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Thatcher on the scrap-heap



**NOW DUMP
HER POLICIES**

ON THE DARKEST NIGHT in her political career last week, Margaret Thatcher played her last card and lost. The woman who boasted in 1981 that the IRA had "played its last card" with the H-Block hunger-strike, was toppled by the members of her own party and has been replaced by John Major. The demand for Irish freedom has outlived Thatcher's tyranny and her departure cannot but be greeted with satisfaction by all lovers of freedom and peace. But the Thatcher era will only end for the Irish people when her arrogant imperial policies are dumped as well.

Not since Cromwell did an individual British political leader so personify the arrogance and cruelty with which Ireland has been treated by Britain. When she became prime minister in 1979 her government took up where their British Labour Party predecessors left off in continuing the reign of terror in the tor-

ture centres and jails, and on the streets of the Six Counties. That terror was seen most starkly in the H-Blocks of Long Kesh and Armagh Jail, where British policy put hundreds of young republicans through the cruellest ordeal ever endured by any prisoners in Irish history.

Unflinchingly, she ignored ev-

ery plea for compromise in 1981 and allowed ten hunger-strikers to die. But the dignity and determination of republican prisoners has outlived and triumphed over Thatcher's arrogance. The hunger-strikes smashed criminalisation, and the H-Blocks today are the biggest single monument to the

futility of British policy in the Six Counties.

Thatcher became one of the most hated British leaders who ever had anything to do with Ireland — but no other British leader received so much co-operation from Dublin governments. Successive Fine Gael/Labour and Fianna Fáil governments surrendered more and more sovereignty during the eleven-and-a-half years of her reign and tied themselves ever closer to collaboration with her government's occupation of the Six Counties. No matter how many times she kicked them in the teeth, they always came back to lick her boots.

Thatcher's cruelty in Ireland was matched by her contempt for the working class in Britain itself and her imperial strutting on the world stage. She tried to restore Britain's place in the world as an imperial power through her "special relationship" with the United States. She was the best friend of Reagan and Bush and the ally of apartheid South Africa. Racism, and the will to dominate, also lay at the root of her Irish policy.

Now Thatcher is gone and we rejoice at her passing. But her government's Irish policy remains and it is still based on the arrogant assertion that Britain has the right to decide the future of the Irish people. If there is to be a post-Thatcher era, it cannot signify real change unless that policy is dumped. Now is the time for all democrats in Ireland and Britain to use the opportunity, given by the demise of this most anti-democratic of prime ministers, to push for real democracy for the Irish people. It is only by using this opportunity, that the departure of Thatcher will be followed before too long by the departure of the British occupation forces from Ireland.

— See pages 7, 8 and 9 for AP/RN's political obituary of Margaret Thatcher.



'NO MORE EXTRADITIONS'

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OPINION

Major question mark

"JOHN who?" asked people throughout Ireland and Britain, after Margaret Thatcher's chosen candidate won out over Michael Heseltine and Douglas Hurd in the Tory leadership stakes. Forty-eight hours after John Major's election, few people were any the wiser. But the new British prime minister is extremely unlikely to break from Thatcher's policies on Ireland.

Major is uniquely a product of Thatcherism. He entered parliament in 1979, the day Margaret Thatcher became prime minister, and held no high office until July last year, when Thatcher plucked him from obscurity, placing him at the Foreign Office.

Three months later, he became Chancellor of the Exchequer. After his victory on Tuesday night, Major remained within the walls of the chancellor's residence, Number 11 Downing Street. Thatcher paid a visit from next door and peered through the curtains at the press lined up outside. Symbolically, she was placing her mark on her protégé.

Although Major's election brought his party some short-term popularity, he still has to find a way out of the problems bequeathed to him by his benefactor — the poll tax and the EC row which split the Tory Party. This means an election is unlikely before the summer and may not occur until early 1992. But no-one can be sure of that. Major has become captain of a very leaky ship. He may sink without trace, just as he rose.

One thing is, however, quite certain. Major's largest problem is in this country, whether he knows it or not. Republicans were not beaten by his predecessor and they will not be beaten by the new man at Number 10. He would do well to think about that and to break out of a cycle of violence caused by the military occupation of the Six Counties. He has a chance to make peace. There can be no new post-Thatcher era until that is done.

Still on the fence

SPEAKING on RTE radio last Sunday Charles Haughey said that he would have "no objection" to a referendum on divorce. But typically, he refused to agree to do anything about it. The only purpose in his statement would seem to have been to counter the challenge from Fine Gael's new leader John Bruton on the issue by appearing to be flexible. The tens of thousands of victims of marriage breakdown who live in legal limbo because of the denial of the right to divorce could only look on in bewilderment.

They know better than anyone else that the divorce issue is surrounded by hypocrisy — and not only from Fianna Fáil. The bungling nature of Garret FitzGerald's 1982-'87 Coalition government and the right-wing nature of his party bore a large part of the responsibility for the failure of the divorce referendum in 1986. The Blueshirt tradition which helped to create a narrow confessional state in the 26 Counties is still alive and well in Fine Gael and one of the major dilemmas for the new leader is to reconcile it with the more 'liberal' wing.

But Fianna Fáil, and Haughey in particular, were the ones who really prevented this civil right from being granted. If a fraction of Fianna Fáil's claim to be the party of leadership were true divorce would be on the statute books today. It is the role of a political party to help create consensus and give a lead towards necessary change. Instead the Fianna Fáil party officially sat on the fence but allowed their elected representatives to pander to some of the most reactionary forces in the state.

Divorce is simply an essential civil right. Every day Haughey and Fianna Fáil sit on the fence is another day of hardship for all those people, particularly women and children, trapped by broken marriages.

CROWN FORCES ESCAPE 3,700LB BOMB

FOURTEEN BRITISH SOLDIERS escaped death by the narrowest of margins on Friday, November 23rd, when only the detonator of a 3,700lb bomb went off beside their accommodation quarters at the permanent border checkpoint at Annaghamartin near Roslea in County Fermanagh.

The massive device was driven to the checkpoint by a crown forces collaborator who had been forced into going to the checkpoint where he makes regular deliveries.

In their statement on the incident, the South Fermanagh Brigade, IRA, said:

"Our operation began when our Volunteers arrived at the home of the North family at Drumilly. After the house and surrounding area were secured, Peter North and his van were taken to a point close to the checkpoint at Annaghamartin, where other Volunteers were waiting with a van packed with 3,700lbs of explosives. North was then ordered to drive the van into the checkpoint.

"The North family had continued to work for the crown forces despite several direct warnings and two bomb attacks on their family garage. North's mother, Hazel, worked in the joint British army/RUC base at Lisnakea, while the father, Ken, supplied goods and services to the crown forces. North himself was involved in regularly making deliveries to crown forces installations including Annaghamartin. We once again make clear that anyone in the Fermanagh area

engaged in work for the crown forces should desist or be prepared to face the consequences."

A car abandoned by Volunteers as they left the area after the attack on the checkpoint was discovered to contain a second charge of 10lb of explosives. This, however, was defused by British bomb technicians after a three-day clearance operation.

RANDALSTOWN BLAST

The North Antrim Brigade of the IRA have said that one of its active service units placed the bomb which exploded beside Randalstown RUC base on Sunday evening, November 25th.

The bomb, which was placed in a litter bin attached to a telegraph pole adjacent to the station, exploded on 10.45pm, 15 minutes after warnings of a device had been telephoned to the RUC. The intended targets of the device, crown forces personnel responding to the alert, escaped injury in the blast.

SOLDIER INJURED

One British soldier suffered minor injuries when only the detonator of a 100lb bomb went off during



a clearance operation at Cappagh in County Tyrone.

The soldier who was injured was one of eight UDR personnel who had entered a derelict building on the outskirts of Cappagh village just after 2pm on Wednesday, November 21st. The soldiers, along with others positioned near the house, would certainly have lost their lives had the device detonated according to plan.

The operation by crown forces got under way following a statement from the IRA that they had abandoned a bomb in the area.

DEVICE UNCOVERED

A UDR man survived on Sunday, November 25th, when he discovered a 2lb booby-trap device attached to the underside of his car, which was parked outside his home in the West Tyrone village of Six Mills.

The device was neutralised by British army bomb technicians following a lengthy clearance operation.

British diplomat admits state is sectarian

THE BRITISH EMBASSY in Washington, and the Northern Ireland Office, have been distancing the British government from comments made by a senior British diplomat, during a speech to US businessmen on fair employment in the Six Counties, at a conference in Boston last week.

During his address, Sherard Cowper-Coles, the British government's first secretary at its embassy in Washington, described the unionists as an "embarrassment to the Westminster government", said they had "a lot in common with the Afrikaners in South Africa and the Zionists in the kibbutzim in Israel" and told the conference that the "worst and biggest mistake of the British parliament had been to let Northern Ireland govern itself between 1922 and 1972".

Speaking to the representatives of some of the US's wealthiest corporations, trusts, universities and state legislators, who, together, have \$80 billion dispersible investment capital, Cowper-Coles went on to say that the loyalists had secured "dominance" in the Six Counties by "rigging the political system, twisting the balance of the economy, manipulating housing policy and virtually every area of public life".

The revelation of the British diplomat's remarks in a Dublin newspaper on Sunday, November 25th, predictably provoked uproar and outrage amongst unionist politicians. The DUP's Sammy Wilson reacted by identifying the entire British Foreign Office as a "pit of vipers". Describing Cowper-Coles

as a "second Gerry Adams", Wilson dismissed the diplomat's allegations as "lies" and called for the British envoy's immediate recall from his Washington post.

Official Unionist John Taylor described the diplomat's comments as "offensive" and said he would be asking the foreign secretary to take immediate action and dismiss Cowper-Coles as first secretary.

UNIONIST FUROR

In the wake of the unionist furor, the British Press Officer at the Washington Embassy claimed that the first secretary's comments were "the private remarks of an individual quoted out of context" but refused to explain how the comments of a top British diplomat made during a public address could be regarded as 'private' and 'individual'. He also refused to reveal whether speeches scheduled to be delivered by British diplomats were cleared beforehand by the embassy.

Sinn Féin General Secretary Tom Hartley described the diplomat's remarks as consistent with the British government's propaganda ploy of portraying itself as "disinterested, reluctant and neutral" rather than the major protagonist in the Six Counties conflict. He continued:

"What is surprising is not what the British diplomat said but that he was prepared to say it with such clarity. The obvious desperation with which the Washington Embassy attempted to publicly distance the British government from the artificial, sectarian statelet which they established and have presided over for over 70 years, is indicative of the increasing political pressure international opinion is exerting on the British position and the increasing international criticism of Britain's role in the Six Counties."

"Speaking against the MacBride Principles, Cowper-Coles told the Boston conference that he had recently urged the British government-sponsored Fair Employment Commission to produce a few 'sacificial lambs', 'a few skulls to prove that we're serious'. Cowper-Coles' comments about the operation of sectarian discrimination in the Six Counties, reveal less about unionist corruption and more about the total cynicism with which the British government has been prepared to secure its own interests in the North."

"In the light of Cowper-Coles' comments, the question raised for the international community is how tenable the British government's promotion of the unionist right of veto remains after the British Foreign Office's public admission of the engineered, artificial and corrupt nature of the Six Counties statelet."

Paisley's bloody binge

— BY TOM O'DWYER —

DUP ANNUAL CONFERENCES are little more than sectarian binges, but the 1990 conference on Saturday was more bloodthirsty than normal as its leaders revelled in Britain's shoot-to-kill policy. The open bigotry of speakers at the Hillsborough meeting showed the real character of politics in the 'devolved' Stormont which is planned under the Hillsborough Treaty.

Party leader Ian Paisley said that the way to deal with the IRA was by



● ROBINSON

"terminating them", but he mostly restricted himself to denunciations of Dublin, the SDLP and the Dublin/London agreement, which is designed to provide him with a new power-base.

He left the stage free for his deputy, Peter Robinson, to indulge himself in the sort of rhetorical fling which galvanises the murder gangs. Again and again, Robinson repeated that he rejoiced when the British army shot members of the IRA dead. Copying Margaret Thatcher's reaction to the Malvinas war, he said:

"I rejoice that their terrorist career is ended. I rejoice that they have been transported from a murder plot to a burial plot. I rejoice in a security forces victory." Referring to the shooting earlier this month in County Tyrone, of INLA member Alexander Patterson, he said that he hoped Thatcher, "like me, was kicking her legs in the air when she was told about Victoria Bridge".

Interestingly enough, he does not pretend that Britain isn't involved in a war with republican forces:

"If they are caught... while involved in an act of terrorism, they should be shot on the spot, and shot dead. That is what happens in a war." Another member concluded his oration to loud claps repeating the phrase "gun them down".

NOT REPORTED

The *Irish News*, the Belfast 'nationalist' daily newspaper, reported none of these remarks in its 'ac-

count' of the conference, nor did RTE. But the *Irish Independent* chose not to report the annual get-together-to-beat-the-Taigs at all. Clearly, the language was just too strong for the delicate ears of their reporters.

The exultation was not confined to the teetotal wing of the DUP. Sammy Wilson, one of the party's 'wets', gave a warning to nationalists from the party he called "the conscience of unionism". There was a red-white-and-blue majority in the Six Counties and, in any revamped Stormont, "that is going to be the colour of any administration in Northern Ireland".

The burden of Paisley's main address concerned the stalemate in the 'talks-about-talks' process which involves a 'temporary suspension' of the Hillsborough Treaty. He bluntly ruled out any participation by the Dublin government in the talks to prepare for the planned Six-County administration:

"To the table where such talks take place, the Irish government can have no representation, for they have no right to be at that table. The only people who have a right to be at that table are the constitutional political parties and the representatives of Her Majesty's government."

ANOTHER STORMONT

These talks will not move onto the next stage until there is, in the words of the two governments, "substantial progress". But Paisley made it quite clear that it would be the unionists who would "decide whether there is such substantial progress". For years, republicans have warned that Hillsborough was designed to produce another Stormont.

There was overwhelming support for a motion to simply ban Sinn Féin councillors — "thugs and former bombers" — from councils. In a clear attempt to turn elected representatives into targets for the death-squads, Councillor Wallace Browne said Sinn Féin council members "are the same ruthless conspirators who plan and execute... murders".

Canal re-opened — roads still closed

— BY ART MAC EAIN —

SIX-COUNTY DIRECT-RULER Peter Brooke and Dublin premier **Charles Haughey** both visited the border region on Monday, November 26th, for the official commencement of work to re-open the Ballinamore/Ballyconnell Canal which will link the Shannon and Erne rivers, making it possible, once again, to travel by water from Limerick right up to Bealeek, County Fermanagh.

As Haughey arrived in Ballinamore, County Leitrim, to unveil a plaque marking the restoration of the waterway, he was met with a crowd of anti-extradition demonstrators.

Local Sinn Féin Councillor Liam McGill said that he welcomed the canal development, saying that Sinn Féin saw it as providing badly needed infrastructure for this deprived area of Leitrim, West Cavan and South Fermanagh:

"However, I feel I must draw attention to the hypocritical stance of Peter Brooke who, while supporting this development, is also responsible, through his government's repressive measures, for the cratering and closure of over 100 cross border roads in this area."

McGill pointed out that "there is now not one road open between Leitrim and Fermanagh. The few roads that are open in West Cavan have major British military checkpoints where British troops make a policy of harassing the local population and make life difficult for the local farming community. This militarisation of the border area sets in



● PEADAR NEARY

perspective today's grandiose development and on behalf of the local population we demand the demilitarisation of the border area, the re-opening of all blocked roads and the removal of all military checkpoints.

NOT SOLUTION

"The drive towards tourism, while to be welcomed, will not on its own solve Leitrim's problems — of which the major one is population decline. We ask Mr Haughey today, what future for Leitrim? Each year sees even greater flight to New York or London where our young people risk their lives day and daily on building sites or as illegals. We must have industry — a factory that provides long-term jobs or Mr Haughey, is the future for Leitrim to be a forest for American tourists?"

McGill concluded by referring to the meeting between Haughey and Brooke:

"Finally, Mr Haughey, as you have chosen our area as the venue for talks with Mr Brooke on a 'new formula' for the Northern situation, let me say to you that there can be no internal settlement which will bring real peace. Further collaboration or capitulation to the British on your part will not bring peace. The issue of partition and the British presence must be faced up to. The Hillsborough Treaty is now clearly seen to be what Thatcher designed it to be — a grand security agreement which ties your government into sanctioning British repression in the North, massive military harassment and shoot-to-kill operations against nationalists.

"Extradition is contrary to your own party policy as seen at its last Ard Fhéis, and you stand today as a

hypocrite and a politician who believes in expediency rather than principles. Thatcher has learned the truth of the maxim 'a week is a long time in politics'. The struggle of the Northern nationalists has outlived her and she has had to concede that it's a long road that has no turning. We say to you, end collaboration now."

PEOPLE DETERMINED

At the Slieve Russell Hotel in Ballyconnell, County Cavan, where Brooke and Haughey met, there was a picket of 40 residents from the Cavan/Fermanagh border area highlighting the destruction of cross-border communications by British forces. During the course of the meeting in the hotel, Peadar Neary, spokesperson for the demonstrators, handed in a letter to Brooke and Haughey, which documented the case against border road destruction and the haemorrhaging of natural communities.

Afterwards Neary put on record that the determination of the people of West Cavan and South Fermanagh to re-open closed border roads would continue irrespec-

tive of new Westminster legislation and the attempts of Haughey's Garda and army to thwart their efforts.

Sinn Féin County Councillor Caoimhghín Ó Caoláin strongly castigated Haughey's double standards:

"I have continually challenged Charles Haughey to adhere to his claimed concern for the plight of border communities as stated in his Bodenstown speech, but to no avail. Gardaí and Irish soldiers continue to play a key role in the British army's destructive efforts to impose their writ on people living on both sides of this imposed divide.

"While welcoming the commencement of work on the canal and the resultant benefits that should accrue from the opening of this improved inland waterway, I can only regard Mr Haughey's participation and pronouncements as wholly hypocritical. This Taoiseach, in his efforts to confuse the public, seems no longer to know his own mind."

Several community associations from different border areas also issued statements pointing to the



● LIAM MCGILL

hypocrisy of Brooke and Haughey. The South Tyrone/North Monaghan Community Association invited Haughey to visit their area of the border and see for himself the extent of the destruction and the degree of disruption caused to the local community.

"Mr Haughey is happy to meet Peter Brooke. But, is he as ready to meet with the ordinary people in his own state who suffer under Brooke's rule," said the association's secretary Mary Treanor.



British fail to produce evidence in Ellis case

BY ART Mac EOIN

DESSIE ELLIS, the first person to be extradited to Britain on political charges by a 26-County government, made his second appearance in an English court on Thursday, November 22nd. Ellis was present for the hearing at Arbour Square Court, London, at which the prosecution asked for a further remand, claiming that the alleged evidence against Ellis was not yet fully compiled and that they required a further four weeks to supply the necessary papers to the defence.

The fact that the prosecution did not have their papers ready at Dessie's first British court appearance in London's Bow Street on the day of his extradition, led to heavy criticism from the Irish Anti-Extradition Committee which pointed out that elaborate security precautions for Dessie's transportation to Britain had been planned well in advance by the London and Dublin governments, despite the fact that there was no material evidence prepared against him.

Last week the judge in Arbour Square said that it had been unclear as to whether Dessie Ellis would appear in court on the day, and Dessie's defence counsel, Gareth Peirce, agreed, saying that she had understood the medical report carried out on Dessie that morning would determine him unfit to attend. Peirce also reminded the press that they are only entitled to report on facts pertaining to the case as it stood against Dessie, and she criticised one newspaper for

carrying a report with a headline referring to "Terror court". The reference to "Terror court" in the *Liverpool Echo* of November 16th carried an article on the ending of Dessie's hunger-strike with the headline "Extradited IRA man eats again", demonstrating once again the manner in which the British press acts as judge and jury in charges concerning Irish suspects on political charges.

Dessie was remanded in custody until November 29th, to appear again on December 20th.

Meanwhile, in Ireland, the campaign against political extradition is being revitalised in the wake of Dessie's hand-over, with a number of events scheduled for the coming weeks. On Tuesday, December 4th, the appeals of Paul Magee and Michael McKee against their extradition to the Six Counties will be heard. There will be an anti-extradition picket on the Four Courts from 10am.

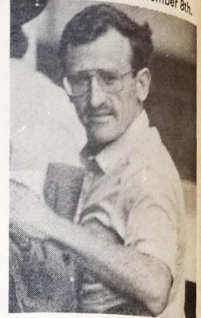
The Dublin Council of Trade Unions (DCTU), which campaigned against Ellis's extradition, has organised a public meeting for that night on "Why Trade Unionists Should Oppose Extradition". Urging workers and trade unionists to attend the meeting, the DCTU have said: "Trade unionists have always been to the forefront of resistance to injustice, whether at home or abroad. Dessie Ellis cannot be guaranteed justice in a British court. Cases like the Birmingham Six show that clearly."

"Apart from this individual case, the Trades Council is against the extradition arrangements between the South and Britain. The extradition deal is part of the way the Haughey government and the British Tory government are working together to try to stabilise the situation in their own interests."

"These are two anti-working-class right-wing governments, re-

sponsible for high unemployment, spending cuts and holding down wages. It is not in the interests of working people to smooth the way for them to strengthen their hold."

A national march and rally against extradition will be held in Dublin on Saturday, December 8th.



● DESSIE ELLIS

Prisoner facing extradition from Belgium



● DONNA MAGUIRE

A BELGIAN COURT is to sit today, to decide whether to extradite 23-year-old Newry woman, Donna Maguire, to either Holland or Germany. Donna Maguire has been held in custody in Belgium for several months, despite the contention of her legal representatives that she has no case to answer. The lawyers believe that this is the reason why the extradition of their client is being sought.

There are serious implications for other Irish prisoners held in custody in Europe if the extradition of this young woman proceeds. For example, if Donna Maguire is extradited to Holland, she will face legislation which presumes guilt by association and is comparable to conspiracy charges in British courts.

In Holland, Article 140 of the le-

gal code allows for the conviction of a person for any action carried out by an organisation to which they belong, even where the individual can prove that they had no personal involvement. Introduced in the early '60s, Article 140 was originally designed to deal with major cases of fraud but more recently it has been used against squatters. Clearly, the implication of guilt by

association carries serious implications for any Irish person facing so-called 'terrorist' charges in Europe.

Commenting on the possible extradition of Maguire, Sinn Féin's POW Department called for Maguire's immediate release and reiterated their condemnation of the extradition of Irish people to face politically-related charges. Department spokesperson Richard May said:

"We hope that those people who supported Dessie Ellis, and other victims of extradition, will come out in support of Donna Maguire and other Irish prisoners being held in European jails, most of whom have to endure total isolation for the duration of their imprisonment there."

Deported men fear assassination

"WE NOW fear we could be assassinated by loyalist paramilitaries." This was the concern voiced last week (Wednesday, November 21st) by Strabane man Thomas Brennan who, together with his brother Michael, their friend Daniel Breslin, also from Strabane, and Colm O'Neill, from Armagh, was recently arrested and detained in London under the Prevention of Terrorism Act. The four young Irishmen were subsequently deported from England and had three-year exclusion orders served upon them.

Speaking at a press conference in Derry, organised by the Committee Against Repression and chaired by Strabane Sinn Féin Councillor Ivan Barr, the four laid the blame for their possible targeting by loyalist death-squads firmly at the door of an anti-Irish racist British media, which had reported their arrests in a sensationalist and

hysterical manner. The media had deliberately ignored the reality that the four were working-class Irishmen forced to emigrate — three from Strabane, the North's unemployment blackspot — in search of work. Instead it had printed totally unfounded allegations, portraying them as IRA activists and thereby endangering their lives.

Describing his ordeal at the hands of the British Anti-Terrorist Squad, Thomas Brennan said that he had been baby-sitting at a friend's flat when, at 11am, they kicked down the front door and proceeded to interrogate him in front of the three young children who were terrified by the police intrusion. He was then handcuffed and taken away. In spite of the fact that he was told by the police during his second day in detention that they had no evidence against him, he was held for a further six days. Brennan later told how seven weeks ago, purely because of his nationality, he had been held for one hour under the PTA at Heathrow Airport on his return to England after a visit home to Ireland. For the same reason he was also placed under police surveillance that same day.

THE Sun

Monday, November 12, 1990 40p

MY JAIL DIARIES

COPS GRAB IRA

BOMB TEAM

YER CURRANT BUN IS 21

HUMAN TORCH STUNS ROYALS

£310,000 LOTTO: See Page 4 **£31,000 BINGO: See Page 20**

BRITISH NAVY CLAIMS FOUR MORE LIVES

Killer subs stalk Irish Sea

BY LIAM O COILEAIN

THE LATEST TRAGIC INCIDENT in the Irish Sea in which four Scottish fishermen were killed by a British nuclear submarine, is only the latest in a long series of similar incidents involving military submarines. The danger is so great that fishermen have nicknamed the Irish Sea "Death Alley".

The *Antares*, based at Carradale, Kintyre, was fishing off the Isle of Arran early on Thursday, November 22nd, when it was sunk. The hunter-killer submarine *HMS Trenchant* got caught up in the 55-foot trawler's nets and dragged it down. According to the sub's report, it surfaced, unsuccessfully tried to contact two nearby trawlers by radio, could see nothing amiss and so left the area.

The Royal Navy's *Neptune* submarine base at Faslane on the Clyde is only a few miles away from where last week's tragedy occurred. Also nearby is Holy Loch, the largest US Navy submarine base outside the US itself. From these bases operate the nuclear subs which have been responsible for many deaths of seafarers in the Irish Sea. Most of these incidents have been surrounded by strict military secrecy but the *Antares* sinking has thrown dramatic new light on the dangers posed by the killer subs.

Local fishermen in the Clyde have highlighted the practice of "sucker fishing" by submarines and have pointed out the likelihood that the *Antares* was a victim of this. Sucker fishing is where subs deliberately travel underneath surface vessels to hide from spy satellites.

In this incident the Royal Navy has admitted to being involved in the sinking of the trawler. However, denials and secrecy have been the order of the day for military officialdom in relation to the bulk of incidents involving submarines in the Irish Sea, incidents which include the loss of nets, collisions, sinkings and many deaths. There has been a secrecy about all this which fishermen are paying for with their lives.

NO WARNINGS

The waters of the Irish Sea are used by NATO submarines, especially British and US, en route to and from their bases and on exercises. Soviet submarines also carry out tracking exercises around the Irish and British coasts. NATO regularly holds naval exercises, during which there is a marked increase in submarine traffic through the Irish Sea from bases on the Clyde in Scotland but it does not announce when such exercises are taking place. This task of issuing warnings to mariners has been shouldered over the past three years by the Isle of Man-based Celtic League, following numerous incidents in which surface vessels have lost their gear, been towed, involved in collisions or even sunk due to submarine activity in the area. Modern submarines can travel at more than 40 knots submerged. The League has been monitoring general military activities in Celtic countries and waters since 1979 and incidents involving military submarines in particular, since 1982.

In April of that year, one of the League's members photographed a submarine off the west coast of the Isle of Man, only the day before an Irish trawler, the *Sheralga*, fishing

for prawn out of Cloghead in Louth, was dragged under by the Royal Navy diesel/electric submarine, the *Porpoise*. Only a few minutes beforehand, the trawler *Crimson Dawn*, fishing nearby, had lost its nets in unexplained circumstances. The submarine, against all the rules of maritime law, failed to stop following the accident, instead continuing on its way and leaving the *Sheralga's* crew to their fate. By pure chance another vessel spotted the five men and they were picked up. The British Ministry of Defence (MOD) initially claimed that no Royal Navy submarines had been in the area that day, or for a number of days previously, but the photograph forced an official admission two weeks later. No disciplinary action was taken against the commanding officer of the submarine.

Early in 1988, the Royal Navy finally paid compensation to the crew, six years after the incident. In August of that year a spokesperson for the MOD refused to comment "on any allegations made by the Celtic League", but admitted that in the previous ten years there had been nine claims, totalling £500,000, arising out of incidents involving Royal Navy submarines and trawlers.

CALLOUS INDIFFERENCE

JB Moffat of the Celtic League says that in the cases of around 80 incidents, including 23 sinkings in the Irish Sea over the past decade, with over 100 deaths, there is strong evidence to suggest that submarines may have been responsible. He says that all 16 NATO states and the Soviets have "a callous indifference to the safety of civilians".

In September 1987, the Irish trawler, *Boy Shaun*, sank and four members of a Donegal family were drowned off Malin Head. The sole survivor, John McDaid, said that the trawler had been sunk by "a freak

wave". A submarine was seen to briefly surface in the vicinity just three hours later. The crews of other trawlers fishing nearby saw no sign of the mysterious wave and locals believed a submarine was responsible.

In January 1988, a *Polaris* submarine, *Resolution*, was nearly crippled in the Fifth of Clyde when its nuclear reactor came close to a meltdown, the consequences of which would have been of Chernobyl-like proportions.

Official figures released by the United States government in 1989 revealed that worldwide, its submarines had been involved in 42 collisions since 1983.

In February 1988 the 60-foot trawler, *Summer Morn*, was dragged backwards at a speed of three knots for ten miles off the Isle of Man coast before the crew managed to cut their vessel loose. It is believed that a 360-foot-long, 6,000 ton US *Los Angeles* class hunter-killer nuclear sub was responsible. If the nets on the vessel had been attached over the side instead of

the stern it would have capsized and been dragged down. The US government later paid \$29,300 compensation to the crew.

In July 1988 the Royal Navy nuclear submarine *Conqueror* sank a British army yacht in a freak accident. Four soldiers were thrown overboard but all were rescued unhurt by a naval frigate.

The 22-member crew of the racing yacht *Drum* had a miraculous escape later the same month when it was rammed by a submarine while taking part in a race off the coast of Scotland. Only the split-second response of a crew member avoided a head-on collision as the yacht swerved sharply. It received a 20-foot-long and three-foot-wide gash in the collision. The submarine, which the MOD admitted was the non-nuclear *Otus*, of the Oberon class, powered by diesel engines, was said to have been "snorting" at periscope depth at the time.

FREAK WAVE

In September 1988 the crabber, *Inspire*, was sunk nine miles north of Fishguard with the loss of three men. The boat was capsized in good weather by a freak wave and Sam Skinner, the sole survivor, was convinced that NATO submarine exercises, in progress in the area, were responsible for creating the wave. The RNLI lifeboat crew agreed with him.

In July 1989 however, a major inquest in Fishguard refused to countenance evidence that the "mystery wave" which swamped and sank the crabbing vessel had in fact been caused by a submarine. An expert witness commissioned by Skinner, and who was convinced that the wave had been caused by a submarine, was refused a hearing by the coroner. Commander Arnold Lightoller of the MOD told the inquest that there were no British or NATO submarines in the area that day. The case was taken further and the High Court in London ordered the British Defence Secretary Tom King to produce the logs of submarines operating in the Irish Sea in September '88. He was given two weeks to do so but failed and is now in contempt of court.

In March of 1989 two vessels sank in mysterious circumstances.

The *Tijl Uilenspiegel* sank off the east coast of Ireland with the loss of its five-member crew. Shortly before going down the skipper had radioed home: "All is well, lovely weather, we are fishing." The vessel was considered to be exceptionally stable, being described in professional journals as "the trawler that cannot capsize". A damaged submarine, the *HMS Opossum*, was spotted within a couple of weeks in the eastern Irish Sea. The second mystery sinking that month was the *Girl Fiona*, a Scottish vessel from the Islay area, lost with its crew of two off the northern Irish coast.

In September 1989, an Irish trawler, *Contestor*, was dragged backwards for about ten miles in the Irish Sea, 23 miles east of Skerries, when a communications buoy, being towed by a Royal Navy submarine, got caught up in its nets. The buoy came loose eventually and the five crew members managed to drag it aboard.

No action was taken against the commander of the offending submarine, despite Royal Navy Commodore Hoddinott's statement in *Fishing News* that: "Submarine commanders have strict orders that if they become entangled with a vessel's gear or believe they have, they must surface carefully, disentangle the gear and check with the fishing vessel that there are no injuries."

Following that incident, JB Moffat commented: "The Royal Navy's discipline and morality has obviously not improved much since the commander of HM Submarine *Porpoise* sank the *MFV Sheralga* in 1982. On that occasion, the crew abandoned to their fate were rescued by another vessel — some since have not been so lucky."

NUCLEAR DANGERS

Tragically, last week's incident has once again proved the truth of the Celtic League's assertions. Successive 26-County governments, as with so many other issues involving the British, have been conspicuous only for their silence on the danger posed to Irish citizens by these underwater nuclear marauders, despite the number of incidents which occur so regularly. The presence of so many nuclear-powered subs, as well as proving a deadly threat to other vessels, adds to the nuclear dangers in the Irish Sea which has a potential Chernobyl on its doorstep in the Sellafield nuclear plant, and is the most radioactive stretch of sea in the world.

Frank Doyle, the secretary general of the Irish Fishermen's Organisation said, following the sinking of the *Antares*:

"I have always said that these accidents are only waiting to happen. This has happened, I have no doubt that others will happen, and they will happen for as long as the present methods of operating submarines up and down the Irish Sea continues. There has been no attempt at all by the submarine authorities to come to grips with the problems that they are causing to other maritime users, particularly the fishermen. The answer is, quite simply, that vessels be obliged to travel on the surface. It's as simple as that but nobody in authority wants to know about it."



● One of the many British submarines which stalks the Irish Sea

Crum Christmas visits cut

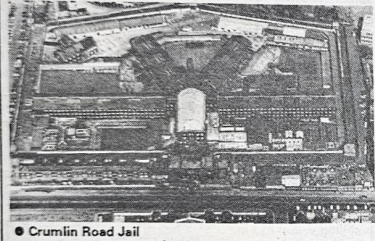
THE CRUMLIN Road Relatives' Action Committee has criticised the decision of the Northern Ireland Office (NIO) to cut Christmas visits to prisoners on remand in Crumlin Road Jail.

The British government decision means that prisoners will now have only two, instead of three, visits at Christmas and was described by the relatives as "a further erosion of the already limited rights of remand prisoners, who, under the law, are innocent until proven guilty". The committee continued:

"At times like Christmas there should be more facilities for uniting families and their children and not less. At present, only two children at a time are allowed in on a visit, so in the case where there are three or more children in a family, these children will be denied the opportunity of seeing their father as a family unit. We, the relatives, are calling for the right to family visits in order to maintain family relationships.

"There will be no visits from December 22nd until December 27th, which takes in the whole of the Christmas period. If we are to be reduced to two visits, we are calling for those to be of longer duration and for the visits we are losing to be replaced at a later date.

"We call on the NIO to show some humanity towards the relatives of those unconvicted prisoners this Christmas, in what is supposed to be the season of goodwill."



● Crumlin Road Jail



● (From left) Anne Speed, Frank Connolly and Martin McGuinness

McGuinness maps road to peace

THE LATEST in a series of 26-County-wide public meetings entitled Meet Sinn Féin, was held in Dublin city centre on Monday, November 26th. The meeting was chaired by Frank Connolly of Dublin Sinn Féin and addressed by two of the party's Ard Chomhairle members, Martin McGuinness and Anne Speed.

McGuinness outlined his own experience of discrimination as a young man growing up in Derry, his gradual politicisation and growing awareness of the irreformable nature of the Northern state. He detailed the alienation of a large section of the nationalist population following the onslaught of state violence in the late

'60s — "before the IRA had fired a shot or caused one explosion on the streets of Derry".

He said that it was this situation which had led people to resort to armed struggle but added that nobody — "not the British government, not the 26-County government, not the unionists nor the nationalist communi-

ty, can be proud that through those 20 years people have lost their lives".

He said that as the British came to the realisation that they could not defeat the IRA they enlisted the help of the SDLP, the Catholic hierarchy and the 26-County government. "They believe that only by garnering the resources of the Irish establishment will republican resistance in the Six Counties be defeated," he said. He cited the Hillsborough Treaty as a part of this policy.

END THE DIVISION

He said that there had to be a radical attempt to end

the division of the country and the divisions between the Irish people. He added that those divisions could only be ended when the British government decided to leave Ireland and the Irish people are allowed to work out a new future for themselves in the context of a 32-County republic. McGuinness, concluding, said there was a democratic majority both in Britain and Ireland for Irish reunification.

Anne Speed spoke of the effects of unemployment and emigration in the 26 Counties in recent years. She pointed out that 10% of what people earn in the 26 Counties was lost through a combination of the loss of taxation, the economy and the repatriation of profits made by Irish workers in foreign-owned companies. She said that experts say that the cost to the 26-County state of maintaining the British presence in the North could amount to £300 million a year. This, she said, was money that could have been spent on health, education and other social services.

COLLABORATION

She said the extradition issue is a classic example of the collaboration practiced by the Dublin establishment who, she said, were fearful of challenging Britain "because their social, economic and political interests and their very future is tied up with ensuring that this state remains as it is".

Referring to Charlie Haughey's government, she asked:

"What other political leader would retain the so-called credibility they have now if they had to participate in a forum of broader political interests and in a society that wished to be more politically secular?"

Fianna Fáil forces another rent hike

BY ART Mac EÓIN

DESPITE various attempts by opposition councillors to stop a rent rise for Dublin's 33,000 Corporation tenants, Fianna Fáil members on the City Council pushed through a hike which will mean increases of between 50p and £1.50 a week. The new increases will be effective from next January.

While the council's monthly meeting of Monday, November 26th, forced rent rises on the working class of Dublin, the Corporation continues to lose millions of pounds each year, through giving

big business and financial institutions tax incentives to set up in sites such as the latest Customs House Docks Development. However, a counter proposal by Independent Councillor Tony Gregory that the

city's estimates be amended to raise extra finance, through an increase in rates on commercial premises, was voted down by the Fianna Fáil block on the council.

Sinn Féin has hit out at the latest increases which the party says will affect those who can least afford it, pointing out that 70% of Corporation tenants are social welfare recipients. They drew attention to the fact that social welfare increases of 3% last July were in no way adequate enough to provide for the latest in-

creases, saying that this would be swallowed up paying the extra rent.

The party's South Inner City spokesperson, Micheál O Muireagáin condemned the rent rises saying: "These increases have now become an annual occurrence and can be seen as re-introducing water charges through the back door.

"I would call on people to react to this latest attack by raising the issue through their local community groups and demand that a stop be

put to this unjust taxation. Corporation tenants do not object to paying rent and an increase would not be so bad if they were genuinely getting value for money. But the quality of service provided by Dublin Corporation is ridiculous.

"I would ask people also to remember those local elected representatives who voted for the latest increases. People must organise and put pressure on these politicians to ensure that they get the message that it is unacceptable."

UDR implicated in assassination set-up

YET ANOTHER ATTEMPT on Sinn Féin Councillor Brendan Curran's life was foiled when Curran cancelled a meeting he was scheduled to attend, after details of the meeting were taken by a UDR patrol.

On Thursday, November 15th, a number of people who had attended an anti-extradition meeting at the Sinn Féin Centre in Lurgan, were held and searched by a UDR patrol as they left the office to return home. Amongst the group was the local Sinn Féin cumann secretary who had details of a meeting which was to be held on the follow-

ing Thursday. During the course of a search, the UDR carefully recorded the time and place of the meeting.

Conscious of collusion between the UDR and loyalist death-squads, the decision was taken to cancel the Thursday meeting and re-schedule the time and place. It was a decision Brendan Curran believes saved his

life. Curran continues:

"The original Thursday meeting was called at short notice and was not a regular meeting. No-one could have known about the meeting outside those people who were to be invited. When the UDR showed such particular interest in the details of the meeting, and given their history of collusion with loyalist murder gangs, we decided to cancel the meeting and re-schedule it for a later date."

The cancelled meeting had been scheduled for 7pm. Shortly after

7.30pm that night a well-known loyalist was identified in the area of the Sinn Féin office where the meeting was originally to be held. Curran believes there is little doubt that a loyalist death-squad had been tipped off about the meeting and were geared for an assassination attempt.

RUC PHONE CALL

Shortly after 8pm, Curran received a phone call from the RUC who wanted to know if he had any meetings planned for that night. Curran continues:

"The RUC man who phoned me said that the RUC had received information concerning a meeting which was to be held that night and warned me to be extra careful if there was such a meeting. Earlier that evening, local Sinn Féin activist Sheena Campbell had also received a phone call, this time the caller did not reveal his identity. In the call

Sheena, who would have been driving me to the meeting had it not been cancelled, was also warned to be very careful.

"What this incident clearly shows is the continuing and blatant collusion of the UDR with loyalist death-squads. Only those people who were to attend the meeting and the UDR were party to the details of that meeting. I would like to know why the RUC were only able to inform me of an assassination attempt on my life at a meeting an hour after that meeting was scheduled to start. In the last fortnight, 11 people in Lurgan and nine people in Portadown have been told by the RUC that their names and personal details have been passed to a loyalist death-squad. With continuing collusion between British gangs, forces and loyalist murder gangs, nationalists need to be constantly vigilant of their own personal security."

Dúirt Sí

— The forked tongue of Margaret Hilda Thatcher

Thatcher the philosopher

A woman's most important job is to stay at home and take care of the family. Women must not feel guilty to stay at home. — Glasgow, April 1979.

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You hear about these atrocities, but you don't expect them to happen to you. — Brighton, October 1984, after the Grand Hotel bombing which nearly killed her.

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This word alienation... (is) not a good one. — Speaking in November 1984 of 'nationalist alienation', a euphemism for Sinn Féin support.

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If you ever get trial by television or guilt by accusation, that day freedom dies. — On the Granada TV programme, *Death on the Rock*, which exposed the killings of Danny McCann, Mairead Farrell and Seán Savage, May 1988.

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It is improper for any country to acquire territory through war. — In Japan, October 1989.

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You cannot stifle or suppress a people's desire for liberty. — On the political upheaval in East Germany, November 1989.

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No democratic country can voluntarily abandon its responsibility in a part of its territory against the will of the majority of the population there. — Airey Neave Memorial Lecture, London, March 1980.

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You have to be prepared to defend the things in which you believe and be prepared to use force if that is the only way to secure the future of liberty and self-determination. — Westminster, April 1982, on the Malvinas war.

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Your 21st anniversary offers tremendous encouragement to a prime minister, eleven-and-a-half years into office, the Sun has become a great British institution. If it can come up fresh and bubbling and vital every day for 21 years, then so can I. And I shall do so. — Paying tribute to Fleet Street's

most shameful rag only days before she was forced to resign.

Thatcher the historian

The challenge which the IRA have been mounting against our political system is still being contained. — Airey Neave Memorial Lecture, London, March 1980.

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There will be no political status. — Visit to Six Counties, March 1981.

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This is the IRA's last card... The government will never grant political status, no matter how much hunger-striking there may be. — Statement in Westminster after the death of Bobby Sands, May 1981. The government subsequently granted the five demands of the hunger-strikers in all but name.

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No-one has asked me to compromise on the prisoners' demands. — At a luncheon in Stormont Castle, June 1981. She had publicly been asked to do so by Cardinal O Fiach, but had not been asked by Charlie Haughey.

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I have got nothing to do with any organisation that practises violence. I have never seen anyone from the ANC, PLO or IRA, nor will I have any truck with those organisations. — October 1987. Within the last three years, her ministers have spoken with both the PLO and the ANC and she met Nelson Mandela, ANC vice-president.

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I asked today how long the Irish problem had been going on. I only thought 400 years, but was told 700 years. — After European Summit, February 1988.

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The withdrawal is a great tribute to the resistance who never let up the fight in their own country. — Thatcher on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, February 1989.

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I can give you a categorical assurance that the Provisional IRA campaign will not be allowed to succeed. — January 1986.



During visit to US, July 1985.

Thatcher the democrat

Starve the terrorists of the oxygen of publicity. — Speech to American Bar Association, July 1985.

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We know in our heart of hearts that if you never use force, then a tyrant will win. — May 1986

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I have no personal feelings except of hatred and contempt for violence... I have always voted for the return of capital punishment. — After the 'Brighton bomb' trial, June 1986.

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When that happens, the things they can decide at Stormont will no longer need to be decided in the present way under the Anglo-Irish Agreement. — Speaking about devolution in an interview on Downtown Radio, Belfast, May 1986.

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I fully agree with what the honourable member has said. — Replying to statement from a unionist MP that the Six-County judiciary with its no-jury Diplock courts, "is fair and impartial and ranks with the best in the Western world".

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Utterly disgraceful. — On an Amnesty International report which said that there was evidence that the Gibraltar killings were "extra-judicial executions", April 1988.

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Nothing is ruled out. — Thatcher threatens internment after the Ballygawley IRA attack which killed eight British soldiers in August 1988.

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How Europeans explored and colonised, and yes, without apology, civilised much of the world is an extraordinary tale of talent and valour. — September 1988.

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The UDR have done excellent work. — In reply to calls for the disbandment of the murder regiment, Thatcher visited a UDR base in September 1989 and added that they were "a very, very brave group of men".

Thatcher the world statesperson

You don't 'handle' United States presidents, you offer them your support. — November 1988.

Enough said

Warm, human and loving. — Thatcher on herself, January 1989.



Thatcher the geographer

...a citizen of the United Kingdom, resident in the United Kingdom... — speaking about Bobby Sands MP, seven weeks on hunger-strike, during a visit to Saudi Arabia, April 1981.

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Northern Ireland is part of the United Kingdom — as much as my constituency (Finchley) is. — Westminster, November 1981

Thatcher the diplomat

Increasingly we are getting determined and effective co-operation from the Irish authorities. — Visit to Six Counties, March 1981.

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Rejoice! — Response in Downing Street, April 1982, to the capture of South Georgia, an uninhabited island in the South Atlantic and the 'defeat' of a token Argentinian force there. Days later, she ordered the sinking of the Argentinian cruiser *General Belgrano* and the killing of over 380 servicemen, although the ship was outside the war zone and was steaming away from it.

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Rubbish! — Response to Cardinal O Fiach's statement suggesting that the British operate a

shoot-to-kill policy, January 1983.

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I have made it quite clear... that a unified Ireland was one solution. That is out. A second solution was confederation of the two states. That is out. A third solution is a joint authority. That is out. — All three proposals of the New Ireland Forum rejected at the press conference after a meeting in Chequers with Garret FitzGerald, November 1984.

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Garret FitzGerald and I... are united in condemning terrorism. —

Notes



THATCHER'S POLITICAL OBITUARY

BRITANNIA WITH HER GLOVES OFF

BY
TOM
O'DWYER

AT AROUND 9.45am on Thursday, November 22nd, the only sound that could be heard in Downing Street was a loud munching. The British prime minister was being consumed by the ugly animals she brought into being during her long reign. For Irish people, and others throughout the world, there was a perfect sense of poetic justice in the scene.

Thatcherism means greed, arrogance and the pursuit of power by any means possible. For eleven years and three general elections, it also meant a Tory victory. Suddenly, the name of Margaret Hilda Thatcher began to spell ballot-box disaster. When she failed to conclusively defeat a leadership challenge from Michael Heseltine on November 20th, she tried to tough it out as only she knew how, but her fate was sealed.

Within the twinkling of an eye, loyalty turned into betrayal. MPs and cabinet ministers started climbing over one another to stab her in the back. But the rodents who pounced upon her were of her own creation and were following the only gospel she ever subscribed to — self-interest. They were simply saving their own parliamentary seats.

NUREMBURG RALLIES

It was a far cry from the 1989 Tory Conference which celebrated a

decade of Thatcherism:

"Ten more years! Ten more years!" shouted the faithful, as their cries echoed and re-echoed through the hall. Some commentators remembered Hitler's rallies at Nuremberg in the '30s and many of the frenzied right wingers on the conference floor gave them good reason to. But, even then, the signs were that her hold on power was diminishing. In November 1989, AP/RN forecast that a gibbet was quietly being built for her behind the scenes.

What sustained Thatcher in office from 1979 until this week was her ability to divide British workers. She fostered the most vicious attitudes among the better-off section of the working class and severely reduced the living-standards of the low-paid and the unemployed. Nineteenth century-style colonialism played a key part in this strategy. Britain, under Thatcher, was again presented as a "world power", determining the fate



● Keeping the media in line

of faraway peoples. Well-off workers were encouraged to see themselves as part of a new empire.

That underlined her attitude to Ireland. Like all British prime ministers over the last two decades, she was committed to a military solution, even when her military told her that this was impossible. She went further in this than many of the others would have done. In her black-and-white mind, anyone who opposed her power had to be crushed. Whether it was Irish republicans, British miners or the Argentinian people, brute force was the answer Margaret Thatcher preferred.

Establishment commentators have emphasised how ignorant Thatcher was of Irish political realities, and they are right. But many go on to suggest that this means Britain's war in the Six Counties holds a low priority for the British political elite. That is certainly not true. A determination to crush the IRA is what binds all the Tory Party together with a rod of steel and that rod binds most of Labour's leaders as well.

MAILED FIST

Ireland is not often discussed by leading British politicians because

● AP/RN's cartoonist in prophetic mood in August '81

● "Excuse me prime minister, you are eating the mailed fist without the glove."

Her initial path to leadership of the Conservative Party was littered with signs that she boded ill for Ireland. Airey Neave and Ian Gow were close confidants of hers, were both supporters of the loyalist cause and were also closely enmeshed in the British secret service network. She owed her victory over Ted Heath in 1975 largely to them. The death of Neave in 1979 at the hands of the INLA, and of Gow in an IRA action earlier this year, shook her more profoundly than any other casualties during the entire conflict.

But Neave's death, on the eve of her election success, was quickly followed by that of 18 soldiers at Narrow Water and of Lord Mountbatten at Mullaghmore on the Sligo/Donagall border, in response to the largest-ever IRA attack on the British forces, the British prime minister paid a flying visit to Crossmaglen to wave the flag in Britain's loneliest garrison.

The scene was set for her Irish battle in which she showed all the qualities which appealed to Neave and Gow. By deciding to let the ten hunger-strikers die, she placed her own, indelible stamp on Irish history. The Dublin establishment would have it that her arrogant refusal to bend at this time, caused a massive swell in support for republicanism. But that is far from the truth.

There was overwhelming support in the Six Counties for republicanism since the beginning of the struggle. What happened after the hunger strikes was that this support found a focus, an electoral focus, when Sinn Féin took up the challenge at the polls.

From her point of view, the hunger-strike battle was a success. Not only had she "stood firm" against the natives, she had also received tributes from them in the form of a silver teapot from premier Charles Haughey. But for Dublin it was a disaster.

When Haughey and Lenihan sought to cover up their betrayal of the hunger-strikers, by claiming they were negotiating with Thatcher about the nature of the partitioned state, they were quickly handbagged.

Humphrey Atkins, Thatcher's first footman in Stormont, was sent out to say that the discussions between Dublin and London had "nothing to do with, nor have they touched on, nor will they touch on, the internal government of Northern Ireland or its constituent parts". The message was clear: political horse-trading with Dublin was to be in a one-way drive.



Notes
by CORNUC



grievances of Northern nationalists. Finally, he prevailed upon her to enter into the Hillsborough Treaty in 1985, over the heads of the unionists to whom she has a gut loyalty. Hillsborough provided the thinnest and the smallest of fig-leaves for Dublin and the SDLP but that fact didn't stop either FitzGerald or Hume from displaying it shamelessly. Peter Barry, FitzGerald's deputy, even claimed it had 'ended' the "nationalist nightmare".

Talk of this sort from Dublin sounded too much like cockiness for Thatcher and Direct-Ruler Tom King was ordered to set the record straight:

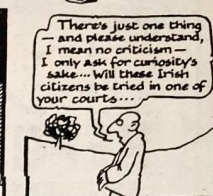
"The prime minister of Ireland has in fact accepted that, for all practical purposes and into perpetuity, there will not be a united Ireland."

However coarse and unyielding Thatcher proved to be, she was rewarded with increased servility from her opposite numbers in Dublin. FitzGerald, gazing at the rising tide of republicanism with horror, tied Dublin to an agreement which forced the 26-County government to underwrite British policy in silence. No public criticism was possible and Peter Barry even apologised in print for having criticised Thatcher's intransigence before Hillsborough.

As far as the Dublin establishment was concerned, Thatcher had 'remedied' her 'mistake' in 1981, by giving the 'nationalist' establishment a lifeline. But, once again, they had it wrong. Thatcher now had them on her hook and was determined to continue as she had begun. When Charles Haughey replaced FitzGerald in 1987, he continued the tradition of spineless servility to Britain.

LARGE-SCALE COLLUSION

Large-scale collusion between the British forces and loyalist killer-gangs has been exposed. The Birmingham Six remain in jail and the right to silence has been removed. The Gibraltar killings have been covered up as has the Stalker Inquiry and a host of shoot-to-kill incidents. Broadcasting censorship has been introduced. She has made it very difficult to argue that Britain's Irish



statelet can be reformed or that Westminster is 'neutral'.

But the future of such politicians as John Hume is of secondary relevance to Thatcher or to those who direct British policies in the Six Counties. Her objective has been to reduce the expectations of those whom she cannot win over and to drive opposing forces to the right. Already she has succeeded with the Irish political establishment and with the present leadership of the British Labour Party. That may well turn out to have been her only lasting victory. She has certainly not fulfilled her many promises to defeat the IRA.

The forces which brought her down included 1/4 million poll-tax protestors, many of them Conservatives, who were batoned and beaten in central London during April. The give-away budget which secured her a majority in 1987 was also causing run-away inflation and lost her the votes of home-owners. Her almost total reliance on the US at the expense of the EC to back up her imperial adventures also backfired.

Thatcher could not have invaded the Malvinas in 1983 without the approval of Ronnie Reagan. She has repaid this favour tenfold in the years since then. Britain was the base for the US bombers which devastated the Libyan capital, Tripoli, and Britain has been the most stalwart supporter of George Bush's war manoeuvres in the Gulf.

But her support of the US cut right against the EC and she seemed determined to weaken the European capitalist powers as against the US. Eventually, her 'anti-Europeanism' forced the resignation of Sir Geoffrey Howe, her quietest lapdog, and left the way open for Michael Heseltine to stand against her.

She could probably have ridden all of these punches if they hadn't come together. But in the last fortnight, she must have remembered the warning she received from the IRA after Brighton:

"We only have to be lucky once. You have to be lucky always." At last, the luck of the lady with nine lives ran out. Now she only has one life left.



● Maggie's little man, Haughey, meets his senior partner in December 1980



● Thatcher talks to terrorists, Girdwood UDR Barracks, 1986

SHUDDERING SHOCK

Even after the Brighton bombing in 1984, when the Iron Lady shuddered in shock, there was still no movement on Dublin's suggestions. One by one, the Forum Report's proposals were ruled "Out, out, out" by her as she humiliated a servile FitzGerald at Chequers.

But it seemed that no humiliation was too great for the Dublin premier. In articles and statements since then, he has made crystal clear that his objective was, purely and simply to save the SDLP and halt the rise of Sinn Féin by enlisting

tion. Stern medicine was the only way to deal with the Irish.

She emphasised that fact once again, in 1983 when she paid a visit to Drumadd UDR base at a time when there was clear evidence of UDR collusion with loyalist killers. By refusing to keep the gloves on, Thatcher was showing British imperialism as it really was. People throughout Ireland were getting that message and the republican vote in the North was growing. Dublin politicians required some cosmetic gesture from the British, and pronto. Again and again they begged, but to no avail.

For three years after the hunger-strikes, Thatcher refused to provide such a gesture, despite the earnest pleading of Garret FitzGerald. The Coalition government offered closer collaboration than ever between the gardai and the British forces. They even offered free extradition. But still Thatcher did not budge.

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Sraith ionsaithe ar fhórsaí losraelacha

TA AN-IMNI ar an hlosraelaigh i ndiaidh sraith ionsaithe ar a gcuid fórsaí le laethanta beaga anuas inar bhfuil siad a gcailliúint is mó saighdiúirí in ionsaí amháin ó lainséil siad ionradh ar an Liobáin i 1982.

Thosaigh na hionsaithe deireanacha seo ar Fhórsaí losraelacha ag deireadh na seachtaine seo caite. Maraíodh triúr saighdiúirí losraelacha agus saoránach amháin i ngar d'Eilat i nGaza, ceann de na tailte Palaistíneacha atá forghafa ag na hlosraelaigh, ar an teorainn leis an Egipt. Bhí póilín Egipteach tógtha ar an dtaobh Egipteach den teorainn agus tá sé faoi cheistiú ag na húdaráis ansin faoin insaí.

PLEASC

An oíche chéanna, maraíodh bean óg i gcrios fhorghafa losraelach sa Liobáin Theas nuair a phleasc sí buama i ngar do saighdiúirí losraelacha. Gortaíodh beirt saighdiúirí sa phléascán chomh maith.

An oíche roimh an ionsaí seo, mharaigh na hlosraelaigh cúigear eadarnai Palaistíneach a bhí ag taisteal i dtreo chósta thuaidh na hlosrael ar bhád as an Liobáin.

In Amman, príomhchathair na hIordáine, dhearbhaigh Jihad

CAILLIUNT IS MEASA

Ansin, ar oíche Luáin, d'fhulaing na hlosraelaigh a gcailliúint saighdiúirí is measa ó ionradh na Liobáine i 1982. Mharaigh eadarnaithe de chuid, Fronta Pobail do Shaoirse na Palaistíne (FPSP) atá faoi cheannas George Habash agus tacaíocht na Síre acu, cúigear saighdiúirí losraelach agus ghortaigh said ceann amháin eile. Maraíodh beirt eadarnai sa chath agus d'éaligh beirt eile.

Dúirt an FPSP go raibh an oibríocht is déanaí seo i dtacaíocht leis an Intifada, Eirí Amach na bPalaistíneach sna tailte forghafa, atá ar siúl le beagnach trí bliana anuas. San am sin, tá na ceadta saoránaigh Palaistíneacha dí-armtha mar-

aithé ag an Arm losraelach le linn agóidí in aghaidh ríail na hlosrael sna tailte forghafa.

Lainséil na hlosraelaigh ru-aigeanna aoir agus airtleire ar bhunáiteanna Palaistíneacha sa Liobáin ag iarraidh díoltais do na hionsaithe deireanacha. Deir Rúnaí Cosainte na hlosrael, Moshe Arens, nach dtarraingeodh na hlosraelaigh siar as an Liobáin Theas d'ainneon a gcailliúint.

IMNI

Tá an-imní orthu áfach, faoi phróis athaontú na Liobáine, faoi urraíocht na Síre, atá ag dul ar aghaidh faoi láthair. Tá eagla orthu go mbeidh ardú i méid na n-ionsaithe anois, nach bhfuil na grúpaí éagsúla ag troid eatarthu féin sa Liobáin agus níl siad sásta, a bheag ná a mhór leis an mbiseach sna gaolta idir na SAM agus an tSír mar gheall ar an 'Gulf'.

Tá sé soiléir go bhfuil am crua os comhair na nlosraelach mura bhfuil siad sásta aghaidh a thabhairt ar réiteach síochánta le ceist tír dá gcuid féin do na Palaistínigh a shocrú.

● Fórsaí losraelacha ar phatról sa Bhanc Iartharach



Ceacht 18

Foghlaim :
orm, on me
ort, on you

air, on him
uirthi, on her

orainn, on us
oraibh, on you
orthu, on them

To translate a sentence like—

He is wearing a hat

we say, **Tá hata air** ("There is a hat on him.")

To translate a sentence like *I am glad*

we say, **Tá áthas orm** ("There is joy on me.")

Tá áthas orm, *I am glad, I am pleased.*

Tá brón orm, *I am sad, I am sorry.*

Tá ionadh orm, *I am surprised.*

Tá eagla orm, *I am afraid.*

Tá fearg orm, *I am angry.*

Tá náire orm, *I am ashamed.*

Tá imní orm, *I am worried, anxious.*

Tá ocras orm, *I am hungry.*

Tá tart orm, *I am thirsty.*

Tá codladh orm, *I am sleepy.*

Tá slaghdán orm, *I have a cold.*

Tá tinneas cinn orm, *I have a headache.*

Tá tinneas fíacaile orm, *I have a toothache.*

Cuir ort do chóta, *put on your coat.*

Cuir ort do chuid éadaigh, *put on your clothes.*

Chuir sé a chuid éadaigh air, *he put on his clothes.*

Bhí sé ag féachaint orm, *he was looking at me.*

Bhí fearg ar an múinteoir, *the teacher was angry.*

Note: mo chóta, *my coat*; do chóta, *your coat*; a chóta, *his coat*; a cóta, *her coat*.
mo, *my*; do, *your*; a, *his* cause aspiration. a, *her* does not cause aspiration.

Tógtha ó Progress in Irish le Máiread Ní Ghráda, foilsithe ag The Educational Company

Ballraíocht Shinn Féin

Is é bunaidhm Shinn Féin aistharraingt na Breataine ó na Sé Chontae, athaontú ár dtíre agus bunadh phoblacht shóisialach dhaoilathach.

Más mian leat bheith i do bhall de Shinn Féin, nó tuilleadh eolais a fháil faoi Shinn Féin nó ár ngliomhartha agus ár bpolasaithe, lion an fhoirm thíos agus seol é chuig Sinn Féin, 44 Cearnóg Pharnell, Baile Átha Cliath 1.

Ainm

Seoladh

.....

.....

Tríd sáile an chime

Maggie Amach



BHI SUIM NACH BEAG ar an teilifís ar an Máirt seo caite nuair a craoláidh an clár *Naimhde Istigh* faoi na Blocanna-H. Ach bhí "side-show" eile ar siúl an oíche chéanna, agus baint iorónach eadarthu. Ba é sin an oíche a chaill Thatcher a ceannas ar an bPáirtí Coimeádach nuair nár bhuail sí ar Tarzan sa chéad fo-thoghchán.

Bhí go leor cainte an oíche sin faoi 'fhíric' gculaithe liatha' agus an uisce faoi thalamh a bheadh ar siúl acu le deireadh a chur le réims an Tuodóra. Cérbh iad na fir seo ina gculaithe liatha? Arbh iad seo na fir chéanna a tacaípeadh ar an gclár a rinne Peter Taylor agus Steve Hewlett? Chuimhnigh mé ar chulaithe liatha áirithe a fhad agus a bhí Réamann Mac Cartnaigh ag labhairt ar an gclár faoina sheal ar an Stailc Ocras i 1980. Culaithe liatha an éide príosúnach atá i gceist agam anseo ar ndóigh.

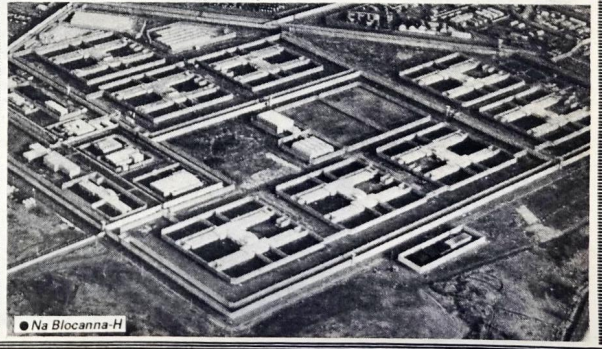
Dhiúltaigh na cimi san Blocanna agus Ard Mhaca le polasaí coirpeachta a ghlaicadh i 1976, agus sna Blocanna ba é an chulaith liath príosúnach a aithníodh mar an comhartha is soiléire den pholasaí úd. Toghadh Thatcher i gcumhacht sa Bhreatain i 1979 agus laistigh de

● REAMANN Mac CARTNAIGH

dhá bhliain bhí sí i mbun an diúltaithe ghlaíne chun na cúig éileamh a ghéilleadh do na cimi. Ba é an toradh ar sin ná gur thosaigh bliain de stailceanna ocras 1980-'81, tréimhse ina bhfuair deichniúir cime bás sna Blocanna-H.

Bhí eolai polaitiúil éigin ar an TV ag insint dúinn gurbh iad na fir sna culaithe liatha a bheadh ag déanamh amach todhchaí pholaitiúil Maggie an oíche sin, agus ar staisiún teilifíse eile bhí Mac Cartnaigh ag insint dúinn gurbh fhiar, deich mbliana ar aghaidh, go raibh na cúig éileamh go léir bainte amach anois ag na cimi, na cimi a dhiúltaigh leis na culaithe liatha a chaitheamh ná a lámha a chaitheamh suas do Thatcher. B'íorónach é, dár liom gurb í seo an bhean a dúirt a focail drochchálúla: "Is coir é coir é coir" agus a gheall nach bhfaighimis rud ar bith de thoradh na stailce. Bhí an ceart aici. Deich mbliana ar aghaidh táimid níos láidre sna Blocanna ná ariamh... agus tá síse caite ar leataobh ag a páirtí féin. I síl bheag éigin, ar oíche de Máirt seo caite, tháinig ar lá.

— Le Eoghan Mac Cormaic (An Cheis Fhada)



● Na Blocanna-H

Imeachtaí

PICKET ON US EMBASSY
Opposing US policy in Central America
11.30am-1pm
Every Saturday
Ballisbridge
DUBLIN

NORTH DUBLIN RECLAIM THE SPIRIT OF EASTER

CTTEE
Meets 8pm every Thursday
16 North Great George's Street
DUBLIN
to organise a fitting celebration for next year's 75th anniversary of the 1916 Rising
Everybody welcome

SOUTH DUBLIN RECLAIM THE SPIRIT OF

EASTER CTTEE
Meets every fortnight
Next meeting 8pm Thursday 6th December DRC
Crown Street
DUBLIN

FOLK NIGHT

Featuring Bracken
9pm Friday 30th November
Lagan Im
MANOR
County Donegal
Admission £1.50
Proceeds in aid of Donegal Sinn Féin

FUNCTION

Featuring The Irish Brigade
Saturday 1st December
Molly Malones
Little Green Street
DUBLIN

SALE OF WORK

In aid of Republican POWs
1pm Saturday 1st December
Devlin Hall
Lower Main Street
LETTERKENNY
County Donegal
Bargains galore!

VOL ANTOINE MAC GIOLLA

**BHRIGHDE
ANNUAL COMMEMORATION**
Wreath-laying ceremony
2pm Sunday 2nd December
Coolcalm Cemetery
DESSERTMARTIN
County Derry

SPECIAL BENEFIT CONCERT

8.30pm Sunday 2nd December
Coláiste Mhuire
Parnell Square
DUBLIN
Featuring Noel Hill, Tony McMahon, Ronan Browne, Phil King, Donal Lunney, Seán Potts and others
Tickets £5/£5 unwaged
In aid of Anti-Extradition Cttee

PUBLIC MEETING

'Why Trade Unionists Should Oppose Extradition'
8pm Tuesday 4th December
ATGWU Hall
Middle Abbey Street
DUBLIN
Speakers: Representative of Dublin Council of Trade Unions, Paddy Logue, Donie Fell, Martha Ellis and Senator Joe Costello
Organised by the Dublin Council of Trade Unions

BENEFIT NIGHT

Ballads & traditional music
8pm Friday 7th December
Molly Malones
Little Green Street
DUBLIN
Admission £2.50/£2 unwaged
Organised by Reclaim the Spirit of Easter Cttee

WEEKEND EDUCATION SEMINAR

IN LOUTH
Friday 7th December to
Sunday 9th December
Meet 6pm Friday, 44 Parnell Square
DUBLIN
Cost £10 waged/£5 unwaged
Contact: Education Department
01-726932

WELCOME HOME FUNCTION

In aid of Don O'Leary
Saturday 8th December
Top of the Hill Bar
CORK
Admission £3
Ballad session and spot prizes
Tickets from Cork Sinn Féin
136 Barrack Street

SALE OF WORK

Due for Saturday 8th December
BCA Hall Ballyfermot
CANCELLED

FUNCTION

Featuring The Irish Brigade
Saturday 15th December
Wexford Inn
DUBLIN

Dublin's bus service under attack

BY ART MAC EÓIN

BUS ROUTES in Dublin seem set to be targeted for cutbacks and privatisation with the imposition earlier this month of a new British managing director in Dublin Bus. Roger Montgomery, currently the Director of Operations with South Yorkshire Transport, has a notorious record in privatising bus services. His practice of tendering out bus services to private contractors is viewed by Dublin Bus unions and management alike as a bad omen for the future of the company.

Fianna Fáil Minister for Transport Seamus Brennan has denied allegations that he persuaded the CIE Board of Management to appoint Montgomery to the job but admitted that, due to his own public stance in favour of deregulating Dublin Bus, it would not have been surprising for the board to select a candidate with a reputation for such activity. Brennan says that it has been an "open secret" that he was planning legislation to deregulate Dublin Bus.

John White of SIPTU's CIE bus branch said that the union was "not at all pleased" with Montgomery's appointment and added that it could affect the talks on another Programme for 'National' Recovery.

"This appointment runs contrary to our aims in those talks. Our objectives included an expansion of the state sector, but Robert Montgomery's record points in the opposite direction."

Dublin Bus has been under sustained attack for the past number of years and the company has seen a loss of 800 workers with the imposition of the one-person-operated system. This system has put increased pressure on bus drivers and afforded them even less

protection in a period when physical attacks on staff have increased dramatically.

TRANSPORT PROBLEMS

The erosion in the quality of service which Dublin Bus provides to the public is even more grave when viewed in the light of Dublin's massive public transport problems. Communities in new working-class housing developments on the very outer limits of Dublin, without shopping facilities and other vital services, still rely on the city centre for many day-to-day requirements. However, bus and train services to these outlying areas are already notoriously inefficient and deregulation is certain to make the problem worse. The city's transport policy has for many years been tailored to meet the needs of private car owners while the non-car owning public have had their services reduced. This runs completely counter to the transport policies of most other European cities and indicates the priorities of successive Dublin governments.

The Dublin suburbs of Tallaght and Clondalkin have recently been blighted by a bus dispute which has

halted the highly popular Local-link service. The Labour Court ruled in favour of the bus workers, but this has been ignored by the company.

The question at the centre of the dispute between Dublin Bus and the unions is that in a previous ruling the Labour Court recommended a 20% pay rise for drivers on buses with more than 20 seats, while drivers on buses with 20 seats or less should only receive 10%. As the Local-link buses have 29 seats, management proposed to remove nine seats, rather than pay the workers an extra 20%. This proposal was angrily rejected by the unions and subsequently on the Sunday before the opening of the new Square shopping centre in Tallaght, when the new schedule was to start, the Local-link service was suspended.

INCONVENIENCE

The Local-link provided the first public transport service which linked the different parts of Tallaght, Clondalkin, Neilstown and Kilnamanagh with Our Lady's Children's Hospital in Crumlin and the Coombe Maternity Hospital.

The removal of the Local-link has severely inconvenienced the people of Tallaght and Clondalkin and has resulted in a campaign to have the buses brought back.

The Square, which was a badly needed facility for the Tallaght area, was opened

last month with much pomp and ceremony by Charles Haughey. However, the removal of the Local-link has negated much of the positive aspects of having the new town centre. Local people are anxious to know what is going to happen, especially in the run-up to Christmas, and feel that they are going to be stranded in their housing estates.

The only bus which now comes into the Kilnamanagh area of Tallaght is the 65B, which travels from the city centre. Locals use the bus to get down to the Square to shop but find it nearly impossible to get back. It is packed to capacity on its journey back from the city centre and there is no room for women with several bags of shopping who are now spending money on taxi fares which they can ill-afford.

A SIPTU spokesperson has said that now Labour Court negotiations have ended, the ball lies firmly in the company's court. "They have suspended an important service rather than implement the Labour Court's decision," he said.

PETITION

Kilnamanagh residents are now organising a petition which will be sent directly to Dublin Bus demanding the return of the Local-link. They have received co-operation from other parts of Tallaght and the objective of the Tallaght

Community Council is to get all the areas affected by the removal of the Local-link and whose residents are trying to get to the Square, to sign the petition.

Local Sinn Féin community worker, Seán Crowe, has called for the return of "this essential public service".

He said:

"The Local-link was a badly needed service in both Tallaght and Clondalkin and is required even more so now. Furthermore, it is my belief, and the belief of Tallaght people in general, that it was a financially viable operation. I call on Dublin Bus to ensure the return of the Local-link before Christmas and alleviate the hardship that is being caused to local people."

However, once the situation in Tallaght and Clondalkin is resolved, the fact remains that there is a concerted effort being made to run down Dublin Bus. Privatisation and competition will damage the already inadequate system as the emphasis shifts from public service to private profit. Routes may be lost and buses become less frequent. It is clear that the provision of a public service is not a top priority with minister Seamus Brennan. Interviewed about Dublin Bus on RTE earlier this year, his 'commitment' to public transport could only bring him so far as to say: "I agree that some routes are essential."





Was Michael Collins a Provo?

BY CON CARNEY

"I CAN'T SEE my way to becoming patron of the Michael Collins Foundation. It's my considered opinion that in the fullness of time history will record the greatness of Collins and it will be recorded at my expense." Thus spoke de Valera as late as 1966 and there's no doubt that Tim Pat Coogan's superb biography of Collins will give one hell of a spin to the process.

A difficulty in writing about the period is the degree to which the record is silent, covered by 100-year rules or actually destroyed, as was the case with the Free State government papers on the death of Collins. The latter was one of three categories — the others dealt with the court martials and executions — carefully shredded prior to the coming to power of Fianna Fáil in 1932. Also the record has been muddled and falsified, not least by de Valera, and is haunted by a legion of conspiracy theories — particularly those surrounding the death of Collins, the great whodunnit, as Coogan puts it, of Irish history.

Where there is no record Coogan relies on a mix of common sense and intelligent speculation. This reviewer left the book content at last that the

crucial fact leading to Collins's death was his stupidity in stopping at an ambush position, and that this stemmed from his having had a couple of jars too many. Collins's death was an accident of history. There were no agents about. He hadn't been marginalised by the Provisional government just prior to his death. Nor was he in Cork to end the Civil War.

Coogan's work has been described as hagiography by at least one reviewer. It's clear that he likes his subject — a far more attractive character than de Valera. This, though, is a fair book, brilliantly written. More than just a biography of Collins it is really Coogan's excuse for immersing himself in perhaps the most intense period in Irish history. There is much here that is new, much more that, as rearranged by Coogan, makes

riveting reading. The chapters covering the Treaty negotiations, the steps to Civil War, and Collins's Northern policy are particularly good.

On the Treaty, Coogan demonstrates that de Valera must have known what was available from his own discussions with the British; must have known precisely the sort of settlement that was on offer. When it was signed it was the fact that a Treaty had been

signed without being first referred to him that excited him, rather than its content which at first he refused to read. "It was a compromise but it was not de Valera's compromise," as Coogan puts it.

De Valera's 'compromise' was Document No 2 about which Coogan — recalling Swift's tale of Little Enders and Big Enders — writes "Neither end of the egg, the Treaty or Document No 2, appeared particularly appetising to the IRA". Both documents are included in an appendix.

How serious was Collins in viewing the Treaty as setting out the "stepping stones to freedom"? Completely so, according to Coogan. Collins, in concluding the Treaty, was going for the "maximum... he could achieve through negotiation and then, once he got control of an army and saw the British safely out of Dublin Castle, he would set about removing any restrictions imposed by the Treaty — by fair means or foul". He bases this on Collins's real record on, and constant attention to, the North.

"Janus-faced he stood in Dáil Éireann, arguing fiercely for the Treaty and the establishment of law and order in a democratic independent Irish state, while at the same time he acted with the vigour, intent, and methodology of any chief-of-staff of the Provisional IRA to wreck the other State enshrined in that Treaty, 'Ulster'."

Although there was considerable back-peddalling as Civil War in the South intensified — and as the efficiency of the pogroms in the North in intimidating nationalists became clear — his calling off of hostilities was accepted as being tactical. If, he told Northern IRA officers, the "political arm" didn't

work against Craig "the Treaty can go to hell and we will all start again".

It is true that the rest of the Provisional government were uninterested. A new Northern policy had been devised. This involved "recognition of the Northern government", and promised to "influence all those within the Six Counties who look to us for guidance, to acknowledge its authority and refrain from any attempt to prevent its working". The new policy reached Collins the day before he was killed and was circulated to ministers the day after his funeral. It "was adopted as government policy both by the Provisional Government and, with minor alteration, by all administrations in Southern Ireland since".

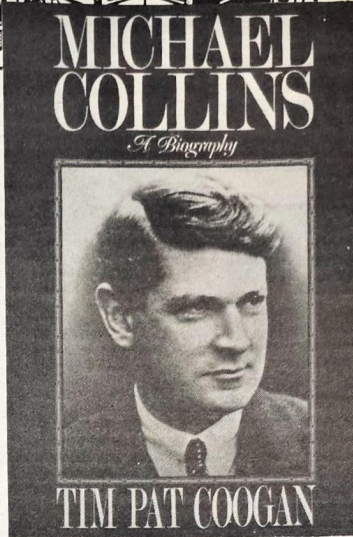
In many ways, Coogan clearly feels, the Treaty debate and Civil War missed the point. Given that de Valera and his followers would some years later take the Oath — de Valera telling at least one shocked supporter that it was okay because his fingers didn't actually touch the bible — Coogan is withering: "The heroes fought

the froth of the Oath and ignored the substantive flaw in the Treaty, which is still disturbing the peace of Ireland and bedeviling Anglo-Irish relations — the enslavement of partition." This merges with his final judgement on de Valera: "The real scandal of the Treaty, partition, remained unaffected by his posturings and volte face. The border was not altered by one millimetre during de Valera's long reign."

Would things have been different had Collins lived? While we can only speculate, there's no doubt that he saw partition as the central problem. It's hard to fault Coogan's conclusion that Michael Collins "would not have allowed an apartheid state to be erected in Northern Ireland without making serious, sustained, and perhaps violent protest".

This is an important addition to the literature of the period, one that will cause the revisionists to squirm, part indeed of the process of revising those revisers.

● *Michael Collins*, by Tim Pat Coogan. Stg £18.99. Published by Hutchinson, 480 pages.



Dublin POW Bus

Draw Results

1st Line 10: Card 36, James Gill, c/o Rory Boland, Nenagh; 2nd Line 7: Card 97, c/o F Burke, Blanchardstown; 3rd Line 2: Card 49, Mrs M Kelly, Cushlawn Park, Tallaght.

Christmas bonus for Fás workers

Workers on Fás schemes are unemployed, but they do not get the Christmas bonus for the long-term unemployed.

Picket

Leinster House
11.30am to 2pm

Wednesday
December 5th

Organised by
the Scheme Workers' Alliance.

JOIN SINN Féin

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

If you would like to join Sinn Féin, or find out more about our activities and policies, fill in the form below and send it to Sinn Féin, 44 Parnell Square, Dublin 1.

Name

Address



Guide to the police state

COMMUNITY ADVICE groups of all types, political activists and individuals will welcome the appearance in print of the Committee on the Administration of Justice's (CAJ) Handbook, which will serve as a very useful guide and reference work for those on the receiving end of state injustices.

The book, simply entitled *The CAJ Handbook*, and edited by Brice Dickson, a senior law lecturer at Queen's University, provides a concise and clear guide to legislation in the Six Counties in easily referenced chapters. The book stands, over and above its purpose, as a strong indictment of the emergency laws operating in the Six Counties, which leave people there, subject to more restrictions and denials of basic civil liberties than citizens in any other European country.

A flavour of the wide-ranging scope of the book is available from a listing of the chapters, with 16 in all, covering issues from RUC and British army powers and the rights of

suspects, through freedom of movement and expression, to laws governing religious and sex discrimination, housing rights, social security rights, family and sexual matters, prisoners rights and access to information.

In his introduction to the book, Brice Dickson notes:

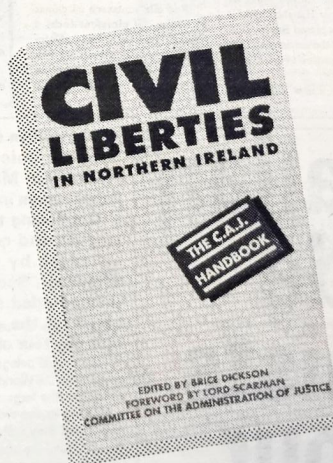
"This book will show, (that) the law in Northern Ireland rarely confers rights on people but instead controls people's behaviour by placing all sorts of restraints on them: whatever is not affected by these constraints is deemed to be a liberty. The constraints which at present exist are so far-reaching, and the discretion conferred on administrative bodies so all-embracing,

that the resulting liberty is usually very limited in scope."

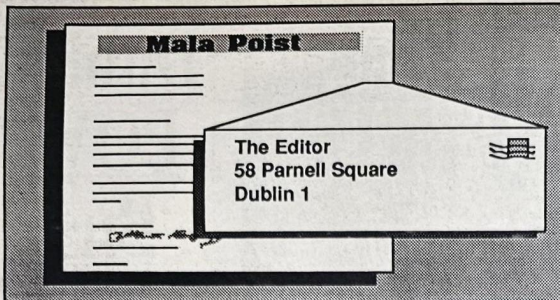
A read of this timely publication will show just how all-embracing this denial of even the most basic liberties really is. It demonstrates that even the very limited 'safeguards' built into new British legislation are denied to residents of the Six Counties in the name of 'national security' or the prevention of the 'terrorist threat', leaving them truly defenceless in the face of the formidable battery of legislation at the disposal of a vicious police state.

Anyone with an interest in human rights issues or in protecting themselves or other victims of state abuses would do well to invest the £4.95 in purchasing a copy of this book.

● *The CAJ Handbook* is published by the Committee on the Administration of Justice, 45/47 Donegall Street, Belfast, and is available at a price of £4.95 Sterling or IRE£5.50.



EDITED BY BRICE DICKSON
FOREWORD BY LORD SCARMAN
COMMITTEE ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE



Exhibition available

A Chairde,

This is to inform Sinn Féin comhairle ceantair of the existence and availability of a major photographic exhibition which chronologically details the hunger-strike era of 1980/81. The 'Spirit of Freedom' consists of 129 laminated panels comprising posters, letters, leaflets and press reports which explain the ins and outs of the prison struggle from 1976 onwards.

The hiring fee is £25 per week plus any postal costs which would have to be paid in advance. The reason for the fee is that it took almost £800 to put together and secure, so we're just trying to recover some of this. Any Sinn Féin comhairle ceantair that wish to hire the exhibition should contact the address below.

Tony Doherty,
1 Westend Park,
Bogside,
Derry,
Tel: 265923.

Haughey's betrayal

A Chairde,

"I share the view of those who do not have any confidence in the system of justice in the North. We should not be anxious to submit any person, no matter what crimes they may have committed, to the mercy of that system." (The Irish Times November 4th 1985).

The above quotation was not taken from an anti-extradition speech as one would assume, for these are the words, and carefully chosen words, used by CJ Haughey to describe his party's view on the issue of extradition.

Looked at in this context, it is not ironic that the decision to extradite Dessie Ellis by the Supreme Court was passed with the willing support of the Fianna Fáil government, of which Haughey is Taoiseach?

It is abundantly clear that his past concern — "We should not be anxious to submit any person, no matter what crime they may



● HAUGHEY

have committed to the mercy of that system" — is no longer felt by him or his cohorts. (Ray Burke, minister for justice and Gerry Collins, minister for foreign affairs).

The present 26-County administration has pursued extradition, despite a motion passed at the last Fianna Fáil Ard Fhéis opposing the extradition of Irish people to Britain. The rank-and-file members of the party fully expressed their serious concern over the mistreatment of Irish people by the British judicial system — pursuing an anti-Irish prejudice — as manifested by the Birmingham Six, Winchester Three, Guildford Four, etc.

How much longer must we stand and allow Haughey and Co to appease the biased British judicial system to the detriment of the rights and liberties of Irish people.

As I write a new British Bill

(Emergency Provisions) has been published. Laws that turn justice on its head — Diplock courts and powers of internment — still exist. Even Lord Colville, who renewed the act, wouldn't agree with some of the provisions. The Standing Advisory Committee on Human Rights also condemned the act.

The long suffering of the Irish people will continue at the hands of the British judicial system. We all must redouble our efforts to stop any more Irish people being extradited to injustice in England.

Please help in any way you can to stop extradition.

Martin P Meahan,
H-Block 4,
Long Kesh.

Stad Eiseachadh

A Chairde,

Ba mhaith liom cur in iúl an díomá agus an fhearg a chuir eiseachadh Dheasún Ellis orm. Tá Diarmuid na nGall láidir inár measc fós — "a clann féin do dhíol a máhair."

Tá Fianna Fáil nó 'Oglaigh na Cinníúna' nó 'An Páirtí Poblach-tar' eis gach bun aidhm a bhí acu a shárl leis an mbeart suarach, íseal seo. Tá an fospóinte is ísle roime seo anois.

Is rud polaitiúil é an t-eiseachadh. Nuair a chuir na Teachtaí Dála leasú 1987 tríd an Dáil rinneadar cinnte de nach mbeadh ceart ar bith ag saoránach é féin a chosaint ó bhfeall oile seo. Bhí alt le Séamas O Tuathail, abhcóide, in Anóir ar an 11ú den mhí seo agus dúirt sé gurbh iad na Teachtaí Dála atá ciontach as círsaí a bheith mar a bhfuil siad.

Os rud é go raibh eitleán de chuid an RAF ar an mbealach go Baile Átha Cliath sular thug an Chúirt Uachtarach a breithiúna, feictear dom go raibh sé réabhlaimhe Dheasún Ellis a eiseachadh agus nach raibh sa Chúirt Uachtarach nó san Ard-Chúirt ach cleas.

Rud eile suntasach ná ciúnas na Cléire. Ní cloisfeadh focal ó Chathal B nó ón mboicín nDoire ós rud é gur Eireannach atá faoi chois. Go bhfios dom, is féidir na sagairt atá buartha faoin

neamhaird seo a ainmniú — Des Wilson, Raymond Murray, Piaras O Duill, Joe McVeigh agus an tAithair Carroll. Is féidir an t-áiríamh sin a dhéanamh ar léimh amháin. Ní gá tuilleadh a rá faoi dhearcadh na Cléire ar an ábhar seo mar is léir é.

Tá Fianna Fáil ag titim as a chéile. Chuaigh O hEochaidh in aghaidh tail-fhréamhach a pháirtí féin agus focaigh sé as fós. Cuir an ghaith agus bain an iomghaith. Chuaigh sé in aghaidh bharúil na cruinne. D'imigh polaiteoirí agus ceardchumannaithe ón Eoraip, ó Mheiriceá, ón Astráil agus ón Mheán-Oirthear an fear seimh seo a choimeád in Eirinn agus é a chosaint. A mhalairt a dhein sé. Is seantearca caite, cladh-hartha, spónta, lag, fealltach é an taoiseach seo againne.

Bhí fearg agus díomá ar Roger Garland TD ar an eiseachadh seo freisin agus chuir sé sin in iúl don Dáil. Thug Mary Harney TD faoi go maslach. Ní hé an chéad uair a chuir an t-Aontachtóir seo a gráin ar Eireannaigh i leith. Smaoineadh ar an méid a dúirt sí tar éis chineadh chás Eoghán Uí Charáin. Sea, "a clann féin do dhíol a máhair."

Tá mé ag scríobh chugaibhse mar níl cinisireacht ag baint libh. Ní chuirfeadh Sráid na Mainistreach, Cú Burch nó Sráid D'Olier an liúir seo i gcló, mar tá siad ró-fofa.

Antán Breathnach.



BIRMINGHAM SIX CARD

AN APPEAL for Christmas greetings to be sent from Ireland to the Birmingham Six, as they face their 17th Christmas in jail, is being made by the Birmingham Six Committee in Dublin.

Cards should be addressed to Paddy Joe Hill, Richard McKelenny and Billy Power, at HM Prison Gartree, Market Harborough, Leicestershire, England, and to Gerry Hunter, John Walker and Hugh Callaghan at HM Prison Long Lartin, Evesham, Worcestershire, England.

Specially designed Birmingham Six Christmas cards to raise funds for the campaign are now available from the Birmingham Six Committee, Usher House, Usher Quay, Dublin 8. The cards cost £1 for four and all proceeds go to the campaign.

Manchester Martyrs remembered in Derry

"THE fight against extradition to British injustice must continue, in spite of the Dublin government handing Dessie Ellis over while on his 36th day of hunger-strike," said ex-POW Jennifer McCann, at the annual commemoration for the Manchester Martyrs held in Gulladuff, County Derry, on Friday, November 23rd.

McCann, who was recently released from prison having served ten-and-a-half years in both Armagh and Maghaberry jails, described Ellis's extradition by Charlie Haughey's government as "an act of political treachery which disgusted and enraged decent people across the country and abroad".

Following a torchlight procession in torrential rain from Mayogal to Gulladuff to mark the death by hanging 123 years ago of William Allen, Michael Larkin and Michael O'Brien in Manchester, the gathering adjourned to the Memorial Hall. They were welcomed on behalf of the organising committee by Sinn Féin Councillors Pauline Davey, John Hurl and Bernard O'Hagan.

Councillor Davey commented on the irony of commemorating the three in the af-

termath of the extradition of Dessie Ellis. "They were convicted after a farce of a trial, dubious witness evidence and in spite of pleas for clemency from among others, the journalists covering the case."

Davey then introduced Jennifer McCann who outlined the current position in the jails saying that there had been a disturbing increase in the number of strip-searches carried out on female prisoners in Maghaberry and that, although there was de facto segregation brought about by the discipline of the prisoners in Crumlin Road Jail, it was still a very tense and dangerous situation.

To generous and warm applause she thanked the people of the area who had worked so hard on behalf of the prisoners and who made her feel so welcome. "Keep up the good work," she said in conclusion.

Australian trade unionists on tour

AN Australian delegation of trade unionists, en route from Moscow to Belfast on an international fact-finding tour, were stopped and questioned at length by police at Stranraer, Scotland, as they boarded a boat for Larne, at the start of a nine-day tour of Ireland.

The official delegation had just come from the World Trade Union Congress (the largest trade union gathering in the world) in Moscow when they were stopped as they boarded the boat for Larne.

They were questioned for over an hour by a senior police officer

about every aspect of their fact-finding tour, who they were meeting, where they were staying and why they were visiting the Six Counties at all.

The group described the process as "demeaning and wholly unnecessary". No other passengers were held or questioned but the boat was delayed for over an hour as the four were held.

While in the Six Counties, the group will be meeting with various trade unionists from all sections of the community in order to gain the clearest picture possible of the situation here.

They will also be meeting with Glór na nGael, the Springhill community, Gerry Adams MP and the Fair Employment Trust.

At the Moscow conference a motion proposed by the delegation condemning "discriminatory employment practices on the grounds of religious background", was debated in committee for three days and then passed unanimously by the congress.

This was in spite of objections from members of British delegations and an attempt to sidetrack the motion by questioning the validity of an Australian delegation putting forward a motion on Ireland.

The tour itself will be used to gather accurate information on the situation in the North which will be used to inform debate in Australia on the issue.

REMEMBERING THE PAST Kilmichael Ambush

BY PETER O'ROURKE

BY the summer of 1920, with the British desperately trying to maintain its civil administration in Ireland, it was beset with the problem of mass resignation from the RIC.

At the end of July Sir Hamar Greenwood, the English chief secretary in Ireland, announced in the House of Commons the founding of a new force of cadets, ex-British army officers, to augment the RIC and fill the gaps created by the resignations. The following month about 1,500 auxiliaries, or cadets as they were officially known, were despatched to Ireland.

About 150 members of the new force arrived in Macroom, County Cork, and commandeered Macroom Castle as their barracks.

Of all the ruthless forces that occupied Ireland throughout the centuries, the Auxiliaries, or Auxies as they became known, were surely some of the worst. Recruited from ex-British officers who had fought in the First World War, and publicised as the very best of England's fighting men, they were openly established as a terrorist force to wipe out all resistance to British rule in Ireland.

Highly paid and with no regard for discipline, they were habitual looters.

They were heavily armed, each man carried a rifle, two revolvers and a number of Mills grenades.

Based on their experiences in the First World War, there had been fostered about them a legend of invincibility as fighting men. Their reputation, however, was put to the test for the first time on a West Cork road in late November, 1920.

At 2am that Sunday morning a Flying Column of 36 heavily armed IRA Volunteers, led by Tom Barry, assembled at Ahilina and marched ten miles, throughout the night in the lashing rain, to engage the Auxiliaries on the road between Macroom and Dunmanway at Kilmichael Cross.

By 9am all the men were in position and throughout the day the Volunteers, their clothes drenched by the previous night's rain, lay in wait on the sodden heather. The column had no food and there was nothing to do but wait, think and shiver in the biting cold. The hours passed slowly and towards evening the gloom deepened over the bleak Kilmichael countryside.

At 4.30pm, throughout the gathering dusk, two Crossley tenders carrying 18 Auxiliaries drove into Barry's carefully prepared ambush. In a fierce gun battle which lasted over 30 minutes and ended in hand-to-hand fighting, 17 Auxiliaries were killed and one mortally wounded.

The Volunteers suffered three casualties, Pat Deasey, Kilmacsimon, Michael McCarthy, Dunmanway, and Jim O'Sullivan, Rosemore. All three were killed by a number of Auxiliaries who had pretended to surrender during the battle.

Having set fire to the tenders, the column marched off with the captured enemy equipment and at 11pm, after an eleven-mile hike, reached Granure where they camped overnight. After a three-day march South, the column, zig-zagging to avoid enemy reinforcements, dispersed and the Volunteers returned to their various units.

During the days following the ambush, the British forces converged on Kilmichael and carried out large-scale reprisals against the local population. Martial Law was proclaimed throughout Munster and a proclamation was issued by the Auxiliary division at Macroom directing that all males passing through Macroom with their hands in their pockets would be shot on sight.

The first engagement between IRA Volunteers and Auxiliaries, remembered in the famous ballad *The Boy's of Kilmichael*, took place at Kilmichael, County Cork, on November 28th, 1920, 70 years ago this week.

AN PHOBLACHT/REPUBLICAN NEWS, Thursday, November 29th, 1990 — Leathanach 15

nDáil Chruimhne

BRADY, John (18th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol John Brady, Derry Brigade, Ogligh na hÉireann, who was killed in an accidental explosion on November 28th 1973. I miss the lachra na nGael go raibh sé. Always remembered by his friends and comrades in the Derry Brigade.

CARR, James (18th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol James Carr, Derry Brigade, Ogligh na hÉireann, who was killed in action on November 28th 1973. Fuair sé bás ar son mhuintir na hÉireann. Always remembered by his friends and comrades in the Derry Brigade.

CRAWFORD, Laura; FOX, Paul (15th Anniversary). The Republican Movement remembers with pride Vol Laura Crawford, Cumann na mBan, and Vol Paul Fox, Ogligh na hÉireann, who were killed in a premature explosion on December 1st 1975. Fuair siad bás ag tróid ar son saoirse na hÉireann.

CRAWFORD, Laura; FOX, Paul (15th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Laura Crawford and Paul Fox, who were killed in action on December 1st 1975. "The fools, the fools, the fools, they have left us our Fenian dead and while Ireland holds these graves, Ireland unfree shall never be at peace." Pádraig Pearse. Always remembered by the Fox/Crawford Sinn Féin Cumann, Waterford.

FLEMING, Ciaran; Mac GIOLLA BHRIGHDE, Antoine (6th Anniversary). The Republican Movement remembers with pride Vol Ciaran Fleming and Antoine Mac Giolla Bhrighde, who died after an engagement with crown forces in County Fermanagh on December 2nd 1984. Fuair siad bás ar son na saoirse.

FLEMING, Ciaran; Mac GIOLLA BHRIGHDE, Antoine (6th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vols Ciaran Fleming and Antoine Mac Giolla Bhrighde who died on December 2nd 1984. Fuair siad bás ag tróid ar son saoirse na hÉireann. Always remembered by their friends and comrades in the West Fermanagh Brigade.

FLEMING, Ciaran (6th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Ciaran Fleming, Ogligh na hÉireann, who died on December 2nd 1984. I miss the lachra na nGael go raibh sé. Always remembered by Tony (Portlaoise) and Marie and Toni.

FOX, Paul (15th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Paul Fox, 'B' Coy, 2nd Battalion, Belfast Brigade, Ogligh na hÉireann, who died on active service on December 1st 1975. St Paul, pray for him. Though I am dead grieve not for me with tears, think not of death with sorrowing and fears. I am so near that every tear you shed touches and tortures me. Though you think me dead, when you laugh and sing in glad delight, my soul is lifted upward to the light. Laugh and be glad for all that is given and I the dead will share your joy in living. They are not lost, our loved ones, nor have they travelled far, just stepped inside home's loveliest room and left the door ajar. Always remembered by his loving Mum and Dad, brothers and sisters.

FOX, Paul (15th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my dear brother Paul Fox, who was killed on active service on December 1st 1975. Mary, Queen of the Gael, pray for

him. I think of you in silence. I often speak your name. All I have are memories and your picture in a frame. My heart still aches with sadness. My secret tears still flow for what it meant to lose you, Paul, no-one will ever know. Still loved and missed by his loving sister Paula.

FOX, Paul (15th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my dear brother Paul Fox who died on December 1st 1975. Loving you always, Paul, forgetting you never. Always remembered by his loving sister Carmel, brother-in-law Gerry and family.

FOX, Paul; CRAWFORD, Laura (15th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my friend Vol Paul 'Boss' Fox and Cumann na mBan Vol Laura Crawford, who were killed tragically on December 1st 1975. Both gave their young lives so that Britain would go and Ireland would have peace and justice and freedom. Always remembered by Danny Morrison.

Mac GIOLLA BHRIGHDE, Antoine (6th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Antoine Mac Giolla Bhrighde, who died on active service on December 2nd 1984. Fuair sé bás ar son saoirse mhuintir na hÉireann. Always remembered by the County Derry and South West Antrim Comhairle Ceantair Sinn Féin.

McDade, James (15th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol James McDade, who was killed on active service on November 14th 1974. Always remembered by the Terence MacSwiney Sinn Féin Cumann, Shannon.

MORGAN, Desmond (17th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Desmond Morgan, Ogligh na hÉireann, who was shot by British forces while on active service on November 26th 1973. Fuair sé bás ar son na saoirse. Always remembered by his friends and comrades in the Republican Movement, County Tyrone.

MORGAN, Desmond (17th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Desmond Morgan, who was killed on active service on November 26th 1973. Fuair sé bás ar son saoirse na hÉireann. Always remembered by Omagh Comhairle Ceantair Sinn Féin.

MORGAN, Desmond (17th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Desmond Morgan, who died on November 26th 1973. Always remembered by South Tyrone Comhairle Ceantair Sinn Féin.

MORGAN, Desmond (17th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Desmond Morgan, who died on November 26th 1973. Always remembered by the Dungannon Martyrs Sinn Féin Cumann.

MORGAN, Desmond (17th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Desmond Morgan, who died on November 26th 1973. Always remembered by the Coalisland Martyrs Sinn Féin Cumann.

MORGAN, Desmond (17th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Desmond Morgan, who died on November 26th 1973. Always remembered by the Clonmel Martyrs Sinn Féin Cumann.

MORGAN, Desmond (17th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Desmond Morgan, who died on November 26th 1973. Always remembered by the Clonmel Martyrs Sinn Féin Cumann, Clough.

Comhbhrón

CONATY. Deepest sympathy is extended to Sean Conaty on the recent death of his father, John. From Angela and all in No. 5.

CONATY. Deepest sympathy is extended to Sean Conaty on the recent death of his father, John. From Ann O'Sullivan.

CONATY. Deepest sympathy is extended to Sean on the recent death of his father, John. From the customers in the Eccles Bar.

MAIL ORDER CHRISTMAS BOOKS

IF YOU wish to order a book for Christmas or would like us to send a book to a friend, relative or POWs, please fill in the appropriate details below.

Politics of Irish Freedom	by Gerry Adams	£3.95
Ten Men Dead	by David Beresford	£4.54
Britain's War Machine in Ireland	by Maurice Burke	£6.50
Page 11	by Gerry Adams	£4.95
The SAS in Ireland	by Raymond Murray	£16.99
IRA	by Tim Pat Coogan	£6.95
Error of Judgement	by Chris Mullin	£4.99
Twenty Years On	by Michael Farrell	£4.95
James Connolly Vol 1 & Vol 2		£7.00 each
A Pathway to Peace	by Gerry Adams	£2.95
Peggy Deery	by Nell McCafferty	£4.95
Disillusioned Decades	by Tim Pat Coogan	£9.95
British Brutality in Ireland	by Jack O'Brien	£7.95
Northern Ireland — The Orange State	by Michael Farrell	£11.50
West Belfast	by Danny Morrison	£5.95
No Comment		£4.35
Without Consent	Troops Out Movement	60p
Nothing but the Same Old Story		£3.00

Please make cheques or postal orders payable to

Sinn Féin Book Bureau,

44 Parnell Square, Dublin 1.

Add £1.50 (Ireland and Britain) £3.50 elsewhere for package and postage.

Orders should be placed by December 11th to ensure arrival before Christmas.

Name of person to be sent book

Address

Book

Author

Your Name

Address

If extra books are required please use a separate sheet of paper stating the above.

Beannachtai

MOLLOY, Martin (H3-Block). Happy birthday. From Mum, Dad, Anne, John, Patrick, Ciaran, Conor and Barry.

MOLLOY, Martin (H3-Block). Happy birthday. From Petie, Anne and Kerry.

MOORE, Dermot (Crumlin Road). Love and kisses on your birthday. From your loving wife Kathleen and children John, Eugene and Kyla.

MOORE, Dermot (Crumlin Road). Wishing you all the best on your birthday. From Mary and family.

MOORE, Dermot (Crumlin Road). Happy birthday. From Martina, Robby and family.

MOORE, Dermot (Crumlin Road). Happy birthday. From Roseleen, Brian and family.

MOORE, Dermot (Crumlin Road). Happy birthday. From Dinger and Saoirse.

MOORE, Dermot (Crumlin Road). Happy birthday 'Big Asa'. Love and miss you. From Debbie and Saoirse. xxx

MOORE, Dermot (Crumlin Road). Happy birthday. All the best. From Barry.

MOORE, Dermot (Crumlin Road). Happy birthday. Can't make it up for the party. I'm dying with a hangover!!! Take care. Love from Stephen, Siobhán and Sarah.

MOORE, Dermot (Crumlin Road). Many happy returns on your 25th. Love always. From Mum and Dad. xxx

MOORE, Dermot (Crumlin Road). Happy birthday. Wish I could give you a big sloppy kiss. Love and cuddles. From James O'Connor, also Eileen and kids.

MOORE, Dermot (Crumlin Road). Best wishes Dermot. From your friends in Clones.

MOORE, Dermot (Crumlin Road). Remember you always. From the gorilla in Biv and Limerick Taxi Services.

O'NEILL, Joe (Long Kesh). Happy birthday Joe. From the members of the Kent Star Celtic Supporters' Club, Glasgow.

O'NEILL, Joe (Long Kesh). Happy birthday Joe. We'll have a few drinks for you. From Stef, Alison and Kevin Barry.

O'NEILL, Joe (Long Kesh). Happy birthday Joe. See you soon. From Willie and Helen.

O'NEILL, Joe (Long Kesh). Happy birthday Joe. All the best. From Tony, Joany and Ciaran.



THE FLYING COLUMN

BRAZIL'S PELE cannot join the gardai, Worker's party TD Eamonn Gilmore complained this week when he called for the height limit on Garda entrants to be reduced.

Under the current regulations, the Student Prince revealed to an unsuspecting public, the world-famous Brazilian footballer wouldn't be able to sign up with the Templemore Football. "Pele was the greatest footballer of all time but he would not get into the Irish guards because of his height," Gilmore wisely observed.

And what about Mother Theresa, Barry McGuigan, Brit sports minister Colin Moynihan, Bosco and Zig & Zag, *The Flying Column* asks! They are also barred! There's just no justice in the guards, is there?

Or maybe they have more brains than to even think of joining.

THE RAF'S 'ARMY COUNCIL', the Air Force Board, has kindly invited *The Flying Column* to drop in on tonight's presentation at the University College of North Wales on 'The Royal Air Force Today'.

Unfortunately, I'll have to miss the refreshments served at 7.30pm and the wee chat by PJ Hall because the formal invite and RSVP card requests the pleasure of my guests and "my company". My mate Chuckie points out that I don't have a company but he says he knows 'A' Company would be interested. What does he mean?

THE RAF INVITE has a nice little blurb about the RAF Presentation Team which swans around Britland telling the public about "the vital part that modern air power plays in defending our country".

That vital part must have been missing elsewhere in North Wales earlier this month when the RAF ducked out of the Remembrance Day service at Bangor because the Brylcreem Boys at the RAF Valley base were afraid of attracting the attention of the IRA, the threat being "unusually high", an RAF Godfather said.

FUSILIER STUART SMITH-BLAINE, the Brit soldier who had

his legs slapped by his O/C in 1980 for climbing a lamp-post in Birmingham to hurl abuse and make obscene gestures at a Bloody Sunday march while in full Brit army uniform, will be wearing another uniform for the next 12 months.

The up-the-pole, demobbed fusilier had obviously not been defused and has been found guilty by Warwick Crown Court of stealing guns and ammunition from Parker Hale in Birmingham, where he was a weapons tester. Luckily for SB, his defence made it clear that his client wasn't Irish and he was sentenced to one year's imprisonment instead of the customary 15 to 25.



GETTING HIS HANDS slapped was Corporal Allan Gray of the Royal Electrical & Mechanical Engineers, who slipped into the bedroom of one of his friends and proceeded to grope his wife as they lay asleep on a water bed.

Michelle Margison awoke to feel a hand fondling her in the dark but found that her husband, Corporal Steven Margison, was fast asleep. The hand kept moving nevertheless and the startled couple switched the light on to discover the roaming REME, Gray, lying on the floor with his hands under the sheets.

Gray was jailed for four months.

BRIT BOMB SQUAD ex-boss Roy Habershon, who hunted down IRA suspects in the early '70s, this week complained that there is no hope for a fair hearing for the accused in an IRA bombing case.

"Effectively charged, indicted, tried and convicted," was how Roy Boy described the case of the Guildford Three.

Sorry — the Guildford Three? Yes, the Guildford Three.

Roy is upset that three Surrey detectives, facing trial for conspiracy to pervert the course of justice, have had their cases prejudiced by the remarks of Lord Justice Lane reported in the media when he quashed the convictions of Paul Hill, Gerard Conlon, Paddy Armstrong and Carole Richardson last year.

WITH THE MAJORETTES triumphant in perpetuating the hated elected dictatorship of the Thatcher dynasty in Britain, what will happen now to War Minister Tom King who backed leadership loser Douglas Hurd?

King is the only senior cabinet minister in British history to be in contempt of court twice and still not be sacked or sent to jail — the first time in the Winchester Three case and the second when refusing to release documents about the movements of submarines in the Irish Sea to a fisherman's family investigating the sinking of his boat in a "freak accident" off the Welsh coast.

Even Nixon and Reagan wouldn't keep King on.

THE BAD NEWS for some is that the Duke of Westminster, Britain's wealthiest man, has announced that he is being forced by security advisers to close the private golf club on his Eaton estate, near Chester, because the course runs to within 100 yards of the fat cat's Eaton Hall country residence and he may be an IRA target.

The good news for the club's 540 members or any other sports-minded people is that they still have until December 31st, 1992, before it closes — that gives you two years to get in the odd round.

FOUR FIJIAN soldiers and an ex-officer were given suspended jail sentences last week for kidnapping and torturing a civil rights university lecturer and opponent of the sectarian-biased constitution of Fiji.

The ex-officer, Sotia Ponjase, was previously a captain in Britain's SAS. Old habits obviously die hard.

MAJOR DISASTER. Before becoming Britain's Chancellor of the Exchequer, John Major was once turned down when he went for a bus conductor's job because he couldn't add up the money properly!

MAJOR MINOR. When John Major's father lost his job in the circus as a trapeze artist, for a living he produced garden gnomes. He later produced little John but his son seldom got in the way of his work — the gnomes were far more interesting.

MALVINAS REVENGE. On hearing of the political demise of Thatcher, Socialist Workers' Party supporters gathered at the security gates of Downing Street with placards bearing the slogan: "Gotcha!"

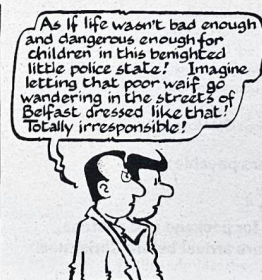
Dúirt Siad

She seems to derive more pleasure from admiring new missiles than great works of art. What else can we expect from an ex-Spam hoarder from Grantham presiding over the social and economic decline of our country. — Labour MP Tony Banks.

I often compare the prime minister with Florence Nightingale. She stalks through the wards of our hospitals as a lady with a lamp — unfortunately, it's a blowlamp. — Labour MP Denis Healey.

Personally, I admired her. She was an icon. — The Workers' Party chief ideologist for 20 years and Workers' Party leader Proinsias de Rossa's speech-writer, Eoghan Harris, on soul-mate Thatcher.

The behaviour of the Conservatives over the past few days does not inspire confidence in their resolution to do what has to be done in Ireland: to recognise that Northern Ireland is a failed entity and to help build new political structures which involve all the people of the island. — Irish News editorial, Friday, November 23rd.



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