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(Britain 45p) Price 40p

An Phoblacht

REPUBLICAN NEWS

Déardaoin, 28 Eanáir
Thursday, 28 January 1993

21 years on — still no apology

TWENTY-ONE YEARS after the Bloody Sunday massacre in Derry the British prime minister — the fifth to occupy that office since 30 January 1972 — still refuses to acknowledge the guilt of the British government or its army for the killing of 14 unarmed civilians. John Major's letter stating that those killed "should be regarded as innocent" at the time they were shot, does nothing to contradict the findings of the Widgery whitewash.

The British premier said in a letter to John Hume that "those who were killed on 'Bloody Sunday' should be regarded as innocent of any allegation that they were shot whilst handling firearms or explosives". This formula of words has changed in just one respect in 19 years — in 1974 the British government said that the dead should be regarded as "not guilty" at the time they were killed.

"Major has done nothing to correct the *Widgery Report*" Liam Wray, brother of Jim Wray, one of the 14 dead, told *AP/RN*. He pointed to Conclusion 10 of the *Widgery*

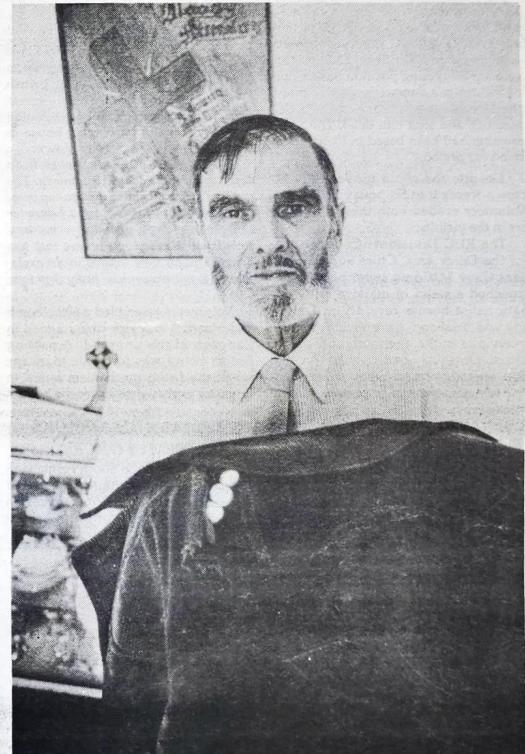
Report which said none of the dead or wounded was shot whilst handling guns or explosives, some "are wholly acquitted of complicity in such action" but "there is a strong suspicion that some others had been firing weapons or handling bombs in the course of the afternoon and that yet others had been closely supporting them".

"Major has made no difference to that conclusion. He hasn't taken away the slur that some of them were handling guns or bombs before they were shot. Until that lie is nailed and a new inquiry is set up we will not be satisfied," said Liam Wray.

speaking on behalf of his family.

His comments were echoed by the Bloody Sunday Justice Campaign. "Mr Major's letter avoids completely exonerating the deceased... It still only relates to the exact time of death and not before." However the campaign said that Major's "partial admission" was the first significant success of their work which they say will continue until those responsible for the murders are brought to justice.

"The British turned many people from passive protest to sup-



● Jim Wray — holding the bullet-riddled coat of his son killed by British soldiers on Bloody Sunday

port for military action by their killings. It was their answer to our peaceful protest. If they finally admitted their guilt and gave us justice they could help to achieve peace after all these years," said Liam Wray.

The absence of even an apolo-

gy, let alone prosecutions of the guilty, from the British after 21 years shows the callousness of their regime. Only when that government and army is removed from Ireland will the stain of Bloody Sunday be finally wiped away.

**Bloody Sunday
March & Rally**

Sunday 31 January

"BEYOND INJUSTICE"

Johnny Walker (Chair)

**Mary Nelis, Valerie McLaughlin
Creggan Shops 2.30pm**

News

RUC member shot dead in Derry

WAR NEWS

AN RUC MEMBER was shot dead by the IRA in Derry on Saturday, 23 January outside the city's Richmond Shopping Centre.

Oglaigh na hÉireann in Derry said that following the arrival of an RUC patrol at the centre in Shipquay Street a prepared plan was put into operation. The area where the attack took place was seen by the RUC as one which was relatively secure for them. By their daring attack Oglaigh na hÉireann have left all British occupation forces with the knowledge that nowhere in the city are they secure from attack.

The attack was launched at 2.15pm on Saturday afternoon with a Volunteer, armed with a handgun taking up a position in the Diamond area. Other IRA Volunteers were also in the area and watched as the RUC patrol arrived. One RUC member, armed with an automatic rifle and a handgun took up a covering position outside one of the centre's doorways. At this point the Volunteer approached the RUC member, and shot him dead. The RUC member had been based in Derry for a two-year period.

Despite the rapid movements of crown forces into Shipquay Street the Volunteer evaded both these and others in the vicinity.

The RUC Divisional Commander for the Derry area, Chief Superintendent Clive McComb (who personally launched a series of massive raids on nationalist homes recently in Derry City and Strabane) gave several media interviews in the aftermath of the IRA attack. Obviously badly shaken by the IRA operation he said that 'security' in the city centre would have to be immediately reviewed.

■ NEW MORTAR USED IN TYRONE

A new mortar recently perfected by IRA engineers, consisting of 300lbs of

explosives and with a range of 100 yards, was used by Volunteers of the Tyrone Brigade in an attack on Clogher RUC barracks on Wednesday night, 20 January.

Volunteers of the Tyrone Brigade drove the mortar to within 100 yards of the barracks before launching the attack. The mortar named "Barrack-Buster Mk 1" cleared the protective blast walls of the barracks before exploding, injuring several RUC members. The barracks suffered structural damage in the blast which was heard up to 20 miles away.

■ TYRONE BRIGADE EXPOSE BRITISH LAIR

Tyrone Brigade last weekend exposed a covert British observation post which was being used by British army undercover units. The statement said that Volunteers had been keeping under observation a derelict house in Drumcairn Forest in Stewartstown.

"Oglaigh na hÉireann moved in to destroy it on Tuesday, 19 January. The roof was blown off and in a follow-up operation the British forces, used a helicopter and ground forces, including a military ambulance. Local people believe that two British soldiers were injured in the explosion. It is not known how badly they were hurt."

Volunteers assembled a 600lb bomb and placed it in a pipe under a road in Cappagh at the weekend. A passing British patrol was fortunate to escape when the firing mechanism failed to detonate as they drove over the bomb.

■ FERMANAGH ATTACKS REEL ENEMY FORCES

Volunteers of the South Fermanagh Brigade, Oglaigh na hÉireann engaged numerically superior British forces on several occasions along the British

government's border. With both the British fixed positions at Killyvilly and Clonatty Bridge, County Fermanagh coming under sustained automatic fire, the crown forces wisely kept their heads down.

In the first Fermanagh attack on Saturday, 23 January Volunteers fired at British soldiers in an observation post at Clonatty Bridge, Magheraveley, Newtownbutler. Over 200 rounds were fired from a general purpose machine gun at the British forces. No return fire was reported. Local people reported that following the attack British soldiers at the post have been very cautious about emerging from their reinforced bunkers.

In the second attack at the British checkpoint at Killyvilly near Roslea on Sunday evening, another 200 machine gun rounds were fired with no British return fire being reported. A number of Volunteers were involved in both attacks and increasingly in this area fixed British positions are finding themselves very vulnerable to attack.

At the beginning of last week the Fermanagh Brigade had targeted an RUC member in Lisnaskea. Fermanagh Brigade said an active service unit placed an explosive device underneath the RUC member's car. The device was discovered and later defused.

■ BELFAST BRIGADE TARGET UDA ASSASSIN

Belfast Brigade IRA has said in a statement that the present occupiers of a house in Tavanagh Street in the loyalist 'Village' area have nothing to fear following a continuing operation against a known UDA death squad member.

In the statement the IRA said that Volunteers entered a house in Tavanagh Street looking for a UDA member whom they named. The man is currently out on bail on a charge of possessing photo-montages of nationalists. It was discovered that he had moved out of the house a short time before Monday's operation.

Following an appeal to the IRA from the new family in the house to reassure them that they were not the targets of the operation the IRA said: "The Coachman family have nothing to fear from the IRA. Our Volunteers were looking for the UDA member, known by sight to our Volunteers."



● The series of gun attacks by IRA Volunteers on crown forces in border posts have made British soldiers reluctant to come out of their reinforced bunkers

IN BRIEF...

Coalisland Volunteers to be honoured

THE FIRST ANNIVERSARY of the deaths of four young Tyrone Volunteers, ambushed by British soldiers at Clonoe, near Coalisland, will be marked by a commemorative march on Sunday, 14 February.

Kevin Barry O'Donnell, Séan O'Farrell, Peter Clancy and Patrick Vincent all died when they were ambushed at their rendezvous point following a daring attack on the RUC barracks in Coalisland. The bravery and commitment demonstrated by these four young men, none of them older than 23 years of age, will be remembered and celebrated with a commemorative march between Coalisland and Clonoe, commencing at 3pm.

A prominent speaker will address those in attendance while the organisers would welcome all bands who wish to attend.

Visits protest by Donna Maguire

A SUPPORT GROUP for Irish Political Prisoners in Europe has called for the newly elected Dublin government to investigate the plight of Newry woman, Donna Maguire, who is currently being held in a jail in Germany on charges connected with the conflict in the Six Counties.

The Irish Political Prisoners in Europe Solidarity Group is expressing concern at the added isolation resulting from a recent decision by the German authorities to restrict visits to one member of the prisoner's family at a time. Due to the enormous cost of travelling to Germany to make visits Donna's family and friends can only make the journey two or three times a year.

A spokesperson for the prisoners' support group said that in addition to the imposition of further restrictions on visits, the continued censorship and deliberate withholding of some of Donna's mail is a source of unnecessary stress for her family. In protest at this deterioration in her conditions, Donna is refusing all further visits.



● DONNA MAGUIRE

Equality success in Australia

IN THE WAKE of a six-month protest campaign against the discriminatory practices of the Six-County subsidiary of the National Australia Bank (NAB), the Northern Bank, management representatives met with members of the Australian Irish Congress (AIC).

The AIC is a broad-based group concerned with human rights in the Six Counties and peace and unity in Ireland. Spokesperson Séamus Maher said that after months of refusals, the fact that the NAB had taken the opportunity to meet "shows how effective our anti-discrimination campaign is proving". He continued:

"The NAB are obviously worried about the damage to their corporate image caused by us highlighting the bigoted practices of their Northern Irish operation."

West Belfast Free Radio back on the air

FOLLOWING overwhelming popular demand, the Sinn Féin road show, locally known as 'Kool SF' is expected to be back on the air in West Belfast this Saturday. Listeners are advised to tune into 106 FM between 11am and 4pm for what is scheduled to be an entertaining and enlivening mix of music and mayhem (No, not Mayhem).

The West Belfast grapevine has promised interviews with local personalities as well as city councillors. More seriously the broadcast, which coincides with the anniversary of Bloody Sunday, will include interviews with people from Derry about that tragic event. Saturday's radio show is to be the first in a series of broadcasts over the next few months.



• The Dublin government has intervened in day-to-day business activity not to create jobs but to protect big business' profits

Bosses threaten wage cuts

“THE TOUGHEST BUDGET YET”; “the PESP must be reviewed”; there will “have to be wage cuts”. These are the threats this week from the employers. The new year has witnessed a growing litany of factory closures and short time working. There have been threats from banks and building societies that if the Dublin government does not help them out they will raise home loan rates throwing home-owners into an ever-growing spiral of debt.

What is crucially important is that there has been an economic breakdown. We have seen over the past three weeks the real economy exposed. The Dublin government has been forced to intervene in day-to-day business activity, not to create jobs, not to create public sector enterprise, but to protect profit margins.

Profit is what has been at stake here, the profits of the banks and building societies, profits of business.

We live in an economy where the crucial determinant of business activity is how much return on investment is possible. This underpins our economy. Job creation, wages, the environment, health and welfare considerations all come second to profit.

Let's look at exactly what has been the significant economic events over the past five months. First off there was an international currency crisis. Sterling devalued, making 30% of 26-County exports immediately dearer. Profit margins were under threat. If firms cannot declare a profit, they cannot pay their bank loans. This has prompted the newly amalgamated Irish Business and Employers Confederation (IBEC) to call for wage cuts and freezes in the PESP.

Meanwhile back in Dublin elements (we cannot say all as that would be libel!) of the financial community began a series of speculation ventures against the Irish currency. There are a variety of ways to bet on the punt's

future value. We have been told that this is “unpatriotic” and there have been numerous threats to name the guilty parties from inside and outside government.

However speculation has gone on unabated, as have the short-term profits which accrue from it. Ahern has run down Central Bank reserves of foreign currencies and opened borrowing facilities of £2.5 billion. Now in January Ahern is planning to spend £1.15 billion to help the financial institutions who have already taken the Central Bank to the cleaners. Speculation is just a facet of the banking community that effectively controls the Irish economy, otherwise how could they now hold it to ransom. Today it's punts, tomorrow it could be dollars, two years ago it was property.

Profits have been made over the past five months while the ordinary economy chugs along carrying the burden of high prices and low wages. This real economy is tied into the profit economy in a variety of ways. Firms cut costs to boost their margins. Some companies are strapped for cash but

many are not. These companies use their cash generation powers to play financial markets, through their brokers.

Take for instance the Irish Permanent Building Society. The 1989 Building Societies Act gave them new powers to compete with banks. Its 74 branches are linked electronically to a top floor office in Irish Permanent's headquarters. This office is a dealing room. It uses a Reuters Money 2000 computer system to link it with the world's financial markets.

They advise customers who “would be included in the top 500 companies in Ireland” on current trends and the most up-to-the-minute market rates. This system is replicated in banks and building societies which Bertie Ahern proposes to help out under the guise of easing mortgage rates. Even the ESB and Telecom have dealer rooms and play the financial markets.

Who is running the economy? We have each powerful section laying its claim to government help, banks, building societies, manufacturers, even farming organisations have called for the PESP pay agreements not to be paid. Ahern has responded with a billion pound programme. Hospitals stand with wards closed, housing pro-

grammes lie dormant, education and social welfare budgets continually shrink. They never merited the funds now flowing from the government. Why?

Because these ventures do not “make money”. There is no “return on investment” from hospitals or schools. Now more than ever the capitalist market system is proven to have failed. The role of government is to develop a real strategy. Banks and financial institutions' only role is to provide a service, to make economic activity more efficient. The financial community has stepped outside of the role of facilitating business to prioritising massive yearly profits.

This has been fed through the economy. Though the government's stated aim is job creation, industry and the financial sector are locked into short-term profits. This profit search is not synonymous with efficiency and quality as many business would have us believe. It is often at the cost of efficiency as firms use their cash flows to gamble on the market.

Anglo-Irish, a small bank by Irish standards reported last week that they are opening £1 million in new accounts daily, the average lodgement being £30,000. Profits are still being made at the expense of Irish workers.

like higher inflation or an increase in the government debt for every 1% devaluation of the currency, pale into insignificance when you consider the costs of the last five months.

There has been the loss of orders to companies, and a subsequent growing number of factory closures, not to mention the thousands of home owners who have already carried the cost of one 3% mortgage rate increase since October. A cost they will still have to carry regardless of the new funds.

The speculation against the punt and the economic imperialism of the ERM are examples of a loss of economic sovereignty for the 26 Counties. The time has come to end the ERM strait jacket. The undemocratic German dominated ERM is wrecking our economy. Flotation could also be considered as a viable option. Any move that is considered should be aimed at creating real economic cooperation or at least a restoration of our economic sovereignty.

System in shock

“WE CANNOT STAGGER ON indefinitely under current conditions... if the system does not correct itself we will have to see what we can do.” These were the words of finance minister Bertie Ahern that caused up to £500 million punts to be dumped on the foreign exchange markets in one afternoon.

This is daily life in the EC Exchange Rate Mechanism (ERM).

“Crazy and bizarre” is how the EC Monetary Commissioner Henning Christensen described such speculation against the Irish punt. The “fundamentals are excellent” and speculation cannot be “justified on any rational basis”.

However for the last five months the bankers and financiers of Europe have waited for and conspired towards a devaluation of the punt

against other currencies. The devaluation of sterling undercut 30% of the 26 Counties' total export market. The punt would be forced to follow suit.

However since then the Dublin government have spent up to £3 billion since last September. Already £50 million has been given to export firms in what is called a Market Development Fund. Five hundred million pounds are earmarked for industry in low cost loans. Six hundred and fifty

■ NEIL FORDE

million is the figure totalled for the building societies. This is the result of the last five months within the ERM — high interest rates and crippling costs at home.

The reason for such outlay is because those nice people in the European Commission told us that if the 26-County economy could guarantee low inflation, high growth, public spending cutbacks, and a falling national debt we would be in the EC's top club.

We would sit at the master's table.

A pre-condition for membership was a stable exchange rate. In AP/RN on 3 December we detailed the plan behind the EC exchange rate policy. EC member states would form a common currency mechanism protecting the individual economies from speculation

and erratic changes in currency value. Eventually they would form a single currency.

Individual EC states promised they would back up all the other currencies in the mechanism. In AP/RN in September we highlighted the “Economic war in Europe”. It was obvious then that the EC and the plan for economic union was not going to be a democratic partnership where the economically powerful helped out the weaker economies.

Now in January 1993 Bertie Ahern has had endless assurances and little action as the currency markets target the punt. The ERM has not worked, the EC elite of Germany, France, Belgium, Luxembourg and the Netherlands have effectively hung out the punt to dry.

On 26 January the Dublin government published a statement on currency policy offering seven reasons not to devalue. Any of the costs they foresaw

News

Nationalists must look abroad for justice

GROUPS campaigning against human rights violations by British forces in the Six Counties have been urged to take their cases to the international arena, including Europe and the UN.

Fionnuala Ni Aoláin of the human rights group, the Committee on the Administration of Justice, told a public meeting in Cullyhanna, Armagh on 24 January that the prospects of members of the British forces being convicted through the domestic legal system for human rights violations were not good.

"The security forces have killed 350 people in the North of Ireland since 1969, but there have been prosecutions in only 27 of these cases, and only one soldier has been convicted of murder — he was released after two years and is again serving in the British army," Aine Ni Aoláin said.

Ní Aoláin was speaking at a meeting of the Cullyhanna Justice Group, formed after the shooting dead by Royal Marines of local

man Fergal Caraher in December 1990 and the wounding of his brother Mícheál. Two soldiers have since been charged with the shooting and are awaiting trial. Ní Aoláin argued that the nature of the rules governing the use of force by soldiers and police made successful prosecutions extremely difficult in such cases, and that it could prove necessary to take such cases to a forum such as the European Court of Human Rights.

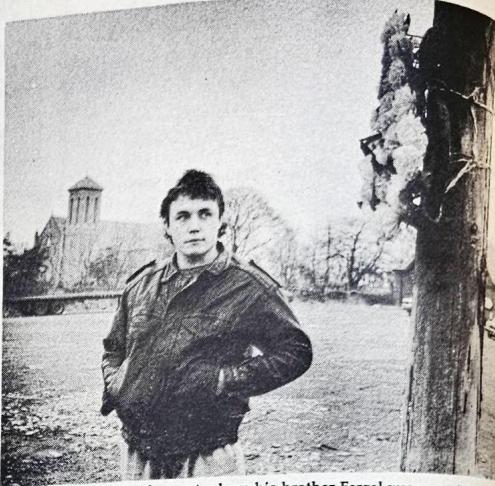
"International appeals of this sort are expensive and can take years, but they may ultimately prove the most effective means of achieving justice," she concluded.

Margaret Caraher, Fergal McCaraher's widow, told the meeting that the Cullyhanna Jus-

tice Group had already taken the issue abroad. "We have given evidence to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and to hearings of the US Congress, and we hope that the election of Bill Clinton will increase the pressure on the British government regarding human rights in Ireland," she said.

Fergal Caraher's father, Peter John Caraher, told the meeting that "while international support was vital, the campaign could not have achieved so much without the massive support of the local community."

A TV programme on life in the Cullyhanna area, with reference to the shootings, will be screened by Channel 4 later this year. The meeting, attended by 150 people, was also addressed by former MP Bernadette McAliskey and by other human rights groups such as the Casement Accused Relatives Committee.



• Mícheál Caraher at the spot where his brother Fergal was gunned down by British troops in December 1990

MAASTRICHT GETS IN YOUR HAIR

■ BY LIAM O COILEAIN

HUNDREDS OF HAIRDRESSERS from throughout the 26 Counties marched through Dublin city centre on Monday afternoon, 25 January, to highlight the threat to their livelihoods posed by the government's plans to increase VAT on their industry.

The demonstration was organised by the Irish Hairdressers' Federation (IHF), some 6,000 of its members signing a petition which the marchers handed in at Leinster House. It called on finance minister Bertie Ahern to ensure that VAT on hairdressing services will not be increased from 16% to 21%.

The hairdressers point out that over the past two years they have already had two VAT increases, from ten per cent to 12.5% and again up to 16%. Paul Walsh of the IHF explained that the increase, if implemented would "disrupt business and lead to closures, creating vast unemployment".

The increase in VAT is part of the 'harmonisation' of such rates, arising

ing out of the Single European Market. "We all voted 'yes' to Maastricht but they never told us this", said one demonstrator. According to Kevin Cahill, president of the IHF:

"Five thousand Irish people are trained and employed in 3,000 salons around the country in what is a highly labour intensive business.

"We realise that hairdressing is not the only Irish industry with problems at the moment but unless the minister for finance takes action, as many as 3,000 jobs could be lost and smaller businesses forced to operate in the black economy."

He continued:

"This government was largely elected on the unemployment issue. Hairdressing is an indigenous Irish



• Cut the VAT

industry that provides training and jobs, therefore it will be a futile exercise to further increase VAT on our services if it results in even more unemployment. Protection of existing jobs in Ireland should be just as much a priority as job creation."

Sinn Féin Ard Fheis 1993

Book Your Accommodation NOW

- Sinn Féin's 1993 ard fheis will be held in Dundalk Town Hall, County Louth.
- It takes place on Saturday 20 and Sunday 21 February.
- Members and supporters wishing to attend the ard fheis must be registered beforehand through their local cumann.
- For further information please contact An Ard Rúnaí, 44 Cearnog Pharnell, Baile Atha Cliath 1. Tel 726932.
- Accommodation for Sinn Féin delegates and visitors will be provided in Dundalk. If you require accommodation for Saturday night, 20 February:
- Ring Dundalk 33622 from 11am to 2pm daily, Monday to Friday.
- A list of local hotels and bed and breakfasts is also available from this number.

- The Easter Lily is the national emblem.

- The Easter Lily represents the North and South united in an expression of appreciation for the principles for which the heroes of Easter Week gave up their lives.
- The Easter Lily is an emblem of hope and confidence in the ultimate realisation of every Irish person's dream: "Ireland free from the centre to the sea."

We appeal to the nation and in particular to the young, to

WEAR AN EASTER LILY



Honour Ireland's Dead — Wear an Easter Lily

Easter Lilies should be ordered now from:

Coiste Cuimhneacháin na Poblachta,
44 Cearnog Pharnell,
Baile Atha Cliath 1.
Tel 726932/726100



Requests for speakers for republican Easter 1916 commemorations must reach the secretary of Coiste Cuimhneacháin na Poblachta not later than Friday, 19 March. Details of commemorations should also be sent to the above committee and to AP/RN, 58 Parnell Square, Dublin 1 for listing in the paper.

Easter Sunday falls on 11 April this year.

News

Loyalists 'minders' intimidate Mater patients

PATIENTS at the Mater Hospital in North Belfast have complained to the Eastern Health Board after they and their visitors were intimidated and harassed by armed loyalist 'minders' who arrived at the hospital in the wake of the admission to the hospital of a wounded prominent loyalist on 14 January.

The men, up to 30 individuals, were apparently protecting John 'Bunter' Graham who was admitted to the Mater with chest wounds after a failed assassination attempt on him. Within hours of his 'arrival' armed loyalists

took over wards, while visitors were stopped and questioned by groups of men stationed outside the hospital.

Nurses were verbally abused and patients intimidated. Staff at the hospital confirmed that visi-

tors had been stopped and asked for identification. As one patient reported: 'These people don't have to say anything to frighten you. They are hard men and everyone there knew who they were.'

One patient who was in intensive care at the same time as Graham said that six men patrolled the corridor outside and walked in and out of the unit at will. He became particularly afraid after he was visited

by a priest, making it obvious he was a Catholic. Another patient, recovering from a heart attack, said he had made a formal complaint on behalf of the terrified nurses.

The hospital unit's general manager, John Cooper said he was 'unaware' that visitors had been questioned by the men but admitted that Graham had an excessive number of 'visitors'.

Less than a week after the Gra-

ham shooting, in a further incident claimed by the grouping calling itself the INLA, a Protestant man was shot and fatally wounded in Rosewood Street off the Crumlin Road. On Thursday, 21 January two armed assailants forced their way into the house at about 6pm and shot 30-year-old Samuel Rock several times. The wounded man was rushed to Belfast's Mater Hospital but was reported dead on arrival.



● Loyalist bully boys have been allowed to harass and intimidate staff and patients alike in Belfast's Mater Hospital

Daly to join British offensive in USA

THE Church of Ireland Primate, Archbishop Robin Eames, is to travel to the US accompanied by the Catholic Cardinal, Cahal Daly, ostensibly to "tell the Clinton administration the truth about the situation in Ireland".

However, speaking from South Africa about the trip, Eames said he, "will advise Clinton not to send a peace envoy to Ireland as it would be unhelpful". The reality, therefore, is that the trip by these clerics can only be seen as part of the British government's anti-Irish propaganda offensive.

Eames also said it would be better that the US played a "non-interventionist role". The political

position of both Eames and Daly is that the British should not be held responsible for the conflict in Ireland. Both have travelled to the US in the past to oppose the MacBride Principles campaign thus defending the British government's appalling fair employment record.

It is ironic that Eames chooses to ignore discrimination in the Six Counties and the effect sanctions might have in ending it. He was

speaking from South Africa, where the experience of sanctions against the minority White government was one of the factors that eventually led to negotiations between the ANC and the racist government.

The British government, worried about the interest being shown in the Irish situation by the newly installed US administration, is engaging in a propaganda offensive aimed at discouraging President Bill Clinton from appointing a special peace envoy to Ireland.

In addition the British want the Dublin government to assist their propaganda campaign which is to be orchestrated by the British embassy in Washington and the British consulate general in New York.

The British are particularly worried that if the Clinton administration takes an active role in the Irish situation it will cause an



● Bill Clinton with Mayor Ray Flynn and Paul O'Dwyer

internationalisation of the situation that will cause major problems for British attempts to portray the Irish problem as an internal 'UK' affair with the British government acting as the honest broker between warring factions.

The call for the peace envoy is a priority for prominent Irish-American politicians such as Boston mayor, Ray Flynn, who believes that the envoy should act "as a catalyst in the efforts to find a lasting peace".

Water charge increase curbed in Donegal

DONEGAL COUNTY COUNCIL has rejected proposals for a £20 increase in domestic water charges. The council did however approve a £5 increase, bringing the annual charge to £85 despite the opposition of a minority of councillors including Sinn Féin's Jim Ferry.

The decision followed a heated session at the County Council meeting in Lifford on Monday, 11 January.

The Donegal County Manager was seeking to increase water

charges to £100. One in four Donegal households have not paid water charges and many are facing substantial arrears.

During the debate on the charges Sinn Féin Councillor Jim

Ferry said that he and the party were firmly opposed to water and refuse charges which he said were an unjust form of double taxation, dreamed up and dumped on the people after the government failed to provide enough money for local councils.

Ferry condemned actions such as the cutting off of water supplies to families who could not pay charges, many of whom he said

were "surviving on a social welfare pitance".

He said the Minister for Social Welfare should see that families had sufficient money for their needs and should arrange to pay charges directly to the council for such families.

The council should be able to seek funds directly from the EC and should have the finance raised from the payment of road tax in

the county available for its local programme.

Ferry added that if the council had only a fraction of the money that was owed in the Leinster House canteen it would solve their problems.

The Sinn Féin councillor concluded by calling for a major public housing programme as a matter of urgency and for more funding for local authorities.



An Phoblacht

REPUBLICAN NEWS

28 JANUARY 1993

Record of failure in USA

THE FORMER Dublin ambassador to the United States, Seán Donlon, had an article published in the *Irish Times* this week which highlighted the extraordinary lack of interest, lack of policy and plain inaction of successive 26-County governments on the partition of Ireland and the injustice suffered by nationalists in the Orange state.

Donlon was surveying Irish-American relations since the 1950s, focussing on the activity, or lack of it, of Dublin diplomats in the US. According to Donlon the Dublin government made no effort during the 1950s or 1960s to build up relationships either with the Congress and presidential administrations in Washington or with the organised Irish-American community.

In the 1950s the Dublin government had engaged in anti-partition rhetoric (especially at election times) but there was no sustained effort nationally or internationally to turn words into action, to make Britain accountable and to use international forums to assist with the decolonisation of Ireland. In the '60s the Dublin government's main interest was getting into the Common Market and attracting US multinationals to set up factories here. Nothing would be done to sour relations with Britain whose economic domination of the country was still very powerful.

When the decades-old frustration of the downtrodden nationalist communities in the North surged onto the streets in 1968 and 1969, to be met with naked violence from the RUC, the Dublin government, at home and abroad, was caught napping. This meant, says Donlon, that "no clear message was transmitted from Dublin either to Washington or to the Irish-American community" and so in Washington "the British had a clear run. There was no US querying of or influence on Britain's handling of the Northern Ireland situation in the early years of violence."

The fact that abroad, as well as at home, nationalists had been left to their fate while the Dublin government, with all the resources at its command, stood idly by, is not regretted by Donlon. Far from it. Instead the ex-diplomat admits their main worry was that the Dublin government's lack of action meant that Irish-Americans looked to those who were defending nationalists and fighting for British withdrawal — the "IRA and its fellow-travellers", as Donlon labels them.

It is clear from what Donlon writes that the main motivation for the increased Dublin diplomatic activity in the US thereafter was to stem the tide of support for the Republican Movement. The former ambassador did not tell his readers how far he and his colleagues went with this. Donlon himself was responsible in the late 1970s for lobbying against Fr Denis Faul of Dungannon (a virulent opponent of republicans) who was then campaigning for the Birmingham Six in the US.

While the selfish interests of the establishment in Dublin meant that they didn't rock the boat abroad before the 1970s, later years saw new interests come into play. Now the British wanted to tie in the Dublin government more closely with its strategy in Ireland and to enlist international cooperation, especially of the US.

The result was the Hillsborough Agreement which was endorsed by the Reagan administration and promoted internationally by both London and Dublin. The aim of stabilising British rule and defeating republicanism was still the same.

Previously the Dublin government had failed by its inaction, now it contributed to worsening the situation by its acceptance in an international treaty of the British claim to sovereignty in the Six Counties. And that's still its position today.

If, instead, a Dublin government were to use the diplomatic resources at its disposal to promote a just solution to the conflict; if it harnessed the desire of Irish people all over the world, but particularly in the US, to see unity and peace; if it used the good will Ireland enjoys around the globe; if it raised the issue at the UN and the EC; then surely the British government would be presented with a formidable force against which the partition of Ireland would be indefensible.

Has the government which claims to represent us abroad not let too many opportunities pass already?

News

Unionists echo loyalist killers

■ BY HILDA Mac THOMAS

BRITISH DIRECT RULER Patrick Mayhew met Dick Spring, deputy prime minister in the new Fianna Fáil/Labour coalition in Dublin on Friday, 22 January. Intended as an initial contact, the encounter resulted in the scheduling of an intergovernmental conference early in February. The future of the inter-party talks also figured on the agenda:

Both indicated in earlier statements their intention to reactivate the talks roadshow. Dick Spring, in particular, declared his government's willingness to agree to another suspension of the intergovernmental conference meetings to allow the talks to resume. This was one of the unionists' primary preconditions for participation in talks.

Now however, unionists have hardened their position. Last weekend the DUP declared that it had "nothing more to say to Dublin until Articles Two and Three go". OUP leader James Molyneaux said in a radio interview that Dublin "would have to say quite clearly that it recognises the validity of the United Nations' verdict on territorial claims and that the Irish claim to Northern Ireland is as illegal as Saddam Hussein's claim to Kuwait".

The OUP leader was never enthusiastic about the talks in the first place, and would have favoured discussions at Westminster between Six-County MPs to hammer out some form of internal administration for the North, based on regional councils. His view of the talks is that while they led to a "much clearer understanding of each other's positions" they "actually dug the gulf deeper and wider than it had been". In other words the mere statement of a nationalist position is sufficient to bring discussions to a halt, as far as unionists are concerned.

Fellow unionist MP John Taylor found countless justifications, when speaking last week, about the upsurge in loyalist killings: from the British government's signing of the Hillsborough Agreement to the perceived 'pan-nationalist alliance' of the

IRA, the SDLP and Dublin, the latter two "notching up political gains" from the "mayhem created by the IRA".

On the 'tit-for-tat' theory, Taylor said loyalists believed "the murder of Roman Catholics at Sean Graham on the Ormeau Road encouraged the Catholic community to publicly condemn the IRA and to point out that these innocent Catholics would not have been murdered had the IRA not first committed the terrible slaughter of eight Protestants at Teebane."

A similar utterance from a nationalist would have been greeted with howls of outrage, but Taylor's comments received little attention. His comments came in the wake of a repeat from the UDA of its threat to target all nationalists. It used the very same terminology in referring to a 'pan-nationalist front' of the IRA, Sinn Féin, the SDLP, the Dublin government and the GAA, in other words nearly everyone in Ireland except the unionists. All were to be targeted.

Taylor's words, echoing those of the UDA, clearly illustrate the unionists' part in the British government's tactic of engaging northern parties in endless talks. Political movement within the British framework has become conditional on nationalists giving up their demands. And if negotiations won't achieve a climb-down, maybe loyalist terror will.



■ Dick Spring, right, has declared his government's willingness to agree to unionist preconditions

News



● Dublin's mayor, the pathetic Gay Mitchell with arch loyalist bigot Frank Millar



Dublin's craven Lord Mayor stoops lower

■ BY ART MAC EOIN

SINN FÉIN Dublin City Councillor Christy Burke has described the Lord Mayor of Dublin's remark that he didn't feel like a "foreigner" during his visit to Belfast as ironic and he criticised Gay Mitchell's call for a visit to Dublin by the British royal family.

"For Gay Mitchell to say that he didn't feel that he was a foreigner in Belfast is quite ironic considering both his own and his party's position on Articles Two and Three. Mr Mitchell and Fine Gael seem bent on making nationalists in the North 'foreigners' in their own country by stripping them of their nationality and their birthright", Councillor Burke said.

Gay Mitchell's remarks followed his controversial visit to Belfast on 8 January. Despite Mitchell's pro-British sympathies, Belfast loyalist Lord Mayor Herbie Ditty made it clear that he had no intention of making him feel welcome at Belfast City Hall and described him as a Lord Mayor from a "foreign country".

In spite of this public humiliation Mitchell hosted a lunch with unionist councillors at Dublin's Mansion House on Saturday, 23 January. The unionist delegation included arch loyalist bigot and Belfast Deputy Lord Mayor Frank Millar. The unionists were in Dublin to accompany a Belfast City Council stall at the International Holiday Exhibition in the RDS.

Dublin Sinn Féin members joined by Belfast Sinn Féin Councillor Máirtín O Muilleoir distributed leaflets

to those attending the holiday fair, explaining the discrimination and bigotry perpetrated by Belfast City Council on the city's nationalist inhabitants.

Ironically the leaflet drawn up by Sinn Féin had pinpointed Millar's notorious bigotry before they knew he was to meet Mitchell. This gave their protest more relevance as their literature informed visitors to the RDS of his comment that "travellers are rubbish. The only place for rubbish is the incinerator."

In a statement on Belfast City Council's presence at the holiday fair Dublin Sinn Féin said:

"It is important to visit Belfast. There are plenty of places to see, but Belfast is not a holiday resort. It is a city in which armed repression by the British army and RUC is a daily fact of life."

"The discrimination and bigotry experienced by the nationalists of Belfast, which is practised by the city council, has led to the conflict of which we are all aware.

"This year alone has seen an extraordinary amount of corruption and discrimination by the unionist majority in Belfast City Hall."

Sinn Féin leaflets at the holiday fair detailed numerous areas of corruption and discrimination practised by the City Council.

Councillor O Muilleoir drew Dubliners' attention in particular to Belfast City Council's campaign against the Irish language. In the most outrageous act of bigotry, the council has imposed a complete ban on Irish since 1988.

Following his crawling before the bigots of Belfast in the Mansion House Gay Mitchell decided to drag the office of Dublin Lord Mayor further into the mire by expressing his wish to see a British royal visit to Dublin:

"We have had visits from Princess Anne and Prince Edward, but it is about time that we had an official visit. If the government found it difficult to extend such an invitation, I would be prepared to do so," he added.

Reacting to Mitchell's pathetic remarks Sinn Féin Dublin Councillor Christy Burke commented:

"I am sure that Mr Mitchell's desire to see the British royal family visit Dublin is something that is not shared by the citizens he is supposed to represent. That he should wish a visit from the royal family while even the British themselves are questioning its raison d'être is ridiculous, but wanting a visit from members of a family who hold positions of authority in the British army is outrageous.

"If, as he said, he wants to build as many contacts as possible across the border he should visit those thousands of families who have suffered at the hands of the royal family's armed forces."

BLOODY SUNDAY INITIATIVE

1972 — CALENDAR OF EVENTS — 1993

Thursday 28 January
FAILTE GO DOIRE

■ An evening of entertainment. Artists include the far famed Helen Brady. Evening concludes with a Céilí Bar Facilities Available. Guildhall 8.30pm Adm £1.00

Friday 29 January
CHRISTY MOORE

■ Rialto 8pm. Tickets Available at Quaver £9.50 and £7.50 Concessionary. Tickets not available at BSI

Saturday 30 January

"HUMAN RIGHTS ROADSHOW"

■ Pilot's Row 10am. Exhibitions, Workshops, Video Screenings plus Human Rights Groups. Workshops commence at 10.30am

■ 10.45-11.45am "Bloody Sunday and the Corruption of the Judiciary". Eamonn McCann, Paddy Hill and John Kelly. "The Case of Patrick McLaughlin". Valerie McLaughlin, Robin Percival

■ 12 noon-1pm "Derry's Future... Retailing lies about jobs?". Campaign for Decent Wages

■ 2.30-4.30pm "After the Collapse of the Talks — What Path to Peace?". Prominent contributors in attendance. Creche facilities available

ROCK GIG AT THE RIALTO

■ 8.00pm Adm £1.50. Rare Scttunn, Cuckoo, Paul McCartney, Nyah Fearties, Dave Dugan, Joe Mulheron

Sunday 31 January

BLOODY SUNDAY MARCH

"BEYOND INJUSTICE"

Johnny Walker (Chair)

Mary Nelis, Valerie McLaughlin
Creggan Shops 2.30pm

Sinn Féin outlines case for unity

This week AP/RN publishes the final part of Sinn Féin's written submission to the Initiative '92s Opsahl Commission, dealing with social and economic aspects of the situation. We also carry a report of the oral submission given by the party delegation last week.

WHILE POOR ATTENDANCE marked the opening of the public sessions of the Opsahl Commission, held in Belfast's Old Museum, the arrival of Sinn Féin's delegation on Wednesday, 20 January heralded a marked increase in public interest. The Opsahl Commission, part of the Initiative '92 venture, takes its name from the commission's chairperson Norwegian lawyer Professor Torkel Opsahl. The commission described its purpose as canvassing "the opinions of the people of Northern Ireland and beyond on ways forward for the region".

Sinn Féin had welcomed the opportunity to "present our views on a solution to the British-Irish conflict and the achievement of a lasting peace", and "welcomed the opportunity to promote the need for increased dialogue". However the party said that it was "regrettable" that the project "should at the outset, adopt a partitionist approach in terms of the framework for solutions".

They explained, "The Six-County statelet is presented as the framework for the 'government and organisation of its people'. The option of an alternative and democratic framework, a 32-County all-Ireland state, would appear to have been omitted."

Sinn Féin was also "concerned to note that the experience of Northern nationalists, or indeed of other colonised peoples, are not reflected in the selection of the commissioners".

Nonetheless Sinn Féin used the opportunity the commission provided to engage in dialogue and present its proposals in a public forum. Interestingly, other parties noted for their calls for peace did not choose to take part. The SDLP made a written but no oral submission. The Dublin government will not be making any submission and had no observer present. The British government has made a written submission. The unionist parties — with the exception

of the Alliance Party — have boycotted the project. Last week saw an hysterical attack on it by Fermanagh-South Tyrone MP, Ken Maginnis.

Unionists Chris and Michael McGimpsey made an appearance last week in a personal capacity. They restated the unionist case, claiming that the Dublin government had "hardened its nationalist views" by defending Articles Two and Three. The McGimpseys are known for their links with neo-unionists in the 26 Counties — especially with Fine Gael and the PDs — and are widely portrayed as more 'moderate' unionists. This was put in perspective when they referred to loyalist paramilitaries committing atrocities "in their effort to terrorise the terrorists".

Other submissions made during the week included that from former top civil servant, and a senior member of the Dublin establishment, Dr TK Whittaker. Whittaker used the opportunity to criticise Articles Two and Three which he said were "not defensible".

The commission which heard the Sinn Féin submission includes Lady Lucy Faulkner, widow of the last Stormont prime minister Brian Faulkner, ex-BBC governor and one time private secretary to Viscount Brookeborough, Rev Dr Eric Gallagher, former president of the Methodist Church in Ireland, Eamon Gallagher, 26-County civil servant and 'revisionist' historian Marianne Elliot.

Sinn Féin's delegation included Councillor Mitchel McLaughlin from Derry, Pat McGowen, former POW and hunger striker, Bairbre de Brún from Belfast, head of the party's Cultural Department, and Mairead Keane from Dublin, of the Women's Department who acted as chairperson for the Sinn Féin team. Setting out the main components of Sinn Féin's position, Mitchel McLaughlin urged inclusive dialogue as a means of solving the conflict, a new agreement between London and Dublin to end partition, international assistance to break the deadlock and a pro-

cess of national reconciliation.

McLaughlin argued that a democratic political settlement must be reached that involves all our people, of all religions and political persuasions, through open and all-inclusive dialogue. This would enable an agreement to be reached to establish new structures on an all-Ireland basis which "shall guarantee human dignity and democratic freedoms and promote the economic, social and cultural rights of all the Irish people in a pluralistic state".

The introduction was followed by a 45-minute cross examination of the delegation by the commissioners. Identifying herself as Irish, Lady Faulkner told the delegation that her co-unionists and co-religionists had great difficulty adopting such a position and asked if there was any way Sinn Féin could persuade unionists that they could feel Irish. Responding, Sinn Féin's Pat McGowen said that perceptions could not change until republicans and unionists started talking to each other.

Lady Faulkner asked about the situation of a protestant/unionist population who didn't want to be part of a united Ireland or felt they had been 'bombed' into a new state. McGowen reminded the panel that partition had been forced on the Irish people and the majority of Irish people supported unity.

Commission chairperson, Professor Torkel Opsahl asked was it not the reality that Sinn Féin could not join in any talks process until it renounced violence. Bairbre de Brún pointed out that "negotiation is the path to peace, peace is not the path to negotiation".

Questioned by the professor on Sinn Féin's attitude to violence, McLaughlin said that Sinn Féin was a legitimate party which went about its business peacefully and which also recognised the "right of Irish people to use armed struggle".

Eamon Gallagher asked if a return to some form of local power in the North associated with a bill of rights would receive a positive response from Sinn Féin. McLaughlin responded by reiterating Sinn Féin's position:

"No amount of responsibility sharing or powersharing or seductive language is going to make the Six Counties democratic. What it is about is the right of the Irish people to practise self-determination."



● Sinn Féin meets with Initiative '92

A dem

■ END DISCRIMINATION

■ CREATE REAL JOBS

■ EDUCATION FOR ALL

■ STOP THE WELFARE CUTS

New

democratic economy

AND purpose of its economic activity. In the Six Counties the aim of economic policy under the Stormont and British administrations has been one of discrimination and distorted economic planning aimed at maintenance of the status quo rather than planning for economic democracy or economic unity. In the 26 Counties it has been one of creating wealth for the few.

Sinn Féin believes the basic aim and purpose of economic activity should be the creation of an economic democracy. Economic democracy involves a recognition that only the people of Ireland should be the initiators, controllers and planners of their economic activity at local, regional and national levels.

Sinn Féin believes that economic democracy and economic unity are the basic premises that should underwrite a way forward for the people of Ireland.

Partition and the legacy of colonialism have been the major forces that have shaped the economies of the Six and 26-County states. The 26-County economy has led to a two-tier society with the benefits of economic growth accruing to only a small minority. The economic reality for both economies has remained one of high emigration and high unemployment, underdeveloped industry and agriculture, a high level of dependence on multinationals and continuing cutbacks in public spending.

In the Six Counties a workhouse economy has been created with low average wages for those who are working and a huge number of dependents on social welfare benefits. Existing capital has been sucked into the British economy. This means that economic activity within the local economy is confined to supporting the limited needs of consumers with small spending power. The economy cannot then generate the investment needed to raise living standards. Over time the economy becomes visibly poorer and more dependant on outside help.

Sinn Féin believes that the economic and social arguments for economic unity are incontrovertible. The 1984 New Ireland Forum set out detailed arguments for economic unity and the benefits that would accrue. Both the Confederation of Irish Industry (CII) and the Confederation of British Industry (CBI) in the Six Counties have lobbied the European Commission to

consider the two economies as one viable unit when planning infrastructure development.

Sinn Féin believes that certain key steps must be taken to control the whole island economy in the interests of its people:

- A halt in the drain out of the country of Irish and multinational profits, especially in the 26 Counties. Both economies are suffering from the wholesale export of the capital necessary to generate investment and economic activity. Lack of investment results in unemployment, high levels of poverty, bad housing and bad health. The cost is ultimately borne by the already restricted public sector budget;
- The introduction of a national statutory minimum wage in both economies. The British government is creating a low-wage economy and has abandoned any serious attempt to promote industrial activity;
- The Dublin government must implement the recommendations of the 1986 Commission on Social Welfare;
- Education and health cuts in both states must be reversed and the discrimination in favour of private health and education must be ended;
- Affirmative action across the island economy on real job creation. The 26-County economy has created wealth without creating employment. Much of the so-called "job creation" in both economies takes the form of coercing people into demeaning jobs or training schemes which have very little social value;
- Sinn Féin rejects the strategy of privatisation in industry and social services.

In the introduction we stated that every economy needs a basic premise about the aim and the purpose of its economic activity. In the 26-County economy there are two claimed aims, to create wealth and to build an economy that can employ all its citizens. Massive wealth has been created in the 26 Counties since partition. However parallel to this has been continuous emi-



● The aim of the economy in any state should be to seek to create wealth for all its citizens

gration and relentless long-term unemployment.

It is a horrific indictment of the Dublin government's economic management that the Six-County economy — run on virtual autopilot by the NIO — has an economic performance comparable with the supposedly democratic 26-County economy. Economic democracy and economic sovereignty are the essential factors in any state that seeks to create wealth for all its citizens.

The role of government must be to stimulate, support and, if it serves the common interest, subsidise the local economies that together create the national economy. Each local authority in Ireland should be able to legislate for its local economy. Each local council should be able to plan what business or industry they want to develop or attract to their community.

The much-hyped IDA, IDB and other "super agencies" should be given the task of

being the servants of these communities, not as they are now, the dictators of industrial policies. Each region should appoint the executive of the IDA, IDB and other bodies. These positions should not be the political spoils of a central government. A democratic economic plan would involve economic activity that, at the very least, was initiated by those most affected.

The 26 and Six-County economies as they stand today have three main sectors, agricultural, industrial and services. It is through these three sectors that economic wealth is created. Gross National Product (GNP), a monetary measure of the wealth produced in any one year, grew in the 26-County economy by 3.6% last year to £24,252 billion. Only Japan had a higher growth.

There is no doubt that wealth is being created in both the 26 and Six-County economies. The

task is to make the economy work for everyone and for democratic agreement on how that economy should be run. A quick study of both London and Dublin's role in the two economies shows deep involvement on a range of levels, including training, grants, subsidies, investment, partnerships and, in many cases, outright ownership of businesses.

Ireland's island economy is out of control solely because those who wield power do so only in pursuit of their own interests, whether it is discrimination in the Six Counties or the support of corporate capitalists in the 26-County economy. Recognising that a national economy must reflect everyone's interests democratically must be part of any process for moving forward to a solution of the conflict in Ireland. Irish unity and independence will form the only basis for creating an economic democracy.

Reviews

Tide turning for the League of Ireland?

■ BY BREANDAN MAC RUAIRI

THE FIRST SERIES OF MATCHES in the second phase of the revamped League of Ireland Premier League took place last weekend. The new format which divides the 12-club league into two groups of six, at the half way mark, leaving the top six to dispute the major honours while the bottom six battle to avoid relegation, has already been roundly condemned.

Critics argue that it creates an unnecessary elite while sentencing struggling clubs to even further impoverishment. I believe such early repudiation of the experiment to be unwise. Final judgement would be best left to the end of the season.

There are strong signs that the set-up is proving successful in making the league more competitive and therefore more attractive to the sporting public. For a long time the core of teams that occupy mid-table positions with little chance of winning the championship or gaining a Euro place while remaining safe from relegation, has been a problem. Too often in the past several sides have found themselves playing out the latter part of the season with nothing to aim for. The revised format seems to have overcome this.

Indeed the hard-fought struggle to secure one of the first six places has already added vital extra spice to mid-season exchanges. It has been suggested that the bottom six clubs will suffer financially because they will lose out on the big attendances that would accrue from the visits of the high-fliers. Perhaps, but it should also be noted that four of the biggest names in League of Ireland football, Shamrock Rovers, St Patrick's Athletic, Sligo Rovers and Waterford, find themselves in the lower half slugging it out to maintain premier status. I would imagine that the do-or-die relegation battles that are to come will

attract the crowds as supporters will surely come out of the woodwork to rally around the club in time of need.

The contest for the championship itself is one of the most open and unpredictable for years, only five points separating the top five and some of the football served up has been of the highest order.

Bohemians, building on the promise of last year, have their noses in front at the moment and will be hard to dislodge. They have come through a wobbly patch a few weeks back to reassert themselves with good home wins over Shamrock Rovers and Limerick. If they get the gifted David Tilson back from injury soon and maintain their nerve they can go all the way.

Northside Dublin neighbours and reigning champions, Shelbourne are still very much in the hunt. The "Reds" have a talented squad and play an exhilarating brand of football, only a mysterious lack of consistency seems destined to prevent them retaining their crown.

It has been an up and down season for Derry City but dressing-room squabbles over wages and an amazing failure in front of goal (18 goals in 23 games) is hardly an adequate return for title aspirants, does not stop them occupying third spot, three points behind Bohemians.

Dundalk too have had their dodgy moments but now with top-six status consolidated,



● Ken De Mange, Limerick, loses out in this tussle to Pat Fenlon of Bohemians

they look formidable once more and will doubtless launch a compelling challenge. The victory over Shelbourne on Sunday will give them great confidence. Turlough O'Connor's outfit is typical of Dundalk, big, physical but capable of fast, clinical attacking play.

For my money Cork City represent the biggest threat to Bohemian's ambitions. A well

organised passing side, Fergus O'Donoghue gives them great stability at the back. Dave Barry and Declan Roche are combative but enterprising in midfield while up front Pat Morley is a great finisher. At any rate a ding-dong climax is in store.

Overall it's been a good season so far. Attendances are holding up despite the lure of live television. The quality of

the football plus the imminent installation of floodlights at most leading venues indicates that perhaps the tide is turning for the game locally.

The GAA programme began to chug back into action last Sunday after the winter break. The day's, maybe the year's, big story was in Newbridge where Eire Og of Carlow cap-

tured their first, in fact their county's first Leinster club football championship at the expense of Laoise champions Ballyroan. So impressive is the march of the Carlow team through the province and the number of big name scalps to their credit that they must enter the All-Ireland semifinal against Knockmore of Mayo on 21 February as favourites.

That stretch came about after he was captured following a shooting incident with the Special Branch at Glasnevin two days after his visit to O'Kelly.

The loss of freedom and the desire to make up for that lost time when he was finally released obviously had a permanent effect on him. Did he resent the fact that he had to suffer for his political beliefs and turn against them as some have claimed? The evidence presented here and elsewhere is to the contrary.

From his first political letter to the *Irish Democrat* in 1937 (he was 14) to his last, to the *New Statesman* in 1962, his prevailing republican viewpoint is clear. He was a harsh critic of many Irish attitudes, including some of those among republicans, but his

satire was really against the sterile climate of censorship, narrow-minded Catholicism, and chauvinistic pseudonationalism which dominated the Free State in his day.

Indeed the fact that he, like so many other artists, could not find a place as a writer in his own country was due to that climate. It made a major contribution to his personal deterioration, which is evident from this collection. His loss at the age of 41 was a personal and national tragedy.

Given Behan's popularity this hardback seems an obvious candidate for publication in paperback but until then, ask your local library to stock it. It's worth reading.

● *The Letters of Brendan Behan*. Edited by EH Mikhail. Published by Macmillan. Price £45 (hardback).

JUST A SHORT NOTE

■ BY MAJRTIN MAC DIARMADA

"PLEASE GIVE BEARER MY EQUIPMENT. BB" must qualify as the shortest piece of correspondence ever included in an anthology. The writer was Brendan Behan and the recipient was Séamus G O'Kelly, the republican journalist.

O'Kelly described how Behan visited his house on Good Friday 1942 telling him he was on the run and asking him to keep a parcel for the night. "Within seconds he was opening a parcel on the living-room table. My eyes nearly popped out of my head when I saw the contents. There were several coils of wire, about

100 detonators and a .45 Webley revolver." Behan sent the man with the note to collect the 'equipment' the next day.

This and many other items is contained in EH Mikhail's book of the letters of Brendan Behan. They range from fugitive notes like the above to messages on postcards, from

business letters to longer letters writer, for publication.

Some of the most remarkable letters are those written when Behan was still only a child. When he was nine he wrote a letter of apology in verse to a girl in his class at school. He had done her Irish essay homework for her, but in the middle of it he included "derogatory references to the morals of the nuns" (as Mikhail delicately puts it). Behan's letter includes the verses:

I was really raging,
When I heard you went to the
pics,
With, of all the ejuits,
Snotty-nosed Paddy Fitz.

Oh what can I do now love,
To restore our happiness?
Will I go across to Gill's pub,
And to your Ma confess?



● BRENDAN BEHAN

The writer's talent was evident from very early on. In this context it is easy to see the damaging effect of his imprisonment first in borstal in England and then in Mountjoy, Arbour Hill and the Curragh.



● The Dublin government's response to the whole-scale slaughter of nationalists in the Six Counties in the late 1960s was absolutely pathetic

No surprises in BBC film

■ BY ART
Mac Eoin

NOT SURPRISINGLY *The Sparks that Lit the Bonfire*, the BBC documentary screened on Wednesday, 27 January did not live up to its sensationalist claim of providing "extraordinary new evidence" to show that the Dublin government was instrumental in the development of the modern IRA.

Nor did it provide any evidence that the Fianna Fáil government of Jack Lynch seriously intended on a military thrust into the Six Counties using IRA units in the North as "an advance force".

What the programme did was repeat certain historical facts already well-documented regarding official Dublin assistance, mainly through the Central Citizens' Defence Committee, to Northern nationalists.

alists under attack from the Stormont regime. It then regurgitated, without evidence, worn-out Workers' Party propaganda that the armed facet of the Northern uprising was the creation of Dublin government politicians.

It has long been known that a proposal to take military action was put before Lynch's cabinet. This has been stated by both Neil Blaney and Kevin Boland. What has

not been known was the full extent of support for such a course of action in the cabinet, the 'compromise' made was that aid to defend nationalists would be given. Lynch always claimed he never knew it was to buy arms.

Ignoring the logic of the course which events in the North took, with the violent suppression of the civil rights campaign and the consequent reawakening of national consciousness among the people, the programme leaned heavily on interviews with individuals closely connected to the Workers' Party such as former WP councillor Francie Donnelly. These inevitably gave the fantastically inaccurate WP analysis of the development of the struggle in the North.

Inflating their own importance out of all proportion, the WP would like people to believe that the IRA as it exists today was created by Fianna Fáil in order to outflank those elements in the Republican

Movement which later became the WP. These portray themselves as having led a 'Marxist' element which was directing the movement down a truly revolutionary path against the protests of dissidents distracted by notions of 'romantic nationalism', and that conservative politicians in the South, fearful of this development, persuaded republican dissidents to force a split, by providing finance and arms.

This perverse interpretation of history gained much ground over the years, but the fact that it was adopted by the 26-County establishment itself surely goes some of the way to disproving the WP's wild claims that the same establishment lived in dread of the Goulding leadership of the 'Official IRA' and 'Official Sinn Féin'.

The Dublin government's response to the whole-scale slaughter of nationalists in the Six Counties in the late 1960s was absolutely pathetic. Their

inaction underlined the need for a people's army to confront the Orange state head on. It was the realisation of such realities which ensured the growth and strengthening of the IRA, and it is these factors which ensure the organisation's continued survival in the face of massive British odds.

An inevitable follow-on to this development in republican strategy was the creation of an active political struggle in the South which has confronted the likes of Fianna Fáil head-on, not only over their acquiescence with British occupation of the North, but in regard to the issues which affect the daily lives of ordinary people across the 26 Counties.

The fact that the 26-County government in the late '60s and early '70s provided small and inadequate amounts of money to be used for the defence of nationalist areas under direct attack in the Six Counties is of course nothing new and should hardly be

surprising. Such assistance as was available was welcome from whatever quarter it came. The political point that should be made is that assistance to Six-County nationalists, whether political, diplomatic, economic or otherwise from successive Southern governments including that of Jack Lynch, has been sadly lacking over the past 20 years and for decades before that. That such governments have refused to accept their responsibilities towards the Six Counties has been an important contributory factor to the ongoing conflict which has claimed so many lives.

It is pertinent political points such as this which those concerned about the conflict must eventually get to grips with and this includes journalists and documentary makers. Such people also have responsibilities which they should face up to even if it involves resisting the temptation for sensationalism.

British counterinsurgency 'refined and lethal'

A CEREMONY to unveil a memorial to Sinn Féin activist, Tom Donaghys, was held in Kilrea, County Derry on Sunday last, 24 January. Tom Donaghys was shot dead by a loyalist gang at his place of work in Kilrea, County Derry, on 16 August 1991. His death came just four days after that of his party comrade, Pádraig O Seanacháin in Tyrone.

Chairing the ceremony, Sinn Féin Councillor John Hurl called on Tom's partner Joan, and his father to formally unveil the marble monument. Hurl then called on Gearóid Mac Siacais of Sinn Féin to deliver the main oration.

Mac Siacais commended Tom Donaghys for his commitment to his community from his early involvement in the struggle for civil rights and through the many

years he spent in the internment cages of Long Kesh and on the blanket protest in the H-Blocks of Long Kesh.

"Up to the time of his death Tom stood up to be counted in the struggle for national self-determination," said Mac Siacais.

As the ceremony was being held members of the RUC, in an open display of intimidation, began to write down the regis-

tron numbers of cars belonging to those at the commemoration. This was a particularly pointed action given the collusion between the crown forces and loyalists, particularly in the killing of Sinn Féin activists.

Offering sympathy to Tom's family and friends, the Sinn Féin speaker also reminded the many hundreds in attendance that Tom's killing was not isolated and, as with the killings of Bernard O'Hagan, John Davey and Eddie Fullerton "we are witnessing a British counterinsurgency offensive at its most refined and lethal".

"Loyalist death squads, armed

with the connivance of British intelligence and their political bosses, have been unleashing a reign of terror designed to demoralise anyone who opposes British rule in Ireland."

Mac Siacais criticised the silence of the SDLP, the Catholic church and the media regarding this murderous campaign against republicans and said it was an indictment of them all. In spite of this the British-inspired campaign would not succeed, concluded the speaker:

"Ours is not an easy task but as we gather here to offer this small token of our respect for Tom we promise you, his family and friends, he will never be forgotten."



● TOMMY DONAGHYS

Nuacht/Léirmheas

Macalla scéalta eile i scannán Jordan

NI MINIC a théim go dtí na pictiúirí nō an phictiúrlann ach an tseachtain seo caite chinn mē go mb'fhúid domh oíche a chaitheamh i gcomhlúadar Steven Rea sa *Crying Game*. Dúradh liom gur scannán faoin IRA a bhí an, agus go dtí pointe b'fhíor é sin.

Thosaigh an scannán le grúpa óglach ag leantú lanúna, báinéiglach agus saighdiúir Sasanach, agus iad ag baint suilt as sijasaoiach aonaigh. Ach tó leanúnach i ndán don tsaghdúir, nó tá ardball den IRA gafa ag an RUC agus é faci cheisti i

gCaisleán an Ríabhaigh. Tá sé i geistí ag an Tiocfaidh go bhfuilidh siad an *Briot'* agus O' Malley atá anseo agus ar eile sa chás seo éiríonn caideas idir an saighdiúir Sasanach agus an t-óglach atá ann lena ghardáil. Nuair a thagann an

Guests of the Nation le Frank O'Connor, *An Gall/The Hostage* le



● Stephen Rea agus Miranda Jackson sa *Crying Game*

Breandan Behan, nó scéal as *On Another Man's Wound* hÉamíteach aonair agus é anseo agus ar eile sa chás seo éiríonn caideas idir an saighdiúir Sasanach agus an t-óglach atá ann lena ghardáil. Nuair a thagann an

Luan n' thig leis an óglach a 'chara' a mháru. Ach mór plota intuathra agus dochreidte atá sa chéad leath den scannán caithidh tú an dara leath de a fhiceáil le fantasafacht a 'human face' a chur ar bhall den IRA sa chéad chuid den

Mar phiosá grinn is dōigh liom go n-oibríonn an scannán seo aicí mar léirgeas ar chogadh nō ar 'psyche' an tsaghdúir, nō an óglacha is teip mhór atá ann. Ar feadh, b'fheidir, 20 bomaite bionn comhá idir an bheirt, an t-óglach agus a phríosúnach eachtrannach. Tá cuid den chomhrá seo an-suimiúil i gcomhtháeas na Sé Chontae, ach ag an am céanna ligeann an léiritheoir do na gnáthchíneál daonra a theacht isteach.

scannán, go raibh feisir parlimente na Breataine ag éirí tóigthe faoi. Willie Ross mar shampla a dúirt go raibh sé contúirteach aghaidh dhaonna a thabhairt ar scéimhlitheoirí srí, cé nach raibh an scannán feicthe aige fíu.

On léiritheoir céanna a thug *Mona Lisa* díúinn cúpla bliana ó shin, tá cosúlachtai idir an dá scannán. Tá éidreorachas iontu beirt, tá amhrán mar théama acu (agus nuair atá amhrán roghnaithe agat is féidir leat scéil ar bith a scriobh ina thimpeall) agus tá an scannán lag fiú nuair atá na haisteoirí láidir. Agus mar an *Mona Lisa* féin tháinig mé amach as an phictiúrlann ag déireadh an hoíche, léid de mhiopháire ar mo bhéal, cé nach dtuigim fós fáth mo gháire. Mo thairim faoi! Piosa craic amadaideach; dióma nár lean sé leis an phríomh théama, agus ionadh orm faoi chastaí intinne an léiritheoir scannán.

COIRDINIGH AR STAILC OCRAIS

CUPLA SEACHTAIN O SHIN bain an Bhréatain, an Fhrainc agus na SAM úsáid as bunáiteanna sa Tuirc le hionsaithe a lainseáil ar an Iaráic. Is é ceann de na cuspóirí a bhí ag na hionsaitheoirí mar dhea chun an mhuintir Choirdíneach in Iaráic a chosaint ó ionsaithe aerí. Anois tá Coirdínigh sa stát Tuirc each ag iarraíodh ar an chomhphobal idirnáisiúnta stop a chur le hár a phobail ag an stát Tuirc each féin.

Tá grúpa de 15 ball de Pharlaimint Náisiúnta na Curdastáine ag stailc ocrasí sa Bhrúisíil ó 24 Eanáir ag déanamh agóide in aghaidh "an chogaidh mhídháonachúil atá á chur ag an stát Tuirc each ar ár muintir".

Tá na Coirdínigh ag cur i leith ríaltas na Tuirc go bhfuil siad ag cur modhanna nua de léirscoiri agus ár i bhfeidhm ar an phobal i gCurdastáin. Deir síd gur cuireadh na gáthmhodhanna difí faoi chois agus go bhfuil polasaí na Tuirc d'óillmháru sibhialtach

● An t-ár agus an drochid den phobal sibhialta gan chosaint atá á dhéanamh ag an stát Tuirc each a chéad, chomh maith leis na dúnmháruithe d'iriseoirí tirghrácha agus daoine raidíciúla agus cearta daonna agus ar na meáin chumarsáide agus pobail idirnáisiúnta:

● Brú a chur ar an stát Tuirc each ionas go n-aithníonn sé



● Bhí an grúpa seo de Choirdínigh ar stailc ocrasí faoi choinne coicise anuraidh ag tarrantaire ar staid a muintir eile a dhéanann scuainf báis contra;

● Brú a chur ar an stát Tuirc each ionas go n-aithníonn sé

mian na saoirse de chuid an phobal Choirdínigh:

● Stop a chur le soláthar arm don Tuirc;

● Céimeanna a ghlacadh le cinnéadaí a dhéanamh go gcaíonn an Tuirc le dlíthe idirnáisiúnta

cogafochta ina feachtas in aghaidh mhuintir na Curdastáine.

Tá na stailceoirí ag éileamh mar phríomhchéim go gcuirfidh na parlaimintí Eorpacha agus náisiúnta toscaireacthaí chun na Curdastáine chun staid na tire a iniúchadh.

Éileamh do Theilifís 3 ó Mhuineachán

GHLAG COMHAIRLE CHONTAE MUINEACHAIN d'aon ghuth le rún ag éileamh bunú stáisiún teilefise lánGhaeilge i 1993. Ag cruinníú na comhairle ar an Luan, 25 Eanáir, mhol Comhairleoir Shinn Féin Caoimhghín Ó Caoláin an rún agus chuidigh a chomh-chomhairleoir Sinn Féineach Brian McKenna leis.

Rinne an chéad rún ar glacadh leis comhghairdeas le Conraadh na Gaeilge as ucht a chomóradh céad bliana. Sa dara rún d'aithnígh Comhairle Chontae Mhuineacháin "an tábachadh bhaineann le stáisiún teilefise lánGhaeilge do thodhcháin na Gaeilge agus tacafón muid go láidir le polasáí Chonradh na Gaeilge go mbunbánach an stáisiún seo roimh dheireadh 1993, Blíain na Gaeilge".

Dúirt Caoimhghín Ó Caoláin go



● BRIAN MCKENNA
ach caithfear an brú a choimeád orthu"

Tá na rún a ritheadh ag Comhairle Mhuineacháin chun dul os comhair gach comhairleachontae sna 26 Chontae anois. D'éisigh leis na rún níos lúaithe sa mhí ag Comhairle Bhaile Mhuineacháin. Mhol Comhairleoir Shinn Féin Pádraigín Úi Mhurchadha iad agus iarrachtaí na dtuismitheoirí agus idir Fhianna Fáil agus Lucht Oibre

Oíche oscailte ag Meánscoil Feirste

D'oscail Meánscoil Feirste a doise don phobal oíche Chéadaoin, 27 Eanáir le fáilte a chur roimh dhálaití, agus a dtuismitheoirí, atá dúil acu dul chun na scoile an bhliain seo chugainn.

Tá an mheánscoil ar an chéad mheánscoil lánGhaeilge sna Sé Chontae agus go dtí seo ní bhfuair sí airgead ar bith ón ríaltas. Mar sin tá sí ag brath go hiomlán agus go uille ar dheontaí ón phobal agus iarrachtaí na dtuismitheoirí agus a thabhairt don scoil.

cairde i dtogáil airgid.

D'ainneoin sin tá an scoil leath bhéalach tríd an dara bliain aici. Thosaigh naonúr dalta ag freastal ar an scoil anuraidh agus 17 eile i mbliana.

Fuair an scoil deontas ó Iontaobhas Uladh ar na mallaibh a chinníontodhcháin na scoile don bhliain seo agus sé de rún ag foireann na scoile i bhfad níos mó dalta a ghlacadh isteach an bhliain seo chugainn. Táthar ag súil mar sin go mbeidh ar an Roinn Oideachais airgeadú ceart a thabhairt don scoil.

Letters

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

Conflict in the Crum

A Chairde,
The fracas that happened in Crumlin Road Jail (A Wing) on Friday, 15 January in which a republican and a loyalist prisoner were injured, must be seen in the context of a failed policy of integration of republican and loyalist prisoners, which pro-duces nothing but conflict.

The NIO of course attempts to shift the blame for such physical conflict onto the prisoners. The prisoners, politicians, churches, and social groups realise that prison conflict is but a symptom of a futile political stance by the NIO, that is to forthrightly integrate prisoners at the expense of safety.

Over the last five months, republican prisoners have written and published several lengthy documents, detailing the causes of and the solution to conflict in the prison. Countless warnings and signals have been totally ignored by the prison regime and the NIO.

Typically the NIO refused to implement a system of separation of republican and loyalist prisoners even after such calls have come from the Northern Ireland Association for the Resettlement of Offenders, DUP, OUP, SDLP, Sinn Féin, Prisoners' Family Support Groups, and church bodies.

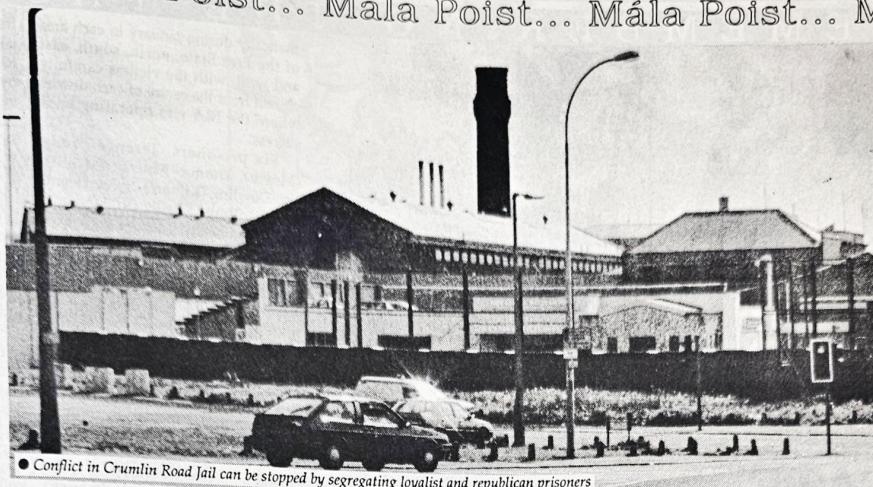
The net result of the NIO refusing to grasp reality means: Months of physical conflict with injuries to prison officers and prisoners alike;

Republican prisoners relatives being shot at by loyalists, including the incident in which a mini-bus full of women and children going to visit republican prisoners was raked by gunfire, causing numerous injuries;

Protests by both republican and loyalist prisoner about deteriorating conditions;

Attacks on the homes of prison officers by loyalists;

A rocket attack by loyalists aimed at 43 republican prisoners; Attempts by loyalists to



Conflict in Crumlin Road Jail can be stopped by segregating loyalist and republican prisoners

attack republicans on legal visits;

Attacks on republican prisoners in their cells by loyalists, one of which resulted in a republican prisoner suffering severe scalding and being permanently scarred after half his ear was bitten off.

This is a glimpse of the results of forced integration over the last two years. The reality is that there is no chance of stability. The risk of conflict, injury and death will remain until common-sense prevails within the prison and the NIO.

We, as republican prisoners are not demanding that the NIO or the prison administration, in agreeing to separation of republican and loyalist prisoners, hand over control to prisoners. Such an argument coming from the NIO or prison administration, must be seen for what it is, a smoke screen.

Already we have stated and we do so again, quite clearly, that under such a policy of segregation or full separation, control remains in the hands of the administration. We accept that controlled movement is a fact of life within this gaol, given its

Victorian design. Landing or wing segregation or full separation, would only mean that prisoners and prison staff would not be at risk and conflict would end here.

Operationally, from the perspective of prison staff, segregated landings or wings pose no extra burden on personnel or prison security.

The working example of segregated wings in the H-Blocks shows that a general environment conducive to the stated aims of the NIO would be secured ie "to keep the prisoners in a safe and secure environment".

Gerry Hanratty,
Crumlin Road Jail.

Value of envoy questioned

A Chairde,

So, in addition to that enormous US Embassy in Dublin we are now to have a "Special Peace Envoy" — to help solve the "Northern problem", no less.

May God protect us from such envoys for they have

them in all the poor distracted nations of Latin America. Their function is to preserve the status quo and the rule of the wealthy — as witness the murder and mayhem in El Salvador, Peru, Ecuador, etc, etc, just to mention a few.

Uncle Sam is Britain's side-kick and most staunch ally and between them they dominate the world in a form of imperial partnership.

Only an arrant fool would expect an envoy from such people to be on our side in any dispute with Britain.

Pádraig O Siadháin,
Coppeen,
Enniskillen,
County Cork.

No bigotry on Paddy's Day Parade

A Chairde,

Sectarianism, bigotry and exclusionism are the enemy of all the Irish people. It is not in the interests of Ireland or the Irish people and particularly not those

victims of anti-catholic bigotry and loyalist terrorism in the Six Counties that Irish gay people should be excluded from the New York St Patrick's Day parade and it turned into a catholic religious celebration instead of the Irish national one it should be, resulting in a split into two parades instead of the one. (A situation the British government would welcome and seek to exploit.) Neither Irish gays nor catholics nor whoever, should be or feel excluded. One cannot condemn bigotry and sectarianism in the Six Counties and yet encourage or seek to exploit it or practice it in New York. We should appeal to all people of goodwill in the Irish-American community to be a nation once again which can include within itself gays and the Ancient Order of Hibernians.

Joe Murphy,
Birmingham.

Immunity from prosecution

A Chairde,

The North of Ireland's Director of Public Prosecutions is to

consider whether an SAS team which killed Séamus McElwain should stand trial.

Forgive one for being a sceptic, but how many times have we heard the above cliché before?

British soldiers are not concerned with law and order. They are trained to kill the enemy of their political masters and ask questions afterwards. The catalogue of murder carried out by the British army in Ireland is well documented.

When the British government was able to walk away from the Bloody Sunday murders, other state killings became a mere incidental. Remember how the noble upholders of law and order murdered the three civilians outside the betting shop in Belfast? Or how they summarily executed the three unarmed IRA members in Gibraltar? Or how they murdered Fergal Carraher in South Armagh? The list is endless, yet not a single conviction has transpired.

This type of government and judicial duplicity would not be tolerated in a normal democratic society. But then the Orange State was never normal nor democratic from its inception.

Tim Jones,

London.

Protest against Sellafield

A Chairde,

In reference to your article in AP/RN of January 14, concerning Sellafield 2, I would like to inform your readers that a letter-writing campaign is going on at the moment.

Anyone interested in this campaign can write a letter expressing their concerns to:

Mr David Slater,
Director and Chief Inspector,
Her Majesty's Inspectorate of
Pollution,
Romney House,
43 Marshan Street,
London SW1 3PY.

Michael Rooney,
Mayo spokesperson for
Irish CND.

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

PLEASE KEEP LETTERS SHORT

1993 REPUBLICAN RESISTANCE CALENDAR

is now available from
Republican Publications



This year various aspects of the freedom struggle are featured, using a selection of provocative black and white photographs ranging from the earliest days of the Civil Rights struggle through the last 23 years.

These pictures capture some of the most memorable moments in our recent history in a way that words never could.

**GET YOUR ORDER IN
AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.**

● The calendar, priced £2 (excluding postage and packaging) is available from Republican Publications, 44 Parnell Square, Dublin 1. Tel: (01) 722609.

Notices

REMEMBERING THE PAST



• The Free State Chief Solicitor, Corrigan, outside his home which was blown up by the IRA in January 1923 in response to the executions of republican prisoners

FREE STATE EXECUTIONS

■ BY PETER O'ROURKE

BY JANUARY 1923, six months after the beginning of the Civil War, and with the republican forces losing the war, the executions of prisoners by the Free State regime was intensified.

The republicans had been forced to evacuate their headquarters at the Four Courts and all the Dublin positions during June/July 1922, their garrisons in Cork and Limerick City in August, and positions in the west during September. By the winter of 1922/23, with almost 10,000 of their comrades and supporters impris-

oned and interned throughout the Free State, the IRA were forced to fight a guerrilla war in isolated areas.

Peace moves in January 1923 by various groups and individuals failed, their intervention being accepted by neither side. The Free State regime, led by William Cos-

grave, were prepared to consider no proposals that did not include the surrender to them of the republicans' arms. The IRA, led by Liam Lynch, although facing defeat, refused to consider surrender despite increasing hardships, lack of supplies, dwindling numbers, the loss of much popular support and the sufferings of themselves and their supporters.

In January 1923, the IRA became increasingly active, encouraged by the capture of three posts in Cork City at the beginning of the month. Ambushes, sniping attacks on Free State patrols and barracks, were carried out in Dublin, the Midlands, as well as in the south and west, with much railway property being wrecked.

The executions of republican prisoners by the Free State intensified dra-

Imeachtaí

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

REPEAL 8th AMENDMENT CAMPAIGN MEETINGS: DUBLIN: Meets 8pm every Wednesday, USI, 16 North Great George's Street. Women's

Coalition, 8pm every Thursday, USI, North Great George's Street.

CORK UNEMPLOYED ACTION GROUP: Meets every Wednesday, 3.30pm, Exchange Buildings, Oliver Plunkett Street, CORK

BEECHMOUNT FIVE PICKET: 2.30pm, every Saturday, Grafton Street (Trinity end), DUBLIN

PUBLIC MEETING: Former Yugoslavia. Rape — The War on Women. 8pm, Thursday 28 January, Mansion House, DUBLIN

FUNCTION: Featuring The Irish Brigade. Saturday 30 January, Mullardart Inn, MULHUDDART, County Dublin. Táille €2.50

BLOODY SUNDAY: Bus to march and rally. Sunday 31 January. Departs

matically during January in each area of the Free State, north, south, east and west, with the victims carefully chosen from the centre of each district where the IRA was operating with success.

Six prisoners, Terence Brady (Meath), Thomas Murray (Meath), Leo Dowling (Kildare), Sylvy Heany (Louth), Tony O'Reilly (Kildare) and Laurence Sheehy (Meath), were executed at Portabello barracks on 8 January; Three, Thomas McKeown (Louth), John McNulty (Fermanagh) and Joseph Murphy (Armagh), executed in Dundalk on the 13th; Four in Roscrea on the same day, Fred Burke, Pat Russell, Martin O'Shea and Patrick McNamara, all from Tipperary and one prisoner, James Lillis (Carlow), executed in Carlow on the 15th.

There were eleven executions on the 20th, — two in Limerick, Cornelius McMahon and Patrick Hennessey (both from Clare); four in Tralee, James Daly (Killarney), John Clifford (Cahirciveen), Michael Brosnan (Ballyfedoran) and James Hanlon (Ardfert); and five in Athlone, Thomas Hughes (Dublin), Martin J Burke (Cahirciveen), Michael Walshe, Herbert Collins and Stephen Joyce (all three from Galway).

On 22 January there were three more prisoners executed in Dundalk, Joseph Ferguson (Greenore), Thomas Lennon and James Melia (both from Dundalk); on the 23rd two were executed at Waterford, Patrick O'Reilly and Mick Fitzgerald (both from Youghal); three in Birr, County Offaly on the 26th, Patrick Cunningham, William Conroy and Colm Kelly (all

Dungannon 11am, Coalisland 11.15, Ballygawley Roundabout 12 noon.

LONDON MARCH: Bloody Sunday demonstration, 12 noon, Saturday 30 January, Hyde Park, LONDON. Marching to a rally in Kilburn. For details contact 6091743

COMMEMORATION: Barry O'Donnell, Sean O'Farrell, Patrick Vincent, Peter Clancy. 1st Anniversary Com-

memoration march, 3pm, Sunday 14 February. From COALISLAND to Clonoe. Prominent speaker. All bands welcome

Horrified and frustrated by the barbarity of these Free State 'executions', the IRA leadership under Lynch, authorised action against the properties of Free State government members and supporters in an attempt to put an end to these murders. On 13 January the home of Cosgrave, president of the Free State executive council, was burnt down. This was followed by the destruction of the homes of many prominent 'Free Staters', throughout January and into February, including those of Earl of Mayo and Sir Horace Plunkett in January. In February, those of Colonel Maurice Moore, Thomas Linehan, Dr William O'Sullivan, Sir Bryan Mahon, Sir John Keane, Oliver St John Gogarty and Sir Thomas Esmonde were torched.

Despite such actions, the executions by the Free State regime continued, with increased atrocities against untried prisoners during the following months with the slaughter of prisoners deliberately blown up by mines at Ballyseedy and Countessbridge in County Kerry. A bitter five months for republicans lay ahead.

During January 1923, a total of 35 republican prisoners were executed by Free State forces (55 since the executions began the previous November).

The last of the 35 republicans executed during January 1923, took place on the 27th of that month, 70 years ago this week.

memorative march, 3pm, Sunday 14 February. From COALISLAND to Clonoe. Prominent speaker. All bands welcome

UNVEILING CEREMONY: In memory of Volunteers Barry O'Donnell, Tony Doris and Sean O'Farrell. 3pm, Saturday, 20 February. Assemble Old Chapel car park, COALISLAND.

Hurl on the sudden death of Madge. Condolences also to Eoin, Mary, Bernadette and Mairead, from Danny Morrison (H Block 8, Long Kesh), Kevin and Liam.

MCKENNA. Deepest sympathy is extended to Brian McKenna and family on the death of his sister Aliza. From the Barney Morris Sinn Féin Cumann, Crossmaglen.

From Michael McVerry Sinn Féin Cumann, Cullyhanna.

Beannachtaí

ARTHURS. The Barney Morris Sinn Féin Cumann, Crossmaglen extends its best wishes to Pat Arthurs and wishes him a speedy recovery.

From the Michael McVerry Sinn Féin Cumann, Cullyhanna.

FARRELL. To Mark Farrell, Portlaoise. Happy 23rd birthday. You are in our thoughts today and every day. Love and best wishes from dad, mam, Sean Óg, Colm, Aine and Niamh.

Happy birthday from Denis, Carol and family.

Happy birthday from John, Phyllis and family.

Best wishes from the Breslin/Drummond/Scullion Sinn Féin Cumann.

KELLY, John, STONE, John (18th Ann). In proud and loving memory of my dear brother John 'Bap' Kelly and his comrade John Stone. Both died on 21 January on active service. Mary Queen of the Gael pray for them. Always remembered with pride by his brother Michael and wife Leila and family.

STONE, John (18th Ann). In proud and loving memory of our dear son and brother Volunteer John Stone who died on 21 January 1975. RIP. Mary Queen of the Gael pray for him. I think about you often. I talk about you too, I have our precious memories but John I wish I still had you. Will all those who think of him today a little prayer to Jesus say. Sadly missed and loved by his mammy and brother Francis.

STONE, John (18th Ann). Sadly missed and never forgotten, from his loving sister Teresa, brother-in-law Eddie and family; Always remembered by his loving sister Kathleen and family; Remembered always by his brother Francis; Forgetting you never, Martina and husband Jim; Always remembered by Edward; Forgetting you never; Bridgeen; Sadly missed by Michael; Always remembered by Séan; Remembered always by Arran; Remembered always by Mary,

Roisin, Marie Colette and Leann; Always remembered by Eamon John and Sean Francis.

TIMOTHY, Mick (8th Ann). In proud and loving memory of our dear son and brother Volunteer Mick Timothy who died suddenly on 26 January 1985. Our Lady of Knock, mother of the Gael, pray for him. Loved and missed always by mum, dad and Joe.

TIMOTHY, Mick (8th Ann). In proud and loving memory of my dear brother Michael whose sudden death occurred on 26 January 1985. Our Lady of Lourdes pray for him. Always remembered by his brother Patrick, sister-in-law Anne, Matthew, Mary, Lucy, Liam, Joseph, Helen, Kate, Luke and Eoin.

TIMOTHY, Mick (8th Ann). In proud and loving memory of our brother and uncle Michael who died 26 January 1985. Our Lady of Lourdes pray for him. Always remembered by his sister Honoria, brother-in-law Tony and family.

TIMOTHY, Mick (8th Ann). In proud and loving memory of my brother-in-law Volunteer Mick Timothy who died on 26 January 1985. Always remembered by his sister-in-law Liz, Gerry, Noel, Keith, Caroline and Aisling.

TIMOTHY, Mick (8th Ann). In proud and loving memory of my brother-in-law Volunteer Mick Timothy. From Rita, Brendan and family.

Always remembered by the Staff of AP/RN, Dublin.

From Ard Oifig Sinn Féin, Dublin.

DALY. The Barney Morris Sinn Féin Cumann, Crossmaglen extends its deepest sympathy to a good friend, Mary McEntaggart, also to the entire Daly family on the death of their mother Ross.

Deepest sympathy from the Michael McVerry Sinn Féin Cumann, Cullyhanna.

HURL. Deepest sympathy to John

proud and loving memory of my brother-in-law Volunteer Mick Timothy who died on 26 January 1985. Always remembered by his sister-in-law Brenda, Jim and Dara.

TIMOTHY, Mick (8th Ann). In proud and loving memory of my brother-in-law Volunteer Mick Timothy who died on 26 January 1985. Always remembered by his brother-in-law Larry Sillery and family.

TIMOTHY, Mick (8th Ann). In proud and loving memory of my brother-in-law Volunteer Mick Timothy who died on 26 January 1985. Always remembered by his brother-in-law Noel and Theresa.

TIMOTHY, Mick (8th Ann). In proud and loving memory of my brother-in-law Volunteer Mick Timothy who died on 26 January 1985. Always remembered by his brother-in-law Larry Sillery and family.

TIMOTHY, Mick (8th Ann). In proud and loving memory of my brother-in-law Volunteer Mick Timothy who died on 26 January 1985. Always remembered by his mother-in-law Elizabeth Sillery.

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HURL. Deepest sympathy to John

McVerry Sinn Féin Cumann, Cullyhanna.

Comhbhrón

CONNOLLY. With deepest sympathy to the Connolly family on the

Third H-Block escapee faces extradition

Three now held on British warrants

ANOTHER Long Kesh escaper is facing extradition to the Six Counties after FBI detectives arrested him in San Francisco last week.

Paul Brennan, who had been living in the United States for the past eight years, was arrested when he went to renew his passport. He was initially charged with passport offences pending the arrival of RUC extradition warrants.

An official US spokesperson said that Brennan will be kept in custody pending his "speedy" extradition. He joins fellow escapers Jimmy Smyth and Kevin Barry Artt, also held in San Francisco on foot of RUC warrants.

In a hearing earlier this month, a

US court discussed whether Kevin Barry Artt's defence team should be allowed to travel to the Six Counties to investigate his claims that he was framed for the killing of Albert Miles, Deputy Governor of Long Kesh.

The government side appeared to concede in court that information regarding Artt's claims of an unfair trial and information that he would be likely to be persecuted if returned to the Six Counties, would be relevant to his defence against extradition proceedings.

The court also conditionally agreed that Artt should be moved from the Santa Rita State Prison in Dublin (San Francisco) to the Federal Detention Centre in Pleasanton, where Jimmy Smyth is being held. This was despite claims by US Attorney Mark Zanides that putting the two men together in the same facility would present "a security risk" as they had taken part in "an armed escape" from Long Kesh.

Both Artt and Smyth had lost court bids to secure bail. Funds have been established in the United States to assist their defence. The arrest of a third escaper means that further Irish-American activity will now be focused on the extradition issue, which made

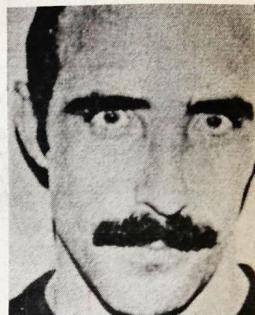
world headlines in the Joe Doherty case.

Paul Brennan was one of 38 IRA Volunteers who escaped from Long Kesh in 1983. He had been serving a 16-year sentence for explosives offences. Seven of those escapers are still free.

The Irish Anti-Extradition Committee has condemned the proposed extraditions, recalling that the courts upheld the political offence exception in Joe Doherty's case.

"Joe Doherty was deported, his right to appeal for political asylum refused, because the previous administration cared more about pleasing the British than about justice. We hope that we have the right to expect more of the Clinton administration," said anti-extradition spokesperson Nora Comiskey.

■ BY LIAM O COILEAIN



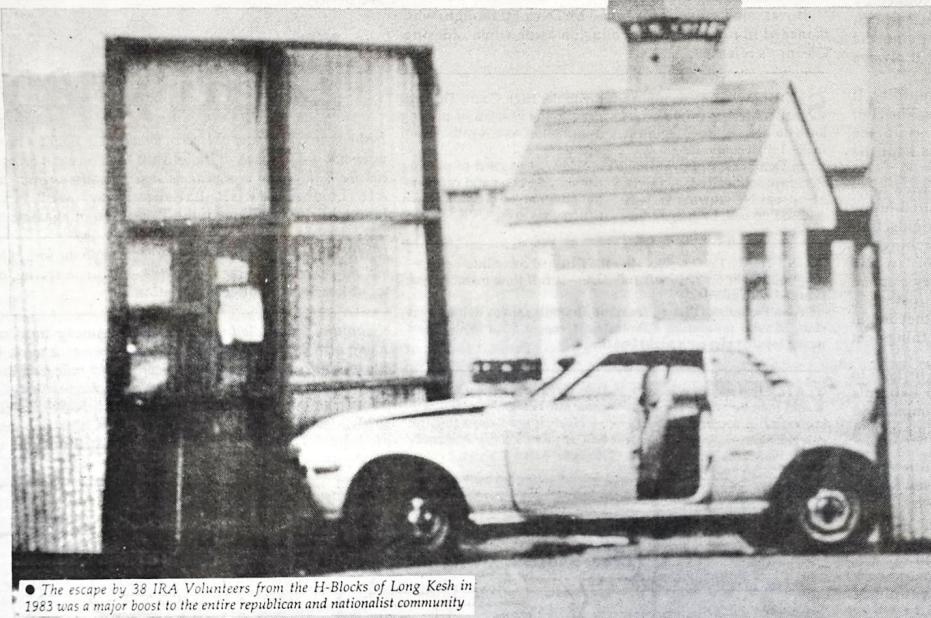
• PAUL BRENNAN



• BARRY ARTT



• JIM SMYTH



• The escape by 38 IRA Volunteers from the H-Blocks of Long Kesh in 1983 was a major boost to the entire republican and nationalist community

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