige ar an mhór mheáin chumarsáide le barúlach an phobail a ullmhú dó.

Thrácht aonáin do thionchar lárnach na cinsireachta agus imeagla ó fhórsa péis polaitíu na 26 Chontae an Brainse Speisialta, i gcoscad iarrachtaí chun díospóireacht ar an cheist náisiúnta leathnach sna 26 Chontae.

Dúirt sé go raibh sé ridíreacha ag náisiúntóirí a dtacobh den chás a chur os comhair an phobail.

"Is féidir liom caint ag hallaí mar

Imeachtaí do Mhárta

1 Márta, Luan. Omós agus Cuimhne ar Eoin Mac Néill. Céad Rúnaí agus Dara. Uachtarán Chonradh na Gaeilge agus an t-áine a chinn an eagraiocht a bhunú. Ostatá Russell Court, Sráid Fhearchair, BAC 2. 8.00pm.

5-7 Márta, Aoine-Domhnach.

Eigse Uladh, Gaith Dobhair.

Téama: 100 Bliaín de Chonradh na Gaeilge 1893-1993. Tionchar aoidreachtach orainne agus ar an Ghaeltacht.

1-3 Márta. Féile na hInse.

10-17 Márta.

Seachtaí Mhór na Gaeilge. Ar fud

na tire.

11 Márta, Déardaoin. Léacht ag Proinsias Mac Aonghusa ar an Athair Micheál hAildeadh a rugadh 12/12 Márta 1860. Carrag na Siúire.

12/14 Márta, Aoine-Domhnach. Dúchas. Caisleán Mumhan. Téama: Carrag Chaisil.

14 Márta, Domhnach. Oiche amhránaiochta, cheoil agus spóirt i Ráth Caim.

15 Márta, Luan. Léacht: Conradh na Gaeilge, inné agus inniu — Proinsias Mac Aonghusa. Caisleán an Bharraigh.

16, 17, 18 Márta. Bailiúcháin do

Coiste Chuimhneacháin na Poblachta

1916
An CHAISC
1993

Ba chóir Lilí na Cásca a ordú anois ó:

Choiste Cuimhneacháin na Poblachta,

44 Cearnog Pharnell,

Baile Atha Cliath 1.

Fón 726932/726100

Letters

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

"Constitutional" path?

A Chairde,

May I be permitted, through your letters page, to put forward a viewpoint that members and supporters of the Republican Movement may be interested in considering. (Before I go any further, I think it is only fair to say that I do not fall into any of these two categories, though I am fully committed to the cause of Irish unity and independence.)

Since the foundation of the 26-County state, over 70 years ago, there have been at least two successful initiatives adopted by constitutional republicans. The first was the formation of Fianna Fáil in 1926. As soon as this party was elected to government in 1932 it was responsible for a number of very significant achievements regarding the issue of national self-determination. The achievements of Mr de Valera and his governments throughout the 1930s included the following:

(i) In 1932 land annuities were retained and a stand was made against British economic sanctions;

(ii) In 1933 the Oath of Allegiance was removed and the governor-general's veto on legislation was abolished, as was the right of appeal to the British Privy Council;

(iii) In 1935 the Irish Nationality and Citizenship Act was passed;

(iv) In 1936 the office of governor-general was abolished. The British king was removed from the Free State Constitution;

(v) Burrenacht na hÉireann was enacted by plebiscite in 1937;

(vi) In 1938 the three "Treaty Ports" were vacated by the British and the economic war and the land annuities dispute were successfully and honourably resolved;

(vii) 1939 to 1945 saw the declaration and successful maintenance of Irish neutrality.

The second effort on the part of constitutional republicans to put objectives of a republican nature into effect occurred in 1947 when Clann an Poblachtáin was established. It participated in government for a relatively short period (1948 to 1951) and then in an inter-party arrangement. Nonetheless, its achievements on the national question were also quite significant. The party was mainly responsible for the Republic of Ireland Act in 1948. Its influence was very evident in the unanimous declaration against partition of Dáil Éireann in 1949. This declaration is the only statement of policy regarding partition, adopted by Dáil Éireann, since the enactment of Burrenacht

na hÉireann in 1937. Clann an Poblachtáin was also very much involved in the formation of the all-party anti-partition committee in 1949. This committee was actively involved in publicising the injustices of partition on a national and international basis.

The point I wish to make about these political activities is that they were successful in tackling problems caused by British interference in Irish affairs and that within 30 years of the signing of the Anglo-Irish Treaty, the sovereignty and independence of the 26-County state was established beyond doubt.

It is now high time, I believe, for another constitutional initiative to be engaged in. It is time for a new departure to be made. The methods adopted by the Republican Movement have quite clearly failed to win the hearts and minds of the Irish people. I would respectfully suggest therefore, that these methods be abandoned and instead the Republican Movement should concentrate fully and completely on the constitutional path.

The two examples that I have cited above would suggest that such a strategy would have a more than fair chance of success.

There is now only one final remnant of British involvement in Ireland to be dealt with ie partition. Previous generations of Irish republicans had to contend with other difficulties also, yet, as I have already stated, managed to resolve many of them in the area of constitutional activity. Perhaps now is the time for such activity to be applied again? Perhaps the Republican Movement would consider it?

Seán O Gallchobhair,
Cúil Scairte,
Ospidéal Gleann Aine,
Contae Lúimnigh.

A bizarre trio

A Chairde,

For generations, those of us who have made it our business, to convince public opinion in America that the endless strife darkening British-occupied Ireland is not caused by religious motivation but rather by opposing loyalties of those who want the continued British domination of Ireland's soil and those who seek its overthrow. Just when we were making some progress who should appear on the horizon but a bizarre trio which would add some welcome comic relief if it were not for the brutal murders all over the background they represent. Yes, Cardinal Daly, Dr Eames and Dr Simms arrive here to muddy up the waters of truth never before.

A delegation of us went to

interview these men and they tried to tell us that they were here to bring employment to the Six Counties. We knew of other interviews given to these men and it seemed that they were here to do battle with the MacBride Principles and to voice their concern at the violence between religious groups in the north. But they never mentioned a word about the unlawful British occupation of the Six Counties and the outright murders it brings.

This trio of dignitaries should have stayed at home instead of squandering their parishioners' money. Or perhaps the British government paid their way, since they were doing public relations for Westminster in coming here. Hence their silence about the horrendous deliberate killings by men in the clothing of the British army or men of the loyalist groups who totally identify with each other. They had a golden opportunity to tell the truth about these murders to the American public but they chose to turn their back on the victims of British and loyalist oppression.

Tom Duffy,
New York.

A new horizon

A Chairde,

Why has it taken 23 years for an outside influence to examine the undemocratic structure of the Six Counties? Unionist politicians and some Tory MPs are up in arms at the prospect of an American envoy being sent to Ireland. Why? One can only assume that unionist politicians and certain members of the British establishment are not interested in any form of negotiation.

The British government recently proclaimed to the world that Britain is now neutral in the Six-County conflict, this is an absurdity. Let me make it absolutely clear, the war in Ireland today remains the same as it has been for hundreds of years, 'the fight against Britain's occupation of Ireland'. Contrary to what the British government would have the world believe, the main participants in this long and protracted war are the British government and the Republican Movement. The unionists position in the present conflict and their special relationship with Britain is ultimately a matter for Britain to sort out.

Sinn Féin is unequivocal in its demand that the unionists should not have a veto over Irish politics. The Irish government and Sinn Féin are at one, they both agree that the Protestant aims/traditions must be protected by a firm will of rights in a new Ireland.

Tim Jones,
London.

Keep up pressure on Clinton

A Chairde,

As you know, our new president made campaign promises to support the MacBride Principles, appoint a special envoy to the Six Counties, investigate the chronic abuse of civil rights in the Six Counties, and lift censorship by visa denial to the US.

The British government will go all out to head off any change in the status quo. They will spend millions of pounds and put enormous pressure on the Clinton government to just continue to look the other way.

Irish Americans are keeping the pressure on by writing to let President Clinton know we expect him to keep his promises.

I would like to request everyone please write to President Clinton and let him know we are all depending on him to make a difference.

The address is: President Bill Clinton, The White House, Washington DC 20500.
Anne Parks,
USA.

Beveridge should resign

A Chairde,

It is clear from the response of the Vice-Chancellor of Queen's University, Dr Gordon Beveridge, to the fair employment report about anti-Catholic discrimination at the university (*The Independent*, 17 February) that he does not accept the report's conclusions that discrimination exists at Queen's. It is clear also that his heart is not in the fight against it. No one opposed to discrimination and who supports fair employment and equal opportunity in the Six Counties, not alone the Catholic and nationalist communities, can have any confidence in Dr Beveridge and they should call for his resignation and he should resign forthwith.

Joe Murphy,
Birmingham.

Notes for revolutionaries

A Chairde,

I am currently compiling a new edition of the highly successful book, *Notes for Revolutionaries* and am interested in any quotes, or sayings, which your readers feel should be included in the new edition.

Material included in the last

edition produced in the early 1980s had quotes from revolutionaries, Irish and worldwide, on colonialism, socialism, property, class consciousness, youth, women, culture, last words, armed struggle, loyalism, internationalism and organisation. A limited number of poems and songs were also included. If your readers have any ideas on how to improve the booklet I would be delighted to receive them.

Quotes etc should be sent to me before the end of March at:

Aengus O Snodaigh
58 Parnell Square,
Dublin 1.

Sick Irish independence

A Chairde,

I must say that I was disgusted and incensed by Tony Connolly's article of 20 February in the *Irish Independent*. Connolly talked of the IRA as being involved in a sectarian campaign of "ethnic cleansing", a sick phrase without which journalists nowadays seem able to write a single sentence.

He talked of Protestants being driven from border areas into the north east of the Six Counties. This he described as an "horrific campaign of fear and intimidation", yet the only instances of IRA killings which he could give as examples of this were killings of UDR members.

I think it is about time that the media of the 26 Counties began to call the UDR/RIR and the RUC what they really are. They are as much regiments of the British army as the paratroopers and the marines. They are paid by the British government, armed by the British government and they wear the uniform of the British government. There is no conscription either in Britain or the Six Counties, and all members of the British military are volunteers. All the IRA targets mentioned in Mr Connolly's article took a conscious decision to take up arms on behalf of the British government against their nationalist neighbours. For "Willie" (a UDR member named in the article) to say "There is nothing wrong with the Catholics who live there. They are 100%", is spurious hypocrisy from a man who voluntarily took up arms in order to intimidate and brutalise these very same Catholics. Mr Connolly seemed to express sympathy that "Willie" felt it was safe nowhere. I wonder how safe the nationalists of his area felt when he and his kind walked their streets with guns and a licence to shoot to kill from the British government?

Mr Connolly also spoke rather ignorantly of the fall in the Protestant population of these border

areas. Again the only attitudes on which he based his sympathy were the sectarian comments of Rev William Neely who said:

"Older parishioners can remember a time when all the business in the main street was Protestant. One by one they have all gone to Catholics."

And why shouldn't they? The town in question (Keady, County Armagh) has a Catholic majority of 95%. Furthermore, all the areas mentioned by Mr Connolly have always had Catholic and nationalist majorities. Yet still they remain under British rule!

The truth of the situation in these areas is that the population of the Catholic majority was kept down by the Stormont government from 1920 until the 1960s, through a joint policy of refusing to give Catholics jobs, thereby forcing them to emigrate, and intimidating them with brutality at the hands of the RUC and the B Specials, thereby driving them south of the border. There lies the "ethnic cleansing" Connolly. It was only when Catholics for the first time were getting proper education in the 1960s and began demanding civil rights that Catholics began to stay in their areas. It is that fact, and not IRA operations, that has driven up the nationalist population. This is a fact accepted by all historians.

But the piece of Mr Connolly's article that took the biscuit was the argument that the dwindling numbers of Protestants in these areas was causing unionists to become more entrenched and to turn to violence. In other words, the fact that there is an overwhelming Catholic and nationalist majority in huge areas of the Six Counties gives unionists the right to indiscriminately kill Catholics! I would venture to presume that Mr Connolly is one of these people who would then turn around and say that Ireland should only be reunited when the majority of people in six of its 32 Counties want it! He would probably further argue that the IRA have no right to take up arms against British imperialism because they are in a minority, when he has just shown that in many of the areas where the IRA are most active Catholics are in fact in an ever increasing majority!

It is now generally accepted that loyalist paramilitaries get support and information from the RIR and RUC. In a week when one Catholic was killed in Armagh and three further murder bids were made on Catholics by the UVF in Belfast, it is sick to hear Mr Connolly sympathise with these same RIR and RUC members.

Kevin Higgins,
Dublin.

Letters to: The Editor, AP/RN, 58 Parnell Square, Dublin 1.
PLEASE KEEP LETTERS SHORT

Imeachtai

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

BEECHMOUNT FIVE PICKET: 2.30-4pm, every Saturday, Grafton Street, DUBLIN

UNVEILING CEREMONIES: To Volunteers Dwyane O'Donnell and Malcolm Nugent and also to civilian Tommi Armstrong. Assemble 2pm, Sunday, 7 March, Republican Plot, Galbally Church, COUNTY TYRONE. Afterwards, unveiling of a Celtic Cross to Volunteer John Quinn and rally

and oration at Altmore, COUNTY TYRONE
INC PUBLIC MEETING: 8pm, Wednesday, 10 March, Downing Street, LONDON. Organised by The Irish Women's Defence Campaign. For further information tel: 071 249 7318

PUBLIC MEETING AND EXHIBITION: Women and the War in Ireland, 7pm, Thursday, 11 March, The Roger Casement Irish Centre, 131 St John's Way, ISLINGTON. Guest speakers: Kate Magge, Eilish McAnespie McCabe, Belfast night to follow at the Victoria pub, Holloway Road. 9pm until late. Organised by The Irish Women's Defence Campaign. For further information tel: 071 249 7318

PICKET ON 10 DOWNING STREET: To deliver a petition and put a voice to our disgust at

the British government's indifference to violence against women, 11am, Friday, 12 March, Downing Street, LONDON. Organised by The Irish Women's Defence Campaign. For further information tel: 071 249 7318

PUBLIC MEETING: 12.30pm, Friday, 12 March, Green Room, Student's Union, Leicester University, LEICESTER. Speaker: Kate Magge. Organised by Leicester University Troops Out Movement. For more information contact: Kate Magge, Support Group, PO Box 158, Derby, DE19NB

PUBLIC MEETING: Free the Beachmount Five, 7pm, Friday, 12 March, City Halls, GLASGOW. Speaker from Beechmount

Five Campaign.

FUNCTION: Featuring The Irish Brigade, 5.30pm, Saturday, 13 March, Muhuddart House, BLANCHARDSTOWN. Táille £2.50. Organised by the Joe McDonnell Cumann

DEMONSTRATIONS: Saturday, 13 March, Govan, GLASGOW. Details from the Glasgow Bands Alliance. All bands and supporters expected to attend both events. Fraternal invite is extended to all solidarity groups

ANTI-EXTRADITION NATIONAL ORGANISING MEETING: 12.30pm, Saturday, 13 March. Teacher's Club, Parnell Square, DUBLIN. All welcome

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY PICKET: 1.30pm, Sunday 14 March. Picket on Durham Jail, in support of Irish women POWs, Old Elvet, DURHAM. Transport from Birmingham; Cambridge at 8am

TOM SMITH COMMEMORATION: After 11 o'clock mass, Wednesday, 17 March, Iris Fáil GAA Club, Malahide Road, BALGRIFFIN. Táille £2.50. Bus from GPO, O'Connell Street, 7.30pm sharp. £1 return

WELCOME HOME FOR REPUBLICAN PRISONER SEAMUS CLARKE: Irish band night, Wednesday, 17 March, Iris Fáil GAA Club, Malahide Road, BALGRIFFIN. Táille £2.50. Bus from GPO, O'Connell Street, 7.30pm sharp. £1 return

Notices

In Díl Chuimhne

DYNES, Eddie; FARRELL, Máiréad; KAVANAGH, Albert; McCANN, Dan; NUGENT, Malcolm; O'DONNELL, Dwayne; QUINN, John; SAVAGE, Séan; WILKINSON, Noel. In proud and loving memory of Volunteers Eddie Dynes (died 1 March 1983), Máiréad Farrell (died 6 March 1988), Albert Kavanagh (died 4 March 1972), Dan McCann (died 6 March 1988), Malcolm Nugent (died 3 March 1991), Dwayne O'Donnell (died 3 March 1991), John Quinn (died 3 March 1991), Séan Savage (died 6 March 1988), Noel Wilkinson (died 2 March 1991). "People who refuse to stop fighting can never be repressed — they either win or they die — which is more attractive than losing and dying" — George Jackson. Proudly remembered by their friends and comrades in the Republican Movement.

ARMSTRONG, Tommy (2nd Ann.).

In loving memory of Thomas who died on 3 March 1991. Treasured memories silently kept, life goes on but we never forget. Always remembered by Brian, Breige, Barry, Mark, Séanna and Fergal.

BURNS, Brendan (5th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Brendan Burns died 29 February 1988. February comes with sad regret, the day the sun will never forget. Sweet are your memories, dear is your name close to our hearts, Brendan, you will always remain. Always remembered by Carmel, Ciara and the MacCooey family.

BURNS, Brendan (5th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Brendan Burns always remembered by Thomas.

BURNS, James (11th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer James Burns, from his loving mother, Bridget.

BURNS, James (11th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer James Burns. Always remembered by his brothers and sisters, brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, Joe and Betty; Clara and Joe; Bridget and Harry; Maura and John; Bernadette and Joe; Harry and Deirdre; Kevin and Evelyn; Pat and Sandra; Veronica and Paddy; Paul, Jerry and Louise.

BURNS, James (11th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer James Burns. Always remembered by his Aunt Lily, Joe and the Daykin family.

BURNS, James (11th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer James Burns. Always remembered by his Aunt Teresa, Micky and the O'Callaghan family.

BURNS, James (11th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer James Burns. Remembered with pride by Larry, Sarah, Claire and James Burns, Derry.

BURNS, James (11th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of our dear nephew Volunteer James Burns, Belfast Brigade, Oglais na hÉireann, murdered 23 February 1981. Fond memories of a soldier, one of Éire's bravest sons. Through the gallant efforts of our nephew, 'Skipper' Burns, to fight against the oppressor, to bravely face the foe, for the cause of Irish freedom, he devoted life and soul. Sworn to be free. Always remembered by Kate and Bernadette Reid, USA.

BURNS, James (11th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer James Burns, murdered 23 February 1981 RIP. The road to freedom is paved with suffering, hardships and torture, carry on my brave and gallant comrades until that certain day. Deeply loved and remembered by his children Maria, Kathleen and Paula.

BURNS, Brendan; MOLEY, Brendan (5th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteers Brendan Burns and Brendan Moley, South Armagh Brigade, Oglais na hÉireann, who were murdered by crown forces on 29 February 1988. Always remembered with pride by the Crossmaglen Patriots' Republican Flute Band, Wishaw, Scotland.

CLANCY, Peter; O'DONNELL, Kevin Barry; O'FARRELL, Séan; VINCENT, Patrick. In proud and lov-

ing memory of Volunteers Peter Clancy, Kevin Barry O'Donnell, Séan O'Farrell and Patrick Vincent killed on 16 February 1992. Always remembered by the Mac Auley family, Strabane.

DUFFY, Paul (15th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Paul Duffy murdered in Ardboe, 26 February 1978. Always remembered with pride by Tony Aherne/Paul Duffy Moortown/Ardboe Sinn Féin Cumann.

FARRELL, Máiréad (5th Ann.). In loving memory of a dear sister and aunt. Murdered by British imperialism in Gibraltar on 6 March 1988. Always remembered by Jenny, Máiréad and Niall. Beidh an lá inn.

FARRELL, Máiréad (5th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Máiréad Farrell killed while on active service on 6 March 1988 in Gibraltar by her comrades Volunteers Dan McCann and Séan Savage. Deeply missed by Bobby and John.

FARRELL, Máiréad (5th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Máiréad Farrell who was killed on active service in Gibraltar on 6 March 1988. Also in memory of Volunteers Dan McCann and Séan Savage. A Mhúire na nGael, guigh orthu. Deeply regretted by the Storey Family.

FARRELL, Máiréad (5th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Máiréad Farrell, murdered by the SAS in Gibraltar 6 March 1988. Always remembered by Séamus and the Finucane family.

FARRELL, Máiréad; McCANN, Dan; SAVAGE, Séan (5th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Máiréad, Dan and Séan. Ireland's struggle continues 'till victory, our deaths make that a certainty. They died as they lived, active and committed republicans. Always remembered by Lily Fitzsimmons and family, Turf Lodge.

FARRELL, Máiréad; McCANN, Dan; SAVAGE, Séan (2nd Ann.). Slain Sunday morning, 6 March 1988, in Gibraltar. We love them yet, we can't forget Tom and Vita Cox, Florida, USA.

FARRELL, Máiréad; McCANN, Dan; SAVAGE, Séan (5th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteers Máiréad Farrell, Dan McCann and Séan Savage killed by British crown forces in Gibraltar on 6 March 1988. Always remembered by Siobhán.

FARRELL, Máiréad (5th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of my friend Máiréad who was killed on active service with her comrades Dan and Séan on 6 March 1988. Proudly remembered by Pete.

KAVANAGH, Albert (21st Ann.). In proud and loving memory of my dearly beloved son Albert (RIP), who was killed on 4 March 1972. Time may close the book of grief but memories turn back every leaf. Memories we treasure one by one, things you said and the songs you sang, they bring a smile and many a tear and always a wish that you were here. Loved and missed by his mother, May.

KAVANAGH, Albert (21st Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Sam Marshall who was killed by the RUC and loyalist assassins on 7 March 1990. Always remembered by Peter, Colleen, Rory and Michelle.

MARSHALL, Sam (3rd Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Sam Marshall who struggled for justice your name will always live on. Proudly remembered by Alice, Shane and Tanya, Lucy and Danny.

MARSHALL, Sam (3rd Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Sam Marshall who was killed by the RUC and loyalist assassins on 7 March 1990. Always remembered by Conor, Gerry, Paul, Benny and all the lads at the Wall.

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MARSHALL, Sam (3rd Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Sam Marshall who struggled with love and pride by Burns/Toman/MacKerr Sinn Féin Cumann, Upper Bawn.

McCANN, Dan (5th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Dan McCann murdered by the SAS in Gibraltar 6 March 1988. Always remembered by Séamus and the Finucane family.

MOLEY, Brendan (5th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Brendan Moley. Always remembered by Thomas, Marie and Ryan.

MOLEY, Brendan (5th Ann.). In memory of Volunteer Brendan Moley, South Armagh, Brigade Oglais na hÉireann, who died on active service on 29 February 1988. Silent thoughts of times together hold memories that will last forever. Sleep well our brave soldier, sleep well. Stories will often tell a name we say and call with pride, for in our hearts you have never died. Proudly remembered always by Dónal, Teresa and Laura.

MARSHALL, Sam (3rd Ann.). In proud and loving memory of my brother Sam, murdered by the RUC and loyalist assassins on 7 March 1990. We speak your name with love and pride, we smile through the tears we try to hide. You left a place no one can ever fill, we miss you Sam and always will. Sadly missed by your sister Fra, brother-in-law Tony and nephew Sam.

NUGENT, Malcolm (2nd Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Malcolm Nugent, murdered by loyalist assassins 3 March 1991. Always remembered with love and pride by Aunty Annie, James and

brother Sam who was murdered by the RUC and loyalist assassins on 7 March 1990. Life springs from death and from the graves of patriotic men and women springs living nations. Always remembered and never forgotten by your brother John, sister-in-law Colette and children.

MARSHALL, Sam (3rd Ann.). In proud and loving memory of my brother Sam who was murdered by the RUC and loyalist assassins on 7 March 1990. The leaves and flowers may set but the hearts of those that love you dearly are the ones that won't forget. Sadly missed by sister Caroline, brother-in-law Martin and niece Natalie.

MARSHALL, Sam (3rd Ann.). In proud and loving memory of my brother Sam who was murdered by the RUC and loyalist assassins on 7 March 1990. Words are few but thoughts are deep. Memories of you we'll always keep. Always remembered by Linda, Roger and Kerri.

MARSHALL, Sam (3rd Ann.). In proud and loving memory of my brother Sam who was murdered by the RUC and loyalist assassins on 7 March 1990. Words are few but thoughts are deep. Memories of you we'll always keep. Always remembered by Martina, Hughie and family.

MARSHALL, Sam (3rd Ann.). In proud and loving memory of my brother Sam who was murdered by the RUC and loyalist assassins on 7 March 1990. If you strike us down we shall rise again and renew the fight. You can't extinguish the Irish passion for freedom." — Pádraig Pearse. Always remembered by brother Gerry, Elaine and baby Amy.

MARSHALL, Sam (3rd Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Sam Marshall who was murdered by the RUC and loyalist assassins on 7 March 1990. You can kill the revolutionary but never the revolution. Always remembered by Colie, Susie and Caitriona.

MARSHALL, Sam (3rd Ann.). In proud and loving memory of my friend Sam, murdered by the RUC and loyalist assassins on 7 March 1990. Always remembered by Bean (Long Kesh).

MARSHALL, Sam (3rd Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Sam Marshall who was murdered by the RUC and loyalist assassins on 7 March 1990. In the hearts of those that struggle for justice your name will always live on. Proudly remembered by Alice, Shane and Tanya, Lucy and Danny.

MARSHALL, Sam (3rd Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Sam Marshall who was killed by the RUC and loyalist assassins on 7 March 1990. Always remembered by Geraldine, Maghaberry.

MARSHALL, Sam (3rd Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Sam Marshall who was killed by the RUC and loyalist assassins on 7 March 1990. Always remembered by Jim Lynch, Sinn Féin Cumann, Clogher.

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QUINN, John; O'DONNELL, Séan.

O'DONNELL, Dwayne (2nd Ann.). In proud and loving memory of our dear son and brother Volunteer Dwayne O'Donnell, Oglais na hÉireann, murdered on 3 March 1991. The days are gone we shared together but precious memories live on forever. Always remembered with love from mum, dad, Barry, Mark, Séanna and Fergal.

O'DONNELL, Dwayne (2nd Ann.). In proud and loving memory of my friend Volunteer Dwayne O'Donnell, killed in Cappagh, 3 March 1991. I measa laochra na nGael go raibh sé. Thinking of you always Dwayne, from Damien.

QUINN, John (2nd Ann.). Always remembered with love and pride, our son and brother John, murdered by British agents on 3 March 1991. We sit and think of you when all alone, we sit and cry when we are on our own. But down we know your cause is not lost. Always remembered by mum and dad, Gerard, Jennifer and Pauline.

QUINN, John (2nd Ann.). In proud and loving memory of my brother Sam who was murdered by the RUC and loyalist assassins on 7 March 1990. Words are few but thoughts are deep. Memories of you we'll always keep. Always remembered by Martina, Hughie and family.

QUINN, John; NUGENT, Malcolm; ARMSTRONG, Tommy (2nd Ann.). In loving memory of Volunteer John Quinn, Volunteer Dwayne O'Donnell, Volunteer Malcolm Nugent and Tommy Armstrong killed on 3 March 1991. You rest among the heroes of our nation, sleep softly brave soldier of Ireland. Remembered always by their friend, Frankie Quinn (Long Kesh).

QUINN, John; O'DONNELL, Dwayne; NUGENT, Malcolm; ARMSTRONG, Tommy (2nd Ann.). In loving memory of Volunteer John Quinn, Volunteer Dwayne O'Donnell, Volunteer Malcolm Nugent and Tommy Armstrong who were murdered by British assassins on 3 March 1991. Always remembered by Dungannon Martyrs Sinn Féin Cumann.

QUINN, John; O'DONNELL, Dwayne; NUGENT, Malcolm; ARMSTRONG, Tommy (2nd Ann.). In loving memory of Volunteer John Quinn, Volunteer Dwayne O'Donnell, Volunteer Malcolm Nugent and Tommy Armstrong who were murdered by British assassins on 3 March 1991. Always remembered by Coalisland Martyrs Sinn Féin Cumann.

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MOST PEOPLE GET A LAUGH from documentaries about the paranoia which surrounded the early days of rock and roll, when parents took the lock-up-your-daughters message seriously and their offspring became rebels without a cause. Elvis Presley's below the waist gyrations couldn't be shown on television for fear of the damage he could do to public morals and middle-aged guardians in original Gary Larson horn-rimmed glasses condemned *Jailhouse Rock* as the devil's music.

When I was in college we had an annual treat when the "born again" crowd would come along with their inverted record player and entertain us by 'proving' that when Rolling Stones' records were played backwards they delivered subconscious messages telling gullible youngsters to smoke marijuana and support their local coven.

These straight-faced idiots are not the only inheritors of the 1950s' anti-rock generation. Begrudgingly is also alive and kicking in Ballymena, a known apex of the notorious Orange Triangle, where councillors have banned an Electric Light Orchestra gig on the grounds that rock music is "devil worshipping dressed up as entertainment".

Chief killjoy is DUP Councillor Roy Gillespie, who is a staunch opponent of the four Ds, that is, "drinking, drug-taking, debauchery and devil worshipping".

According to 'Reasonable' Roy: "I stand firmly against rock music — it is the gospel of Satan. It is against God's word, and I am very worried about the hypnotic effect this evil can have on young people." Roy's knowledge of ELO is confined to a vague awareness that they "are not a headbanger group".

It will hardly come as a surprise that my own personal nightmare scenario for a United Ireland centres around a majority DUP government — a twilight zone reminiscent of the film, *The Land That Time Forgot*, in which last week's decision of Craigavon DUP councillors to refuse to attend a charity dance "because there would be drinking and smoking" would be commonplace.

Aaargh!!!

WHEN Irish people are arrested under the Prevention of Terrorism Act in Britain they are routinely carted off to the top-security Paddington Green Police Barracks, to give their arrest that bit more gravitas with the media.

But it doesn't say much for the quality of this security that

a woman who was arrested for allegedly being involved in prostitution was handed keys to the prison along with her belongings when she was released on bail.

The Metropolitan Police have since been unable to track down the woman or the keys.

PROFITEERING in time of war is not something that is looked upon with a great deal of sympathy by the great British public.

But this is exactly what British minister John Gummer has been accused of. A House of Commons public expenditure committee has been asked to investigate the manner in which £17,000 was spent by the top Tory in 1988. The money was supposed to go towards security measures at his Suffolk home to protect him from the IRA, but other MPs suspect that quite a bit went towards home improvements designed more for comfort than safety.

REMEMBERING THE PAST THE PRESS ■ BY PETER O'ROURKE

THE PRESS, one of the most militant newspapers of the United Irishmen, began publication in Dublin in October 1797, within months of the suppression of *The Northern Star*.

One of the first tasks of the Society of United Irishmen, established in October 1791, was to start a newspaper and towards the end of January 1792, the first issue of *The Northern Star*, the official newspaper of the organisation, appeared in Belfast.

Throughout the following years, government harassment of the staff of *The Northern Star* intensified. In 1796, by which time the United Irishmen had been driven underground and become a secret society with the aim of establishing an Irish Republic by force of arms, Samuel Neilson, its editor, was arrested and imprisoned in Newgate Jail.

In May 1797, following the failure of the French expedition under the command of General Hoche the previous December, a detachment of the Irish militia raided the offices of *The Northern Star*, on the orders of the English general, Lake, they smashed the machinery, confiscated documents and suppressed the paper.

Within months of the suppression of *The Northern Star* it was succeeded by a more revolutionary newspaper, *The Press*. The first issue of the bi-weekly, Dublin-based newspaper appeared in early October 1797.

The Press, the semi-official paper of the United Irishmen, was set up by Arthur O'Connor and Lord Edward Fitzgerald, the more militant members of the Society of United Irishmen who believed that the country was sufficiently organised and equipped to begin a rising without waiting for the arrival of French assistance.

The more moderate leaders of the United Irishmen, including Thomas Addis Emmet and William McNevin, became alarmed at the paper's heady doctrines. Its tone was not, they believed, in the least calculated to "calm the peasantry" during the critical phase



Gummer will defend himself vigorously, no doubt, but his case will not be helped by the censure he received last month from another Commons committee for failing to declare that a food company had paid to restore his garden pond.

RESIDENTS in the Purdsburn Road area, on the outskirts of Belfast, are not impressed with plans to relocate the British government's forensic laboratories in their area.

They are sensibly opposing

planning permission for the building on the grounds that their homes would be damaged should the IRA decide to repeat their September performance, when the old laboratories at Newtownbreda were flattened.

TWENTY-FOUR TONNES of the fertiliser used to make those massive boomerangs has been stolen from a Lurgan farm suppliers.

The identities of the individuals who made off with the 480 bags are still unknown, even though it is called Supergrass.

"WHAT! are we become stocks or stones, that the hot constitution of corruption should thus throw off the last thin veil of decency, and walk, unblushing and unabashed, before the land? Or, was it but the ebullient intoxication of a young cabinet, flushed with success beyond their hope, and reeling from the giddy elevation of power, as far

above their strength to maintain, as their merits to deserve? Admitting the necessity of the increased number of places, still the great grievance remains."

Thus wrote Theobald Wolfe Tone in 1790 about the brazenness of the English ministers in Ireland hiring "place men" and paying them out of the public purse.

of forming a huge underground army.

In February 1798, O'Connor was arrested at Margate in England while en route to France to meet members of the French Directory to finalise arrangements for an invasion of Ireland. He was imprisoned in the Tower of London.

Fearing that the more militant members of the United Irishmen, now led by Fitzgerald, might attempt a rising without waiting for French help, the English Viceroy in Ireland, John Camden, suppressed *The Press* in March 1798.

All members of the United Irishmen now swung back behind the moderate leadership of Emmet and McNevin, who had feared that O'Connor would stir up trouble if he got to France. As for *The Press*, its suppression had been well received by many of the United Irish leaders because of the danger of its sparking off a premature rising.

Within a week of the suppression of *The Press*, 15 of the leaders of the United Irishmen were arrested in Dublin. During the following weeks scores of others were arrested and the rising which eventually began on 23 May 1798, was crushed with ruthless severity during the summer.

The Press, the newspaper of the United Irishmen, was suppressed on 3 March 1798, 195 years ago this week.



● Messages from beyond the grave.

Dúirt Siad

As regards Northern Ireland, we have considerably strengthened our position. Labour are now in control of Foreign Affairs, something we never had in previous coalitions. We are able to show creative flexibility concerning Articles Two and Three. — Dublin Minister for Employment and Enterprise, Ruairí Quinn, in the March edition of *Fortnight Magazine*.

I propose that both articles be replaced with an aspirational claim towards the unity of both the people and the island. Given that Dick Spring is Minister for Foreign Affairs, I can't see how we have conceded anything to Fianna Fáil with regard to Northern Ireland. — Ruairí Quinn in *Fortnight*.

A balanced accommodation of constitutional issues will be necessary, one that not only recognises and respects the importance of the present wishes of a majority but also the validity of an agreed Ireland as a long-term goal. — Albert Reynolds at the Fianna Fáil Youth Conference, Sunday, 28 February.

[Articles Two and Three] are not cast in bronze. The Irish Constitution for that matter is not cast in bronze. — Dick Spring in a BBC interview, Sunday, 28 February.

The government will, as I said in December, warmly, solemnly and steadfastly uphold Northern Ireland's status. We are not indifferent, we are not neutral. — Direct Ruler Patrick Mayhew, Tuesday, 2 March.

Swanning around in a safari suit with a Sandanista leader in one hand and a press release defending the Well Woman Centre in the other is, after all, not quite as subversive as attacking imperialism in one's own country. — Profile of Michael D Higgins in the *Phoenix* magazine, 12 February.

I don't think Articles Two and Three should be removed. It's just another stumbling block the unionists put up and once they're taken away the unionists will find something else to gripe about. The South of Ireland is very apathetic to us. And even if the Irish government and the Irish people don't want us, at least the Constitution claims to want us, so it gives nationalists something to aspire to. — Student from St Patrick's Academy, Dungannon, on the *Gay Byrne Show*, RTE Radio One, Wednesday, 3 March.

News

Sinn Féin says "tax the rich"

TWO key financial centres in Dublin were targeted by Sinn Féin on the day following Bertie Ahern's budget.

Dublin Sinn Féin members staged an occupation of the Central Bank on Dame Street on Thursday, 25 February. A large group of protesters entered the foyer of the Central Bank with placards calling for equitable taxation measures and criticising the budget. The demonstrators chanted slogans including "tax the greedy, not the needy" for over quarter of an hour before being forced to vacate the bank building by gardai.

The Sinn Féin protesters had earlier mounted a picket at the Dublin Stock Exchange on Anglesea Street. They were prevented from entering the building by the presence of Special Branch officers backed up by a large force of uniformed gardai and were forced to mount a picket outside.

Among the Sinn Féin demands was that the profits made by currency speculators be taxed. The party also criticised the government's 1% levy on workers, who

they said were already hard hit by other temporary levies, mortgage rises and the threat of unemployment. Action was demanded also on the rising unemployment figures and the drain of profits from Ireland by multinational corporations.

Sinn Féin activist Larry O'Toole, who participated in the occupation and picket, asked people to "contrast the harsh treatment in the budget of those who are the mainstay of the economy with the treatment of speculators who have done so much to undermine that economy over the past few months".

O'Toole added that Sinn Féin would "continue to agitate about the government's failure to address the economic crisis facing Irish workers, the unemployed and the poor and will target those responsible for gambling with Ireland's economy and the livelihoods of Irish people".



● Sinn Féin activists pledged to take the struggle against capitalist control to the financial institutions of the state

Fight for free speech hots up

■ BY ART MAC EOIN

AS THE HEARING of RTE's appeal of the High Court judgement in the case of censored trade unionist Larry O'Toole begins in Dublin's Supreme Court on Thursday, 4 March international bodies have expressed their opposition to Section 31.

In the High Court on 31 July, Justice Rory O'Hanlon ruled that RTE had applied the Section 31 ministerial order too widely. He found in favour of the right of Larry O'Toole to be broadcast as a trade union representative on behalf of the striking workers in the Gateaux bakery in Dublin in 1990. He went on to say that RTE's refusal to broadcast O'Toole because of his membership of Sinn Féin was "bad in law, erroneous, based on a misconception of the law and null and void".

Instead of welcoming this interpretation, which would have provided for greater freedom of speech, RTE appealed for the judgement to the Supreme Court.

The appeal will be attended by the Irish Secretary of the NUJ, Jim Eadie, as a gesture of support for Larry O'Toole. Eadie said that in attending, he was hoping to "witness a little bit of enlightenment". O'Toole has also received messages of support from TDs Declan Bree and Tony Gregory who will also attend the hearing. Declan Bree said that he had spoken to broadcasting minister, Michael D Higgins, on the O'Toole case.

Support for Larry O'Toole has been building internationally. The International Federation of Journalists (IFJ), the largest organisation of journalists in the world, with more than 300,000 members from 70 countries, has

endorsed O'Toole's case.

In a message the IFJ said: "We have protested against government orders preventing the media from speaking on banned subjects and we consider it an outrage to extend such a ban to any member of Sinn Féin speaking on any subject in any capacity.

"We call on RTE to accept the High Court decision, holding that RTE abused Section 31 of the Broadcasting Act by refusing to broadcast Larry O'Toole's statements as a spokesperson for a strike committee and to withdraw its demand to the Irish Supreme Court for what appears to be, a greater restriction of its free speech rights."

Support has also been received from the Newspaper Guild in the United States. The American equivalent of the NUJ said:

"We are astonished that RTE, instead of welcoming this liberal interpretation of an abhorrent censorship statute, is asking the Irish Supreme Court for a greater restriction of its free speech rights. We trust the Court will not heed this self-bondage plea and affirm the right of trade-union spokespersons to be heard regardless of political affiliation."

It has emerged that Conor Cruise O'Brien has filed an affidavit supporting the radio ban on an ad for a collec-

tion of short stories by Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams. A legal challenge by the publishers, Brandon Books, to the ban imposed by RTE and the Independent Radio and Television Commission is under way.

O'Brien has supplied an affidavit for the IRTC in support of the ban against a 20 second commercial for *The Street and Other Stories*, published last year. In his affidavit O'Brien defends the ban on the grounds that its tone "is uniformly one of antipathy to the security forces and the police".

Brandon Books Director, Steve McDonagh, has called the ban "absurd" and added that broadcasters ought to be championing freedom of expression rather than trying to restrict it. Reacting to the fact that Conor

Cruise O'Brien is actively supporting the ban, McDonagh has expressed misgivings regarding an invitation to O'Brien to speak at Writers' Week in Listowel, County Kerry. Writers' Week "is about creative writing, about poetry and novels and it is about writers", he said.

"All creative writers have an inherent interest in freedom of expression and the task now is not to engage in sterile debate but to discuss and set about the business of dispelling the dense cloud of censorship that envelops the written and the broadcast word in this country."

In a further attack on freedom of speech from a predictable quarter, an editorial in the current edition of *Police Beat*, the magazine of the RUC's repre-

sentative body, the Police Federation, accused journalists of a "calculated rejection" of British government censorship laws.

It accused the BBC and UTV of rejecting government direction by using actors' voices to speak the words of banned persons. It also accused the British government of "failing to act", to prevent the media from pursuing this practice and alleged that "terrorists have hijacked the media for their own uses".

In a crude attempt to intimidate journalists the editorial told the media that, "it is not merely a passive observer of the terrorist campaign". The head of the NUJ in Belfast, called for a withdrawal of the remarks which were described as "very dangerous".



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