



An Phoblacht

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REPUBLICAN NEWS

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Neither Brussels nor Bonn but Ireland



● Anti-Maastricht demonstrators re-enact the execution of James Connolly outside Dublin Castle on May 12th

THE STIRRING WORDS of James Connolly's banner over Liberty Hall "We serve neither King nor Kaiser but Ireland" which proclaimed Ireland's neutrality and right to independence during the First World War were recalled again this week as another betrayal of Irish sovereignty was being planned. On the 76th anniversary of Connolly's execution, Albert Reynolds was addressing an Irish Congress of Trade Unions meeting calling for a YES vote in the Maastricht referendum on June 18th.

In Dublin Castle where Connolly lay in a hospital bed before his execution on May 12th 1916 the ICTU staged what was little more than a public rela-

Reynolds took the stand and tried to present Maastricht as a "good deal for Irish workers" and the ICTU leadership agreed with him.

European Union will take away the already limited sovereign power of the Dublin government to introduce policies — even if it had the will to do so — to tackle the crisis of 300,000 unemployed and over a million people in poverty. The Irish people will have less of a democratic voice and less power in the European Union parliament and government than when Irish MPs sat

in Westminster under the Act of Union with Britain before 1921.

Trade unionists demonstrating outside the conference said that the legacy of Connolly was being betrayed. An actor playing Jim Larkin declared:

"When the leaders of labour join hands with those who would bludgeon the people into an agreement which serves first and foremost the rich and powerful, Connolly is betrayed. When the leaders of labour assist the founding of a new military

machine, equipped with weapons of mass destruction, Connolly is betrayed.

"But I have no power to save him, not then and not now. My comrade James Connolly is gone and only his principles remain. The ideals of peace, of justice and of democracy are for you the living, and only you can win them for yourselves. If you save that for which he died and leave him to his fate you will have better served his memory."

— See CAP-in-Hand Economy p6

JUDITH WARD FREE! SEE PAGE 3

News

Soldier injured in landmine

IRA denies video racket allegations

1st TYRONE BRIGADE IRA claimed one British paratrooper was seriously injured and others wounded when an anti-personnel landmine exploded as their foot patrol passed at Fashglusagh Road in Cappagh, County Tyrone on Tuesday, May 11th.

The British paratroopers were passing a derelict building when the explosion occurred. The most seriously wounded lost both legs in the blast and he and the other British casualties were later airlifted out of the area.

■ SHOPPING CENTRE BLITZED

Europe's largest out of town shopping centre, the Metrocentre at Gateshead, Tyneside, England, was the target of IRA firebombs on Saturday and Sunday, May 9th/10th.

Seven firebombs ignited in shops on Sunday morning following the discovery of three others on Saturday night.

In a statement the IRA said: "An active service unit of the IRA carried out the weekend incendiary attacks on the Gateshead Metrocentre, northeast England which caused widespread disruption and an estimated loss of £1.5 million in trade."

"Attacks on Britain's military and economic infrastructure will continue as long as Britain's military occupation of the North of Ireland continues."

■ VIDEO CLAIMS DENIED

The IRA has hit back at claims that it is involved in pirate videos. The IRA statement followed raids on both sides of the border when several hundred thousand pirate videos were seized with the RUC and gardai claiming that the IRA was involved. This was strenuously denied in a statement issued by Ogligh na hÉireann in Dublin and signed "P O'Neill, Irish Republican Publicity Bureau" on Wednesday, May 13th. It said:

"The IRA totally rejects allegations of involvement in pirate videos, pornographic or otherwise."

"This is the latest baseless allegation in the propaganda campaign which has alleged IRA involvement in everything from drug dealing to Angel Dust and dog fighting. Not a shred of evidence has ever been produced to support any of these claims."

"People should see these smears for what they are — part of the British government's dirty tricks campaign which has the eager collaboration of the gardai."

"If either force was really concerned about drug-dealing or other criminal activities, it would concentrate on those who are really dealing in drugs and pornography instead of using such serious matters as propaganda against republicans."

"The role of sections of the media in unquestioningly carrying this propaganda when no substance to the allegations has ever been shown should not go unchallenged by members of that profession."

■ BARRACKS BLASTED

South Fermanagh Brigade IRA in a statement have claimed responsibility for the massive bomb attack on the RUC barracks in Fivemiletown, County Tyrone on Thursday, May 7th.

The statement said that three active service units of Ogligh na hÉireann were involved. As one unit secured the area two other units waited until two armoured cars drove into the barracks before moving a tractor with the bomb attached up to the only part of the barracks which was not covered by a blast wall.

Driving through a hedge and over a garden they then left the bomb beside the perimeter fence. The severe rain and gales on the night helped to obscure the barracks' security cameras and the Volunteers successfully withdrew from the

immediate area.

The bomb went off at 10.25pm and demolished a sizeable portion of the barracks, British army reinforcements were airlifted to the scene and took up positions around the blasted base. Hours later a British soldier of the 1st Battalion Staffordshire regiment shot his company sergeant dead.

In yet another attack South Fermanagh Brigade claimed responsibility for an improvised grenade attack on an unmarked armoured car in Lisnaskea, County Fermanagh. Around 10.30pm on Saturday evening May 9th, IRA Volunteers had taken up position beside the RUC barracks and as the armoured car drove up to it a Volunteer lobbed the grenade. The device hit the car but only the detonator exploded.

■ PATROLS ATTACKED

Belfast Brigade Volunteers launched a number of attacks against British army and RUC patrols throughout the North, South and West of the city. The first attack took place in the Markets area when on Wednesday night, May 6th, an improvised device was thrown at a crown forces patrol at 11pm.

On Friday afternoon, May 8th, in Beechmount a number of IRA Volunteers took up positions and waited on a regular British army foot patrol. When the footpatrol appeared at 4pm the Volunteers, using automatic rifles, fired over 40 shots at them, and in the exchange of fire a building worker was slightly injured.

In the attack in the north of the city on Monday evening, May 11th, IRA Volunteers successfully immobilized a British army armoured personnel carrier. During the attack at close quarters a Volunteer lobbed the improvised grenade from a couple of yards at the carrier which detonated on impact wrecking three wheels of the vehicle and injuring the British soldiers inside.

IN BRIEF...

Northern Bank under pressure

The largest credit union in the Six Counties is being lobbied to withdraw its account from the Northern Bank. The fair employment group 'Equality' has asked Derry Credit Union to close its Northern Bank account after a decision taken during a meeting held in Derry city last week.

The Credit Union has over £400,000 lodged in the bank and as part of Equality's strategy they were asked to move this sizeable amount to another bank with a fairer employment record. A spokesperson at the meeting said that "community money cannot, and should not, be used to subsidise and perpetuate the very institutions in this state which deny equality to that same community".

Since last year the Northern Bank has been targeted by Equality which challenges its employment practices and has organised pickets outside its premises, account closures, the leafleting of many homes, and a very successful boycott of its 'illegal' banknotes. In a very well received speech, Oliver Kearney, honorary secretary of Equality, reaffirmed the group's commitment saying that, "we cannot wait another 25 or another 50 years for equality in this state".

MacBride boost in US

The State Government Committee of the Pennsylvania Senate voted by a nine to one majority last week in favour of a bill which will require its pension funds invested in the Six Counties to be subject to annual scrutiny for compliance with the fair employment principles.

This is a further boost to the MacBride Principles and campaigners in the US are keeping up the battle against the inequality of employment practiced by many private and public firms in the Six Counties. Commenting on the vote, Sinn Féin President, Gerry Adams congratulated the anti-discrimination lobby in the USA for their dedicated and continuing work on behalf of one of the most oppressed sections of Irish society.

He said that, "the paltry 0.4% increase in Catholic participation in the Six-County workforce attributed to the revised Fair Employment Act is abundant proof of the necessity to maintain political pressure on the British government to effect real and significant change."

Leitrim and Fermanagh united again

A team of up to 50 local people succeeded in re-opening the closed border bridge at Dooard, Rossinver on Saturday, May 9th. The bridge is now the only unblocked crossing between counties Leitrim and Fermanagh.

The work involved the removal of four concrete-filled steel reinforced bins, which were enclosed in steel shuttering and built onto the crown of the bridge. The team used a jack-hammer, cutting equipment, picks and shovels and removed the obstacles without damage to the bridge.

Afterwards a spokesperson for the Fermanagh/Leitrim Community Association said:

"Leitrim and Fermanagh are united again. The people's crossing at Dooard, Rossinver has been re-opened. It is high time that the Irish government representatives followed the lead set by the local community and insist that the British authorities make good the damage they have done to our roads."

"Our work today ensures the local community can freely travel these roads for work or social purposes and that visitors will have access to this most beautiful part of our country."

"We will continue to re-open our roads as often as is necessary, and we will publicly call on the Irish authorities to ensure our gardai and army are never again used as babysitters for British military vandals if they attempt to again destroy this crossing."

Garda raids spread to Shannon

The political repression which has afflicted the South West in recent months has spread to the Shannon area of County Clare. The gardai have carried out a number of raids on homes causing disruption and invading the personal privacy of a number of families. Personal items have been taken from some homes and in some cases have not been returned. One person was asked to explain the layout of her house and in another incident a 12-year-old boy was stopped and questioned while on his way to school.

Elis McGettigan, Secretary of the local Terence MacSwiney Cumann, Sinn Féin has approached the gardai about the latest raids and the manner in which they have been carried out. Sinn Féin is awaiting a response from the gardai regarding the queries.



RUC reopens Lanark Way

THE RUC'S DECISION to reopen Lanark Way on Wednesday, May 13th has been strongly criticised by the Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams. He said the local people had forced the closure of the route used by loyalist murder squads but it is now apparent that "the RUC's reopening indicates that closing it was merely a face-saving exercise after the loyalist murder of Philomena Hanna".

A couple of hours after the route was reopened a loyalist death squad carried out yet another random sectarian murder attempt on a nationalist in the north of the city. This attack occurred around 12.30pm on the Cavehill Road, when two people armed with handguns confronted the man as he worked

on the renovation of a house.

When he saw the two he made an attempt to escape but was followed and shot several times in the chest, stomach and legs. Although seriously injured he remained conscious until the ambulance arrived and his condition in hospital was described as satisfactory.

The attack occurred in an area which is constantly patrolled by crown forces and local people have expressed concern about the apparent ease with which loyalist death squads can roam freely, seeking out nationalist victims.

The Sinn Féin councillor for the area, Paddy McManus reiterated local people's concern and suspicions when he said "the ability of the death squads to evade both overt and covert crown force activity is clearly based on prior knowledge of their movements".

The car used in the attack was later found abandoned close by in the Westland Road estate, which is close to the Cavehill Road.

News

Stormont talks spring leaks

■ BY HILDA
Mac THOMAS

IN SPITE OF AN AGREEMENT by the four parties involved in the Stormont talks to observe media silence, no sooner had the parties submitted their proposals on the administration of the North than the main points of these proposals hit the headlines on BBC's evening news on Tuesday. The leak included the unionists' reaction to the SDLP's proposal in one word — "outrageous"!

The SDLP is apparently proposing that the North be run by a team of six commissioners, three appointed by London, Dublin and Brussels respectively, and three elected from the North. The reason for unionist outrage is plain to see: first of all this would institutionalise a role for Dublin in the running of the North;

would institutionalise power-sharing by giving one commissioner's post to the SDLP; and would leave the unionists in a minority of two in the Commission.

The unionist proposals are far from original: an assembly in Stormont with a system of committees to deal with various matters, and a chair

elected by proportional representation — in other words a unionist. These proposals sound quite close to what the unionists of the United Ulster Unionist Council offered at the Constitutional Convention in 1975: no institutionalised power-sharing but some nationalist involvement through committees. Similar gestures were made by unionists during Jim Prior's 'rolling devolution' Assembly which ran from 1982 to 1985. Boycotted by Sinn Féin and the SDLP, the Assembly comprised only the OUP, DUP and Alliance, and unionists had made a great play of offering the chair of the Education Committee to the then leader of the Alliance Party, John Cushman, a "Roman Catholic". This

was not met with universal approval in unionist quarters at the time.

The Alliance Party's proposals edge a little closer to the 1973 power-sharing model by suggesting 'responsibility sharing'. So the gap between the parties as always edge around the two key issues: what role for Dublin, and how much are unionists prepared to share power. Very little has moved in almost 20 years, and there is no sign, if the leaks are accurate, that unionists have anything more to offer than in 1975.

This does not augur well for the outcome of the inter-party talks, ensconced as they are in the old partitionist framework, with no real pres-

sure on the British from the SDLP and Dublin to start playing a constructive role. The British government has no illusion about the ability of the four parties to come to a consensus, and is running with the current talks to fill a political vacuum. They have their own proposal tucked away in some folder, waiting to see the light of day when the four parties grind to a halt. It is most likely to consist of the regional councils which OUP leader James Molyneux has been advocating for many years. What these regional councils would achieve is doubtful. If three were set up, two would be in unionist hands.

As for the right of Irish people to decide their own political destiny, and settle their differences without outside interference, once again there is no one at the talks table to defend it. The British agenda rules the day.



● Judith Ward celebrates following her release after 18 years of wrongful imprisonment

Judith Ward released

FOLLOWING 18 years in English jails for offences she did not commit, Judith Ward received bail and walked from the London Court of Appeal on Monday, May 11th.

Her release follows those of the Maguire family, the Guildford Four and the Birmingham Six, all of whom were victims of a savage British assault on the Irish community in Britain during the early 1970s. Judith Ward was one of the first to fall foul of that wave of injustice when she was arrested and jailed for the IRA's M62 coach bomb attack against British military personnel in 1974.

There were scenes of euphoria inside and outside the court as the diminutive Ward (43) emerged into the street. Her release followed a week of high expectation as the crown conceded that her mental instability at the time she admitted to the coach bombing and two other bomb attacks, rendered her conviction unsafe.

On Monday, English Lord Justice Glidewell, sitting with Lord Justices Nolan and Steyn said: "We form the view that no reliance can properly be based upon the various admissions and confessions made by Judith Ward. It follows in our view, we shall inevitably find that her convictions on all counts are unsafe and unsatisfactory."

However, the court did not actually quash the convictions as the rest of her appeal has yet to be heard. In the meantime she was granted bail.

A central aspect of Judith Ward's appeal is that the prosecution failed to disclose vital evidence that would have indicated that she did not commit the offences for which she was convicted. On Monday the

court heard that evidence showing that shoe polish produces similar results to that which scientists at her trial claimed were caused by explosive material, was never disclosed. New scientific evidence will also be introduced to discredit scientific tests at her trial.

The prosecution team which failed to disclose certain evidence included Peter Taylor the current English Lord Chief Justice.

The Judith Ward Support Group welcomed the decision of the Court of Appeal but added that "things are not over until her name is totally cleared and vindicated".

The statement went on to say: "In the light of these developments there are still questions to be answered and issues to be addressed."

"What can be done to prevent this happening again? The PTA ensures that it will and must be looked at, especially in its effects on the Irish community in Britain."

Sinn Féin welcomed Ward's release and accused the British authorities of "deliberately ignoring for 18 years the evidence which was available in 1974 and which proved conclusively that Ward was innocent". Sinn Féin spokesperson on Legal Affairs, Councillor Paddy McManus, added:

"It is important to note that this is not the last miscarriage of justice involving Irish people. There remain many innocent victims of miscarriages of justice in prison. This is particularly true in the North of Ireland, where the judicial system and the laws under which it functions have been fundamentally corrupted by the British governments determination to reshape the legal and judicial system to suit their political objectives."

Historic judgment won

AFTER THE HISTORIC RULING in the Court of Appeal in London, on Wednesday, May 6th, relatives and friends of Irishmen Roy Walsh, Billy Armstrong and Paul Holmes, who were sentenced in 1973, have called for the men's immediate release.

Roy Walsh took the British Home Office to court after he, Armstrong and Holmes were informed following a parole hearing last year that they would not be considered for release until 1995, even though they had already served 18 years.

The case brought by Walsh was successful on two counts and it has caused the British government acute embarrassment because the Home Office has been ordered to reconsider how his case, and those of his two co-accused, was administered. The government was ordered by the High Court to take into account all the evi-

dence, including the fact that five other people charged and sentenced with the three men have long since been released.

The Home Office was also ordered to tell Walsh what tariff the original trial judge set. This is being interpreted by those close to the three as being a serious defeat for the British Home Office in their vindictive insistence on keeping the men imprisoned.

The significance of the ruling is that the secrecy which surrounds the decision making process of parole boards can now be questioned, as can the considerable power of the

Home Secretary, when they alter the tariff set by the trial judge.

There is also the ironic significance of the ruling in that it may allow for Irish prisoners who have endured the British establishment's anti-Irish bias to seek redress through a system which has played a punitive role in such bias.

Roy Walsh's legal representatives are hopeful that he and his two co-accused will be given their original tariff and their cases reviewed at the earliest possible time. In calling for the men's immediate release, relatives and friends have pointed out that they are now into their 20th year in English prisons and that their continued imprisonment would not achieve the "fairness and equality of treatment" ordered by the Court of Appeal.



● Patrick Walsh (right) son of Roy Walsh at the press conference following the High Court ruling

News

VOLUNTEER CHRISTOPHER HARFORD

CHRISTOPHER HARFORD of Walshestown in north County Dublin died on active service with Oglagh na hÉireann on Tuesday, May 5th. The IRA paid tribute to him in a statement saying he was a Volunteer and had died of natural causes:

"The IRA announces with deep regret and sadness the death on active service of IRA Volunteer Christopher Harford of Walshestown, County Dublin. Volunteer Harford died of natural causes on May 5th and his body was conveyed to his home area by his comrades.

"In extending our sympathy to his family, friends and comrades we would like to place on record Volunteer Harford's selfless dedication and his invaluable contribution to the cause of freedom and the removal of the British occupation forces from the north-east of our country."

Christopher Harford attended the Bog of the Ring National School not far from the family home at Walshestown, County Dublin. On leaving school he served his apprenticeship as a carpenter in Byrne's of Balbriggan. He was

regarded as a very good neighbour especially by older people who he was always ready to help out. His three sisters say that even in England, where he lived for a number of years, people regarded him as a good and conscientious neighbour. In his trade as a carpenter he worked all over the country but in the mid-1950s was forced to emigrate to England.

Growing up in a rural area, Christy developed a fondness for animals and birds and relatives and friends describe him as possessing a good sense of humour. He had a deep love of Irish traditions especially traditional

Irish music and played the tin whistle and mouth organ. He had an abiding interest in the local history of his native area of Fingal, north County Dublin, and the wider history of his country about which he read avidly.

Shortly after his return to Ireland in the 1960s he joined the ranks of Oglagh na hÉireann. It was a time when northern nationalists had begun their uprising against the Orange State and conflict was erupting in the Six Counties. Christy was dedicated and

unflinching in his republican activities and deeply respected by his comrades.

In 1984 he was arrested by 26-County state forces and when he got the chance went on the run. From that point on, he was permanently on active service with Oglagh na hÉireann and was held in deep respect by his comrades.

The Republican Movement extends deepest sympathy to his family and friends in Ireland and abroad. I mease laochra na hÉireann go raibh sé.

Statement from Harford family

THE family of Christopher Harford has denied reports in the media which gave the impression that their brother's body was disrespectfully handled. His comrades brought his body to his house at Walshestown on Wednesday, May 6th. His body was laid out on his own bed and draped with a Tricolour. In a statement the Harford family said:

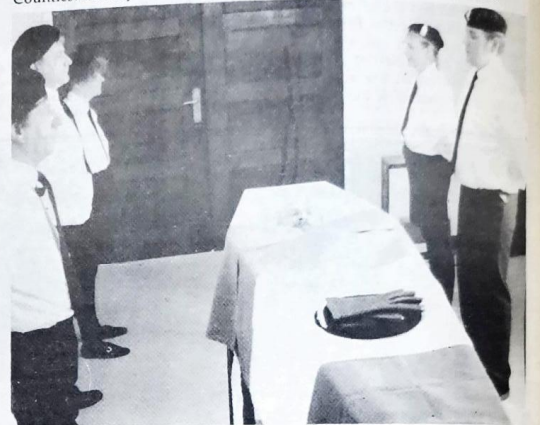
We, the family of Christy Harford wish to refute any suggestions that our brother's remains, from the time of his death to the arrival at his

own house on Wednesday, May 6th, were handled with anything other than the highest respect by his comrades. However, as emigrants we were

upset and perturbed by media allegations suggesting that our brother's body was "dumped" into a home of strangers.

Indeed the only disrespect apparent throughout the funeral proceedings was when we stopped outside our family home and a number of gardai disgraced themselves by their behaviour. The insertion of a blue van full of gardai between the hearse and the escorting Garda car also caused hurt.

Finally we wish to thank the Republican Movement for the courtesy shown to us from our arrival in Ireland to the time we left and also thank the many hundreds who attended the funeral to show their respects to Christy. And a special thanks to Fr Fitzgibbon who officiated at the funeral Mass and graveside.



● Vol Christopher Harford's remains flanked by a republican guard of honour

WE KNOW HIS DREAM

■ BY ART Mac EOIN

AN EIGHT-PERSON republican honour guard bore Christopher Harford's coffin through the County Dublin village of Lusk following the removal from Swords on Sunday, May 10th. The coffin was draped in the Tricolour with a black beret and gloves on top. A Fianna Éireann colour party followed by a lone piper led the slow procession.

Following Requiem Mass at the Catholic Church in Lusk, the funeral made its way through the beautiful, fertile countryside of North County Dublin in the afternoon sunshine to the graveyard some miles away at Walshestown, pausing briefly at the Harford family home.

Over 400 people packed the hillside graveyard in a picturesque setting. The piper played a lament as wreaths were laid on behalf of the Dublin Brigade, IRA, Oglagh na hÉireann, Fionn Gall Thuaidh, the republican leadership, republican prisoners and Sinn Féin.

The graveside oration was delivered by Sinn Féin Director of Publicity, Rita O'Hare. She said:

"I didn't know Christopher personally, but I am told that he was a quiet, unassuming man with a deep love of Irish music and indeed his country. He was a man of great dedication who died on active service in the cause of Irish freedom... His love of Irish music is represented here in the wreath from his family which is formed in the shape of a harp.

"The Harfords like many other Irish families were forced to emigrate from this beautiful area of County Dublin. Despite the fact that he had a good trade, Christy couldn't get work in his own country and went to England. Emigration is very often a painful experience, and for someone like Christopher with such a deep

affection for his native land it must have been particularly painful. In the 1960s he came back, the pull being too strong and shortly afterwards he joined the ranks of the Republican Movement.

"Christopher's role in the Movement may not be known for many years but I can tell you that his work was highly valued and that he was a highly respected member. He will be a loss to this struggle.

"Christopher was arrested in 1984 and then went on the run. From that time on he was on active service permanently, giving up most aspects of what this society sees as a normal life. But let no one think that his was an empty life. At all times he had the benefit of love, respect and comradeship. Although Christopher died of natural causes, I am sure that the stresses and strains of life on the run took away precious years. He died in the prime of life at only 59 years of age.

"Christopher was part of a struggle that has gone on since England first invaded this country. The present phase of the struggle is the most intense and prolonged. We want an end to this war. We want it to end in dignity and justice. We want to end up with a country which has the means and resources to provide for its people so that they can stay here.

"When I stand here by the grave-



● Rita O'Hare delivering the oration at the graveside of Vol Christopher Harford (right) The republican guard of honour leading the funeral cortege to Walshestown Cemetery

side of Christopher Harford I am reminded of a poem by WB Yeats—Easter 1916:

"We know their dream enough to know they dreamed and are dead."

"And that is enough. We know Christopher Harford's dream and we will carry it in our hearts. Let us ensure that our dedication and commitment lives up to his. That will be the testimonial, monument and memorial to Christopher Harford."



News

IN BRIEF...

Mac Curtáin refused bail again

WEST LIMERICK Sinn Féin representative Coireall Mac Curtáin was again refused bail when he appeared at the Special Criminal Court in Green Street Dublin on Tuesday, May 12th. He faces the charge of IRA membership which, under the state's legislation, is virtually impossible to disprove.

Garda Detective Inspector Patrick Brennan opposed the granting of bail. Mac Curtáin said that he would be vigorously opposing the charges and that he would turn up for trial if granted bail. But Justice Robert Barr, presiding, remanded him in custody until June 23rd.

Mac Curtáin's arrest followed the exposure of the repressive political activities of the gardai in the south-west of the country in recent months and Sinn Féin has said that his detention in custody is a scapegoating ploy to allow the political police continue with their mass raiding and intimidation unimpeded.



● COIREALL Mac CURTÁIN

Man hospitalised by patrol

TWO YOUNG NATIONALISTS were viciously abused and assaulted by a British army patrol in the Poleglass area of Greater West Belfast as they were returning home after a Saturday evening out.

Twenty-year-old Donna McKiver sustained severe bruising to her arm and knee when she was pushed, pulled and kicked by British soldiers. Her boyfriend, Aiden Taylor (21) was repeatedly punched and kicked. He also sustained a cut forehead and concussion after being repeatedly struck with a baton.

The incident occurred as the couple stopped at a Chinese take-away on the Stewartstown Road around midnight on Saturday, May 9th. A British army mobile patrol approached them as they entered the restaurant, issuing a barrage of verbal sexual abuse at the young woman prior to the attack.

Following the attack, the two were arrested by the RUC and taken separately to Woodburn RUC Barracks. At the barracks, the verbal sexual abuse of the woman continued, while requests by her boyfriend for access to a doctor and solicitor were denied. The couple were later taken to Grosvenor RUC Barracks where an RUC doctor insisted that Aiden be taken immediately to hospital for treatment.

At the hospital, he was treated for a head wound before being returned to the barracks where he and his companion were released without charge. Within hours of his release, Aiden was admitted to the Royal Victoria Hospital after he became nauseous, began shaking and sweating and lapsed into unconsciousness. He was detained in hospital for two days.

Commenting on the incident local Sinn Féin Councillor Michael Ferguson said that there had recently been a marked increase in the number of crown forces patrols in the Poleglass area and a corresponding sharp increase in harassment by British soldiers and the RUC of the local nationalist population.

Mullingar man alleges Bridewell assault

A MAN from Mullingar, County Westmeath was kicked and beaten by gardai after he was arrested under the Offences Against the State Act last weekend.

Michael Dalton was stopped by gardai on his way out of Dublin just after 10pm on Saturday, May 9th. Dalton says he was handcuffed and forced to the ground where he was kicked by the arresting Special Branch officers. His car was left on the side of the road and he was driven to the Bridewell Garda Barracks. Dalton told AP/RN that in the Bridewell a uniformed garda struck him across the forehead with a baton. A doctor had to be called to stitch the wound.

Dalton was released from Section 30 detention — which allows gardai to hold people without charge for up to 48 hours — on Monday at 2.30pm.

JOBS AND POST OFFICES UNDER THREAT

■ BY NEIL FORDE

SOLVING the current postal dispute was the last thing on the minds of An Post management as a further 600 postal workers were suspended on Tuesday, May 12th, taking the total number of suspensions to 1,200.

The postal workers suspended on Tuesday had refused to handle mail other than social welfare and health board cheques. The suspensions took place as negotiations between An Post management and the Communications Workers Union (CWU) continued at the Labour Relations Commission.

Creating the conditions for a free hand at 'rationalising' is the real agenda being pursued by An Post management. In February 1991, An Post launched their 'viability plan' which proposed structural reorganisation targeting what the management considered the 'deteriorating labour cost situation' and the network of rural sub post offices as the reasons for An Post's financial losses.

The only criticism of the An Post management's viability plan came from the CWU who organised a campaign against the 'viability' plan. They published their criticism of the plan pointing out that in 1979 labour costs amounted to 80% of total costs and

that in 1991 the situation had not changed. They also emphasised the social costs of shutting hundreds of sub-post offices. The CWU organised a state-wide petition and rallies throughout the 26 Counties.

The widespread public opposition led to Seamus Brennan commissioning a National Economic and Social Council (NESC) study on the socio-economic implications of the company's plan to close up to 550 sub-post offices. The NESC study now lies in the hands of Mairé Geoghegan-Quinn, Minister for Communications. The study has not been published but a summary which recognised that the rationalisation would cause social hardship was printed in the current issue of *Industrial Relations News*.

The introduction of part time workers at the Central Sorting Office shows that An Post management are going ahead with their viability plan regardless, and are determined to use every means possible to scapegoat the

CWU for the company's losses. The suspending of a further 600 postal workers while engaged in talks at the Labour Relations Commission shows not only the management's contempt for the arbitration process but their determination to weaken the trade unions by forcing them into a lengthy costly dispute.

At IMPACT's annual conference last weekend, a resolution was adopted deploring that a state company was able to promote "an anti-trade union strategy with the apparent support of the Government". The IMPACT resolution highlights just what the stakes are, not only in this dispute but in industrial relations in the 26 Counties. Trade unions are being blamed for industrial failures. Arbitration procedures are being abused by management as they refuse to negotiate, instead waging publicity campaigns against the unions involved.

The banks strike, the docks dispute and the suspended postal workers are all alarming examples of the deteriorating positions of the power of the Irish trade union movement. The 26 County government have played a pivotal role in this development. In the case of the docks and the postal workers the government are the real employers and as such are responsible for the actions of the management of An Post and the Dublin Port and Docks Board.

Irish workers have through their trade unions fought for the institutions, structures and legislations that protect and guarantee their rights. What is the point in having a Labour Court, a Labour Relations Commission or a PESP if the employers, especially the government, renege on the agreement?



● Workers resisting the 'Fat Cats' attempts at privatisation

WORKERS PARTY LINK PROBED IN MURDER CASE

ALLEGATIONS that a diary documenting intimidation by the Workers' Party's armed wing over a 15-year-period has been found and is now being examined as part of the inquiry into the murder of 42-year-old Laurence McCann, have been backed up by the murdered man's brother.

Eamon McCann described how his brother had been strangled and his body found about 400 yards from his home in Portadown, County Armagh. There was also a wound found at the back of his head when his body was discovered in an alleyway near his

home in the early hours of Friday morning, May 8th.

However, the fact that his dead brother had kept a diary of events over the past three years, and was aware that further attempts on his life by this gang might take place, has left docu-

mented evidence which his brother claims will support the allegation of the involvement of the Workers' Party's armed wing.

Eamon McCann went on to describe a catalogue of events to show how his brother had been at various times both shot, and shot at by this 'invisible' gang. Fifteen years ago he was shot by this gang and then ten years ago they fired over his head as well as firing shots into his home.

He also said that his brother had gone to the 'Families Against Intimidation and Terror' (FAIT) group in the mistaken belief that they were non-political and would therefore help. After an initial promise of a meeting there had been no further response by the group. This is hardly surprising given the fact that this group was co-founded by certain members of the Workers' Party and relatives of criminals in the Six Counties and is funded by the British government.



An Phoblacht

REPUBLICAN NEWS

MAY 14th 1992

18 YEARS TOO LATE

JUDITH WARD's release on bail pending the full clearing of her name is a welcome development this week. On a personal level she can at last get on with her life and start to enjoy her freedom.

What cannot be allowed to be forgotten though is the fact that the evidence necessary to prove her innocence was available to police and the Crown almost 19 years ago. The nature of the case against Judith Ward was such that those involved in the prosecution case must have known that they were conspiring to convict an emotionally disturbed, innocent, but handy, scapegoat. This week's statement of regret from the West Yorkshire Police conceding her innocence has to be seen in this context.

Judith Ward was taken into custody and over a prolonged period of time was forced to confess to the M62 bombing. She made numerous statements, many of them conflicting. A psychiatrist expressed concern as to her mental state. The police and the prosecution chose from these statements to fabricate their case against her, failing to disclose the conflicting statements which would have been invaluable to her defence lawyers at the time and failing to call the psychiatrist. The forensic evidence was also fatally flawed.

One retired West Yorkshire detective took turning the truth on its head to the extreme. He was quoted in the *Daily Express* as saying: "It is a pity she did not come out with the truth straight away. Her confessions served to confuse the hunt for the real terrorists to some degree". It seems to many Irish people that only a peculiarly British mindset could blame somebody they had framed and falsely imprisoned for 18 years for their own inability to catch the actual bombers — who had issued a statement in 1974 claiming the explosion and avowing Ward's innocence.

The trial judge in Judith Ward's case has called for an end to convictions based solely on uncorroborated confessions. Such a reform of the British judicial system would have profound consequences for the Irish community in Britain, and indeed, in the Six Counties, where forced confessions are routinely relied upon as a means of filling the H-Blocks with bodies. Judith Ward's may be the last of the major miscarriage of justice cases from the mid-'70s to be finally confronted, but there are many more miscarriage of justice victims in English prisons, Patrick McLaughlin and Danny McNamee, to name just two. The Beechmount Five are a typical example of the manner in which the RUC secures its convictions in the Six Counties. Five young people taken to Castlereagh, physically or mentally abused, or both, and Bob's your uncle, five more confessions, five more convictions in a Diplock Court, five more young lives ruined. The farce of an inquest into the killing of three unarmed IRA Volunteers in Tyrone ten years ago is another case in point.

The British system of justice has been proven to be fatally flawed, indeed downright discriminatory, in dealing with Irish defendants facing political charges. Britain does not look likely to do away with the emergency legislation which makes such convictions as Ward's possible. It must be clear to any neutral party that when it comes to dealing with any legal matter related to the conflict in Ireland, there is no British justice.

**CYCLE
FOR
IRISH
REUNIFICATION**

14th, 15th, 16th, 17th May 1992
From the County Memorial,
Drumboe, County Donegal
to the County Memorial,
Ballyseedy, County Kerry.
To make a donation or obtain
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East Wall,
Dublin 3.

News

SIX REASONS TO VOTE NO 3. CAP-in-hand economy

■ BY NEIL FORDE

THE DUBLIN GOVERNMENT'S *White Paper* on Maastricht claims that "the Irish agriculture and food industry is of central importance to the EC". It outlines the original aims and objectives of the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) some of which are outlined below:

Increase agricultural productivity, ensure a fair standard of living for farmers, stabilise agricultural markets, ensure reasonable prices for consumers, keep the maximum possible number of farmers on the land.

The actual experience of 26-County farmers over the past 20 years has shown that the CAP has failed to fulfil its objectives. Figures from Teagasc, the agricultural research body, show that in 1990 the average farm income was £6,500. Sixty per cent of farmers had incomes from farming of less than £5,000 and 20% earned farm incomes of over £10,000. Farm incomes fell by just over 10% in 1991.

There are 149,000 farmers in the 26 Counties, less than 90,000 should be considered "commercial farmers". Teagasc estimated in February 1992 that approximately 5,000 people will leave the land in 1992. In 1983 there were 39,200 holdings (9.3% of the national total) with between one and nine dairy cows. By 1989 two thirds of dairy enterprises of this size had been wiped out.

The benefit that would

accrue to Irish agriculture was the main economic argument put forward for EC entry in 1972. The CAP accounted for 62.9% of EC expenditure in 1989. The Commission now wants to cut the Community's overproduction of agricultural products. This expenditure will be cut by at least 30% over the years 1993 to 1996.

The MacSharry CAP rationalisation plan presented to the EC in 1991 envisaged 15% of the land used for cereal production being "taken out of production". Intervention beef prices will be cut by 15%. Milk intervention prices will be cut by ten per cent. Farmers will be paid monetary compensation not to produce!

This practice of compensation cannot be envisaged on a long-term basis. The agricultural export markets that are emphasised in the *White Paper* will be reduced significantly. The ESRI estimated that GNP would decrease by at least 1.5% on the basis of the 1991 proposals which are only the first stage in the EC rationalisation of the CAP.

EC membership and the CAP have created an agro-industry in Ireland which favours large farmers, and dependence on subsidised, shrinking markets. This agro-industry has created considerable wealth. There are seven food companies in the top 25 Irish companies. The development of an agro-industry has not halted the decline in the farming community. Raymond Crotty points out in his *Time to Say No* booklet that "the number at work in Irish agriculture has declined by over 3% annually since entry into the EEC compared to an annual decline of less than 2% previously".

The corporate co-ops that have developed to exploit the Euro market are dependent on the CAP and high food prices the CAP creates. There is no proof that their development is to the benefit of Irish agriculture in the long term. The continual depletion of farmers and increasing rural unemployment have shown that there has not been a diffusion of the CAP into the whole agricultural community. The beef processing industry is wracked by scandal.

Now 20 years on Irish farmers are being paid not to produce food and instead are being directed towards agri-tourism. In 1992 just under 60 golf courses are under construction in the 26 Counties. Farming land is being taken out of production while imported food stuffs are amassing on Irish supermarket shelves, foodstuffs that could be grown and processed here. The 32 Counties must be viewed as one agricultural unit, not part of a European farm, the CAP has not fulfilled its objectives and Irish agriculture has suffered under it.



News



We will not give up

"WE WILL NOT GIVE UP. We will continue to resist until Britain accepts the inevitability of its withdrawal from the Six Counties." This was the clear message from Martin McGuinness to the thousands who attended the 11th Hunger Strike Commemoration March in Belfast on Sunday, May 10th.

Thousands of people and a large number of bands marched from Dunville Park to Connolly House under the close, intimidatory scrutiny

of British crown forces but this did not deflect them from remembering with pride the bravery and sacrifice of the ten H-Block martyrs.

On arrival at Connolly House the crowd was made welcome by Annie Armstrong who chaired the proceedings. She began by introducing a local and popular folk singer, who sang a song written about the Blanketmen.

Margaret Doherty, the mother of the hunger-striker and former TD for Cavan/Monaghan Kieran Doherty, addressing the crowd, praised the nationalist people for their courage and determination during and since the historic hunger-strike period. To loud applause she added that while the hunger-strikers and their families had paid a heavy price in 1981, the prisoners would rather have died protesting against the indignities of the H-Blocks than to have "bowed the knee to the British government".

Annie Armstrong then called on Martin McGuinness to address the crowd. McGuinness paid tribute to the sacrifices of the ten hunger-strikers of 1981 who had defeated Britain's attempt to criminalise republican prisoners and the legitimate struggle for Irish freedom and independence.

McGuinness used the occasion to condemn the scourge of sectarianism from whatever source it emanated and called on the IPLO to disband. He said that Bobby Sands had pointed out in his writings that the only beneficiary of sectarian killings were the British. "Bobby Sands would have seen no difference between those cowards who would shoot a Catholic woman in a chemist's shop or a 65-year-old Protestant in a public house because of their religion.

"The purpose of loyalist killings is to drag the republican struggle down a



● Martin McGuinness addressing the large crowd outside Connolly House on Sunday May 10th



● Another generation remembers the hunger strikers

cul-de-sac of sectarianism. This suits the British interest and now, on behalf of the republican people who have

withstood everything Britain could throw at them, we are demanding that the opportunistic killers of the IPLO disband immediately", he said.

Turning to the recent comments of former British Direct-Ruler Peter Brooke about his wish to meet Gerry Adams, he said this was "evidence that there are elements of the British Conservative Party who accept the need for dialogue with Irish republicans." He then, once again extended an invitation for Brooke to meet Sinn Féin.

Commenting on the recent Westminster election results, McGuinness said they showed that Sinn Féin is "a major political force throughout the Six Counties". He added that it is a source of much embarrassment to the British government and the SDLP that a party such as the Alliance Party, with less electoral support than Sinn Féin, is involved in the Stormont talks while Sinn Féin is excluded.

IRISH TRIO JAILED IN FRANCE

THREE IRISH PEOPLE on political charges before a French court have each been sentenced to terms of two years in prison.

Patrick Murray from Mayo, Donncha O'Kane from Newry and Pauline Drumm, Fermanagh were arrested in France on July 14th 1989, and charged with a number of offences including 'criminal association' and possession of explosives. Despite having been held in custody for almost three years their trial only lasted one day. Having already served the full term of the sentence the trio are awaiting extradition to Germany.

In March 1990, the French Court of Appeal agreed to extradite Murray, O'Kane and Drumm to Germany where

they are wanted on charges relating to the IRA's campaign against British military personnel and installations there. All three have denied any involvement in such attacks.

During the trial defence lawyer Antoine Comte described how French intelligence police had been tipped off by their British intelligence counterparts following information supplied by the gardai in Dublin.

Irish Political Prisoners in Europe Solidarity Group (IPPEG) has called for an end to "the conveyor belt of extraditions facing Irish prisoners in Europe".

Loughgall eight honoured

THE EIGHT IRA VOLUNTEERS who were ambushed and killed by British forces as they prepared to attack Loughgall RUC Barracks on May 8th 1987, were commemorated at a ceremony in the East Tyrone village of Cappagh five years to the day.

Sinn Féin Councillor Francie Molloy gave the oration to a large crowd gathered at the memorial to dead hunger-striker, Martin Hurson.

Praising the commitment and courage of the Volunteers, Molloy said that their integrity and that of the Vol-

unteers of Oglagh na hÉireann ensured that British involvement in Ireland would soon end. Paul Kelly chaired the proceedings during which wreaths were laid on behalf of the families, Sinn Féin and Oglagh na hÉireann.



The 1992 Bobby Sands Memorial Lecture was delivered this year by Jim Gibney of Sinn Féin's Ard Chomhairle, former national organiser for the National H-Block Armagh Committee. He spoke in Belfast on Friday, May 8th.

NUAIR A AMHARCAIM SIAR ar bhliain na stailce ocrais, nó le bheith níos cruinne, bliain na stailceanna ocrais, mar an dóigh a chímse é, thosaigh sé i mí Dheireadh Fomhair 1980, agus an rud a chuireann iontas orm, agus chuireann faoi draíocht mé, ná an dóigh ciúin socair a chuaigh siad ar stailce ocrais.

I remember visiting at different times in mid 1980, Mairead Farrell and Mary Doyle in Armagh Jail and I often left there taken aback at their unshakeable commitment to take part in the first hunger-strike knowing full well the potential threat to their young lives. A few weeks ago I spoke to Fr Raymond Murray, who was their prison chaplain for over ten years. He told me that he spent some of the best days of his life in the company of the women in Armagh. He too was in awe, at times, of their irrepressible attitude, and he was especially taken by their sense of humour and the 'craic' as he put it. When he was in bad twist, he said, he would head for the jail for their company to brighten him up.

This fortitude, this unconquerable spirit was, of course, the driving force which carried the prison protests from September '76 until October '81; five years of unparalleled human endurance against a regime which routinely practised psychological torture of a refined and brutal nature.

Ulick O'Connor in his introduction to a compilation of Bobby Sands' writings in the book *Skylark Sing Your Lonely Song*, describes the five-year long prison protest as representing "the Irish mind against the English one".

This is a fitting description of what has been at the core of the struggle between the British government and those freedom loving people in this country. And what illustrates this in a particularly graphic way was the use by the protesting prisoners of the Irish language.

Gaeilge has long been associated with the cause of Irish freedom and at various times has been a great source of inspiration and motivation for those involved in the independence movement. This was of course true in the years of the prison struggle when Irish was not just a living language spoken, indeed

shouted from behind permanently closed cell doors. It performed a very special role. Its use allowed the prisoners to convey secretly their plans, within ear-shot of warders and to keep those plans safe. It reinforced in the prisoners' minds their nationalist identity, their sense of separateness from the orange sea of bigotry which held them captive; it fortified them psychologically against the oppression of English-speaking warders; it provided an historical link in their minds with a past people, who like them, fought the tyranny of British occupation.

It was no coincidence that the blossoming of the Irish language in this city quickly followed on the heels of the end of the second hunger-strike and the return of many of the protesting prisoners back into the community. The language became a bridge between the prisoners and the people and this was reflected in its popularity.

The deceased Belfast poet, John Hewitt, who defined himself as an "Ulsterman of Planter Stock", a description some might have difficulty with, explained in a poem called "I Write For" why he wrote, and I think it fits why, at the time Bobby wrote:

"I write for my own kind
I do not pitch my voice
that every phrase be heard
by those who have no choice"

When Bobby wrote, and he was a writer of considerable talent, he wrote for his "own kind". And his own kind parade the pages of his writings. Therein you'll find the oppressed, women, men, the poor, prisoners, martyrs, patriots. He had a great love of nature and he relied on it in the darker moments of his imprisonment, as indeed do most prisoners. This dependency on nature is starkly clear in a verse from "The Torture Mill — H-Block"

"Beneath the sky men live and die,
For man must die from birth,

And some ne'er see the flower or tree
Or know their lovely worth,
But in the gloom or prison tomb,
Men crave for Mother Earth."

I titled tonight's memorial lecture *Freedom of the Mind* because this phrase, more than any other, sums up for me what kept that heroic prison struggle alive and indeed what sustains the struggle today on the streets. I borrowed it from a line in one of Bobby's poems.

In another story, *The Window of my Mind*, he describes the desperate and failed attempts by the prison administration to shackle his thoughts by 'blocking the window of his mind'. Their's and his attitude is illustrated in these few sentences: "Throw them into prison, give them hard labour, unimaginative work to do" and in response he says "but you can never take away from them the ability to find the poetry and music of life".

Bobby Sands, Francis Hughes, Raymond McCreesh, Patsy O'Hara, Joe McDonnell, Martin Hurson, Kevin Lynch, Kieran Doherty, Thomas McElwee and Micky Devine, in the most appalling and inhumane conditions, found the "poetry and music of life", as indeed did all those who endured the prison protests of those torturous years.

The poetry and music of life was carried in the words they spoke to each other from behind locked doors, across the corridor of a prison landing saturated in their own urine. Bobby Sands, the revolutionary, the visionary, the poet, the IRA Volunteer spoke for all the prisoners when he penned his thoughts.

And when he sat down in the corner of his freezing cell, naked but for a blanket, deprived of every form of human comfort, entombed, without fresh air, his pen became what the poet Seamus Heaney wrote in his poem, *Digging*:

"Between my finger and my thumb
The squat pen rests; snug as a gun
Between my finger and my thumb
The squat pen rests
I'll dig with it."

And dig with it Bobby did. He probed the corners of his own mind and wrote poems and prose which at once takes us into the innermost thoughts of the protesting prisoners' minds. We learn from him the turmoil they all lived through as the emotional pendulum swung from one condition to another in their valiant attempts to maintain their republican dignity.

This is captured well in the poem, *The Torture Mill — H-Block*:
"But knew I well in this dark hell

BOBBY SANDS MEMORIAL

Saoirse — Freedom of the Mind

That torture does such things,
And leaves the brain like bare terrain
From which but madness springs.

And knew I well that in each cell
The sanest hung on strings."

But listen to the republican pride contained within the next verse of the same poem. Because it's the ideas expressed in these hard words which guided the prison protest and indeed guides the liberation struggle.

"We do not wear the guilty stare
Of those who bear a crime
Nor do we don that badge of wrong

To trap the penal line.
So men endure a pit of sewer
For freedom of the mind."

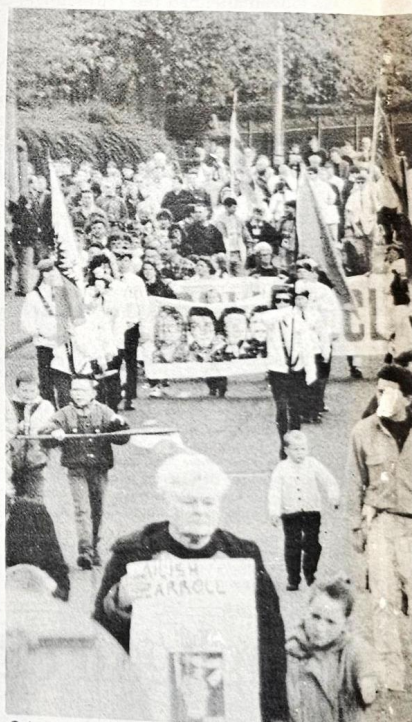
Bobby Sands repeatedly comes back to the "freedom of the mind" and it is this concept which forms the cornerstone of his philosophy on life portrayed in his writings. He wrote tellingly, "They may hold our bodies in the most inhuman conditions but while our minds remain free, our victory is assured."

The power of the written word; the power of ideas penned with such fluency brings to mind the question of the artist's role in society, indeed the artist's role in a struggle like ours, either as a participant, like Bobby, or as a witness to truth. And there is a verse in Bobby's marathon poem, *The Crime of Castlereagh*, over 100 verses in length, which begs this question:

"The men of Art have lost their heart,
They dream within their dreams,
Their magic sold for price of gold
Amidst a people's screams.

They sketch the moon and capture bloom
with genius, so they say,
But ne'er they sketch the quaking wretch
Who lies in Castlereagh."

What Bobby is saying here is by and large true of Irish poets and writers although there are a few



• A section of the Hunger Strike Commemoration March

honorable exceptions, but as a class of people they have ignored the injustices in our society.

The prisoners' strength lay in their capacity to overcome the terror of the regime and the casual brutality they met on a daily, sometimes hourly basis. In his poem *Wing Shift in H-Block*, you can sense the prisoners' fear as the time drew close for their wing to be swooped on by baton-wielding warders:

"The minutes ticked from hour

to hour
The days stole black
He looked at me w
And I with same a
And ne'er we sp
the floor,
And wished it was
For greatest curse
While comrades ra
The men had goo
the warders becaus
did to them.
They grab your



• Speaking at the Bobby Sands memorial lecture (from left to right) Jim Gibney, Annie Armstrong, Cllr Michael Ferguson and Cllr Pat Rice

Memorial Lecture 1992

Intinne

Dom

Mind



● VOL BOBBY SANDS



...rch makes its way up the Falls Road to Connolly House

...le blackly in
...t me with scary eyes,
...same at him.
...we spoke but paced
...it was our day,
...cuse was listening
...ades ran the fray."
...d good reason to fear
...because of what they
...your legs like wood-

en pegs
And part them till they split.
They pry and spy and even try
To look in through the split.
Both north and south to find
your mouth
To try look 'out' of it."
Each time they did this and it
was as regular as twice a month,
they had barely left the wing when
the prisoners, battered, bloodied,
hurting, rallied:
"We fought back tears and

scorned our fears
And cast aside our pain
And to our doors we stood in
scores
To conquer their black fame
For loud and high we sang our
cry
'A Nation Once Again'.
When you read Bobby's works
you continually ask yourself not so
much how, but why, did they
endure so much. I think the answer
to that question is to be found in



● Jim Gibney — "had the prisoners yielded then all could have been lost"

Bobby's observation in his diary on the first day of his 66 day hunger-strike:

"I am dying not just to attempt to end the barbarity of H-Block, or to gain the rightful recognition of a political prisoner but primarily because what is lost in here is lost for the republic and those wretched oppressed whom I am deeply proud to know as the 'risen people'".

The British government has chosen the prisoners to break the back of the freedom struggle. They thought that if they broke the prisoners they would break us on the outside. And I think they were right. Had the prisoners yielded, then all could have been lost.

The resistance to criminalisation in Armagh Jail, in the H-Blocks and the deaths of the hunger-strikers transformed the struggle. It saved it from a slow, agonising death: it restored the moral legitimacy of the demand for freedom and democracy.

We paid an awful price, the prisoners themselves did and so did their families.

I was very privileged to have visited several of those who died on hunger-strike and I carry around in my heart those brief moments when our lives touched. And brief though those encounters were my life has been enriched as a result.

I remember young Thomas

McElwee, in the final days of his life, in a faltering, whispering breath, tell me he would never leave the prison hospital alive and return to the wings unless the five demands were conceded. This, he said, was the only guarantee that the brutality they suffered would end for good.

Bobby Sands, almost blind, grasped my hand with a smile on his face and said to me, "Tell the lads I'm OK, I'll see this through."

Francis Hughes, unable to budge because of attacks of nausea at the slightest movement, telling his mother that Thatcher would have coffins coming out of the H-Blocks, when his mother told him that Thatcher told the Pope's envoy, Fr Magee, that she wasn't conceding;

Raymond McCreesh saying, "I heard Francis screaming last night. Is he dead?" and he was.

Patsy O'Hara, in a wheel chair, in the corner of a darkened room, waving slowly his long slender arm and smiling as I passed his cell, he and I knowing he would die soon as Bobby and Francis had some weeks before;

Being ushered into a side room with Alfie and Margaret Doherty, Kieran's parents, where, from behind the closed door we heard the undertaker shuffle past outside with Joe McDonnell's body in a coffin.

These weren't ordinary men I

watched die, ordinary mortals yes, ordinary men no. They possessed qualities which set them outside of the mass of humanity; which elevate them above the rest of us. How could they be described otherwise?

I feel the same should be said of Michael Gaughan and Frank Stagg. Wherever republicans gather to honour the H-Block Martyrs they should remember Michael Gaughan and Frank Stagg. Their deaths were much lonelier and more isolated. But it was exactly the same determination, the same single-mindedness which sustained them.

I will end by quoting from another of Bobby's poems which brings out the hope he and all the prisoners carried within their hearts; a hope which sustained them through a gruelling five years:

"All things must come to pass as one

So hope should never die,
There is no height or bloody might,

That a free man can't defy
There is no source or foreign force,

Can break one man who knows,
That his free will no thing can kill,

And from this freedom grows."
The dead hunger-strikers and the protesting prisoners in Armagh Jail and the H-Blocks freed our minds, we have now only to free our country.

Review

Unravelling the strands

■ BY JACK MADDEN

"The government of the Free State will eventually occupy the same relationship towards the people of Ireland as Dublin Castle does today, because it will be the barrier government between the British and the Irish people. And the Irish people before they can struggle on, will have to do something to remove that Free State government..."

Liam Mellows' contribution to the debate on the Treaty stands out, alongside that of Mary MacSwiney, as the most powerful and prophetic warning of the consequences of signing the Articles of Agreement. It was an intense debate, at times bitter and usually passionate. Deputies knew that the vote would be close and Mellows' contribution was undoubtedly aimed at the waverers, letting them know that a pro-Treaty vote would have dire consequences. Above all they were the words of a man who knew that the Republican Army was firmly on his side and that he was speaking from a position of strength.

But the vote was lost and in the space of a couple of years the fledgling Free State, armed with British guns and the support of the Catholic establishment, crushed what was at best a half-hearted and demoralised

republican resistance. Mellows was just one of those to perish in the Free State terror and his death, like those of Ballyseedy and elsewhere, had a major impact on the psyche of republicans for many years to come.

Motivated by the sacrifice of those who had fallen and spurred on by the burning sense of betrayal felt towards those who had sold out the Republic, the remnants of the IRA set about rebuilding their shattered movement.

Conor Foley's *The Legion of the Rearguard — The IRA and the Modern Irish State* traces the development and decline of the IRA over the space of two decades between 1922 and 1942. It is an authoritative and absorbing book, essential reading for anybody who seeks to understand the history of republicanism in this century.

Foley unravels the various strands of thinking that

emerged within the movement in those years, the 'pragmatists' who followed de Valera into Fianna Fáil, the 'radical' socialists, the 'moderate' socialists, the militarists, etc. If there was a common denominator between these strands, it was that their focus was directed not at the British statelet in the North but at the Free State and its relationship with Britain. It was possibly Mellows' speech that prompted this focus, or the sense of betrayal and bitterness felt by republicans after the Civil War. But a focus that made sense in the context of 1922 when the IRA was strong and the fledgling state relatively weak, made less and less sense as the years passed by and the position of the IRA vis-à-vis the Free State and its institutions got weaker and weaker.

Tom Barry stands out as one of the few to have kept his focus on the central issue — partition and the British presence in the Six Counties. He proposed that the IRA launch an attack on the Orange State as a means of rebuilding the unity of the army and the country, but the 1922 IRA Convention voted against his proposal. Again, as Chief of Staff in the late 1930s, he advocated military action in the Six Counties, but he was bypassed by the course of events.

Writing from a socialist perspective, Foley has succeeded in being fair to all strands in the Movement, socialist and non-socialist alike, and this is to his

credit. His description and analysis of the Bombing Campaign in Britain in the late 1930s and early '40s is excellent and is a welcome addition to the research on this period.

But there are aspects of this book that I did not like, though I imagine that these are at least partly the fault of the publisher. The cover is deceptive, giving the impression that this is a history of the IRA from the Tan War to the present. It is not. The period 1922-'42 accounts for almost 200 pages, while the conclusion 1942-'92 accounts for less than 16. One feels that this chapter was added to give the book a currency which it wouldn't have had otherwise. The events of this 50-year period are so condensed that, in comparison to the rest of the book, they are almost trivialised.

Towards the end of this final chapter Foley poses opinions and raises questions which are interesting in themselves (whether one agrees with him or not) but I for one failed to see the connection between this and the rest of the book. It may be true that the legacy of the '20s and '30s has a bearing on the attitudes and tactics of the modern IRA, but I rather suspect that the ultimate motivation for the IRA's continued existence and activity, is the reality of partition and the reality of an army of occupation in part of our country.

● *The Legion of the Rearguard — The IRA and the Modern Irish State* by Conor Foley. Published by Pluto Press. Price £9.99.

LEGION of the REARGUARD

The IRA and the Modern Irish State

LEGION of the REARGUARD

CONOR FOLEY



Limerick prevail in epic final

■ BY BREANDAN MAC RUAIRI

A GREAT DAY FOR LIMERICK, a very special day for the GAA and while Tipperary will be disappointed, their pride has nursed graver injuries.

The old arena in the 'Treaty city' was quite resplendent. Freshly painted with the modern and impressive Mackey Stand packed to capacity. The old warrior would surely have permitted himself a grin in response to the heroic second-half efforts of these latterday wearers of Limerick's colours. Only the unruly weather betrayed, but the torrential rain couldn't dampen the passions of those who gathered to watch this dramatic battle.

Yet for a long time a mould-breaking Limerick win seemed unlikely. Tipperary with the aid of the fresh wind in the first half hurried with all their familiar style and confidence. As Tipp's stranglehold on the game increased, so Limerick's efforts lapsed further into ineptitude and at times desperation.

The half-time score of 0-11 to 0-3 in favour of Tipperary hardly flattered the All-Ireland champions and an annihilation looked a real possibility. The second half turn-around was gradual rather than abrupt. Limerick defenders tightened up considerably and began to believe in themselves. Previously unplayable stars such as English, Fox and Cleary were swept aside as Declan Nash, Ciaran Carey and Mike Houlihan hurled like men possessed.

At centre-field Ger Hegarty thundered into the game, dominating that sector, while the forward line ran the besieged Tipp defence ragged. The green and white tide became inexorable and Ray Sampson's last minute winning point was a fitting climax to an epic final.

Heavy under-foot conditions ensured that top quality hurling would be limited. Both teams over-indulged in picking and poking, but we were also treated to some occasional exhibitions of class striking and robust but fair physical endeavour.



● Ger Hegarty (Limerick) his contribution on Sunday was a major factor in his side's success

Several reasons can be trotted out to diminish the nature of Limerick's victory. It will be said that Tipperary's lack of fitness cost them dearly in the final quarter, that the bad weather had a leveling out effect on the skill difference between the protagonists. It will even be suggested that Tipp's appetite for this league title was suspect. There may be some truth in all of this but no one should dismiss the significance of this result, it has been on the cards for some time. This Limerick team has the ability to beat the best in any circumstances.

Strong and committed in every aspect of the team, manager Phil Bennis has them well briefed and prepared. If they have one obvious short-coming it is the lack of an exceptional high-scoring forward of the calibre of a Pat Fox or an Eamon Cregan. One can rest assured that, down by Shannonside, every effort will be made to address that for the championship.

The FAI have tried hard in recent times to improve the image of its challenge cup competition. The transfer of the final from the dingy environs of Dalymount Park to the better equipped venue at Lansdowne Road was correct. It also coincided with the fairy tale cup run of St Francis and ever since the event has enjoyed an enhanced status among the sporting public. The lowering of admission prices has also been a wise gesture, indeed it's one of the few lessons that GAA administrators could learn from their soccer counterparts.

Sunday's affair presented the 17,000 attendance and the live television audience with an interesting contest, the youth and dash of Bohemians against the organisation and experience of Cork City. However, as a spectacle it fell far short. The now infamous and seemingly ever-present Lansdowne Road wind frequently tamed the players' best efforts. A flash of opportunism from 'Gypsies' dangerman David Tilson was all that separated the teams.

No doubt Cork will mourn the passing of another chance to win major honours. Noel O'Mahoney's now ageing squad seem destined to be remembered as perennial also-rans. Yet few would deny that Bohemians deserved to win. Their attack and midfield quartet consistently displayed greater penetration and it was hardly a surprise when they notched the vital goal.

Immense credit is due to manager Eamon Gregg. When he took over last season the club's fortunes were at a low ebb. Poor performances on the pitch coupled with a divided board and great dissatisfaction among the supporters amounted to a massive challenge. Gregg had shown managerial ability with Kilkenny City and now that talent has blossomed with the club he served so well for so long as a player.

A fine young team has been constructed that will surely know many more days of achievement during the '90s.

Basic instincts, basic needs

■ BY DARA MacNEILL

THE FILM *Basic Instinct* is supposedly the hottest, raunchiest, most controversial new film to come out of (North) America since... I dunno, I suppose the last hottest, raunchiest and most controversial production they inflicted upon us. Can't for the life of me remember what it was called!

It arrives on these shores having gained an unexpected publicity boost by virtue of the protests launched against it by members of the (North) American Lesbian and Gay community. Their protests centred around its depiction of lesbians and bisexuals as, at least, very strange or, more disturbingly, likely serial killers. Their anger is quite understandable, but you have to wonder about the wisdom of the decision to make such an issue of the film and thereby give it the tag 'controversial' — so beloved of PR and advertising companies. If I were a conspiracy theorist I'd

be very easily persuaded that the film's makers had a hand in launching or inciting these protests in the first place. No such thing as bad publicity, as they say.

The protesters may have been better advised to just ignore the film — chances are it would have died a death at the box office anyway. *Basic Instinct* manages all at once to be dull, overbearing, smart-arsed, convoluted and far too clever for its own good. Despite being billed as the thriller to end all thrillers, the one with more twists than the old dog road, it manages to be utterly pre-

dictable. Even if you can't manage to guess what the next supposed 'twist' is you still manage to remain completely underwhelmed when it does... actually happen. And as for the 'raunchiness factor'... Yes, there is a lot of sex here, but most of it, unfortunately, leaves you with a feeling that it was just to fill in the odd few minutes here and there. And anyway, being an avid fan of Michael Douglas in *The Streets of San Francisco* I find his transmutation to sex god just a bit unbelievable. See the film for yourself, but just don't believe the hype.

On Friday, May 8th, RTE devoted a whole day of programming to the subject of wealth in Ireland. However, surprisingly enough, this lengthy day long extravaganza did not devote itself to the issue of who gets to pocket the wealth produced by Irish society every year.

No, the novel approach taken by these producers consisted of what appeared to be a rather long series of advertisements for what seemed like every commercial enterprise in the country. Every five minutes a group of people — dressed like

personalised advertising hoardings — arrived in to announce their company's contribution to the 'People in Need' fund. More often than not, the amount was negligible. Maybe if all these wonderful enterprises paid their employees a proper wage there'd be less need to mount this yearly event. Or perhaps they could in future restrain themselves from investing their profits abroad and give back some of what they've taken. And in the middle of it all we had a special appearance by Finance Minister Bertie Ahern on the Lottery show, *Winning Streak*. Bertie told us that every pound/punt won by the contestants would be matched by the Lottery as a contribution to the fund. But, em, isn't that money ours anyway... So why feel so excited that we're getting a small portion of it back... I'm very confused.

The final sum raised was £2m. There are 300,000 people unemployed in this country. How well does £2m divide up. Is this what Ireland 1992 has been reduced to, sticking band aids over gaping wounds and then patting ourselves on the back? God help us...

"Informants is a dirty, unsavory game, we don't like it, but are obliged to enter into it because of the threat we face", so said Hugh Annesley, Chief Constable of the RUC, on the *Spotlight* programme "An Unsavory Game" on May 7th.

The programme examined the case of Paddy Flood — an RUC informer in Derry — shot by the IRA in 1990. Flood and his girlfriend were arrested by the RUC at his flat in the Bog-side and, under interrogation, he was coerced into becoming an RUC informer to save her from going to jail.

According to the programme "He became an informer for love".

But the truth is Paddy Flood became an informer because the RUC set out to break and coerce him. Recruiting informers is a tactic chosen by the RUC and British military intelligence as part of their strategy and not as Annesley would have us believe, an unpleasant obligation. It is the programme's failing that it did not examine the threats, intimidation and terror that the RUC used on Paddy Flood and continually uses to force people

into this "dirty game". Furthermore, it chose to ignore the political strategy of using informers.

Some of the hard facts of Annesley's "unsavory game" are that it is not a game and that the RUC continue to target the recruiting of informers regardless of the consequences so long as they get their results.

Paddy Flood was an explosives engineer with Ogligh na hEireann. The RUC knew of operations in which bombs he made were to be used and let them go ahead in order, they avow, to protect their informant. This tells us exactly what the relationship between the RUC and an informer is. The RUC had, in this instance, bigger fish to fry than saving the lives of those killed in the attacks.

The other flaw in this programme is that in trying to put the running of touts into some sort of legalistic framework, the programme's makers missed the whole point of the intelligence war in Ireland. Primarily the RUC is a paramilitary force defending British interests in Ireland and not a police force fighting crime. It is not constrained by law.

ESSENTIAL READING

■ BY ART Mac EOIN

THE LATEST ISSUE OF *IRIS*, the republican magazine, now available, is as usual packed with political analysis, features, short stories and a review of IRA operations over the past year.

In an article reviewing the recent elections in the North, it points to the lack of democracy in the whole affair: "...this election, more than any other, highlights the extent to which the anti-democratic forces in Ireland and Britain have got their act together. Although censorship was lifted for three weeks of the campaign, the mass media showed no interest in the election. There was no media debate; there were no set piece programmes designed to examine the policies of the various parties. Over the three-week period Gerry Adams was on television for less than 35 minutes and on radio for less than 45 minutes. Proper media coverage of the election was virtually killed in case it gave Sion Féin an opportunity to put its case, unhindered, to the electorate."

"The New Europe and the Old Europe — What has Changed?" by Ted Glenn, examines how much the Europe as envisaged in the Maastricht Treaty differs from the original Common Market and warns that EC economic power is a hierarchy where power and wealth will continue to gravitate to the centre and where peripheral countries like Ireland will become increasingly marginalised, while at the same time paying a high price for the unification process through the further erosion of sovereignty and neutrality.

In another feature Micheál

Mac Donncha assesses the "Haughey era" in Irish politics, analysing the forces which propelled 'The Boss' to power on a number of occasions and dispelling the myths built around him by political friends and enemies alike.

Other features included are ones on Michael Collins, on the repressive political situation in Guatemala and on the recent split in the Workers' Party.

A particularly interesting feature is that on the legacy of the United Irishmen. In the article the author, Claude Gordon, launches an effective attack on the historical revisionists. He points out that in their efforts to belittle the legacy of the United Irish Movement they merely betray their own inability to view that era except through the prism of the current political set-up: "The wheel of history has turned, and modern capitalism has no use for nationalism any more... the opinions now fashionable about 'nationalism' are in fact nothing more than an obedient and sycophantic obedience to the predominant ideology of the trans-national capitalist corporations."

"Those posturing smart alects you have heard parading their superiority by scornfully rejecting the 'old myths' of yesterday particularly the 'myths' of nationalism are in fact today's suckers for the myths of today.

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IRIS

the republican magazine



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IRIS

the republican magazine





VOICES OF DISSENT

A TRIUMPH FOR DEMOCRACY?

Nothing smart about recognising old myths if you haven't the wit to see through the currently

conventional guff." The political features coupled with the short stories and

a detailed review of IRA operations between March 1991 and April 1992 make *Iris* essential

reading for all. ● *Iris* is available at the usual outlets and is priced £1.50.

Nuacht

Ag ullmhú do bhliain na Gaeilge 1993

TEILIFIS NA GAEILGE do Bhliain na Gaeilge 1993 agus stadas a fháil don Ghaeilge san Aontas Eorpach ar aon leibhéal leis an Ollainnis — b'shin iad an dá mhó-aidhm a chuir Proinsias Mac Aonghusa roimh Ard Fheis Chonradh na Gaeilge ina óráid uachtarántach i gCorcaigh an deireadh seachtaine seo caite.

Ag labhairt dó i gCeannáras Chraobh an Chraoibhín Aoihbhinn den Chonradh i gCathair Chorcaigh dúirt Mac Aonghusa gur "scannal poiblí é a laghad d'airgead an Chranchnur Náisiúnta atá tugtha do Chonradh na Gaeilge". Lean sé: "Is deacair a rá an bhfuil sé i gceist ag an státchóras tacaíocht ar leith a thabhairt do Bhliain na Gaeilge 1993. Níl fós gan dóchas ach is iomdha sin geall a briseadh maidir leis an Ghaeilge".

Sé an éileamh náisiúnta is mó atá ag gluaiseacht na Gaeilge faoi láthair ná Teilifis na Gaeilge a chur ar bun. Maidir le seo dúirt Mac Aonghusa:

"Is ag Ard-Fheis Chonradh na Gaeilge ar an

Spidéal is túisce a tháinig trácht ar a leithéid, agus sílim gurb í Ite Ní Chionnaith an chéad duine a dúirt nár mhór seirbhís neamhspleách teilifíse Ghaeilge a chur ar fáil do phobal na Gaeilge. Is iomdha sin duine a cheap go raibh sí ag iarraidh an iomarca. Agus is cosúl gurb é sin leagan amach cuid den státchóras faoi láthair. Ach is í barúil a bhformhór mór siúd ar mór acu Éire na nGael agus teanga agus cultúr agus traidisiúin na nGael go gcaithfear Teilifis na Gaeilge a chur ar fáil mar sheirbhís neamhspleách ar féidir forbairt a dhéanamh air.

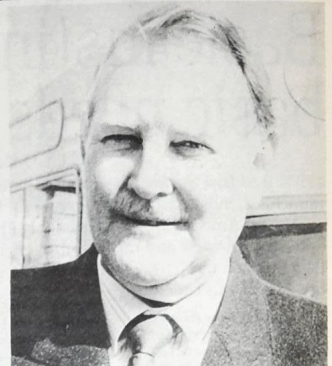
"B'fhearr seirbhís neamhspleách uair an chloig sa lá agus cead agus ceart forbartha a bheith aige ná dhá uair an chloig sa lá ar cheann

de bhealaigh RTE.

"Deirim anois go neamhbhalbh mar uachtarán Chonradh na Gaeilge go seassan an Conradh le Teilifis na Gaeilge mar sheirbhís neamhspleách agus go sílimid sin a bheith chomh tábhachtach sa ré seo is a cheapamar Gaeilge riachtanach a bheith i gceist i Máithreánach Ollscoil na hÉireann i dtús an chéid seo. Agus na maithhe móra in ár gcoinne an uair sin, thugamar linn an lá agus is dá mbar sinne gur Ollscoil Ghaelach agus ní Ollscoil Ghallda a bhí in Ollscoil na hÉireann".

Dúirt Mac Aonghusa gur de bharr beart a dhéan an Roinn Gnóthaí Eachtracha i 1972 "is ísle go mór stadas na Gaeilge sa Chomhghargadh Eorpach ná stadas aon teanga oifigiúil náisiúnta eile". "Díoladh an Ghaeilge an uair sin agus níor fritheadh a dhath dá bharr" ar sé, "Ar pholaiteoirí na linne agus ardstáitseirbhíseigh sa Roinn Gnóthaí Eachtracha san am atá ar milléan ar fad le cur agus ní le coimhthigh. Is iad úrálbraithe oifigiúla Éireann a thairg an Ghaeilge a chur in áit na leathphingine." Lean sé:

"Is gá geallúint shollúnta phoiblí a fháil ón Taoiseach agus ón Aire Gnóthaí Eachtracha go mbainfeadh amach an stádas céanna don Ghaeilge san Aontas Eorpach, más ann dó, is a bhéas ag teangacha oifigiúla náisiúnta eile seachas na teangacha forleathana.



● Proinsias Mac Aonghusa, Uachtarán Chonradh Na Gaeilge

"Agus bheadh sé ciallmhar agus inmholta go dtabhairfaidh an gheallúint poiblí seo roimh Dhéardaoin Chorp Christ, lá an Reifrinn sa Stát seo ar Chonradh Maastricht. Tá seo tábhachtach ar a lán slite. Thar aon rud eile, tugann sé deis don Stát feall 1972 a chur ar ceal."

Conspóid Uí Chathasaigh

AMUIGH ó na gnéithe is íoróiní de, tagann ceisteanna bunúsacha agus tábhachtacha chun tosaigh tar éis don Easpag O Cathasaigh éirigh as a post an tseachtain seo caite. Táimid go léir ag éirí níos soiniciúla, tá's agam, faoi sagairt agus easpaig, agus is cinnte gurbh é an céad smaoinéadh a tháinig ar mhórán daoine ná 'béalchráifeacht' nuair a léigh siad an scéal. Agus bhí sin ann gan amhras. Bhí O Cathasaigh ina bhéalchráifeach (agus níl mise ag tabhairt 'breithiúnas' air) díreach toisc gur mhóraighe sé agus gur mhol sé go poiblí na rudair nach raibh sé ag claonú leo ina shaoil príobháideach.

Is minic agus rialta a bhíonn conspóidí ann idir poblachtánaigh agus an cléir Caitliceach faoi chúrsaí polaitiúla. Bíonn sagairt agus easpaig i gcónaí ag nochtú a dtuairimí faoi chúrsaí sóisialta fad agus nach ligean said d'éinne tuairim a thabhairt faoi chúrsaí creidimh. Agus is rud maith, ar ndóig, nach mbíonn poblachtánaigh ag tabhairt tuairimí faoi chúrsaí creidimh de bhíri nach eolaithe sinn in aon chor ar an ábhar seo.

Ach sin ráite, a fhad agus a bhíonn an Eaglais Chaitliceach ag gabháil chici féin an chirt lena saolta príobháideacha a rialú agus ár moraltacht a cheansú tuilleann muid an ceart le tuairim a nochtú faoi eachtra mar eachtra Eamainn Uí Chathasaigh nuair a thaispeánann siad nach eolaithe iadsan ar chúrsaí sóisialta ach oiread.

Tá aontumba ina rial daingean ag an Eaglais Chaitliceach, agus chan amháin gurbh árdbhall den eaglais a bhí i Eamonn O Cathasaigh, ach tacaigh sé go poiblí agus go láidir leis an rial. Anois áfach, cluinimid sagart agus mná rialta ar fud na tíre ar éileamh go gcuirfí

bhfuil fáth níos láidre ag pobal na tíre de bheith sásta? Nach féidir linn anois bheith ag dual le meon níos carthanai, níos tuisceanaí, agus níos daonnaí ó na easpaig? Nach féidir linn a bheith ag dual — nó ag éileamh fiú — go nglacfaidh siad lenár 'n-earraidí daonna' ó seo amach díreach mar a mhol Cathal O Dálaigh agus a chomhleacaithe dúinn a ghlac le earraidí daonna Uí Chathasaigh an tseachtain seo. Táimid duineanta. Glacann tuathaigh le sinn agus tá se thar a bheith am gur ghlac an cléir agus na heaspaig ach go háirithe le sin go mórmhóir sna míonna seo chugainn agus ceisteanna sóisialta agus 'morálta' á bplé sa tír seo.



● An tEaspag Eamonn O Cathasaigh



● Daoine gorma ag ionsaigh gluaistean na póilíní i Los Angeles

Éist leis na daoine

■ LE JOE MCQUILLAN,

AN DTIG LE HÉINNE AGAIBH amuigh ansin sa chomhphobal náisiúnach insint dom gur cúis iontais a bhí sa toradh i gcás Rodney King i Los Angeles? Bhí an t-uasal King (fear Gorm atá ann) ag tiomáint a ghluaiasteán nuair a chuir an péas stad air, ach i ngan fhios dóibh bhí duine éigin ag déanamh taifeid den eachtra iomlán. Tharla gur tharraing siad (fir Geala a bhí iontu go léir) an t-uasal King amach as a ghluaiasteán agus thosaigh a' bhualadh air go fiain millteanach.

Le linn an chás cúirte tharraing siad an oiread sin bhuilli ar King cionn is gur eagal leo go n-éireadh leis duine acu a dhíamháil. Dúirt said fosta go raibh an leadradh seo riachtanach cionn is nach dtiocfadh leo, ó thaobh an dlí de, King a chuir i 'choke hold' — chuireadh deireadh leis an 'choke hold' seo toisc gur maraíocht a lán daoine Gorma dá bharr.

Níor chóir go mbeadh

daoine Gorma.

Sna Stáit Aontaithe caitear leis na daoine Gorma mar a caitear leis na náisiúnaíthe sna Sé Chontae. Tá an caighdeán tithíochta sna ceantir Gorma comh bocht agus comh suarach agus a bhí an caighdeán tithíochta ag náisiúnaíthe sa stáit Oráisteach roimh tús na '70dí. O thaobh na fostaíochta de déantar idirbheall i gcoinne an chine Gorm agus bíonn mórchuid de na daoine Gorma atá fostaíthe i bpostanna nach mbíonn pá maith le fáil iontu.

Mar a rinne sa Sasanaigh nuair a thosaigh muidinne (an pobal náisiúntach) ag déanamh agóidí agus ag teacht amach ar na sráideanna ag deireadh na '70dí chuir rialtas na Stáit Aontaithe a gcuid trúpaí isteach sna ceantir Gorma. Níl a fhios agam cad a tharlódh sna ceantir Gorma a lán láidre. Caitheadh siad éisteacht le fadhbanna na ndaoine le go mbeadh réiteach ann.

London call for agreement to end partition

MITCHEL McLAUGHLIN, Derry Sinn Féin Councillor, issued a call for a new Anglo-Irish agreement, designed to end partition and bring about a lasting peace in Ireland. The dramatic call came in a speech to the annual commemoration rally for Bobby Sands and James Connolly in London on Sunday, May 10th.

The London-based Wolfe Tone Society, who organised the rally, welcomed the opportunity for Sinn Féin's peace proposals to be presented in London. The annual rally took place on Sunday, May 10th, and was addressed by Jeremy Corbyn, MP for Islington North, as well as other speakers from the Irish and Black communities in Britain.

In his address McLaughlin said: "The dramatic political changes in Eastern Europe and in the European Community will bring with them many problems for the peoples of Europe. Undoubtedly these changes will also throw up new opportunities for political

movement and create a mood to finally resolve the problems of relationships within the island of Ireland and between Ireland and Britain.

"Both the London and the Dublin governments have claimed to be striving to establish a new agreement to replace the faltering 1985 Hillsborough Accord. In their ambivalent language they claim to seek an agreement which transcends in importance that which was produced in November 1985.

"In the past month Sinn Féin's peace proposals were delivered by Gerry Adams to Downing Street and these call for nothing less than such an agreement. Republicans have been



● Mitchel McLaughlin (third from left) at the Wolfe Tone Society Commemoration rally for Bobby Sands and James Connolly in London

consistently addressing the question of how to eradicate the causes of conflict and the challenge of creating the conditions of peace. *Towards a Lasting Peace in Ireland* proposes a new Anglo-

Irish agreement to work for the ending of partition and such an agreement would be a quantum leap towards peace in Ireland.

"Surely such an agreement with its

obvious and genuine prospect for an end to hostilities between the IRA and the forces of the crown would command the support of democrats and peace campaigners everywhere."



● FRANCIE MOLLOY

"No cutbacks in Special Branch" — Molloy

OVER 200 people attended the annual Seán Mac Diarmada Commemoration at Killyclogher, County Leitrim, on Sunday, May 10th. There was a timely break in the wet weather which allowed the march and proceedings to be held in dry, warm conditions.

The march from Stradutty Cross was led by a colour party, with the marchers stepping it out to the lively tunes rendered by the Martin Hurson Flute Band. The proceedings were chaired by Michael Colreavy.

The main oration was delivered by Francie Molloy, Sinn Féin candidate in the recent election for Fermanagh/South Tyrone. During the oration he pledged that the demands of Irish people for freedom, justice and peace would not be denied

despite the military or political oppression of the British government or their armed enforcers. He also pointed out the large Special Branch presence at the commemoration, stating there are obviously no cutbacks in that sector while hospitals, roads, housing and the unemployed are starved of funding.

The commemoration concluded with the playing of *Anhrán na bhFiann* and a subsequent impromptu session by the Martin Hurson Flute Band.

Limerick honours hunger strikers

ON THE EVENING of Tuesday May 5th, the eleventh anniversary of the death of Bobby Sands was marked in Limerick with the holding of the city's annual hunger-strike commemoration.

The event began with a march from the city centre to the Manchester Martyrs memorial on the Old Cork Road. Among those attending was Malachy McCreesh, brother of Volunteer Raymond McCreesh one of the ten who died on hunger-strike in the H-Blocks.

At the memorial the proceedings were chaired by Pádraig Malone of Limerick Sinn Féin, who asked people to also remember the other two hunger-strikers of this phase of the struggle, Michael Gaughan and Frank Stagg. Following the laying of a wreath a minute's silence was observed and a piper played a lament.

The oration was delivered by Alderman John Gilligan, an independent member of Limerick City Council and formerly PRO of the Limerick H-Block/Armagh Committee. Thanking

those who attended Alderman Gilligan said their presence was an act of defiance to those who would wish that the sacrifice and ideals of the hunger strikers were forgotten. In the course of his oration he compared the horrified reaction of the 26 Counties media to the recent court verdict in Los Angeles with their long silence on the injustice meted out to Nicky Kelly, who had to wait 16 years for the state to admit that he had been beaten into signing a fake confession.

He concluded by calling on republicans and socialists to vigorously oppose the Maastricht Treaty which was as much a threat to Irish sovereignty as the British presence in the North.

The ceremony which was held amid bright evening sunshine, ended with the playing of *Anhrán na bhFiann*.



● PADRAIG MALONE



● VOL HUGH HEHIR

Vol Hugh Hehir memorial unveiled

THE annual commemoration to Volunteer Hugh Hehir was held on Sunday May 3rd, when a plaque was unveiled to his memory.

Pádraig Malone was chairperson and the main speaker was former Portlaoise hostage and a comrade of Hugh's, Gerald Fitzgerald who said:

"The first time I stood at a ceremony to Hugh was in Portlaoise Jail. I remembered how sad I was, but it was like Hugh to go and fight the injustices endured by the Irish people. I want to

praise Anne, his wife, for all the support she and his family gave him."

Gerald also said a few words about Bobby Sands whose anniversary was on May 5th. A wreath was laid on behalf of the Republican Movement, Shannon, and the Republican Movement, Limerick city. Seventy people attended the ceremony in Clare Castle, County Clare.

Notices

REMEMBERING THE PAST

REMARKABLE FENIAN

■ BY PETER O'ROURKE

RICARD O'SULLIVAN BURKE, described by John Devoy as one of the most remarkable and able men the Fenian movement produced, was born at Dunmanway, County Cork in January 1838.

From an early age he showed military leanings and, when the Crimean War broke out in 1853, he joined the Cork Militia in the hope of fighting in the Crimea.

At the end of the war, in 1856, when his regiment was disbanded, he went to sea, where he learned several languages as he travelled around the world. At the outbreak of the American Civil War in 1863, he enrolled in the Northern Army and soon afterwards joined the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB). Through his own ability and qualities of leadership, he rose to the rank of colonel, where he used his position to organise Fenian 'circles' in the army.

On leaving the army at the end of the Civil War, in 1865, Colonel Thomas J Kelly, the head of the Fenians in America, recommended him to James Stephens 'the Fenian Chief', as an arms purchaser for the IRB in Ireland. Using

the pseudonym 'Edward C. Winslow', Burke built up contacts with Birmingham small arms manufacturers and imported Lee Enfield rifles from America until he had over 2,000 stored in Liverpool.

He was sent to Ireland to take charge of the Waterford area during the 1867 Rising, but after its failure, and the abortive attempt to land arms from the Erin's Hope at Sligo Bay the following May, he returned to England to resume his work in obtaining arms for another rising the following year.

As head of the IRB in England, he organised and took part in the successful rescue of Colonel Kelly and Captain Timothy Deasy in September 1867. Betrayed by the Fenian informer, John J Corydon, he was arrested and held in the Clerkenwell House of detention in London, from which a Fenian rescue party attempted to free



● **RICARD O'SULLIVAN BURKE** him the following December.

Sentenced to 15 years penal servitude, Burke was subjected to appalling deprivation and ill-treatment, narrowly escaping an effort by the prison doctor to poison him while in Woking Prison. But his own ingenuity and indomitable will triumphed and after his release in the amnesty of 1872, he continued for many years, as a member of Clan na Gael, to serve the republican cause in America.

In 1915 he returned to Ireland and spoke along with Pádraig Pearse at the funeral of Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, thus making a direct link between the Fenians of 1867 and the leaders of the 1916 Rising.

Ricard O'Sullivan Burke, died in Chicago, in America on May 11th 1922, 70 years ago this week.

Sentences: 7.15pm Friday 15th May; **Mother Ireland:** 7.15pm Thursday 21st May; **Strip Searching:** 7.15pm Thursday 28th May; **Off Our Knees:** 7.15pm Thursday 4th June. Roger Casement Irish Centre, 131 St John's Way, LONDON, N19. Organised by Haringey Irish in Britain Representation Group

SEMINAR: Northern Conflict, Justice and Extradition. Speakers: Oliver Kearney, Pat McGeown, Bernadette McAliskey and Des Wilson. Chair: Matt Merrigan. 1pm-5pm Saturday 16th May. Buswells Hotel, DUBLIN. Organised by Dublin Anti-Extradition Committee

COMMEMORATION: Francis Hughes Wreath-laying Ceremony, Sunday 17th May at 12.15pm, BELLAGHY.

PUBLIC DEBATE: Ireland — Divided Nation? — Divided Class? Speakers: Austin Mergin (New Consensus, Britain); Eve Anderson (Irish Freedom

Movement), Chair — Donal Mooney, Irish Post Editor. 7.30pm Thursday, 21st May. 1 Prince of Wales Road, Kentish Town, LONDON, NW5. Adm. £1

COMMEMORATION: Neil Boyle/Plunkett. Speaker: Dessie Ellis. Chair: Gerry O'Neill. 3.30pm Sunday 24th May, Knocknadruice, HOLLYWOOD, County Wicklow

CEILIE: Céilí and set dance night. Music by Fodhla Céilí Band. 9-12.30pm Saturday 30th May. Sa Chultúrlann, CLE, Belgrave Square, MONKSTOWN, Co. Dublin. Tíceadh £4. Organised by the Irish National Congress

WOLFE TONE COMMEMORATION: Assemble Sallins, 2pm Sunday 21st June. March to BODENSTOWN

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Draw Results

Dundalk CC Raffle

Saturday 9th May results

1st Prize Large Cuddly Toy: Tom Jones, Quigley's, c/o Noel Brady; 2nd Prize Ladies or Gents belt: Annie Murphy, M/Mor, c/o Fra; 3rd Prize Fruit Set: A. Hearty, c/o Bar; 4th Prize Purse or Wallet: Willie Cassey, M/Mor, c/o Fra; 5th Prize Large Fruit Bowl: Mary Hearty, Seafield Lawns, c/o Austin; 6th Prize Roll of Honour: G. Bond, M/Mor, c/o Fra; 7th Prize 1/2 Doz Cans Ale: Tommy Callan, c/o Noel Brady; 8th Prize

Fruit Set: P. Kenna Cox's, c/o Sean; 9th Prize Bottle Whiskey: D. Lavery, M/Mor, c/o Janet.

Fianna Eireann Monthly Raffle

1st Prize £50: Dave Byrne, Dublin 10, c/o Brian, ticket no 203; 2nd Prize £20: Tommy Murphy, Ballymun, c/o Macker, ticket no 29; 3rd Prize Video Tape: Noel Burke, Gardener Street, Dublin, ticket no 153; 4th Prize £5: John Coogan, Yellow Batter, Drogheda, ticket no 229; 5th Prize £5: Charlie Mooney, Ballymun, c/o Macker, ticket no 10; 6th Prize £5: Amber, c/o Shop 44, ticket no 143.

Imeachtaí

ANTI-EXTRADITION MEETING: Meets 7pm every Tuesday, USI, 16 North Great Georges Street, DUBLIN

REPEAL 8th AMENDMENT CAMPAIGN: Groups meet, Dublin North, every Monday, 8pm, Arthur Conan Doyle Pub; Dublin Central, every Monday, 8pm, Halpenny Inn; Dublin South, every Tuesday, 8pm, Whelans; Dublin North Inner City, every Thursday, 8pm, Cloniffe House; Women's Coalition, every Thursday, 8pm, USI, 16 North Great Georges St. Cork, 8pm every Wednesday, The Other Place, off North Main Street.

BENEFIT GIG: 8.30pm, Friday May 15th, Mulligans (formerly Billy Doyle's), Hill Street, DUBLIN. Music by U4EA and Kismet. Taille £3

VIDEO SEASON: A season of four films.

InDíl Chuimhne

GALLAGHER, Jim; HUGHES, Francis; KILPATRICK, Kevin; MAGEE, Michael; MARTIN, Eugene; McKEARNEY, Séan; O'DONNELL, Thomas; REID, Billy; STARRS, John; MAGEE, Michael;

In proud and loving memory of Volunteers Jim Gallagher, Francis Hughes, Kevin Kilpatrick, Eugene Martin, Séan McKeareney, Thomas O'Donnell, Billy Reid, John Starrs and Fian Michael Magee. "They may kill the revolutionary but never the revolution." Always remembered by their friends and comrades in the Republican Movement.

CAMPBELL, Teddy (18th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Vol Teddy Campbell who died on May 3rd 1974. Always remembered by the Lower Falls Commemoration Committee.

HEHIR, Hugh (4th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Vol Hugh Hehir. Always remembered with pride by the Hugh Hehir Sinn Féin Cumann, Ennis

Always remembered with pride by the Terence McSweeney Sinn Féin Cumann, Shannon.

Always remembered with pride by Teresa and Brendan, Kevin and Liz; Gerry and Dorothy; Fergal and Marie.

KELLY, Paddy (5th Ann). In Proud and loving memory Vol Paddy Kelly who was killed on active service along with his comrades at Loughgall on May 8th 1987.

Always remembered by Kieran, Clare and family.
KILPATRICK, Kevin (19th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Vol Kevin Kilpatrick who died on active service on May 13th 1973. Always remembered with love and pride by the Dungannon Martyrs Sinn Féin Cumann.

Always remembered with love and pride by the Coalisland Martyrs Sinn Féin Cumann.

Always remembered with love and pride by the Clonoe Martyrs Sinn Féin Cumann.

Always remembered with love and pride by the Jim Lynagh Sinn Féin Cumann, Clogher.

Always remembered with love and pride by the South Tyrone Sinn Féin Comhairle Ceantair.

LOUGHGALL MARTYRS (5th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Volunteers Declan Arthurs, Seamus Donnelly, Tony Gormley, Eugene Kelly, Paddy Kelly, Jim Lynagh, Pádraig McKeareney and Gerard O'Callaghan murdered by the SAS on May 8th 1987. Always remembered with love and pride by

Dermot Quinn, H8, Long Kesh. Always remembered with love and pride by the Quinn family, Charlemont.

Always remembered with love and pride by Seamus Corrigan, Cappagh.

MARTIN, Eugene; McKEARNEY, Séan (18th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Vols Eugene Martin and Séan McKeareney who died on active service on May 13th 1974. Always remembered with love and pride by the Dungannon Martyrs Sinn Féin Cumann.

Always remembered with love and pride by the Coalisland Martyrs Sinn Féin Cumann.

Always remembered with love and pride by the Clonoe Martyrs Sinn Féin Cumann.

Always remembered with love and pride by the Jim Lynagh Sinn Féin Cumann, Clogher.

Always remembered with love and pride by the South Tyrone Sinn Féin Comhairle Ceantair.

HUGHES, Francis (11th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Vol Francis Hughes, Ogligha na hÉireann, who gave his life for Ireland on hunger strike on May 12th 1981 in Long Kesh Prison. We remember also his brave comrades who made the supreme sacrifice with him. A

Naoimh na hÉireann, guí ar a shon. Always remembered by his loving father, mother, sisters and brothers, Bellaghy.

Always remembered with pride by Uncle Peter, Aunt Kathleen, and family. Also Aunt Patsy, Bellaghy.

Always remembered by County Derry and South West Antrim Comhairle Ceantair Sinn Féin. Remembered always by the James Connolly / Francis Hughes / Thomas McElwee Sinn Féin Cumann, Bellaghy.

Always remembered by the Fergal O'Hanlon / John Davey Sinn Féin Cumann, Lavey.

O'CALLAGHAN, Gerard (5th Ann). In loving memory of my brother Gerry O'Callaghan and his comrades murdered at Loughgall.

Always remembered by Packie, Séan and Patrick.

Always remembered by Paul Róisín and family.

Always remembered by the Tullysarron national graves association.

Always remembered by Peter, Bronagh and Seánina.

REID, Billy (21st Ann). In proud and loving memory of my beloved son and brother Vol Billy Reid killed in action on May 15th 1971. Mary, Queen of the Gael, pray for him.

"People said at the time our pain would subside, but the pain in our hearts today is the same as when you died." Loved and dearly missed by his loving mother, sister Bridget, brother-in-law Jim, nieces Christine, Andrea, Rita and nephew Liam. Loved and dearly missed by his loving brother Patsy, sister-in-law Marie, nieces Martina and Patricia and nephews Billy, Hugh and Paul.
RICE, Francis (19th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Vol Francis Rice. Always remembered by the Magorrian/McNulty Sinn Féin Cumann. Always remembered by the South Down Comhairle Ceantair Sinn Féin.
SANDS, Bobby (11th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Vol Bobby Sands. Remembered always by Seamus and the Finucane family.

carry afar and re-sow." From P Burke, A Kehoe and J Flood, POWs Portlaoise Prison.
From Pat Mulligan and family, Lush.
From his close friends and comrades in GLIQ staff.
From all the staff of AP/RN.
From Martin, Ronan and Frank.
From his friends throughout Ireland.
From Buddy and co.
From Seán Mor and Seán beag.
From Tony, HJ and S.
WALLACE. Deepest sympathy is extended to Joe Lynch and family on the death of his brother-in-law Richard Wallace.
From all the POWs, Portlaoise Prison.

Beannachtaí

HILLICK, Laurence. Happy 18th birthday Laurence. Hope your next birthday is spent in freedom. From Kevin, Siobhán and kids.
Happy 18th birthday Laurence. From mother and father.
From Kevin, Bríd, Mary, Catherine and Charlie.
O'CONNELL, Joe (Parkhurst Prison). Happy birthday Joe, love and best wishes. From Eibhlín and Caoimh.

Comhbhrón

HARFORD. Deepest sympathy is extended to the Harford family and his friends and comrades in the Republican Movement on the recent death of Christy. "The graves of those who died for freedom bear seed for freedom, which the winds

MOST interesting and appropriate — if ironic — headline of the last week, must go to the *City Tribune* in Galway, whose main headline of Friday last declared that the People of Galway were facing a "Nine Month Wait for Bishop's Successor". Questions were being asked if this is for another Mac an Espaig...

The Labour Party should be feeling a touch red-faced this week over the organisation of a conference on unemployment to be held in Dublin's Jury's Hotel today and tomorrow. Don't make plans to travel just yet, because this conference, which includes two lunches, a dinner and a reception hosted by the Lord Mayor of Dublin, Labour's Seán Kenny, costs a staggering £542 attend.

Titled "Employment and Unemployment in Europe, 1992 — 2000", the conference is being directed by another person associated with the Labour Party, PR man David Grafton. Grafton was none-too-happy to hear that the Irish National Organisation for the Unemployed was dissatisfied with being given only one ticket (albeit at a £35 discount) for the affair. Happily for all sense was finally seen and the representatives of the great unwashed now have as many free places at the conference as INOU leader, Mike Allen.

His main complaint though, and one which those speaking for unemployed groups will raise over the two days, is that no representatives of the unemployed have been invited to speak.

A CORRESPONDENT to the letters page of *Woman's Way* magazine spotted an error in a previous issue. A section of one article made the claim that Carmencita Headtheball was the first woman Lord Mayor.

Reader Ann Long rightly reminded the magazine that Carmencia was following in the footsteps of Kathleen Clarke, widow of 1916 leader Tom Clarke. All very well, but the magazine *then* adds on the following puzzling editorial postscript:

"We rang the Mansion House to check the facts and they said the first female Lord Mayor was Caitlín Bean Uí Chléirigh in 1939-41, but they had no record of Mrs Clarke."

What I want to know is, are they ridiculing the Mansion House staff, or are they just as ignorant themselves?

FORMER BRITISH SOLDIER Steven Bladen shot dead his girlfriend and her mother in Hanover before turning the pistol on himself when his German lover announced that she was returning to her husband.

This column, in its various guises over the years, has consistently highlighted instances of serving and former British sol-

diers going berserk, engaging in criminal activities or committing murders. This latest tragedy, coming so soon after a former soldier in a County Down fishing village killed himself after shooting his wife and daughter dead, deserves comment.

Our purpose in covering these cases is not to shock or gloat, but rather to highlight the unhealthy ethos of the British armed forces — the abnormal stresses which are placed on recruits by an all-male enclosed society with a strictly delineated pecking order which does not tolerate any outward display of emotion or human weakness. Recruits are encouraged to blindly obey and to put their consciences on hold. The frequency of stories in the British national press centering around serving or ex-members of the British armed forces is not surprising given this army mentality, not to mention the strains of tours of duty in the Six Counties or the legacy of the Falklands/Malvinas War or the Gulf conflict.

The main point which we wish to emphasise is that it is these potentially unstable characters (in the PR guise of peace-keepers) who are daily looking down their gunsights at the people of the Six Counties. All we are saying is that if Britain must have a military machine, it shouldn't export it.

GREGORY PECK, the Hollywood actor, has discovered that his mother was a relative of Thomas Ashe, the IRA leader who died on hunger strike in Mountjoy Prison in September 1917 during British attempts to force feed him. And no, I'm not touting for a job with *Hello* magazine.

TAKING THEIR LEAD from the British, who consistently refuse to have their military personnel appear at Six County inquests, the United States has refused to allow the airmen responsible for the 'friendly fire' incident in which nine British soldiers were killed during the Gulf War to give evidence in person to an Oxford inquest.

The solicitor for the nine families has accused the Americans of a cover-up by preventing the pilots from coming to the inquest, whilst Geoffrey Robertson QC said that the inquest would have to hear from the pilots in order "to reach anything other than an open verdict".

Such refusals to attend, though, are normal procedure at the inquests of people killed by British forces in Ireland, where coroners' courts are further restricted to delivering findings rather than verdicts. The British government has also slapped Public Interest Immunity Certificates on inquests to prevent crucial evidence from being heard.

UNIONIST-DOMINATED Belfast City Council is by now famous for its begrudgery, but the blinkered brethren can be relied on to regularly plumb new depths.

The opportunity arose on Monday night last, when the council discussed an official invitation by Meath County Coun-

cil to its Belfast counterpart to explore ways of developing friendship.

The Meath councillors had passed a motion calling for peace which basically asked that past differences and wrongs on all sides must be forgotten and injustices forgiven. All should look to the future instead of the past with the magnanimity necessary to build a truly peaceful society, it felt.

The response of Belfast's unionist councillors was typically knee-jerk. They condemned Dublin's constitutional claim to the Six Counties, called for the deletion of Articles Two and Three, and said that they would not meet the Meath councillors while the Hillsborough Agreement existed. They called for a "full" conference between the 26 Counties and Britain.

Meath Councillor Jack Fitzsimons, whose idea the invitation was, said that the reaction was a sad reflection on those who responded to their sincere offer. "My reaction is one of great and deep sorrow. What are they afraid of? What could be lost at special meetings?" he lamented.

Dúirt Siad

The convicted IRA bomber, Judith Ward, could be freed today.
— Sky News presenter at 12 noon, Monday, May 11th.

It plumbs the depths. She was a pathetic person from the beginning, and they knew it... confessing to all sorts of things, with a long record of it. And they just thought 'she'll do'.

— Clare Short on the Judith Ward case, *Irish Times*, Tuesday, May 12th.

I suppose it becomes a habit in the secret service. But how you can slap 'restricted' in inch-high letters on something destined for TV, radio and newspapers baffles

— Senior officer at Scotland Yard commenting on MI5's first press release, which was stamped "restricted".

If these things had happened in any other jurisdiction, it would have been seen as a constitutional crisis. In the United States, for instance, it would have involved the abolition of the first, fourth, fifth and sixth amendments to the constitution.

— Solicitor Gareth Peirce on Britain's wealth of emergency legislation, *Irish Times*, Tuesday, May 12th.

At the end of the secret world's most dramatic week for 80 years, the Provisional IRA gave its response to the other main event, the transference of terrorist counter-intelligence to MI5. Five hours after Home Secretary Kenneth Clarke had announced the move in the House, a caller with an Irish accent telephoned Scotland Yard from a telephone box in the London area. Using a recognised code-word, he warned that a bomb, timed to explode at the peak of the Friday evening rush-hour, had been planted at Victoria Station. The search for the fictitious bomb caused the worst disruption to traffic for years. 'The Provos were putting up two fingers,' a senior security source said. 'As far as they're concerned, it makes no bloody difference who you put in charge.'

— David Rose in the *Observer*, May 10th, on MI5's new prominence in combatting the IRA in Britain.

There is no reason at all to believe that the transfer of anti-IRA activity from the police to M5 is anything more than Whitehall office politics and empire-building. The traditional policy of waiting for each outrage, and then arresting several Irish people at random (in abeyance following recent court decisions) will no doubt be resumed before too long.

— Simon Hoggart in the *Observer*, May 10th.

The existing directive to MI5 grants to the IRA the glamour of seeking to "undermine or overthrow democracy". The IRA is accorded this quasi-political status largely because ministers are fed up with the police and have decided to let MI5 off the leash.

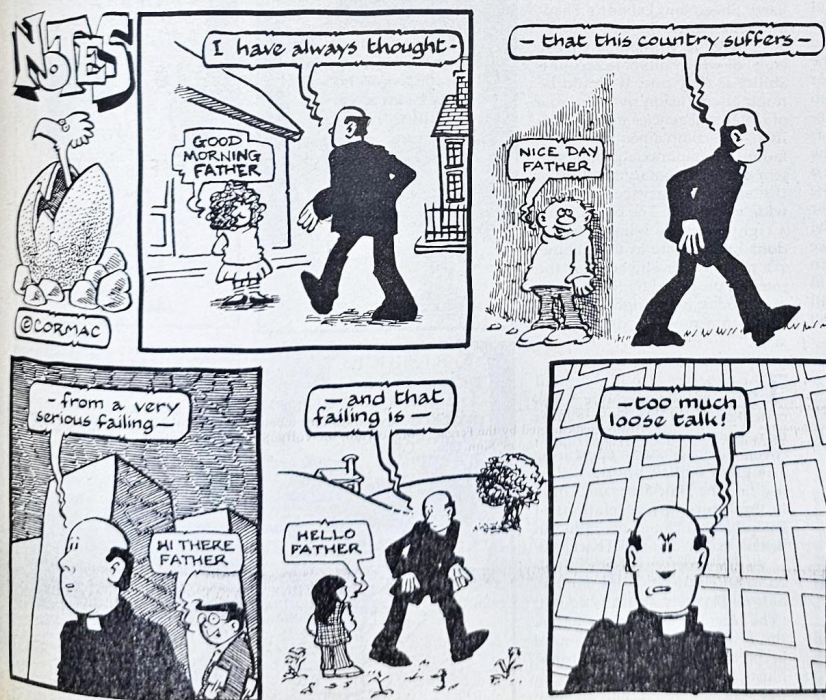
— *London Times* leading article, Saturday, May 9th.

The logic of Maastricht is cheap federalism. It is fundamentally anti-democratic — neither free nor just nor efficient.

— Former French Gaullist minister, Philippe Seguin.

Without the emigrant boat these past 25 or 30 years, there would have been a civil war in this country.

— Maurice Tobin, chair of Waterford Fianna Fáil's Comhairle Dáilcheantair, *Irish Times*, May 6th.

[illegible]

News

MI5 wins counter-insurgency battle with Special Branch

■ BY LIAM
O COILEAIN

LAST WEEK'S DECISION by the new British Home Secretary, Kenneth Clarke, to transfer primary control of anti-IRA intelligence work from Scotland Yard to MI5, can be seen as an admission of defeat on the part of the British government. Bringing in the secret service, with the threat to civil liberties within Britain itself that such a move represents, is a direct result of establishment frustration at the Yard's failure to halt or seriously hinder the IRA's British campaign. The decision represents an acknowledgement that the Irish people's desire for self-determination is politically motivated and not criminal as successive British government's have tried to label it.

The move, announced on Friday, May 8th, marks a significant move outside the law in Britain, a move to a situation which has always prevailed in the Six Counties. This latest desperate act of reliance on drastic security measures, coming after the appointments of hardliners Mayhew and Mates in the Six Counties, is the latest futile attempt to silence the republican demand for democratic rights through increased repression; except that on this occasion the victims of these authoritarian measures are those who reside on what the British euphemistically refer to as the 'mainland'.

Six-County 'Security Minister', Michael Mates, has long been an apologist for the dirty tricks at which MI5 excels. He was involved in military intelligence while stationed in the Six Counties during his army career and was vocal in his support for the SAS and MI5 following Gibraltar and during the Stalker/shoot-to-kill affair. The combination of Mates, the new hardline Six-County Direct Ruler, Sir Patrick Mayhew, and MI5's new prominence in Britain, seems to herald yet another attempt by Britain to impose a military solution on Ireland, a policy no doubt designed to run hand in hand with the much-vaunted talks process which continues to exclude Sinn Féin.

It has been stressed that both MI5 and the police will still be directly accountable to the Home Secretary, but traditionally the

director-general of MI5 has told the Home Secretary only what he/she needs to know. At least one Tory MP has expressed concern that MI5's prominent role could lead to severe embarrassment for Kenneth Clarke, in much the same manner as his predecessor, Kenneth Baker, was undermined by revelations that he and the police knew that Nessel Quinn and Pearse McAuley were planning an escape long before they successfully absconded from Brixton Prison last year.

The police, constricted by having to work within the confines of the law (most of the time) are now to be replaced by a shadowy organisation which has no powers of arrest but can boast a history of unsavory involvement in sordid dirty trick operations, including state-sponsored assassinations in the Six Counties and, of course, the Gibraltar killings.

The recently-appointed head of MI5 is Stella Rimmington. Her organisation, at something of a loose end since the demise of the Cold War, has been angling for some time now to take over from Scotland Yard in counter insurgency work against the IRA. MI5 was blamed in many quarters for the recent leaking of the minutes of a meeting chaired by the head of the Metropolitan Police, Sir Peter Imbert, which revealed that the police had little or no intelligence on IRA active service units in Britain. In turn, the police are said to be upset that MI5's role will mean that the IRA's campaign will

be officially classed as politically motivated, the police having put much propaganda effort into portraying the campaign as a criminal conspiracy.

Before the announcement, senior Scotland Yard officers warned that such a decision would deal a body blow to police pride and would be seen as an attack on police integrity. One disgruntled senior Special Branch source, commenting on MI5's search for a new role, said: "If it was ICI they would be laying people off." Police were also worried that the secretive nature of MI5 would mean that information would not be passed on to them by MI5 early enough.

The wisdom of the new initiative in terms of effectiveness from the British standpoint was also questioned in last Sunday's *Observer*, whose story ran under the headline, "War on IRA plunged into chaos". The paper revealed that plans for a new controlling body, chaired by MI5, to co-ordinate the relationship between MI5 and the police have been scrapped. It expressed the fear that with no concrete definition of the relationship between the two organisations, that traditionally bitter rivalry will lead to duplication of each other's work and hinder each other's progress. Barry Sheerman, Labour's Shadow Home Office Minister, said:

"There are far too many loose ends, of which ultimate accountability is only one. It would be tragic if confusion over the role of different agencies assisted the IRA." He complained that "The failure to announce a proper system of parliamentary scrutiny of the security services will be widely resented. The public have a right to know what is being done by the state in their name. We are not convinced that the method proposed by the government today is the right way forward in a modern democratic state."

The *Observer* also highlighted MI5's modus operandi. It has carte blanche to 'run' agents of its own, who, in order to protect their cover, may take part in operations. The great British public, not to mention the judicial system, could in the future face revelations of Brian Nelson clones operating in Britain itself with official backing.

As the *Observer* succinctly noted in an editorial on the Sunday before Clarke's announcement: "The recent case of Brian Nelson, the military intelligence agent involved in ten loyalist murders, illustrates the dangers of allowing free rein to a secret, non-accountable organisation. The IRA would be given one of its oldest demands

on a plate: official recognition that its bombings and shootings are not mere crimes, but political acts."

Defenders of civil liberties in Britain would do well not to rely on John Major's Secret Intelligence Service Bill, which, he promises, will "blow away the cobwebs of secrecy". A measure of the openness of MI5 was gleaned from its first press release, which was stamped "restricted".

Reacting to Clarke's announcement, Sinn Féin's Martin McGuinness said:

"There must be a strong suspicion that, with no power of arrest and no public accountability, MI5's brief will be to extend Britain's dirty war in Ireland to Britain, with more state-organised political assassinations becoming likely. While referring in his Commons speech to the Fenian attacks of 100 years ago to explain his decision, Kenneth Clarke and his colleagues have obviously failed to learn the lessons of British involvement in Ireland. Handing over greater responsibility to secret agencies, who are accountable only to a small clique of politicians, is simply a recipe for more violence."

He re-iterated Sinn Féin's often stated position that the war in Ireland "is a political conflict



● MAYHEW



● MATES

which derives from Britain's presence and which demands a political solution."



● SAS — military wing of MI5