

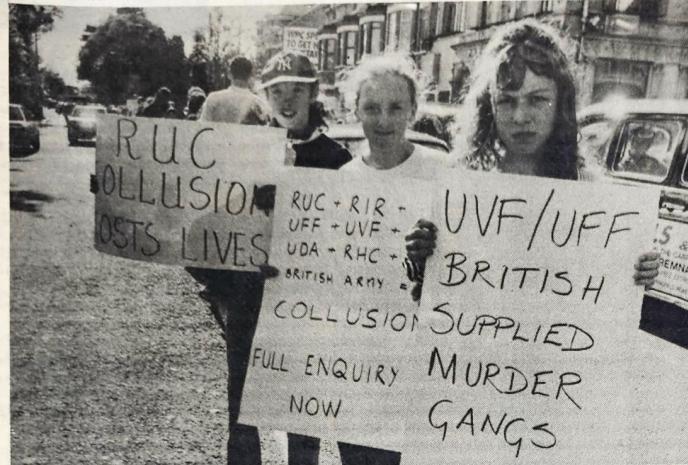


An Phoblacht

REPUBLICAN NEWS

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Thursday, 16 September 1993



• Young nationalists protest at crown force involvement in loyalist murders

Challenge collusion

IN SPITE of the heightened onslaught by loyalist death squads, nationalists were on the streets again last weekend to assert their right to campaign peacefully for political change.

In Belfast, they returned to the scene of Seán Hughes' murder, to highlight the collusion of the British crown forces with the loyalist death squads.

In Bellaghy, County Derry, they marched through the streets of a predominantly nationalist town, barred to nationalist marchers for over 20 years. — See pages 3 and 5.

CALL FOR REAL TALKS BOOSTED

THE CALL FOR a real peace process, involving dialogue between all parties, was boosted with the visit of the Americans for a New Irish Agenda to Ireland last week. Unlike the British government, the Dublin government and the unionists, the US delegation was prepared to meet all parties, including Sinn Féin. DUP bigots refused to meet the delegation.

Commenting on the London/ Dublin intergovernmental conference meeting last week, which attempted to start a rehash of the failed Stormont talks, Sinn Féin Vice President Pat Doherty said:

"Clearly the British and Dublin governments have found no real basis for the renewal of the failed talks.

"Instead of continuing the travesty of the Brooke/Mayhew talks merry-go-round, the Dublin government should adopt its own Irish agenda for a real peace process. This should mobilise national and international goodwill for peace in Ireland and face the British government with the demand that it states its intention to end partition." — See pages 3 and 6/7.



• Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams with former US Congress member Bruce Morrison

NIO shaken by Stormont blast

TWELVE RUC/BRITISH ARMY BARRACKS across Belfast city were targeted by Volunteers last Friday evening, 10 September. In a coordinated operation, commandeered vehicles with hoax devices on board were left outside the heavily fortified bases by IRA Volunteers. All attacks began exactly one minute after midnight.

The British bases targeted included York Road, Grosvenor Road, Springfield Road, New Barnsley, Antrim Road, Tennent

Street, and Dumbury Barracks.

As the increasingly nervous British patrols emerged from some of the targeted bases, IRA Volunteers were lying in wait with automatic rifles. In North Belfast, as two armoured personnel carriers emerged from the

RUC's Oldpark Barracks, Volunteers opened up firing a total of 30 rounds.

Around the same time, several miles away in West Belfast, another IRA unit opened up, directing 35 rounds into a fortified observation post in Woodbourne Barracks.

■ STORMONT HOTEL BOMBED

The Belfast Brigade said that following an earlier bomb attack at the Stormont Hotel six weeks ago, when a British army technical unit defused a 1,000lb bomb, their Volunteers returned last Sunday evening and parked another huge bomb. This time, the British army unit failed to defuse the 300lb device.

The hotel, which is situated opposite the seat of British rule in the Six Counties at Stormont Castle, was badly damaged when the bomb exploded shortly after 1am on Monday morning. The Northern Ireland Office building was shaken by the force of the blast, which was heard over five miles away.

The Belfast Brigade said that their Volunteers had been keeping the hotel under observation for a considerable time and had watched as more security cameras were installed around the building. The movements of crown forces' personnel and British government officials using the hotel were also noted.

Using up-to-date information, the bombing operation was launched. The 300lb of explosives were placed in a white Renault 21 and driven to the car park of the Stormont Hotel.

A warning was then given about the bomb's location. When the bomb exploded, one RUC member was hit in the back by a piece of the car and seriously injured.

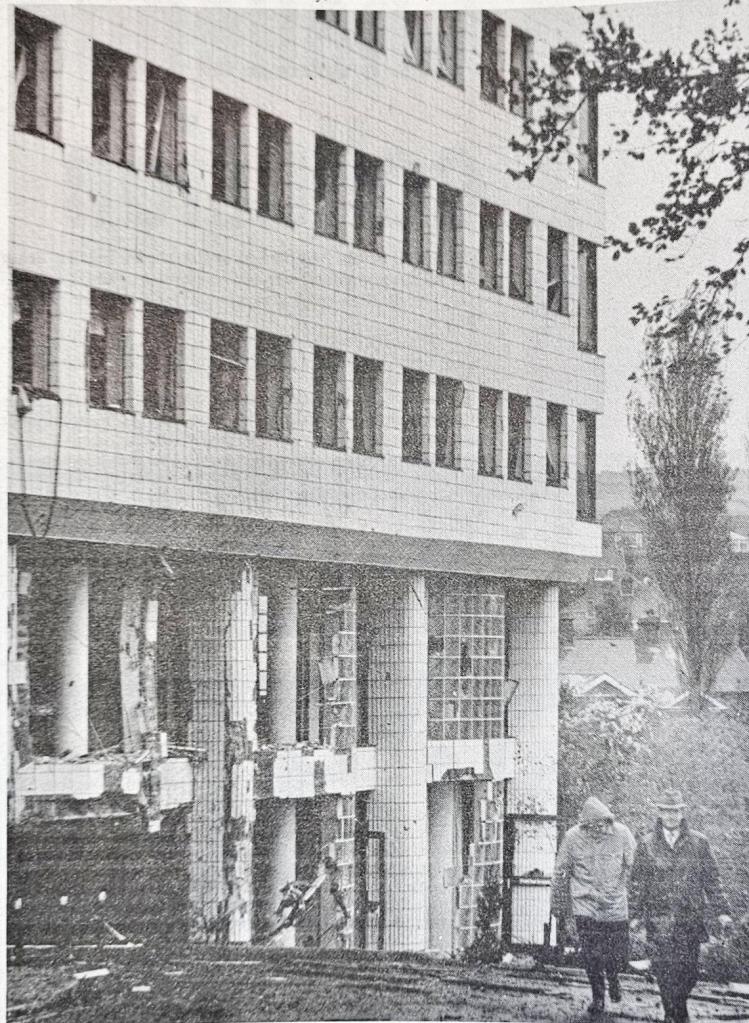
■ STRABANE HOTEL DAMAGED

In Strabane, County Tyrone, the IRA targeted

homes of several Sinn Féin members. He continued:

"Given the fact that thousands of 'security' files, containing information, including photographs, have been passed on to loyalist death squads, it is imperative that the RUC explain their actions. In view of the increase in the number of loyalist killings and the recent attacks on the Ardoyne and New Lodge Sinn Féin advice centres, this latest development is very sinister in the extreme. I challenge the RUC to state what it was doing and to explain why these photographs were taken."

In a statement late on



● Volunteers of Belfast Brigade, Oglach na hÉireann, launched a bomb attack which caused severe damage to the Stormont Hotel and injured an RUC member

Bomb at North Belfast Sinn Féin office

A LOYALIST BOMB WAS PLANTED at the door of Sinn Féin's Ardoyne centre on Wednesday, 15 September. Less than 24 hours previously, an RUC patrol had photographed the building.

At 2.30pm on Tuesday, 14 September, an RUC Landrover pulled up outside the centre on Brompton Park and a plainclothes RUC member got out and took photographs of the building.

It was at about 10.30am the next day that the no-warning bomb was discovered.

The bomb, consisting of explosives, a mechanical timing device and detonator, was left without warning at the front of the unoccupied centre.

At least one woman, dropping

in letters and newspapers for her son in Long Kesh, unwittingly walked past the bomb which was spotted by a taxi driver, who informed a member of Sinn Féin.

The bomb, which failed to explode, was later defused.

Lavery went on to say that a local man had been sitting in his car at Brompton Park, when a man and woman, driving a blue Ford Sierra car, approached him asking what time the centre opened. It was shortly after this that the bomb was discovered.

Commenting on the sinister overtones of RUC activity, hours before the attack, Lavery challenged the RUC to explain why its members were photographing the advice centre. Lavery also revealed that after photographing the centre, the same RUC patrol moved on to photograph the

homes of several Sinn Féin members. He continued:

"Given the fact that thousands of 'security' files, containing information, including photographs, have been passed on to loyalist death squads, it is imperative that the RUC explain their actions. In view of the increase in the number of loyalist killings and the recent attacks on the Ardoyne and New Lodge Sinn Féin advice centres, this latest development is very sinister in the extreme. I challenge the RUC to state what it was doing and to explain why these photographs were taken."

In a statement late on



commercial premises when they placed a bomb at the doorway of the Fir Tree Hotel on Tuesday evening. The hotel, owned by the Hastings group (who also own the Stormont Hotel) sustained extensive damage after the bomb exploded.

In a statement, West Tyrone Brigade Oglach na hÉireann claimed responsibility. Recent targets in the town have included the British courthouse and two banks.

The West Tyrone Brigade also stated this week:

"Our Volunteers have visited a number of people in Strabane who are involved in anti-social and anti-republican activities. They have also been warned to desist from these activities."

"In the case of one [name] individual not a native of the area, who had been enticing young people to involve themselves in this anti-social activity, this person has now been ordered out of Ireland."

■ BELEEK BANK AND HOTEL TARGETED

The IRA's West Fermanagh Brigade targeted the Northern Bank and the Carlton Hotel in the village of Beleek, the most westerly town in the occupied Six Counties.

The IRA statement said that a number of active service units moved into the town on Tuesday evening, armed with automatic weapons and two large explosive devices. Covering the engineering units were armed Volunteers, ensuring no possibility of interference from the British military garrison in the town.

After warnings were issued and the area cleared, the first bomb detonated outside the Northern Bank, badly damaging the building. After several hours a British army technical unit detonated the second bomb at the Carlton Hotel which contained 60lb of explosives.

Wednesday afternoon, the Ulster Volunteer Force claimed that they had planted the bomb.

On Wednesday, Sinn Féin announced that it would be protesting outside the offices of the RUC Police Authority in High Street, Belfast, today (Thursday). Party press officer Richard McAuley, said the protest came "following the recent series of sectarian attacks by loyalist death squads, some of which we believe were based on erroneous information from RUC files". Councillors from across the Six Counties are due to attend.

Also on Wednesday, Sinn Féin and local people held a picket at Lanark Way on the Springfield Road. The picket was in protest at the nightly stone throwing attacks by loyalist youths.

News

US delegation calls for inclusive dialogue

THE REPUBLICAN CALL for all-inclusive dialogue was boosted when community and campaign groups welcomed American group, For a New Irish Agenda, last Thursday afternoon, 9 September, in the Seán MacBride Centre at Conway Mill in Belfast.

The US group, headed by Bruce Morrison, a prominent Democratic Party member who will be reporting back the result of a busy week of meetings with political parties to US President Bill Clinton, was warmly welcomed by Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams and Ard Chomháire member Martin McGuinness, who then introduced members of the US group to all those assembled.

Earlier in the afternoon, various community groups began arriving at the mill, bringing a variety of information packs detailing most of the present campaigns outlining the reality of British misrule in the Six Counties.

As they waited for their guests to arrive, a group of nine traditional musicians kept feet tapping with jigs, reels and polkas. Young Irish dancers nervously practised their steps, gaining encouragement from the growing numbers, some of whom gave brief displays, proving to the younger dancers that they had not forgotten difficult steps learnt long ago.

A cross section of community groups was represented at the meeting, including the Ballymurphy-based Voice of the Innocent, the United Campaign Against Plastic Bullets, the Casement Accused campaign, members from the Pat Finucane Human Rights Centre in Derry, the Falls Women's Centre, Ardyone Women's Centre, Stop the Strip-Search Committee, Relatives for Justice,

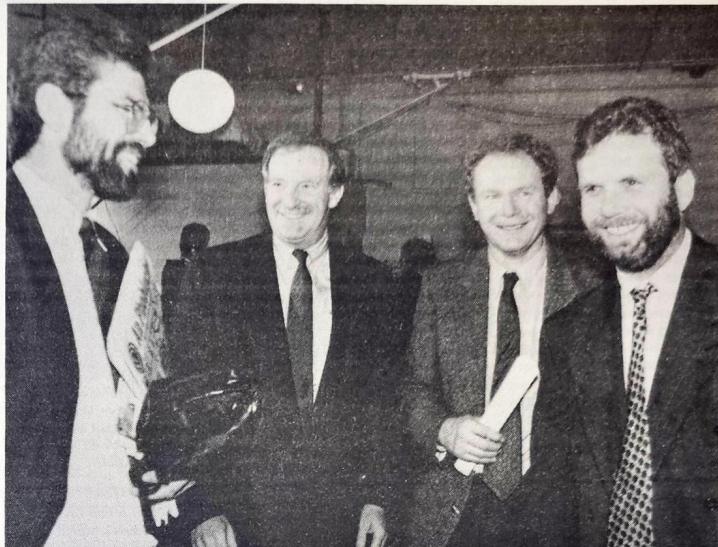
the Lower Ormeau Road Action Group, the Transfer of Irish POWs Committee, the Equality group, Springhill Education centre and relatives and victims of recent loyalist death squad attacks on homes and families.

Despite the seriousness of the various campaign groups, a calm and steady determination was present on the faces of those who have directly suffered the consequences of British government oppression.

Sinn Féin Councillors Bobby Lavery, Annie Armstrong and Alex Maskey explained to the US delegation their experiences of how their families and homes have been attacked recently by British armed loyalist death squads, acting in collusion with British forces. Gerard McGuigan, whose home was attacked on at least three occasions with automatic rifle fire and grenades, also took time out to share common experiences with his party colleagues.

As is unfortunately all too usual in this part of the world, the large crowd of press photographers, newshounds and TV camera crews largely ignored this golden opportunity to highlight the harsh reality of the British government's regime in the Six Counties.

A flurry of movement signalled the arrival of the US delegation with Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams. The informality of the



• Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams and Ard Chomháire member Martin McGuinness welcome the US delegation to Conway Mill last Thursday evening in what was described as an informal meeting

introductions were reported to be in marked contrast with the US delegation's earlier meetings with the Official Unionist Party and British Direct Ruler Patrick Mayhew. Earlier on Thursday, the delegation had a meeting with SDLP leader John Hume in Derry. Speaking about the Adams/Hume talks, Morrison said in Belfast that he thought they were very important, describing them as "a route to a new beginning".

Ian Paisley's DUP typically refused to meet the delegation.

Summing up the general feeling in the hall was one elderly West Belfast woman, who observed as the delegation broke up to meet people individually: "That's the main difference between us and the British. The people here today have their say and are not afraid of open questions and scrutiny of what exactly is going on here".

the IRA to declare a cease-fire, Morrison said that was not the purpose of his visit, that the IRA "was not the only player in the conflict" and that the delegation wanted to see an end to all violence. "I don't make operational recommendations, but I have said I want to see the end of violence, and the end of violence comes from people laying down their guns," said Morrison.

Gerry Adams expressed the desire within the nationalist community for a real and lasting peace when he told the US visitors that: "We want peace. Most of the people of the Six Counties — certainly the people we represent — want peace, and we want justice."

This theme continued as the US delegation and Sinn Féin party officials sat down to continue their discussions. The Sinn Féin president released a statement saying that the discussions had included a contribution from his party giving an analysis of the conflict in the Six Counties which included the document, *Towards a Lasting Peace*.

"International opinion," said Adams "particularly in an international climate of active conflict resolution, can do much to assist in the development of a process of national reconciliation and economic regeneration. We welcome today's meeting as part of that process."



• Recently released POW from Maghaberry Jail, Carol Ni Chuilin meets former US Congress member Bruce Morrison at Conway Mill

Family home bombed by loyalists

A BELFAST FAMILY narrowly escaped injury in a loyalist bomb attack on their home last week. The attack came amid media speculation of a possible loyalist bombing campaign in the 26 Counties and during a two-week period in which four nationalists were murdered in Belfast by loyalist death squads.

The family were asleep in the early hours of Thursday, 9 September, when a pipe bomb was thrown at the bedroom window of their Farnham Street home, off the Ormeau Road in South Belfast. The device, which is believed to

have contained 150 grams of explosives, bounced off a brick wall and landed in the front garden. The device exploded, showering the street with shrapnel and shattering front windows of the house and next door.

The couple's two young sons and twin baby daughters were in an upstairs bedroom at the time of the attack. They were all screaming and had to be brought downstairs to calm them down.

"I don't mind if they attack me, as a republican, but I think really, you have to draw the line at putting families and children in the line of fire," said the father of the family. He hoped the terrified children

would not be permanently affected by their ordeal.

Less than 12 hours earlier, another nationalist had a narrow escape when he grappled with his would-be killer. The 25-year-old motor mechanic was working at a garage on Dunamore Road near Cookstown, County Tyrone, when he was approached by a masked assailant, armed with a handgun.

The young nationalist grabbed the assassin's wrist, forcing down

the point of the gun. During the subsequent struggle, a round was discharged, grazing the victim's finger. A second assailant got out of a waiting car and shouted "shoot the bastard" as the victim overpowered the assassin, banging his head off the floor several times before fleeing on foot.

The would-be assassins ran to a waiting red Triumph Acclaim car, registration number VIA 1729, which was later found burnt out less than a mile away. The attack took place a mile from where plumber Martin McNamee was killed by a UVF booby trap bomb last January.

News

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

Government holds health workers to ransom

■ BY ART MAC EOIN

OVER 3,000 health board workers throughout the 26 Counties went on strike from Tuesday, 14 September, in support of 350 dental surgery assistants, who are seeking payment of a ten per cent award made back in May 1992.

The Dublin government meanwhile is holding the health workers to ransom, saying that it won't give the pay award due until it gets a commitment from the union that there will be no so-called "knock-on" effect in the public sector.

IMPACT has said it could not start seeking assurances from other unions. The government was well aware that the arbitration award was totally different from anything else in the public sector and had been outstanding for a long time.

Services disrupted by the dispute will include community work, social work, clerical and administrative work, and the environmental health, psychology, occupational therapy, physiotherapy and public nursing sectors.

IMPACT General Secretary Phil Flynn has warned that the entire health board membership of the union, which amounts to 7,000

workers, would strike by Thursday.

IMPACT has asked SIPTU members in the health boards not to carry out work normally done by IMPACT members during the dispute.

Some health centres may close down during the dispute and many will deal only with emergencies.

Sinn Féin Dublin City Councillor Christy Burke, many of whose constituents are likely to be affected by the dispute, has called on the government to honour the arbitration award.

Councillor Burke said: 'The government, by refusing to honour the ten per cent pay agreement which was negotiated 18 months ago, has ensured the inevitability of this strike. The dispute has now escalated and will directly affect thousands of people who depend on the services now hit by the strike. It should be

remembered that dental surgery assistants are among the lowest-paid workers within the health boards.

The government has had ample time to properly ensure the implementation of the agreement and should have constructively worked to avoid the escalating situation we have at present.'

The Irish National Organisation of the Unemployed (INO) has called on the Department of Health to make immediate emergency arrangements to ensure that unemployed people or their families are not left in need or homeless because of the dispute.

'This strike came as no surprise to anyone,' said Mary Murphy, welfare rights worker with the INO, 'yet we have found it difficult to believe that postal arrangements have not been put in place to cover rent and mortgage allowances,' she said.

NEW ROSS COUNCILLOR THREATENED DRIVER

In the latest development in the struggle for union recognition at the New Ross haulage company Nolan Transport, the company

boss James Nolan and three scabs, as well as three striking workers, were bound to the peace for two years.

The court was told that threatening phone calls were made to workers and weapons such as a mallet, an iron bar and a stake were used by scabs in an attempt to intimidate striking workers picketing the New Ross plant.

James Dwyer, a Fianna Fáil New Ross Urban Councillor who organised an anti-union barricade of New Ross Bridge, was bound to the peace for two years for wielding a mallet and threatening a Welsh driver, telling him to leave the country.

Six drivers at Nolans have been on strike since February, when management sacked two drivers who they believed were leading a union membership drive.

Originally, 35 of the 55 drivers applied to join SIPTU. However, a number resigned their membership following threats from management that they would close the company down.

Drivers at Nolans are paid £2 to £2.50 an hour with no sick pay, no

pension scheme, no overtime rate and no meal allowances.

For a number of weeks now, dock workers in Dublin, Cork and Dún Laoghaire have refused to handle trucks from the Nolan Transport fleet.

JOBS GO AT SHANNON AND NAAS

Management at De Beers industrial diamond plant in Shannon announced on Wednesday, 15 September that it was seeking to cut 106 jobs.

The South African multination currently employs over 800 workers at Shannon and is the largest employer in the area.

Workers say they understand the firm wants to lay off 60 shop floor workers and about 46 middle and senior management executives.

Meanwhile Donnelly mirrors which makes mirrors for the motor industry is to lay off 59 of the 310 workers at its Naas plant.

A three-day week is to be introduced for the rest of the production staff from 27 September.

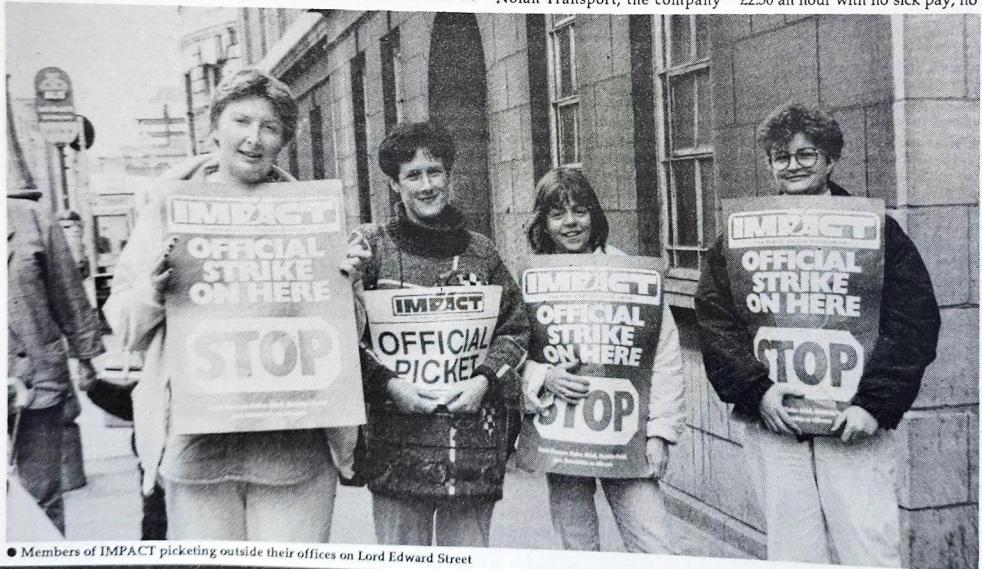
SIPTU MAKES DEMANDS ON RENEWAL OF PESP

SIPTU has declared that the Dublin government must remove the one per cent income levy and reverse the social welfare cuts if it wants to continue the so-called "social partnership" deal.

The union's latest position, decided at an executive meeting on Monday, 13 September, comes ahead of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions' (ICTU) special meeting at the end of the month to review the Programme for Economic and Social Progress (PESP) and decide whether to enter talks on a new deal.

The SIPTU statement last night said that the unemployment crisis was unprecedented and that take-home pay had increased by just four per cent between 1990 and 1993.

Despite the latest statement though, it is clear that the SIPTU leadership is only too willing to enter another deal and that the latest demands were the least it could lay down in the face of mounting criticism of the PESP, low pay, increased attacks on workers' rights and the gradual emergence of a new militancy among some workers.



● Members of IMPACT picketing outside their offices on Lord Edward Street

If you have a story at your workplace, let us know. Get in contact with AP/RN.
Phone 8733611/8733839.

Big rise in emigration

ACCORDING TO THE 26-County Central Statistics Office, emigration figures are expected to show a substantial rise when they are published next month. So far this year, there has been an estimated rise of 8,000 and it is expected that this will reach 20,000 by the end of the year.

Reacting to the latest figures, Liam O Cuinneagáin of the Emigration Research and Action Group said: 'Once again our emigrants are letting the government off the hook by being instrumental in reducing the unemployment figures. This is occurring without a reciprocal response from the government in giving them the right to vote in Irish elections.'

'The Labour Party in opposition attempted a private members bill to allow voting rights. It has been included in the Programme for Government, yet nothing is happening.'

'Furthermore, a senior Fianna Fáil minister has suggested that a

possible mechanism would be to ask emigrants for a levy in order that they could vote here. This is anathema to the democratic process and an insult to the thousands forced abroad annually in search of work.'

'Emigration Research and Action call on the government to fulfil its obligations to emigrants by implementing, as promised in the Programme for Government, plans to give voting rights to Irish citizens abroad and place it on the forthcoming Dáil schedule.'



● LIAM O CUINNEAGÁIN

News

Hughes murder points to collusion

CROWN FORCES COLLUSION with loyalist death squads once again came into sharp focus, as more details emerged of the circumstances surrounding the loyalist shooting dead of Séan Hughes in West Belfast last week. A number of key questions, which emerged in the wake of the killing, remain unanswered by the RUC. Outlining the circumstances surrounding the loyalist shooting, Belfast Sinn Féin Councillor Una Gillespie, questioned the actions of the RUC, particularly in relation to their response to the car used in the attack.

On Tuesday afternoon, 7 September, a loyalist death squad drove up the Falls, at one of the busiest times of the day and parked on the Donegall Road at the junction of one of the most frequently patrolled parts of West Belfast. Earlier that day, the RUC had forced two drivers to move their vehicles after they had parked at that part of the Donegall Road.

After the killing, RUC Chief Superintendent McComb admitted that this area is patrolled "24 hours each day". Yet two men wearing baseball hats, dark glasses and gloves walked calmly across the Donegall Road. Una Gillespie continues:

"Local people in the shops who saw them, immediately realised what was happening. Despite the fact that it was clear that they had been spotted by local people, the two continued to walk calmly around the corner and onto the Falls Road. The two assailants entered the hairdressers and carried out their brutal attack."

"Witnesses say that after the shooting, the two assassins left the building laughing and joking. They remained calm and unconcerned at the possibility that any RUC or British army patrol would be in the area."

The two assailants walked calmly back to their getaway car and drove down the Donegall Road. At this stage, local people had already informed the RUC about the car and had given them a description and the vehicle's registration number.

"It can only be assumed," says Gillespie, "given where the vehicle was eventually found, that it drove along the Westlink. On its route it

had to pass five RUC/British army bases which monitor traffic along the Westlink. They are the British army base on the top of the nurses' home in the Royal Victoria Hospital, Grosvenor Road Barracks, the British army base on the top of Divis Tower, the RUC barracks at North Queen Street and the British army base on top of Templar house in the New Lodge."

The escape route taken by the assassins is also normally used by large numbers of overt and covert RUC and British army vehicles, presumably all of which are in radio contact. According to people interviewed by Sinn Féin, in the follow-up operation no RUC checkpoints were established outside of West Belfast. Una Gillespie asked:



● Nationalist fears continue in the light of crown force collusion with loyalist murder gangs

"First, did the RUC hold personal details of Séan Hughes on file? Second, will the RUC confirm that it received details of the car immediately the attack occurred? Did the RUC act on that information by putting out an alert to all its patrols and bases giving details

of the vehicle? Why were no checkpoints established outside the West Belfast area? What is the history of the weapons used in the attack?" Councillor Gillespie concluded:

"There can be little doubt that this brutal murder was carried out



● Local people protest at crown force involvement in loyalist killings at the scene of the most recent murder

Bellaghy march — a nationalist victory

THE ORGANISERS of last Sunday's Freedom of Movement march in the County Derry village of Bellaghy, have hailed the march as a great success. The historic march, the first ever to be allowed through this predominantly nationalist town, took place in an atmosphere of excitement and satisfaction.

Until Sunday's march took place, the RUC and unionist elements in the village had dictated that Bellaghy would be a "no-go area" for nationalists. The organisers congratulated the several hundred County Derry people for turning out in such numbers to assert their right to march in the village and to claim their rights as nationalists.

The march, which began at Glenvale, was headed by a colour party and band and made its way through the centre of the town before assembling at Barrack Street.

Throughout, up to 40 RUC Landrovers, including a large force of DMSU personnel, shadowed the parade. Two military spotter planes added to the overwhelming crown forces' presence, while RUC check-

points blocked all roads into the town. This RUC 'security' operation led to long traffic tailbacks, causing the parade's start to be delayed by almost an hour.

Civil rights campaigner Bernadette McAliskey, the main speaker at the rally, was introduced to the enthusiastic crowd by Margaret McKenna, a Sinn Féin councillor from South Derry.

"Things have changed now that we can walk through the streets of Belfast and Bellaghy," said McAliskey, "but something puzzles me. What was it all about? Why were we stopped for 25 years from walking down that street?"

"It always seemed to me that there was some important point in stopping people marching through

their own towns. It was so important, that they beat us off the street Sunday after Sunday when we tried to march 25 years ago."

McAliskey went on to ask why the British let nationalists march now.

Answering her own question she stated that they let nationalists march for, "the simple reason that they accept they cannot stop us. It's not that they have got any wiser or any fairer."

"It's because they know that everything they have done to us over 25 years has changed nothing about the political situation in this state and changed everything about us. It changed with Bloody Sunday, with internment and 25 years of struggle."

Acknowledging the price, in suffering, that people have paid and that the aims of the struggle have yet to be achieved McAliskey concluded:

"It has been a long and a very



hard road and many have paid a huge price just so that we could walk down that miserable little street. I'm glad we've done it, but I didn't come this far down this road just for that."

The Bellaghy march is a prelude to the march to be held in Cook-

stown on Sunday, 26 September. The Tyrone Nationalist Rights Committee, in organising their march, are asserting the rights of nationalists to parade through the streets of the predominantly nationalist town, a right usually preserved for Orange marchers on 12 July.

Leading Sinn Féin activist Martin McGuinness will speak at the Cookstown rally, which will set out from Kevin McGovern Drive in the Greenvale Estate, an estate turned into a militarised zone by the British crown forces, and parade to the Town Hall.

The Tyrone Nationalist Rights Committee is urging as many people as possible to support the march's aims of asserting the right to freedom of movement for nationalists in their own town.

Sinn Féin's Cookstown representative Martin Conlan, commenting on the Cookstown march, said: "Nationalists will take heart at the successful turnout for the Bellaghy march. It is an example to everyone in the whole Mid-Ulster area and demonstrates what we can achieve."

The householders contacted by the RUC were not the people named in the missing files, which are believed to relate to previous tenants. Two of the homes are now occupied by lone-parent families and the third by a single man. Residents said that they are too afraid to stay in their homes and are seeking alternative accommodation as quickly as possible.

Commenting on the incident, local Sinn Féin Councillor Paddy McManus pointed out that in the past 24 years more than a third of all sectarian killings by loyalists had taken place in the North Belfast area. He continued:

"During the Stevens' Inquiry, it was revealed that a staggering 3,000 files on nationalists were in the hands of loyalist organisations. Given the number of people still being told by the RUC that their files have gone missing, it would appear that loyalist death squads are in possession of them as a matter of routine."

As the loyalist campaign of sectarian terror intensifies and nationalist fears of crown forces collusion continues, residents in the Horn Drive area of Lenadoon have expressed their anxiety at recent crown force activities in the area. On two separate occasions, a dark-haired man wearing civilian clothing has been spotted by local people photographing homes in the area from the back of one of two British army jeeps.



An Phoblacht

REPUBLICAN NEWS

16 SEPTEMBER 1993

Promote YOUR paper

AN PHOBLAHT/REPUBLICAN NEWS is sold throughout Ireland and among Irish emigrants, people of Irish descent and friends of Ireland all over the world. In Britain and the United States, there are large sales and wherever supporters of the Irish republican cause can be found, AP/RN provides a weekly link with the struggle. In Ireland, the paper provides uncensored news in the two states where censorship has never been so rigid.

That is the scope of the paper, but the challenge to all republicans is to extend it. There is great room for improvement in sales. There are still places in Ireland where the paper is not sold and cannot be obtained, except by postal subscription. That is a far from satisfactory situation. That said, there is hardly anywhere that there are not readers of the paper, many of whom subscribe directly.

This week, AP/RN begins a special sales promotion which asks readers to consider also selling the paper (see page 16). We are asking our readers to extend the network of readers of which they are part, thus extending the network of support for the republican struggle. It is the weekly support of our readers and sellers, which sustains *An Phoblacht/Republican News*. We are confident that that support will not only continue but expand. That can happen by our supporters promoting the paper wherever and whenever possible, finding new outlets and new readers.

Political activists need to put the promotion and sale of the paper at the top of their agenda and to them and to all our loyal readership everywhere, we extend our gratitude and solidarity.



An Phoblacht

REPUBLICAN NEWS

Opening their eyes

THE EXTENDED *Dúirt Siad* section on the opposite page is devoted mainly to the latest loyalist spate of killings and reaction to Official Unionist MP John Taylor's apologia for that sectarian campaign.

The tones of shock and surprise emerging from establishment political and media circles in the 26 Counties, at the horrific string of killings, have shown up a lack of awareness in the South about the everyday dangers faced by Six-County nationalists, regardless of their political beliefs.

The loyalist campaign of sectarian killings, which has been ongoing for years, has only now been seen by politicians and media in the 26 Counties — with a few honourable exceptions — as a major crisis, when four people have been killed in a week.

The last body has been buried... until the next time. But the mask of respectability, which Dublin has chosen to confer on certain unionist politicians, has slipped. This campaign is only the latest in a long string of similar pogroms designed to reinforce unionist hegemony and cow the Catholic community.

A week spent living with the people of North Belfast, who have borne the brunt of the random campaign designed to instill fear amongst all Catholics, would teach the Dublin media and politicians a lot about the real situation on the ground.

News

British recycle flawed process

■ BY HILDA Mac THOMAS

THE BIGGEST POLITICAL SCANDAL of the last few years has got to be the British government's repeated attempts to impose a flawed solution to the conflict in Ireland, through a talks process which is itself flawed. At the last intergovernmental conference meeting in London on Friday, 10 September, British Direct Ruler Patrick Mayhew made some optimistic noises that the whole process could be put back on the rails and even achieve some result if all parties concerned showed some "flexibility".

The flawed solution which the British are proposing is, of course, a partitionist one. In a document which they are preparing to circulate to the parties to the talks, *Focus and Direction*, they outline their plan for a devolved administration for the Six Counties. The talks process which they hope to rekindle, after two successive collapses since 1990, still excludes the representatives of a large section of northern nationalists.

More scandalous again, is the fact that the British still pretend to be referees in that talks process, even though they have entered into an "understanding" with the Official Unionists at Westminster.

The British have made it crystal clear who they expect to show "flexibility". At a conference of the British-Irish Association in Cambridge last Saturday, 11 September, Mayhew stressed that since one of the unionist parties (the DUP) refused to return to the discussion table unless the Dublin government changed its Constitution, amending Articles Two and Three, was a prerequisite for "success". There was no mention of the need for the British side to consider amending its claim to sovereignty over the North. This, the British have stressed, is simply not up for discussion.

While there is little chance of inter-party talks resuming in the near future, and even less chance of a positive outcome to the talks, the British government's motivation for rekindling this flawed process can only be the need to be seen to be doing something about Ireland and the need to be perceived as "peace brokers" in this conflict. They have initiated and are prolonging needlessly.

It is hard to know what to read into Albert Reynolds' statement in the United States that his government "would" amend Articles Two and Three in the context of an overall agreement in the North, which also addressed the Government of Ireland Act. Much significance was attributed to his use of the word "would" rather than "could", which he had used in previous statements. Dublin government sources denied that the position had changed but Fine Gael's John

nationalist areas day and night, with arms procured by British agents, and with information from "leaked" RUC files.

The unionists have even seen the head of the RUC, Hugh Annesley, wield the menace of further loyalist attacks as a threat to the Dublin government, two days before the meeting of the intergovernmental conference. On Wednesday, 8 September, Hugh Annesley announced publicly that it is a question of "when not if" loyalists would launch a bombing campaign in the South.

After the conference meeting, Dublin Justice Minister Maire Geoghegan Quinn remarked that there was "no new evidence" to back the RUC chief's claim. She expressed "surprise" that Annesley would have chosen to make such a claim in public.



■ PATRICK MAYHEW
Bruton claimed it had done so.

While not explicitly mentioning the issue of a US "peace envoy", Reynolds said he "greatly values" US assistance. This echoed recent statements of Dick Spring, as did Reynolds' comment that if talks did not resume, the British and Dublin governments would have to work together to search for "a new peace formula".

The British have described as "unhelpful" the proposal of a US "peace envoy" which the delegation led by former Congress member Bruce Morrison was arguing for in Ireland last week. A US "peace envoy" may or may not be the best way to broker peace talks in Ireland, but the US delegation had at least to its merit, that it offered to talk to all parties in the conflict without exception, and without a preconceived solution in mind, something which the British, as a party to the conflict themselves, are incapable of doing.

The unionists, meanwhile, have seen little from the British over the past few months which would encourage them to the "flexibility" Patrick Mayhew was speaking of. The OUP has this

"understanding" with the British government, which they expect to produce political benefits for them in the shape of a Select Committee on Northern Ireland Affairs at Westminster, and increased powers for local government in the North.

The DUP has had its pre-conditions for taking part in the talks publicly acknowledged and supported by Mayhew last week. Loyalist death squads have escalated their attacks on the nationalist community, in full view of the crown forces which patrol

Unionist politicians have shown in recent weeks that they are at one with the loyalist death squads. OUP MP John Taylor described the killing of nationalists as "helpful", and DUP Councillor Sammy Wilson said that there was a "growing feeling among Protestants" that loyalists were "taking on the IRA". This view had been, until last year, publicly supported by the British government, whose ministers went on record to describe loyalist violence as "merely reactive".

In an interview with the *Observer* last Sunday, the UDA confirmed that they were receiving support and tactical help from "people who don't belong to our organisation", referring to the unionist "middle class and upper class".

There was a report at the start of this week that the British government has initiated talks with the Ulster Democratic Party (UDP), a small grouping associated with the UDA and with a single local councillor in the Six Counties apparently to discuss the latest escalation of loyalist attacks. This can only confirm for northern nationalists, that republicans are excluded from the talks process, not because of the IRA's use of arms, but because of their views on how best to secure lasting peace in Ireland.

The Dublin government's position in all this is far from clear. While they have not dismissed out of hand the idea of a US "peace envoy", Dick Spring had nothing else to offer after last week's intergovernmental conference but some muted support for the British government's unpretent attempt to restart inter-party talks. No demand for inclusive negotiations, no pressure on the British to end their covert support for loyalist death squads. The other political scandal of the last few years has got to be the way in which the Dublin government has allowed the British to get away with murder, literally.

News

Can you imagine the outrage which would ensue if John Hume, the leader of the SDLP, were to make the following remark: 'In a perverse way the killings carried out by the IRA are something which may be helpful, because Protestants are now beginning to appreciate more clearly the fear that has existed within the Catholic community for the last 20 years'. — Sunday Business Post editorial putting Official Unionist MP John Taylor's sectarian remarks in context, 12 September.

The term 'moderate unionist' has always been something of an oxymoron. Yet, from time to time various unionist politicians are love-bombed by the southern media because they are perceived to be 'reasonable' or 'decent' or even 'sensible'. This treatment has been afforded to the likes of Ken Maginnis, the former UDR major and to Chris McGimpsey in the recent past. Yet it seems to us that the candid remarks of Taylor reflect more accurately the reality of Ulster unionism today. The MP for Strangford is the real voice of Ulster unionism, articulating most coherently the values for which his community stands and the values which it has sought to impose upon the Catholic community in the Six Counties since partition. — Sunday Business Post editorial, 12 September.

Certainly, the self-confident commentary within a number of Dublin newspapers seems to indicate that well-off southerners have no desire at all to assist in defending Catholic civilians. Rather a philosophy of almost racial distrust of Six-County Catholics is being actively promoted as a 'reasonable' political response to the reality of what is occurring in Belfast and other districts. The murderous rattle of the guns used by the loyalist death squads has been accompanied in recent days by polished demands from various columnists for internment without trial, the banning of nationalist newspapers, the suppression of nationalist political parties and the general ostracisation of Hume and the SDLP.

In this sordid world of intellectual treachery we are supposed to accept as 'decent skins' the loyalist politicians who recently paid their respects at the funeral of a UVF bomber who died while in the act of throwing a grenade at the police. And we are supposed to believe that the sick people who operated a system of religious apartheid for five decades should be given more political power by London and Dublin. The distortion of Irish history by various 'intellectuals' and 'journalists' has been taken to extraordinary lengths in recent times. But the truth will come out, and the truth is that the Catholics of Belfast have been for decades, and are now, the primary victims of the genocide. Routinely, the economic subjugation of a people on religious grounds alone has devel-

Dúirt Siad

oped into outright physical onslaughts of which the Nazis would have been proud. It is a reality which shames us all. — Sunday Business Post editorial.

Loyalists, rearmed, reorganised, and resurgent, are striking out at Catholics, any Catholic, they can kill in the streets of Belfast and the rural byways of County Tyrone and Derry. They smash down front doors with sledgehammers. They kill young women as they deliver food to sick children. They kill mothers in front of their screaming children. They hound fathers and sons to death in their own bedrooms, they shoot ice-cream men packing up their day's vanilla and strawberry. They shoot beloved husbands as they lie, curled up in bed with their wives. — Anne Cadwallader, the Evening Press, Thursday, 9 September.

As you travel home to the safety of your home in the South tonight, spare a thought and a prayer for the people of the North who will lie awake, fearfully anticipating the ghastly splintering of wood in the middle of the night which will mean that, yes, it's finally their turn to die. — Anne Cadwallader on the fear engendered by the sectarian killer gangs, the Evening Press, Thursday, 9 September.

I told him it wasn't Protestants who had killed my son, it was the UDA. But I don't even blame those who pulled the trigger; I blame those who demonise Sinn Féin as a party and justify these murders. — Sinn Féin Councillor Bobby Lavery, whose son Séan was shot down by a sectarian death squad last month, the Evening Press, Thursday, 9 September.

There is no harm, wrong or evil in being a Catholic or a Protestant or a Jew and anyone who says there is — who, particularly, kills you because of it — should be politically shunned. Anyone who apologises for religious belief, who suggests that it is of such insignificance that nobody should pay attention to it, is diminishing the courage of believers, insulting their mental faculties and placing them in mortal danger in Northern Ireland. — Nell McCafferty, Hot Press.

The pattern in the past three to four years is for less and less coverage. Since the 1970s, it is a story that has been covered more out of duty than any attraction. It mirrors English Press.



society; people in Britain are not very interested in Northern Ireland. — London Independent Six-County correspondent David McKittrick.

The trend has been for loyalist violence either to be ignored, or blamed on republicans, or said to be motiveless or non-sectarian. At different points in the last 20 years we have had authorities encouraging one or other of these positions. — Liz Curtis, author of *Ireland: The Propaganda War*.

The loyalist onslaught has been accompanied by a whole chorus of unionist voices explaining away the killings, either as an understandable reaction to IRA violence or as a direct result of the government 'ignoring' unionist politicians or, indeed, as a consequence of Articles Two and Three of the republic's constitution. The list of excuses is endless. — Andersonstown News comment, Saturday, 11 September.

The only way to combat this distortion of the truth is by stating facts again and again. Facts which show that of the 26 victims killed this year by loyalist paramilitaries, 23 of them had absolutely no political nor paramilitary connections. Of the 16 victims killed by the IRA this year, eleven were members or former members of the security forces, two were loyalist paramilitaries and one was a Protestant worker repairing a security base. Our readers can draw their own conclusions about the ethnic cleansing claims from these figures. — Andersonstown News comment on loyalist claims of 'ethnic cleansing'.

The SDLP attacks, again, have been a result of their political involvement. As far as Sinn Féin are concerned I must say that Sinn Féin have brought all this upon themselves. They have supported the campaign of violence for 25 years and, as I said earlier, some of them have been actively involved in that campaign of violence, so I never make any comment on what happens to members of Sinn Féin. — DUP Councillor Sammy Wilson in Hot Press.

If members of the British government can lecture the world on sitting down with the butchers of Serbia, they can sit down with the legally elected representatives of Sinn Féin. And if they are not prepared to send their army into dangerous foreign places that don't ultimately concern them, they should get them out of Ireland too. They should announce a phased withdrawal of troops now. Then, and only then, the people of all persuasions who have to actually live on this island might have some chance of sorting out the legal and constitutional arrangements that might allow them to do that, in a spirit of reconciliation and mutual respect. — Joe O'Connor, the Sunday Tribune, 12 September.

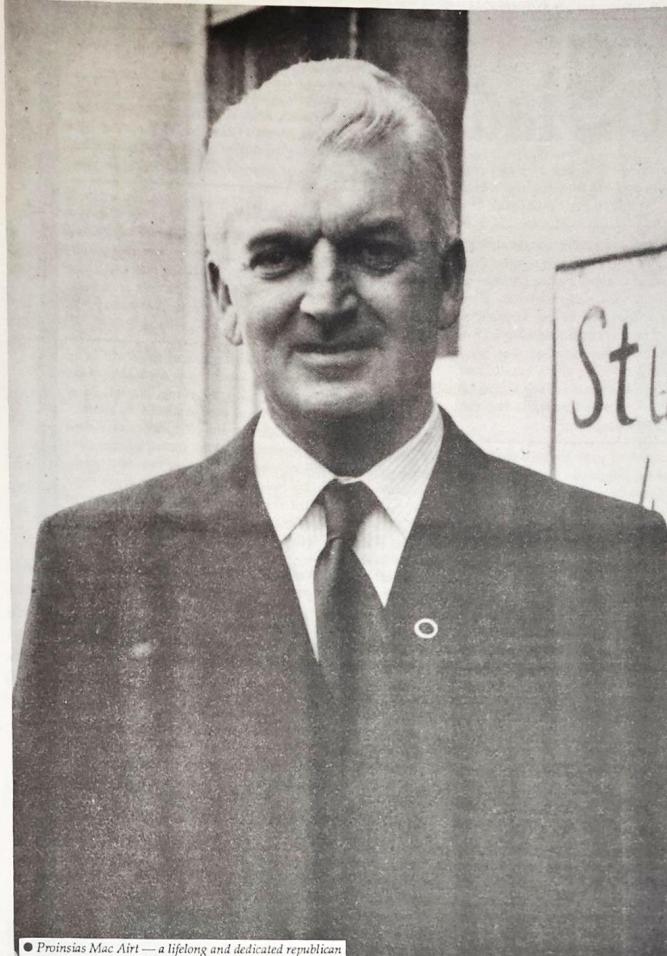
We must be careful not to take the attitude, as some almost seem to do, that they will be prepared to keep the problem unsolved rather than to admit that an outsider, even one bound by the closest ties of friendship, could contribute to the search for progress. — Twenty-Six County Foreign Minister Dick Spring on the possibility of a US special envoy after last week's meeting with Patrick Mayhew.

No one should find our visit here threatening, or meddling, or interventionist. If people want peace they have to be for talks... — Former US congress member Bruce Morrison in Belfast, 9 September.

All people of good will should be looking to end violence. Ending violence is more than making ritualistic denunciations of violence but looking for ways that alternatives can grow up... — Bruce Morrison.

It is 'Chairman' Arafat now. Just as 'terrorist leader' Kenyatta became 'Mr President'. Just as 'terrorists' Menachim Begin and Yitzhak Shamir both became 'Mr Prime Minister'. From 'terrorist mastermind' to 'statesman' in the length of time it took Yitzhak Rabin to write his name on a piece of paper. How swiftly are we reprogrammed. — Robert Fisk, the Independent on Sunday, 12 September.

The Palestinian Islamic Hamas movement in its early days was encouraged by the Israelis as a balance to the PLO. Now that Mr Arafat is a good guy — and Hamas are the enemy he must crush — it will be Hamas who will have to be described as 'murderous psychopaths' (as they duly were in a letter to the Independent last week). — Robert Fisk.



● Proinsias Mac Airt — a lifelong and dedicated republican

■ BY AINE NIC FLOINN

THE YEAR OF 1921, saw many things happen in Ireland, including partition and pogroms. It was in this year, in the Lower Falls area, that one of Belfast's great republicans, Proinsias Mac Airt, was born. He was educated at Slatte Street School where, from an early age, his intelligence was recognised by his teachers.

When Frank Card, as he was then known, was ten, an inspector from the education authority entered his classroom to assess the standard of the school. As the story goes, the inspector asked a five-part mathematical question and asked for any pupil to give him the answer. Mac Airt's hand was up straight away, causing amazement with the inspector and a sigh of relief from his classmates, who weren't worried whether he got the answer right or wrong but were glad they weren't asked! When the correct answer was given the inspector asked the boy to explain his answer and when he did, he was rewarded with a penny, which was a large sum in 1930. At the age of 13, the main conversation of young lads in the area was the local IRA hero, Joe McElvey, executed by the Free State in 1922, and the young Mac Airt soon joined the Con Colbert slus of Fianna Eireann. Although he had trouble learning Irish, his aunt was a fluent speaker who helped him to master his native tongue.

His ambition was to go to

Ros Muc, in Connemara and visit the cottage of Pádraig Mac Piarsais. At the age of 17, his abilities and intelligence were recognised and he joined the IRA. In 1939 when Mac Airt was 18, he was to see the inside of Belfast Prison for the first time. It would not be his last visit. He was sentenced to two years penal servitude. Beatings were vicious and regular in the jail at that time, especially if you were caught associating with the internees. Medical treatment was non-existent unless you were at death's door. When his sentence was over, Mac Airt was arrested at the gate of Crumlin Road Jail and interned until after the Second World War.

On

their release, Mac Airt, Jimmy Steele and Billy McKee, set about rebuilding the Belfast Battalion. Imprisonment had not deterred Mac Airt — if anything it hardened his convictions. The Belfast Battalion got itself organised for the start of the 1956 campaign, but in January 1957, 12 Volunteers were arrested, including Mac Airt, and most of battalion staff were

Remember Proinsias

hours and days were spent reorganising the Belfast Battalion. As the late '60s approached the nature of the Orange state was again exposed during the Divis riots. The excesses of the RUC and attacks on nationalist communities lent an urgency to the need to protect their communities. A steady flow of Volunteers were joining the IRA ranks.

Mac Airt saw the necessity to educate these Volunteers so they knew the reasons for the struggle and realised the hardship they would have to endure by being Volunteers. The ranks steadily swelled. On the 14 August 1969, Mac Airt crossed Bombay Street into the loyalist Shankill against the wishes of the IRA's GHQ Staff. He refused to arm himself, believing the situation could be defused before it exploded. However, he reported back to the GHQ that the only option was defence. All units were put on standby. Next day, Belfast lost its first republican activist to die in this phase of the struggle. Fianna member Gerald McAuley was killed while on active service. The people of Belfast knew then, that it was time to get off their knees and stay off them.

The ranks of the IRA con-

tinued to swell in Belfast.

Organising again became more than a full-time job for Mac Airt. The split of late '69, with the Dublin leadership, eventually came and Mac Airt was one of the main advisers in seeing the need to build a defensive army. Mac Airt trod that well-worn path of building the structures of the IRA in Belfast. In March 1970, the Belfast Brigade was formed with Jimmy Steele as Commanding and his comrades like Mac Airt, Billy McKee and Joe Cahill, a few, made up the Belfast Brigade staff. Battalions stretched from Derry to Greencastle.

● Jimmy Drumm and Proinsias Mac Airt



● Eddie Rooney, Bobby Gamble, Proinsias Mac Airt and Joe Thompson in the Short Stand during the 1970's

Remembering Proinsias Mac Airt

This week, AP/RN looks back on the life of Proinsias Mac Airt (1921-1992). His life spanned several generations of republican struggle and was marked by constant activity in the cause of freedom. His story reflects and is an integral part of, the story of republican Belfast and is a symbol of the continuity and confidence in victory of the republican struggle.



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With the birth of the 'Provisional' Irish Republican Army, Mac Airt seemed to rise like the phoenix with a new lease of life. At nearly 50, he was recognised for his services and at the first convention of the IRA, he was voted onto the Army Council. But Belfast wasn't to lose Mac Airt. He was to remain a key activist on the streets of Belfast. Mac Airt was there to see his people's army become a reality and knew there was no turning back. The IRA's ability was challenged again, when on the 27 June 1970 loyalists tried to take over part of the Ardoyne area and the whole of the Short Strand. Gun battles went on to the early hours of the Sunday morning. One Volunteer, Henry McIlhone, lost his life. The discipline of the Volunteers who defended the districts that night, owed a lot to Mac Airt and the brigade staff. As Martin Meehan (Third Battalion OC at the time) said afterwards, "the lame and the blind" came out to join the IRA.

Mac Airt and Billy McKee were arrested for possession of a gun, which was found in a different car from the one in which they were travelling on Easter Monday 1971, in Ardoyne. Mac Airt was sentenced to five years, his fourth term of imprisonment in Belfast Jail. This time it was different. The number of POWs was greater than ever before and the screws knew that these cripes weren't for lying down. Beatings were rare and there was an unofficial policy of recognising the IRA command staff in the jail. Long Kesh held a couple of hundred internees.

By Christmas '71, the demand for political status was the priority for the prisoners and in 1972, a hunger strike started in Belfast Prison with Proinsias Mac Airt taking over as OC of the whole jail. The hunger strike nearly cost the life of his friend Billy McKee.

The demands were granted by Lord Carrington. Mac Airt was moved to Long Kesh. With Billy McKee's health improved, he resumed his position as

camp OC and Mac Airt became Camp Adjutant. He was as active as he could be within the confines of British jailers.

Many people were amazed at the energy of this man, in and out of prison, but there was another side to Mac Airt, the side known to only his closest friends. He had been the main instigator for the Séan McCaughey Monument and also formed a team named after Séan Gaffney, an internee who died on the Al Rawdah prison ship. His ability to communicate the republican message did not go unnoticed and with the death of Jimmy Steele, the editor of *Republican News*, Mac Airt was there to stand in and make sure that the paper continued.

Mac Airt's last term of imprisonment ended in 1974 and afterwards he returned to active service. He was held in high esteem and never faltered from his principles.

During the IRA's historic convention in 1986, he voted against participating in Leinster House, but remained true to his disciplined ways and followed the majority decision. He was elected on to the Army Executive, a position which he held until early 1991, when he suffered a stroke. The stroke was a great blow, but nearly 70 years of fighting kept Mac Airt with us for a few more months. He regained his speech and most of the power of his right side.

When he returned home from hospital, his small flat was never without a visitor, from all walks of life. Whether they called for a wee yarn or advice, Mac Airt was always there. When he died on 8 January 1992, the shock and sadness was felt throughout Belfast and beyond. That was shown by the attendance at his funeral, when republicans from all over Ireland, young and old, followed Mac Airt for the last time.

Though the sense of loss among the crowd was very deep, the oration by Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams brought smiles and nods of agreement from many, as they too remembered special moments and anecdotes about Proinsias Mac Airt, a true republican.



● Proinsias Mac Airt speaking at Bodenstown in 1975

Review/News



• Niall Quinn tries to keep his balance during the recent clash with Lithuania at Lansdowne Road

No room for complacency

"IRELAND began like World Cup winners and ended up like World Cup wimps," was how one commentator summed up last week's World Cup match in Dublin between Ireland and Lithuania and that's just about right. At the end of the day, two points were garnered, but with the Irish 2-0 up after 25 minutes, it wasn't unreasonable for the fans to expect one or two more additions to the scoreline in the second half.

The fact that it didn't happen was due as much to a lazy second-half performance by the boys in green as to an improved Lithuania. Given a bit of space, the Lithuanians impressed. Their captain Barnauskas

and sweeper Baltusnikas, who both play abroad, were good, as was midfielder Stumbrys. They had nobody with the killer instinct up front and that's the reason why Ireland weren't embarrassed.

Football is a learning experience, so they say, and this bad performance (overall) could be a blessing in disguise. When the Spaniards arrive on 13 October, the lessons learned in the last hour could be decisive. Three or four players didn't perform in the second half and they know that this will not do next month.

All wasn't bad however. In the first 30 minutes, Ireland showed a variety of imagination with crosses coming in from all angles and at different speeds. Roy

Keane and Andy Townsend drove forward relentlessly and together with Ray Houghton, they won a lot of the ball, thereby creating opportunities for their colleagues. All that stopped at the end of the first half and the whole of the second half. Maybe some players were nervous about getting a yellow card and thus missing the Spanish match or was it complacency against weaker opposition?

One or two players also looked far from match fit, but hopefully Ireland will

have ironed out these problems by next month. The Spaniards must not be given the same space as the Lithuanians or we'll be in trouble.

After the post-match drinks in Sandymount, it was into a city centre pub to watch England take on Poland at Wembley. The English fans showed their usual boorish behaviour when they booed the Polish national anthem. Graham Taylor's team gave one of their best performances in a while as they easily brushed aside Poland. The Poles didn't seem to have the stomach for the battle and it was no surprise that they ended up losing 3-0. Les

Ferdinand got the home side off to a flyer after two minutes and when 'Gazza' added a second after 49 minutes the match was as good as over. Stuart Pearce added a third to seal victory. The English travel to Rotterdam on 13 October and all I can say is "come on Holland."

The unluckiest team in last week's matches must be Wales. Having fallen behind to an early goal to the RCS (formerly Czechoslovakia) they fought back valiantly to lead 2-1 with goals from Ryan Giggs and Ian Rush. Just when the two points seemed safe, Eric Young of Wimbleton was penalised for a harmless challenge. From the resultant free kick, the RCS equalised and 2-2 was the final result. With two home games against Cyprus and Romania to come, the Welsh still have a great chance of qualifying and maybe Ireland and Wales will be in America while England watch on TV!

For the first time in the last 24 years, there will be no Scotland side at the World Cup. Despite taking the lead through Celtic's John Collins, they could only manage a draw with Switzerland and only a miracle of biblical proportions could see them through. With manager Andy Roxburgh resigning, they clearly have a lot of problems.

I see Billy Bingham still thinks "Northern Ireland" have a chance of making the USA next year. This man is the eternal optimist. His side's 2-0 victory at home to Latvia was about as exciting as watching paint dry. Keep taking the tablets, Billy. You'll be alright!

Protest at refusal to meet

THE Bloody Sunday Justice Campaign staged a one-hour protest outside Aras an Uachtaráin in Dublin's Phoenix Park on Saturday, 11 September. They were registering their discontent at 26-County President Mary Robinson's refusal to meet with them.

Robinson has refused to meet them on a number of occasions, claiming that "the constitutional parameters" of her office preclude her from involvement in matters of policy. The group handed in a letter, asking Robinson to reconsider her position and said that they also planned to protest outside the home of Cardinal Cahal Daly, who has also refused to meet with them. John McKinney, whose brother William was one of those murdered by the Parachute Regiment on Bloody Sunday in January 1972, said that the action had been forced upon the relatives,

who regretted having to picket.

"It is important for us to gain recognition from the president," he said. "To date one could be forgiven for believing that it is we who have done wrong and have made innocent people suffer.

"It has become clear that even in death, northern nationalists are looked upon as second-class citizens and have no place in campaigning for justice." He pointed out that Mary Robinson and Cahal Daly had met the parents of Timothy Parry, killed at Warrington and had discussed the implications of this and other violent acts.

"As heads of state and the Catholic church in Ireland respectively, they were correct to meet them, just as Mary Robinson was right to lay a wreath at Enniskillen," said McKinney. "Our campaign has asked on numerous occasions to meet both President Robinson and Cahal Daly, without television cameras or publicity, to absolutely no avail. Cardinal Daly has informed us three times in the past 18 months that he is too busy. This is just not good enough. We are determined to oppose all attempts to marginalise us and to make light of the pursuance of justice regarding Bloody Sunday."

Representatives of Relatives for Justice and the United Campaign Against Plastic Bullets were also present at the protest.



• Members of last Saturday's Bloody Sunday Justice Campaign protest being harassed by gardai



IRIS
THE REPUBLICAN MAGAZINE

OUT
SOON

News

Doomsday booked

Yes, it is I, Lord Diplock, back again with a smattering of cases just heard, after the happy holiday break. But before I proceed, I must pay my respects to our recently departed Lord Justice Higgins. What a man, and holding a senior position in the Catholic St Vincent de Paul charity organisation to boot, he is clearly destined for high office now, after all his years of great service to charitable British justice.

For almost all the 20 years that my non-jury courts have been in operation, my old friend Ian, whoops sorry, Eoin, happily doled out all those heavy sentences of 20 years or more to nationalists, on the sole evidence of their impartial RUC interrogators.

Higgins was described by Lord Chief Justice Sir Brian Hutton, on the opening day of the new term in the High Court, as being just like all the rest of the Diplock team full of 'great integrity, great courage and great humanity'. Higgins' unwavering 'sense of duty' was also remarked upon by Hutton.

This unwavering 'sense of duty' was on display last week when another member of the

impartial crown forces was given a draconian seven-year sentence.

A former British soldier in the Ulster Defence Regiment, (now Royal Irish Regiment), 37-year-old John Murray from Stuart Park, Ballymoney, admitted last week in Lord Justice McDermott's non-jury court, to having guns and bombs, but stressed that (wait for it) they were only for a 'doomsday situation'. (Where have we heard that one before?)

Included in Murray's 'doomsday' arsenal, was a .38 revolver, assorted ammunition, a bomb timer, copper and metal pipes and ammonium nitrate fertilizer. Intelligence documents 'useful to terrorists' were also found in his home.

The former UDR member, who

had served in the regiment for ten years, had kept updated information on people for the total period he was in the British army. But... he had not planned to harm anyone!

Also in the dock and receiving a seven-year sentence alongside Murray, were William Craig (27) of Shandon Park, who admitted having a CZ57P assault rifle, three revolvers, three magazines and other assorted ammunition in his home. When the RUC searched Craig's house, they found three revolvers and two assault rifles. Mysteriously, Craig was not found guilty of possessing this other assault rifle!

The third member of the 'doomsday' squad was 29-year-old Alan Murray of Garryduff Road, Ballymoney. Inside Alan Murray's home was an air pistol and yet more fertilizer, but he was not convicted of possessing these. Instead, after admitting he had joined the Ulster Volunteer Force, Justice McDermott handed out a three-year suspended sentence. (This was

the week after both the UVF and UDA killed five people — four nationalists and a prison warden.)

Passing this suspended sentence, Lord Justice McDermott, obviously remembering some of his recently departed colleague's remarks, described the case as "unusual", but that "membership of any proscribed organisation is a most serious matter". McDermott was obviously taking Murray's claim seriously, when he told the RUC that he was only in the UVF's "welfare section".

Speaking up for the three, an RUC detective constable told McDermott that the men were "certainly not prime movers in any terrorist organisation".

It emerged during the trial that the RUC had received a complaint from a Ballymoney man, on 12 January 1992, saying John Murray had held a gun to his head and threatened to kill him. Mysteriously once again, John Murray was not found guilty of this charge.

Meanwhile, passing onto the Fenian rabble and some other 'unusual' cases and no

problem with working out 'equal' sentences for Lord Justice McDermott in the following cases:

Twenty years apiece to three West Belfast people when the RUC found one pound of explosives in the glove compartment of the car they were travelling in outside Larne...lucky for them they didn't come from Ballymoney.

None of the three put a gun to anybody's head, had any revolvers, assault rifles or ammunition or indeed intelligence documents collected while serving as members of the crown forces, but they were Fenians. Twenty years each for Rosena Brown, Paul McCullough and Steven Canning.

Summing up, two days after sentencing the "doomsday" loyalists for two terms of seven years and a suspended sentence, Lord Justice McDermott said that those caught with bombs must expect to face very lengthy terms of imprisonment of 20 years or more!

Come on old man, don't come up with embarrassing comments like this!

Magdalen relatives challenge church

■ BY LIAM O COILEAIN

THE CREMATED REMAINS of the 133 women known as 'Magdalens', who spent their lives working in the laundry owned by the Sisters of Charity in High Park, Drumcondra, were reinterred in a common plot on Saturday morning last, 11 September, at Glasnevin Cemetery.

But at a public meeting the following night in a Dublin hotel, organised by the Magdalen Memorial Committee, the decision to reinter the remains without first notifying any surviving relatives, was condemned. The cremation and reburial was described as obscene and in total conflict with what the women and their families would have wanted.

People literally broke down at the meeting as they gave their own personal testimonies of the experiences of their families in these types of institutions and appealed for help in tracing relatives.

"These women lacked choice during their lives and it spilled over into their deaths," said Margaret Kelly. "Our right to mourn our mothers and our sisters has been denied to us and we are very angry. We see the need for a public funeral. It could have been yesterday. We need to honour these women and need to start healing the wounds."

A Book of Condolences for the women and a petition calling on the Catholic Church and the state to fund a proper, permanent public memorial in Dublin, dedicated to all the women who died and were buried in institutions like High Park Convent, have been

opened. These can be signed by the public, between 12 noon and 2pm each day outside the GPO in O'Connell Street.

A public memorial service, organised by relatives, will be held in Dublin at the Grafton Street entrance to St Stephen's Green on Saturday, 25 September, commencing at 2.30pm sharp. A procession will make its way to the Mansion House, where the Lord Mayor will sign the Book of Condolences, and then on to Leinster House, where it is hoped that a cabinet member will accept the petition. The gathering will then return to St Stephen's Green for a service of poetry, prayers and an ecumenical liturgy.

The committee has also written to the Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, Dr Desmond Connell, calling for a public funeral to commemorate the deaths of the women and requesting also that the original site of the graveyard should not be built on in any way, but that it should be reserved as a garden or public amenity.

The issue of the exhuming and reburial of the women has received widespread publicity, primarily because it highlighted a normally hidden area of Irish life — the manner in which



• The 'Magdalen' memorial committee at last Sunday's meeting in Dublin

marginalised women were rejected by society and exploited by religious orders as a source of cheap labour.

The 133 bodies were cremated and reinterred after a short ceremony on Saturday. The nuns had sold the original graveyard, which was used as a burial ground for 'Magdalen' women between 1866 and 1983, for development. So-called 'Magdalen' women spent the greater part of their lives doing menial work in religious institutions. Most had simply nowhere else to go. Many were regarded as "fallen women" because they were mothers who were not married and had their babies taken from them, or were prostitutes. 'Magdalens' were often orphans or destitute and homeless women. Babies were routinely taken away from their mothers and their names were changed.

Their dead were buried in a separate graveyard to the nuns, whose burial ground was not

touched by the development work. The site was sold for development in connection with the widening of Grace Park Road in Drumcondra, a project which Sinn Féin Dublin City Councillor Christy Burke opposed originally.

The decision to exhume their bodies was condemned at the time by Burke, who said: "These unfortunate women are now to be treated in death in the same disrespectful manner they were treated in life." He has also sponsored a motion before Dublin City Council, calling for a proper memorial to the women to be erected on a site in Dublin city, chosen by relatives and interested parties.

In a statement issued on Tuesday, 14 September, he challenged the Archbishop of Dublin to respond to the relatives' letter. He questioned the Catholic Church's "high-handed role in digging up, cremating and reintering these

women's remains, without consulting with their relatives.

"Whatever the reason for the exhumation, the first priority should have been consultation with their families," he said. "I believe that the cost of a permanent memorial to the women should be borne by the Catholic Church. It is the least that could be done to show them and their relatives the love and respect that they deserve."

Burke has sent a letter to the Archbishop calling on him to arrange an immediate meeting with the relatives "to defuse the anger felt by the families of the 'Magdalen' women, due to the humiliating manner in which they feel the remains were treated".

The Magdalen Memorial Committee can be contacted at PO Box 2347, Dublin 1. The committee encourages anybody affected by such institutions, from wherever in the country, to contact them.

Magee denied bail

■ BY LIAM O COILEAIN

ARMAGH MAN Joseph Magee, who is fighting against his extradition to Britain on warrants related to the killing of a British army recruiting sergeant in Derby last year, has been refused bail by a High Court judge, sitting in the Special Court at Green Street.

On Tuesday, 14 September, Magee appeared in front of Judge Frederick Morris, seeking bail. He has

been held in Portlaoise Prison since his arrest in January of this year.

Magee is next due in court in October, when his lawyers will challenge the District Court's ruling that he be extradited. In July, the High Court gave his lawyers leave to seek an inquiry into the legality of his detention in Limerick in January, under Article 40 of the 26-County Constitution.

Detective Sergeant Mark Cheatham from Derbyshire and Garda Detective Sergeant Daniel

Haugh gave evidence in court, arguing that Magee would not turn up for trial if released on bail.

Patrick Gageby, for Magee, pointed out that his client had an argument that the offence he is sought for, was a political offence or an offence connected with a political offence. He also said that Magee, who was present in court, argued that if sent across to England he would not receive a fair trial because of prejudicial media

coverage of the incident.

Denying bail, Judge Morris claimed that Magee's refusal to give his name to Limerick gardaí and his lack of ties to the address he gave in Dublin, led him to accept the prosecution's view that Magee would not turn up for extradition proceedings if granted bail.

The Irish Anti-Extradition Committee criticised the refusal to grant bail.

Nuacht

Fóram plé de dhíth ar náisiúntóirí

BHÍ AN trodáil chearta sibhialta agus poblaictach radacach Bernadette McAliskey ag labhairt ag cruinní i gCumann Rodaf Mhic Chorlai i mBéal Feirste, Dé an Aoine, 10 Meán Fómhair.

Bhí McAliskey ag caint ar an staid pholaitiúil i láthair na huairse sna Sé Chontae agus go háiríthe tháinig sí don ghá d'fhóram díospóireachta do náisiúntóir.

Dúirt sí go mbeadh ar an phobal náisiúnta ó thuaidh cur in iúl do ríaltas na 26 Chontae nach bhfuil ceart ar bith acu labhairt ar a son. Dúirt sí nár tugadh seans riamh do náisiúntóir ó thuaidh vótáil do ríaltas Éireannach nó do pháirtí ar bith de chuid na 26 Chontae. Mar sin bheadh ar an phobal náisiúnta ó thuaidh soileáin iúl nár bhéid le duine ar bith labhairt ar a son ach a chuid ionadaithe féin.

Labhair McAliskey go tarcais-neach ar na "cainteanna faoi chainteanna" lena mbíonn ríaltas na Breataine ag útamáil. Dúirt sí nach raibh math ar bith i gcainteanna rúnda den chinéal seo agus nach raibh iontu ach seafóid agus cur i gceíl.

Mhaigh sí go raibh athrúthe bunúsacha de dhíth sula mbeadh síocháin in Éirinn. Bheadh deireadh le hidirthealú creidimh san fhostafocht de dhíth agus an ceart ag duine vótáil d'á rogha gan a bheith maraith ar a shon. Bheadh ar na cíni polaitiúla uilig bheith saortha chomh maith.

Dúirt sí gur iomaf rud ab'fhéidir a phlé le go gcuirfear in iúl don phobal Protastúnach go gcosnáofa a gcearta sibhialta agus saorise creidimh ach thug sí rabhadh nach raibh buncheist shaorise orthu bheith ionphléite ar chor ar bith.

Dúirt sí go raibh sé de cheart iomlán ag Sinn Féin bheith i láthair ag cainteanna ar bith ar thodhcháin an náisiúin. Ní raibh an ceart seo ag brath ar choinníollachá dar leí. Mheas sí go raibh ceannaireacht ghlúaiseacht na

● BERNADETTE McALISKEY

poblaicta ina ceannairí den phobal poblaictach uilig san oileán agus gur seo an t-aon cheart amháin a bhí de dhíth orthu bheith ionadaithe ag cainteanna ar bith.

Thacaigh sí leis na cainteanna idir Gearóid Mac Adhaimh agus John Hume ach shíl sí gur chóir do Mhac Adhaimh bheith cúramach mar labhráon Hume i "griathair". Chreid sí gur chóir don bheirt torthaf agus dul chun cinn a gcuid cainteanna a phoiblú

ions go mbeidh a fhiú ag an phobal cad é atá ag dul ar aghaidh.

"Ba chóir muinín a bheith ag ceannaireacht na streachaile sa phobal," arsa sí.

Ag freagairt cisteanna di dúirt sé go raibh na Sasanaigh ag "cur ar siúl agus ag múchadh scéimhle ar ndílseoirí mar sconna". Dúirt sí nach raibh foréigean na ndílseoirí ataghfionmach ar bhealach ar bith.

raidió i mBéal Feirste scairt gutháin orthu ag fiosrú an scéil.

Nuar a rinne Glór na nGael teagmháil le Halla na Cathrach maidir leis an diúltú, Dé Márta, 14 Meán Fómhair, ní raibh duine ar bith ansin sásta colas ar bith a thabhairt doibh faoi daobh de.

D'ionsaigh an comhairleoir Sinn Féineach Alex Maskey réiteach an fhchoiste. Arsa Maskey:

"Is comharráil eile an réiteach seo go bhfuil rud níos measa seo ní riamh ar Chomhairle Bheal Feirste. Bhí moladh Sammy Wilson chun Mary Robinson a chosc ó Halla na Cathrach ina aithris de na hagóidí in aisce in aghaidh Chonradh Chroíghlinne.

"Tá an dianscrúdú de ghrúpa pobail náisiúinachá ina chleachtadh aontachtach eile gan chreidimh a tugadh droim dí i ndiaidh sráith cásanna dif.

"Níl amhras ar bith orn ná nach ligidh Glór na nGael ní grúpaí pobail náisiúinachá eile

"Ba chóir," arsa sí "cur i gcuimhne nár tosaigh poblaictóirí ar chogachas do thuaidh."

Dúirt sí go raibh sí dubhfilte le daoine a chuir seiceachas ina leith nuair a d'ínis sí an fhriúne faoi idirthealú san fhostaocacht, faoi ard rátaí bochtaineachta agus easláinte i measc náisiúntóirí.

Nuar a chuir sí amach ar a saol polaitiúil i 1968 dúirt sí go raibh ar a laghad cead agat a rá go raibh idirthealú ann. Anois insíear duit go bhfuil tú "ag cur baic ar thionól" nuair a thagarí tú don idirthealú.

Dúirt McAliskey go bhfuil tréimhse corrach os ar gcomhair agus go gaithfidh muid bheith rídeach do na dúshláin uilig.

"Ba chóir díospóireachta a thosú eileacháin i measc an phobail náisiúinachá faoin chineál socrú ar mhaith linn," arsa sí. "Ba chóir go mbeimis ag ráid agus ullmhúthi do cibé leagan eile de Stormont a chuirfidh na Sasanaigh chun tosaigh sa chéad chúpla bliain eile. Beidh réitíteach crua le tóigí, cuid acu nár mhaith linn ach ba cheart dúinn a dhí i phlé aonás ionas nach mbuallfear bob orainn amach anseo."



● SAMMY WILSON

do na hontachtóirí éiri lena leithéid de bhioigóideach"

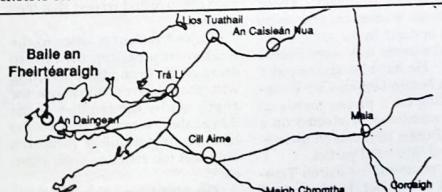
Beidh réitíteach an fhchoiste plíte os comhair chruinniú iomlán den chomhairle agus tá coiste Ghilrí ag fanacht go difín sula socraonáin siad ar a chéad bhogadh eile.

Cosc ar dheontas do Ghlór

■ LE HOISIN O MURCHU

SHOCRAIGH fochoiste Chomhairle Béal Feirste deontas a dhíúltú don ghrúpa pobail Gaeilge sa chathair, Glór na nGael.

Chuir an comhairleoir aontachtach Sammy Wilson an rún os comhair an Fhochóiste Sheirbhisi Poiblí gan deontas a bhronnád ar Ghlór. Ghlaic an fochoiste leis an rún d'ainneoin



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Mionbhús ón Mhí agus Ath Cliath. Fón 8726100/8726932/8733611

Saoirse creidimh á lorg do Araib Shádach

TA AN GRUPA CEARTA DAONNA Amnesty International ag tathaint ar ríaltas na hAraibe Sádai lítheáil a reachtú in aghaidh gérleanúná creidimh, agus a chosnófaí ceart an duine do shaoirse consíasa, smaoínnimh agus creidimh.

Dúinn Amnesty i ráiteas Dé Márta, 14 Meán Fómhair, go raibh meádú mór san Araib Shádach ar mhíodh na gérleanúná ar mhionlachá creidimh ó bhí Cogadh na Muras-caille ann.

Dúirt siad gur tóigáil na céadta de dhaoine sa tír, idir Mhuslamach Shí agus Chriostaithe agus cuireann ina leith go bhfuil Islam tréigthe acu. I Meán Fómhair na bliana seo caite baineadh an cloigeann de Sadiq Abdal-Karim Malallah, Shí a fuarthas ciontach as diamsí. I 1988 dhíúltáil sé tontú ar an chreideamh Shí.

Tá bunús mór de mhuintir na tíre ina Muslamach Shí agus ní cheadaitheadh a d'adhradh ar bith eile ach adhradh an phobail sin.

Ní ionann adhradh na Muslamach Shí agus Muslamach Shí. Tá deich faoin chead de mhuintir na tíre ina Shí agus ní siad thíos leis an idirthealú creidimh.

Dearcann an ríaltas ar na Shí mar easaontóirí polaitiúla agus cuireann ina leith go bhfuil Islam tréigthe acu. I Meán Fómhair na bliana seo caite baineadh an cloigeann de Sadiq Abdal-Karim Malallah, Shí a fuarthas ciontach as diamsí. I 1988 dhíúltáil sé tontú ar an chreideamh Shí. Creidteann Amnesty gur maraíoch é mar gheall a iarrachtaí chun cearta a fháil don mhuintir Shí.

Tá na húdaráis ag cur isteach ar Chriostaithe sa tír fosta. Tá bunús na gCristoaithe ina n-oiribhne pártaítmiseartha agus tá roinnt cumaíneacháin phróibháideacha creidimh bunaithe acu. Cuirteann na péis chreidimh isteach ar a chuid cionnúile rúndá go ríaltas.

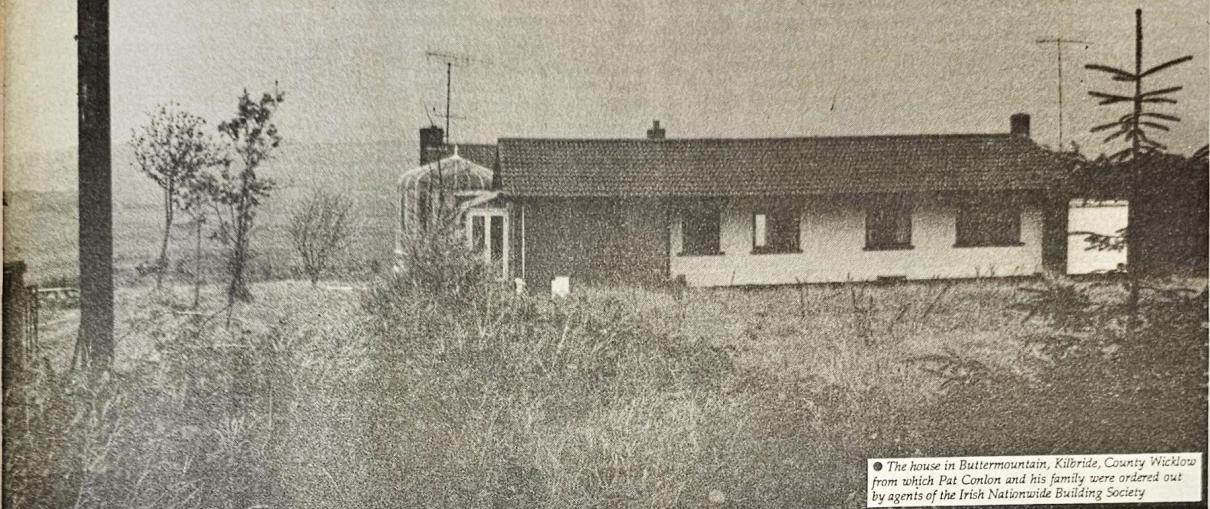
Ach tá cor eile sa ghéarlaíontú aírtíthe seo. As 329 Chriostaithe a tóigáil ó 1990 ní raibh ach ceathair acu on Eorpa ní ó Mheiriceá. Bhí na daoní eile ar fad ó thóortha an Tríú Domhain.

Tá cáis na gCristoaithe agus Shí tóigáil ag Amnesty go ríaltas le ríaltas na hAraibe Sádai ach go fóill ní bhfuair síad freagra ar bith.

Tá Amnesty ag éileamh gur chóir cíni a chosaí ó dhrochidíe agus ó chéasadh.

Tá stair fhada d'eadlaingt chreidimh san Araib Shádach agus caidhfeadh an ríaltas seasamh láidir a ghilachad le stop a chur ar thóigála aondeonacha, coiméad agus céasádach.

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• The house in Buttermountain, Kilbride, County Wicklow, from which Pat Conlon and his family were ordered out by agents of the Irish Nationwide Building Society

Call for action on Wicklow housing shortage

■ BY ART Mac EOIN

SINN Féin West Wicklow representative, Gerry O'Neill, has called for immediate action to redress West Wicklow's chronic housing shortage. O'Neill's call comes in the wake of the eviction of a young family, including two children of four and 12 years, who are now living in bed and breakfast accommodation and another family burned out of their caravan, who were forced to live in a tent.

The eviction was carried out at Buttermountain Manor, Kilbride, in County Wicklow on Wednesday, 18

August, at the home of Pat and Mary Conlon and their children Rebecca and Rachel. The family

were ordered to "get out now" when visited by agents of the Irish Nationwide Building Society (INBS).

The young family was evicted because of Pat Conlon's inability to repay a loan from the Irish Nationwide and was carried out despite the fact that the Conlons received a High Court order restraining the INBS from repossessing the family house. The

building society officials simply ignored the court order when it was shown to them.

Due to the chronic council housing shortage in Wicklow, the Conlons have been moved into bed and breakfast accommoda-

tion. Hitting out at the eviction, Sinn Féin's Gerry O'Neill said: "There are memorials in West Wicklow marking the sites of evictions in the bad old days under British rule, but the reality is, that in 1993 things aren't much different. I would particularly condemn the heavy-handed nature of the squad sent out from the Irish Nation-

wide. The fact that the Conlons are now left with no option but to stay in bed and breakfast accommoda- tion, underlines the disgraceful lack of housing in this area. In an emergency situation like this the blame rests squarely on the shoulders of our elected representatives to provide immediate housing. Our two new councillors, Jim Rut- tle of the Independent Organisa- tion and Labour's Tommy Cullen, promised new housing for west Wicklow and now two years later there has not even been any land purchased for building, let alone houses built. What we now need is a full-blooded council house building programme in Wicklow."

Labour lashed over water charges in Galway

In an open letter to local politicians and corporation officials, Galway's Combined Residents Associations have claimed that water disconnections carried out in the city last week were "a complete flop".

The squads, drafted in to turn off the water, were, according to Gerry Corbett speaking on behalf of the residents, "so incompetent that of the four households, they succeeded in disconnecting two of them who had paid the so-called service charges".

"In fact, only one family was without water last Thursday night and that was one of these two households. The other two families who had their water turned off had it reconnected almost immediately by concerned residents," said Corbett.

The actions of both the corporation officials and councillors were described as both "cowardly" and "intimidatory". According to the Galway Combined Residents Associations, the officials and the councillors should "stand up to central government and demand that taxes paid by the PAYE residents in Galway, to cover local service charges, be passed on through the Rate Support Grant".

Corbett stated that it was "a sad irony that people are being harassed because they refuse to pay a double tax for local services, while tax cheats are being offered amnesties. We would like to know from the two Galway ministers in the government how they justify this? In particular, how does this fit into Michael D Higgins' understanding of social justice?"

The Labour minister came in for particular criticism. It was

pointed out that when in opposition he denounced the charges, "but now seems to have lost his eloquent tongue".

Higgins was reminded of the fact that he and the Labour Party promised to abolish service charges at the last election. The question was posed as to whether Michael D Higgins was going to be like all the other careerist politicians and also break his election promises.

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

Recognition for Scottish solidarity

A Chairde,

As a member of the Scottish delegation at the recent historic march by Irish nationalists to Belfast city centre, I had a feeling of great pride. To share with our Irish comrades this special day had surely been worth waiting for. I felt a special pride for the six Scottish bands and sundry other groups that took part. This, I felt,

was a reward for their commitment and solidarity to the nationalist people over the past 17 years, since the first Scottish band marched down the Falls Road.

However, on reading the report on the march in the following week's *AP/RN*, one could be forgiven for thinking that no one from Scotland had taken part in the march. Every overseas delegation including Americans, English, Basques and sundry other groups got a mention,

and rightly so, for their efforts. The one exception — Scotland.

It would be a nice gesture from the Republican Movement to recognise the commitment of the young boys and girls who make up the majority of these bands. To the nationalist people from all over the Six Counties we extend our gratitude for your kindness and hospitality over the past years and assure you of our continuing support.

Your struggle is our struggle.
PRO Republican Bands
Alliance,
Scotland.

Fr Denis Faul's senseless talk

A Chairde,

I would like to address a few points that Fr Faul has made over these past few months concerning Sinn Féin. Fr Faul suggests that Sinn Féin should disband. May I remind

him that Sinn Féin have a lot of representatives on local councils, seats which they earned by a lot of hard work in each of their areas. Is Fr Faul saying that the people who voted for Sinn Féin, should have no say or political representation?

Fr Faul, instead of condemning Sinn Féin, would be better channelling that same energy into supporting the talks between John Hume and Gerry Adams. He also continually refers to "Sinn

Féin/IRA". Is he not aware that Sinn Féin is a separate organisation and as a consequence, should be seen as a party in their own right?

Senseless talk like that of Fr Faul's only serves to fuel the murderous campaign of the UDA and UVF, who as everyone knows and has seen over the past few days, need little encouragement to kill any Catholic of any sex or age. James McGeough, Republican POW, Crumlin Road.

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

PLEASE KEEP LETTERS SHORT

Notices

REMEMBERING THE PAST

Samuel Neilson

SAMUEL NEILSON, Belfast Protestant, radical, founder member of the United Irishmen and the first editor of an Irish republican newspaper, was born in 1761.

Following the establishment of the Society of United Irishmen in Belfast and Dublin in October and November 1791, the leaders of the new movement felt it necessary to have their own newspaper. In late January 1792, the first issue of the new paper the *Northern Star* appeared. The editor was Samuel Neilson who was to play a central part in the struggle of the democratic movement in Ireland from

then on. He was, in the words of Wolfe Tone, "unanimously chosen editor and it could not be delivered into abler hands".

Neilson was one of the group including Wolfe Tone, Thomas Russell, Robert Simms and Henry Joy McCracken, who gathered on Cave Hill overlooking Belfast in May 1795 and pledged never to desist until they had forced an end to British rule in Ireland.

On 16 September 1796, Neilson, Russell, Charles Hamilton Teeling and other leaders of the Belfast United Irishmen were arrested and charged with high treason. They were imprisoned in Newgate Jail in Dublin and there Neilson was to remain until February 1798.

Neilson renewed his contact with the United Irishmen in Dublin upon his release and was part of the attempt to organise a rising there. He was rearrested on the day the rising broke out in Leinster, 23 May 1798 and was returned to Newgate and later Kilmainham Jail. He was one of the state prisoners who included Thomas Addis Emmet, Reverend

William Steel Dickson, Thomas Russell and Robert Simms, who were sent the following year to Fort George in Scotland.

Following the Peace of Amiens, the peace treaty between Napoleon and the British in June 1802, the Fort George prisoners were released on condition that they did not return to Ireland. With other leaders, Neilson went to the United States where he spent the last year of his life. He died in New York on 29 August 1803.

Samuel Neilson, United Irishman and revolutionary editor was born on 17 September 1761, 232 years ago this week.



• SAMUEL NEILSON

Sinn Féin

Join Sinn Féin

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

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

Name

Address

Tel

Age

Imeachtaí

ANTI-EXTRADITION MEETING: Meets 7pm every Tuesday, Anti-Extradition Office, 29 Mountjoy Square, DUBLIN.

ANTI-EXTRADITION PICKET: Picket and leafleting, 2-3pm, every Saturday, GPO, O'Connell Street, DUBLIN

FUNCTION: Pre-All Ireland craic

agus ceol, 8.30pm, Saturday, 18 September. Conway's, Parnell Square, DUBLIN. Featuring The Ferrymen. Táille €2.50

VIDEO SHOWING: Unfinished Business, outlining the campaign against economic discrimination in the Six Counties. 8pm, Monday, 20 September, Red Rose Club, 12 Seven Sisters Road, N7, LONDON. (Finsbury Park Tube). Speaker: Richard Stanton of TULINK. Organised by North London Troops Out Movement

VIDEO SHOWING: Unfinished Business, outlining the campaign against economic discrimination in the Six Counties. 7.50pm, Wednesday, 22 September, 69 Belfour Street, SE 17, LONDON. (Nearest tube Elephant and Castle). Speaker: Pádraig Finn of TULINK. Organised by South London Troops Out Movement

VIDEO SHOWING: Unfinished Business, outlining the campaign against economic discrimination in the Six Counties. 7.50pm, Wednesday, 22 September, 69 Belfour Street, SE 17, LONDON. (Nearest tube Elephant and Castle). Speaker: Pádraig Finn of TULINK. Organised by South London Troops Out Movement

NATIONALIST RIGHTS MARCH: Assemble 3pm, Sunday, 26 September. McGuire Drive, Greenvale Estate, COOK-

TOWN. Proceeds to Town Hall. Organised by Tyrone Nationalists Rights Committee. Speaker: Martin McGuinness

IRISH FREEDOM DAY: Celebrating the tenth anniversary of the great escape from Long Kesh, 1pm-1am, Saturday, 25 September. Recreation Centre for the Handicapped, 207 Skyline Blvd, SAN FRANCISCO. Afternoon outdoor activities and evening festivities in the main hall at 7.30pm. Táille \$10.

Organised by the San Francisco H-Block Committee

SLOGADH SHINN FEIN: Óstán Dún na n-Oir, BAILE AN FHERITEIRIGH, Contae Chiarraí, Aonach Domhnach 24 - 26. Meán Fómhar. Gach éalaíos ó Marcus Mac Ruairí. Fón Béal Feirste 301719

THOMAS ASHE COMMEMORATION: Assemble 1.15pm, Saturday, 26 September. Church of the Precious Blood, Cabra West, DUBLIN. Organised by Cabra Sinn Féin

In Díl Chuimhne

O'HAGAN, Bernard; MCKERNAN, Jim. In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Jim McKernan (died 14 September 1986) and Sinn Féin member Bernard O'Hagan (died 16 September 1991). 'The republic stands for truth and honour. By truth and honour, principle and sacrifice alone will Ireland be free' — Liam Mellows. Proudly remembered by their friends and comrades in the Republican Movement.

HARTE, Gerard; HARTE, Martin; MULLIN, Brian (5th Ann.).

Remembered with pride and honour, Volunteers Gerard Harte, Martin Harte and Brian Mullin who were killed on active service at Drumknaghy, 30 August 1988. From the Frank Ward Sinn Féin Cumann, Carrickmore/Creggan; From the Mulligan/Harte Sinn Féin Cumann, Loughmacrory/Mounfield/Killydogher.

MCKERNAN, Jim (7th Ann.). In

proud and loving memory of Jim, shot dead by a British soldier on 14 September 1986. RIP. Mary Queen of the Gael, pray for him.

Sadly missed and always remembered by his mother-in-law, Mrs Walsh, Harry and Christopher (H3 Long Kesh).

MCKERNAN, Jim (7th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of my brother-in-law, Jim, killed on active service on 14 September 1986. RIP. St Martin pray for him. Always remembered by Theresa, Tony, Tracy, Tony and Deirdre.

MCKERNAN, Jim (7th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of my brother-in-law, Jim, killed on active service on 14 September 1986. RIP. Remembered today and always by Ann, Paul, Kristine, Jim and Conor.

MCKERNAN, Jim (7th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Jim McKernan, killed on active service on 14 September 1986. We cannot bring the old days back, when we were all together. The chain of friendship is broken now, but memo-

ries live forever. Always remembered by his friends Clárán, Margaret and family.

MULVENNA, Patrick (20th Ann.). In loving memory of my friend Paddy, killed on active service on 31 August 1973, Mary Queen of Ireland pray for him. Always remembered by Eugene Murphy and Martin and Rosie Walsh and families.

O'HAGAN, Bernard (2nd Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Sinn Féin Councillor Bernard O'Hagan, shot dead on 16 September 1991. Always remembered by his mother and father.

O'HAGAN, Bernard (2nd Ann.). In proud and loving memory of a dear brother, brother-in-law, uncle murdered on 16 September 1991. Never forgotten by Mary, Eric, Callum and Pádraig.

O'HAGAN, Bernard (2nd Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Sinn Féin Councillor Bernard O'Hagan, shot dead on 16 September 1991. You are never out of our thoughts. We will always love you Bernard. From Fiona, Nuala, Finbar and Máelchí.

TWOMEY, Séamus (4th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of

O'HAGAN, Bernard (2nd Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Sinn Féin Councillor Bernard O'Hagan, shot dead on 16 September 1991. Always remembered with pride by his friends and comrades in the Republican Movement.

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O' TUAMA, Séamus (4th Ann.). I gcuimhne a m'athair, Oglach Séamus O Tuama a fuair bás timpeall an aon seo. Ní dhéarfaidh, Eitne agus na páistí.

PARKER, Anne (21st Ann.). In loving memory of Anne, killed on active service on 11 August 1972. Mary Queen of Ireland pray for her. Always remembered by Eugene Murphy and Martin and Rosie Walsh and families.

TWOMEY, Séamus (4th Ann.). In proud and loving memory of

O'HAGAN, Bernard (2nd Ann.). In proud and loving memory of Sinn Féin Councillor Bernard O'Hagan, shot dead on 16 September 1991. You are never out of our thoughts. We will always love you Bernard. From Fiona, Nuala, Finbar and Máelchí.

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Séamus Twomey. From Frank Curran and family, Dublin.

Comhphrón

DUFFY. Deepest sympathy is extended to Mary Pike (Shannon) and the Duffy family, Belfast, on their recent bereavements. From the Terence McSweeney Sinn Féin Cumann, Shannon, County Clare and friends.

EDWARDS. Deepest sympathy is extended to Tommy and the Edwards family, Belfast. From the Terence McSweeney Sinn Féin Cumann, Shannon, County Clare and friends.

FITZGERALD. Deepest sympathy is extended to Fitzy and the Fitzgerald family, Belfast, on the death of their mother. From Marian Burke and family.

FITZGERALD. Deepest sympathy is extended to Fitzy and the Fitzgerald family, Belfast, on the death of their mother. From Eilish McGgettigan and family, Shannon, County Clare.

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MORRISON. Deepest sympathy is extended to Charlie Morrison, Shannon and the Morrison family, Derry, on their recent bereavement. From the Terence McSweeney Sinn Féin Cumann, Shannon, County Clare and friends.

the entire Fitzgerald family on the death of his mother. From Paddy Burke.

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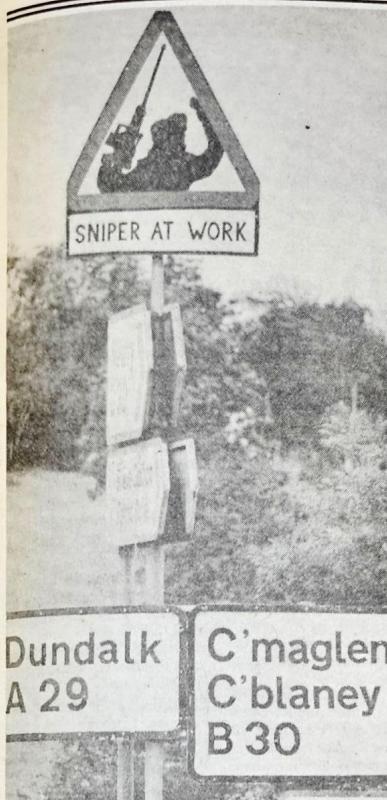
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• Unwelcome visitors in uniform are advised to study closely the rules of the road in South Armagh.

THE HARDSHIPS OF EVERYDAY LIFE for British soldiers in South Armagh were featured in a recent series of reports in the *South Wales Evening Post*, one of those frontline tales of blood, sweat and tears about squaddies surviving on the edge in the heart of Irish Bandit Country. You've read it all before on the back of Gerald Seymour

thrillers.

New Zealand-born journalist Linley Boniface joined the Welsh Gunners, four months into their tour of occupation on the border. Introducing the series, the paper claimed that "living in cramped and primitive barracks, which are prime targets for IRA attack, the



• Gunner Mark Young

Welsh Gunners are dealing with an enemy whose declared goal is to cripple the commercial centres of Ireland".

Some of us thought that the IRA's immediate goal was to cripple and drive out Britain's military machine in Ireland, but what would we republicans know?

Colonel Steve Thomas, the regiment's commanding officer, regards the South Armagh IRA as "the most effective terrorist group in the world", with tactics changing constantly. According to Boniface, "only soldiers with specialist training are allowed to go into the many derelict houses, barns and pigsties in Armagh, which make perfect sites for booby traps". Dead sheep, footballs, traffic cones, hay bales and even porn magazines have been used to conceal IRA booby traps, reports Boniface.

The squaddies, most from Swansea, told Boniface how they have gotten used to children spitting at them in the street and how on republican estates "the tension can feel as real as a knife held to your shoulder blades". Linley may get a cheap thriller out of her trip yet.



• Bombardier Sean Aylward



• Gunners Simon Griffiths and Nigel Marley



• Gunner Paul Mathias

The troops long for the relative luxury and comfort of Bessbrook Barracks but "parts of the surrounding area are considered so hostile that soldiers venture out only by helicopter". Even then two are needed, one extra to stand guard.

The monotony of living in cramped conditions after shifts of 13 hours also tells. "The lads get on well most of the time, but when you're fed up with being surrounded by people, you can't even walk down to the shops for a few minutes," moaned Gunner Paul Mathias, from Morriston in Swansea.

In Keady, South Armagh, according to one soldier, "the locals wouldn't cross the street to put us out if we were on fire".

"I haven't found a single person here who is willing to give me the time of day." Well done Keady.

But the contradictory role which the army is supposed to perform, in line with current British policy of denying that a war exists while deploying soldiers on the streets, is also evident. According to Boniface, some of the soldiers "believe that they are being forced to act like police officers instead of soldiers. Others talk of a tremendous feeling of relief when the hostile undercurrent, flares into terrorist violence and they are able to respond."

Colonel Thomas felt that it would be impossible to defeat the IRA "unless the law is changed to enable us to prosecute terrorists without having to provide inordinate amounts of evidence".

"I know the names of virtually every terrorist responsible for every incident in Armagh over the past 12 months and they're walking around town poking their tongues out at us," he claimed.

Give him the tried and trusted shoot-to-kill policy any day.

Many of the officers, speaking off the record, admitted that they would prefer if the troops were pulled out. Others want interment, in the naïve words of one, "to allow us to concentrate on the big boys rather than putting up a check-point to stop Mrs Miggins on her way to the pie shop".

But after playing their part in trying to subjugate the natives, many of the soldiers, like their US counterparts in Vietnam, have trouble readjusting to life at home. Hence the colourful litany of crimes committed by soldiers and ex-soldiers as regularly recorded on this page. According to Lance Bombardier Martin Allen, from Swansea: "Sometimes I feel like a stranger in my own town."

Sergeant Simon Adams, also from Swansea and on his second tour of occupation, complained:

"Six months is too long to be away. I think more about the risks now and I worry about my daughter growing up without me."

The Welsh character of the regiment provides another startling and contradictory clash of identities. One sergeant major took umbrage at being called an Englishman, proudly displaying his Welsh Dragon insignia and claiming "we're all Celts here", as his men trained their sights on the hostile natives, Celts all.

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News

YESTERDAY'S 'TERRORIST'...

■ BY ART MAC EOIN

REPEATING COUNTLESS PRECEDENTS throughout modern history and in all corners of the globe, the Israelis, the United States, the EC and the Western media have transformed their portrayal of Yasser Arafat from "terrorist godfather" to statesperson. They have switched from berating the PLO as a gang of "psychopathic gunmen" to recognising them as legitimate representatives of the Palestinian people. As a consequence, their caricature of Palestinians as "Muslim fanatics" has given way to a description of a "long-suffering", "oppressed" and "peace-loving people" — all in the space of a week.

Such a turnaround must make people ask questions. Questions such as how Western leaders and the Western media in general got it so wrong for so long. If they were wrong on the Palestinians, surely their judgement and generously-offered advice on other equally important issues, must be called into question.

The wave of emotion, the sense of ceremony and the realisation of witnessing history in the making, could not subdue the stench of hypocrisy emanating from the South Lawn at Washington's White House. The US President, in front of the assembled US establishment, smiled and shook hands with a man who just weeks before, the US government would not let set foot on US soil. Yitzhak Rabin signed an international agreement with the head of an organisation which days before, he wanted the world to believe he did not recognise at all and which his government said were terrorists and criminals.

Once again, the world watched as yesterday's 'terrorist' became today's statesperson. The irony of the occasion cannot have been lost in other parts of the world with parallel situations, least of all in Ireland.

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Dublin government, who can show that they are genuine in seeking peace in Ireland by removing Section 31 and by recognising all elected representatives.

The PLO/Israeli agreement itself was welcomed with momentous celebrations in Jericho and many parts of the Arab world by Palestinians, who see the deal as a step towards self-determination. But such opinions are not universal among the Palestinian people and the signing was greeted also by protests, one of which saw the death of several demonstrators in Beirut.

The Palestinian fight for the right to statehood has been long and arduous. The defeat of the Turks in 1917 and their replacement by a British administration, committed to a homeland for the Jews in Palestine, was the signal for an upsurge in Jewish immigration. The Arabs rose in revolt in 1929 and 1936 but were weak and divided. Nazi Germany's genocidal treatment of European Jews gained a new wave of sympathy for the cause of Zionism.

In 1948, the Zionists of Palestine declared an Israeli state and fought a war with Arabs, driving thousands of Palestinians out of their own country, taking over their land and occupying their homes. The United Nations estimated the number of refugees at around 770,000. These dispossessed people and their children settled on the borders of the new Zionist state and have ever since, tried to regain their homeland. The PLO's aim over many years has been to replace the Zionist state of Israel with a secular state of Palestine, where Jews and Arabs could live in peaceful coexistence. Such an aim is far from what has now been agreed between Arafat and Rabin.

More than 2.6 million Palestinians are still refugees. They languish in refugee camps in Lebanon, Syria, Jordan and in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, which the Israelis invaded and occupied in 1967. The deal is bitterly opposed by sections of Palestinian political opinion who see all over the world, precedents for the failure of partitionist solutions and of measures which fall short of recognising a people's right to national self-determination.

On 13 October, a declaration of principles on interim home rule



● Yasser Arafat — from 'terrorist godfather' to 'statesperson', all in a week

is to be enacted. It is planned that within two months an agreement will be reached on a plan for Israeli military withdrawal from the Gaza Strip and Jericho area and that such a withdrawal will be completed within six months.

It is envisaged that within nine months, there will be direct elections for a representative council of Palestinians with legislative powers. With the inauguration of the council, Israeli administration is to be dissolved. The Palestinian council then assumes responsibility for internal security. The Israelis will still control external security and be responsible for Israeli settlers.

Between Israeli military withdrawal and the inauguration of the Palestinian council, Palestinians will begin training a police force, as well as taking responsibility for education, health and welfare, taxation and tourism.

When the Israeli army is finally out of Gaza and Jericho, the plan then is to begin negotiations on issues such as Jerusalem, refugees, settlements, security and borders and that within five years, interim home rule under the Palestinian council will give way to a settlement based on UN Resolutions 242 and 338.

UN Resolution 242 passed on November 22 1967, called for Israeli withdrawal from the West Bank, East Jerusalem, the Golan Heights, Sinai and the Gaza Strip, all seized by the Israelis in the June Six-Day War. Resolution 338 was basically a repetition of 242 and was passed during the Yom Kippur War between Egypt/Syria and the Israelis.

For the Palestinians who support the deal, it makes sense only as a first step towards an independent

state including at least East Jerusalem. But there is no guarantee that this is the beginning of a process in such a direction and the Israelis will not countenance any such idea. They envisage a confederal or federal arrangement between Jordan and other territories, from which they might withdraw. They are determined not to compromise on East Jerusalem.

Despite the celebrations in Jericho, many other Palestinians insist that the deal with the Israelis is a betrayal. The PLO itself has split with dissidents, accusing Yasser Arafat of abandoning core principles. These include the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) led by George Habash and members of the Damascus wing of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, led by Nayef Hawatmeh.

Other smaller groups which oppose the deal include the Palestine Liberation Front, led by Abu Abbas, the PFLP General Command led by Ahmed Jibril, and Fatah Uprising led by Abu Moussa.

The PLO has in recent years been losing support in the occupied territories to the Islamic groups such as Hamas, which have striven to give leadership to the popular Intifada uprising against Israeli military and political repression. It seems the fundamentalists have increasingly outflanked the secular Palestinian leadership in confronting the Israelis through armed struggle. It was in the context of this erosion of support that the PLO began its negotiations with the Israelis. But the outcome of the deal may, paradoxically yet see an increase in support for the fundamentalists among those Palestinians who have vowed to oppose it.



An Phoblacht

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