



An Phoblacht

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REPUBLICAN NEWS

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Thursday, 15 September 1994



• Danny Pettigrew leaves a Belfast court after finally gaining his freedom

BALLYMURPHY 7

ORDEAL GOES ON

**OPEN THE
BORDER
ROADS
RALLY**

**MONAGHAN TOWN
2.30pm Saturday
September 24**

**Floats, bands, banners and spades.
Guest speakers**

**Sunday 25 September
ROAD-OPENINGS
AND PROTESTS
ON THE BORDER**

**DUBLIN BUSES
Saturday 24 September 11.30am
Garden of Remembrance
Sunday 25 September 10am GPO.**

AFTER BEING HELD for three years on remand, two more members of the group of young miscarriage of justice victims, known as the Ballymurphy Seven, have finally been released by a Diplock judge.

But Danny Pettigrew, Stephen McMullan and their families and supporters had little to celebrate in the Belfast courtroom as the three remaining victims of RUC interrogation squads were sent for trial on the basis of forced confessional evidence.

The Ballymurphy Seven were all physically and psychologically abused by the RUC in the notorious Castlereagh Interrogation Centre, before being forced to sign statements. These 'confessions' are the entire basis of the case against the remaining three. After this week's judicial charade four of the original

seven are now free, released after long periods in jail because even a Diplock Court could not go on with the charade of attempting to convict them. Their 'confessions' were thrown out, but the judge was quick to defend the interrogation techniques of their RUC tormentors.

The Ballymurphy Seven campaign has attracted the support of human rights groups, MPs, TDs and US members of Congress, yet still the corrupt Six-County judicial system has chased its pound of flesh. The young men have already rejected a number of face-saving 'deals' which would have secured their

prompt release, but only at the price of a guilty plea.

The remaining victims, Hugh McLaughlin, Michael Beck and Tony Garland are all innocent of the charges against them. They have already spent three years in jail and face the prospect now of a long trial beginning today (Thursday, 15 September). Even if they are eventually acquitted they will have served a savage sentence.

At a time when nationalists are hopeful of building a real peace process, the continuing injustice of this case is a stark reminder of the rotten nature of Britain's rule of law in the Six Counties. The ordeal of the Ballymurphy Seven is just the tip of the corrupt iceberg of two decades of Diplock justice.

— Full story see page 4

News

RUC thuggery at border opening

AN RUC UNIT attacked and severely beat one man and arrested three others as Derry nationalists reopened the Lenamore Road on the outskirts of the city on Saturday, 10 September 1994. People coming from the city towards the British blocked road were being stopped and questioned by the RUC. In some instances vehicles were searched. Evidence of RUC intentions were clear, a woman travelling in the opposite direction told campaigners that she had heard an RUC officer saying they were going to "scoop a couple of the bastards".

Trouble began when the RUC stopped a van containing three men. The RUC held the van before telling the men they were to be arrested. The trio challenged the RUC to state why they were being arrested, whereupon a sergeant said: "Charge them with anything." The men were arrested and held for several hours, but were not charged.

Cars coming behind the van could not pass so the occupants got out to see what was going on. The sergeant was at this stage becoming very agitated and ordered his patrol to "shoot the bastards if they don't move away".

It was at this point that the bystanders noticed that about six RUC officers were beating a man

that they had forced into a ditch. Using batons, this particularly notorious DMSU squad, led by a Sergeant Harkness, left the young man severely bruised and with back and head injuries. The man was able to scramble away from the RUC after other people intervened.

Both Sinn Féin spokespersons and eyewitnesses to the events of Saturday totally refuted RUC claims that five of their officers had been assaulted or injured. "The RUC version of events is a tissue of lies," said Sinn Féin's Gearóid O hÉara.

According to eyewitnesses the young man had been set upon by the RUC "for no reason" while a Sinn Féin activist at the scene said the RUC officers were being aggressive and "laid into the young man with boots and batons".

Since Monday, 5 September, border busters have opened and reopened several roads on the Derry/Donegal border, the first being at Coshquin. Campaigners targeted the Lenamore Road which runs from the Shantallow Estate to Donegal at the Brid-



● The widow of the late Sinn Féin Councillor Eddie Fullerton joins border busters at Lenamore Road on the Derry/Donegal border. The road was renamed Fullerton/McDaid Pass in his and IRA Volunteer James McDaid's honour

gend/Muff road. This particular border crossing was blocked at two different points. Massive cistern type drums, containing tons of concrete, spanned the width of the road and seemed unmovable without the use of heavy lifting machinery.

However, the border busters with a stroke of ingenuity used a digger to cut away the road and tipped the bollards into the hole and cleared the way through. This operation was repeated on Sunday at the second barrier. This time the RUC kept its distance and the clearing operation was carried out peacefully.

It was along this road in 1972 that the British army shot dead IRA Volunteer James (Junior) McDaid so it was in fitting tribute that the reopened road was renamed in memory of McDaid and of Sinn Féin Councillor Eddie Fullerton from Buncrana, shot dead by loyalists in 1991. The road was renamed Fullerton/McDaid Pass.

Dinah Fullerton and Patsy McDaid, widows of the two men carried out the 'people's opening'. Speaking to AP/RN, Dinah Fullerton said it was "wonderful that the two republicans were being honoured in this way". After the reopening ceremony two of Eddie Fullerton's daughters sang *Only Our Rivers Run Free*.

There were also border openings at Lackey Bridge and Drumfurrer over the weekend. On Sunday, 11 September, over 150 border busters worked through the day to reopen the Drumfurrer crossing between Tyrone and Monaghan.

The re-opened road provides a vital link between Monaghan town and Clogher. The opening was a rerun of the previous weekend, when the road had stayed open for less than 24 hours before British army engineers moved in to close the crossing. The same thing happened this week, but the Border Busters moved last Monday, 12 September, and reopened Drumfurrer yet again.

Lackey Bridge had its 40th opening last Saturday. The crossing between Roslea and Clones was opened by a crowd of over 100 people, using excavators and considerable manual effort. A planned opening at Killyclogher between Leitrim and Fermanagh was cancelled and will be held this coming Saturday, 17 September, at three o'clock.

Crowds demand demilitarisation

PEOPLE WERE out in force this week taking the struggle for an end to the British policy of closing border roads and the demand for British demilitarisation of nationalist areas onto the streets and fields of the Six Counties

West Belfast nationalists demanded demilitarisation when they picketed Woodburne RUC/British army Barracks on the Stewartstown Road. Sinn Féin Councillors Annie Armstrong and Michael Ferguson attended the demonstration. Councillor Ferguson served an eviction notice on the RUC and met with a senior RUC officer and told him that nationalists were vehemently opposed to the RUC.

In Belfast on Saturday, 10 September, nationalist residents of the New Lodge area were on the streets calling for the British army spy post on the roof of Templar flats to be dismantled. A spectacular 80-foot banner, proclaiming '25 Years: Time To Go', was hoisted onto the flats. Local Sinn Féin Councillor Paddy McManus addressed the crowd and activist Janice Quinn from Ardoyne paid tribute to the contribution made by nationalist women to the struggle and called for further commitment in the crucial time that lies ahead.

West Belfast residents gathered outside Andersonstown RUC Barracks on the Upper Falls Road. Over 100 people attended the rally which was covered extensively by media, including Japanese and Hungarian television. The crowd was addressed by Belfast Sinn Féin Councillor Mairtin O Muilleoir, who called for the immediate vacation of the barracks.

A Time To Go rally held in Omagh, County Tyrone, on Saturday 10 September, was attended

by several hundred people and by all six Omagh Sinn Féin councillors. The large crowd marched from the British army barracks at Gortin Road, to the courthouse in Omagh town centre. The Tyrone POW Department of Sinn Féin headed the march carrying a banner calling for the immediate release of all political prisoners. At the courthouse, Sinn Féin Councillor Francie Mackey and Belfast Sinn Féin Councillor Joe Austin along with Mid-Ulster representative Barry McElduff addressed the crowd. There was a heavy RUC presence along the route and they were handed P45 Employee Leaving Certificates, a gesture that some of the more notorious RUC officers found hard to accept.

On Sunday, South Armagh nationalists took a slightly different approach to the demand for demilitarisation and walked from Camlough to one of the British army's hilltop spy posts.

The group of 200 people included Newry and Mourne Councillor Conor Murphy, Belfast City Councillor and Sinn Féin National Chairperson Tom Hartley and Ard Chomhairle member Jim Gibney.

They marched to a local beauty spot called Kingshill, where the British army have a spy post, which was built in 1985, as part of what became known as the Hillsborough Wall.

The speakers who addressed the crowd highlighted the issue of land seized by the British crown forces from local people in the



● Barracks picket — Springfield



● Spy-post picket — South Armagh



● Street protest — Omagh



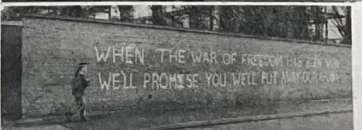
● White-line protest — Maghera



● Poster power — New Lodge



● Flying the flag — New Lodge



● Writing on the wall — Beechmount



● Notice of eviction — Woodbourne barracks

On Saturday, 10 September, members and supporters of Sinn Féin gathered in Daunt Square, Cork city, and received a very positive public response as they distributed leaflets on the peace process. The city has been posterized and public activity continues every Saturday.

News

Loyalist bomb at SF councillor's home

THE UVF BOMB ATTACK on the home of Sinn Féin Councillor John Hurl, on Friday, 9 September, was an attempt to derail the peace process and provoke a reaction from the IRA.

Hurl, the vice-chairperson of Magherafelt District Council, was alerted to the bomb, attached by a cord to the handle of the back door of the house, when his daughter came to visit the family home at around 7am.

The lunchbox device contained shrapnel and nearly five pounds of explosive, and was clearly intended to kill the person who opened the door. Hurl said that another daughter who usually leaves the house at around 6.30am would have been killed in the attack had she not, fortunately, changed her routine.

Despite the crown forces carrying out a "clearance operation"

which lasted several hours, pieces of tape and string, presumably from the device, were left on the step at the rear door of the Hurl home.

According to Councillor Patsy Groogan, the attack follows a pattern similar to others carried out against republicans with "continual crown forces harassment and constant heavy patrolling" of the areas in which they live.

"This in turn is followed by a convenient and noticeable lull in crown forces presence."

Also this week, Sinn Féin in Kilrea in South Derry has asked people to be vigilant following death threats to individuals from the UDA.



● Sinn Féin Councillor John Hurl at home following the UVF booby-trap bomb attack on Sunday, 11 September

UVF targets Dublin again

● BY ART Mac EOIN

A FAULTY DETONATOR prevented the explosion of a 2kg UVF bomb and death and injury to many passengers on the Belfast to Dublin train, as it pulled into Connolly Station on Monday, 12 September.

One woman was slightly injured by the blast. As the train arrived in Dublin, the detonator ignited under her seat. The UVF had given Iarnród Éireann an inadequate one-minute warning. UVF claims that it had planted six other devices proved to be false.

The Connolly Station bomb was the first UVF attack in Dublin since the attempted massacre at

the Widow Scallan's bar in Pearse Street, during which IRA Volunteer Martin Doherty was shot dead.

Ulster Democratic Party spokesperson Gary McMichael threatened further bombings in the 26 Counties, alleging that the UVF was sending a warning to the Dublin government that while it "courted" Sinn Féin, loyalist

paramilitaries had not gone away.

The most sinister aspect of the attack was that the bomb contained commercial explosives, indicating that the attacks may have involved elements within the British intelligence services who were behind past bomb attacks in Dublin in 1972 and 1974, with the aim of forcing the Dublin government to change the course of its policy on the Six Counties.

Sinn Féin Vice President Pat Doherty pointed out that the bomb attack was an attempt to derail the peace process. "Now, as in the past, the aim is to force the



● GARY McMICHAEL government back into a closed-door policy regarding the North,

with a purely internal arrangement in the Six Counties."

Sinn Féin Dublin City Councillor Christy Burke said: "Like the Dublin/Monaghan bombings, this is an attempt to intimidate all Irish people away from the necessary work of building a just and lasting solution to this centuries-old conflict."

"The continuing attacks by loyalists on nationalists, North and South of the border, are a sad reflection on their lack of vision for the future. This is a time of great opportunity for us all, and I hope that attacks like this will soon be a thing of the past. Loyalists have nothing to fear from the peace process. We must all build for the future together."



● Connolly Station, which was the scene of a murderous UVF massacre bid on Monday, 12 September

LOYALISTS RIOT AT COURT HEARING

THE ATTACK by loyalists on relatives and friends of 23-year-old Ardoyne man Stephen Larkin, accused of attempting to kill UDA death squad leader John Adair, occurred in full view of numerous members of the RUC.

A 40-strong gang of loyalists from the nearby Shankill estate threw punches and waste-bins at female relatives of Larkin, who were attending the court hearing on Tuesday, 13 September. The attack

lasted several minutes before court officials called for RUC intervention. Sinn Féin POW spokesperson Francie Molloy criticised the RUC after the attack and said:

"From last week, loyalists have been engaged in a constant barrage of physical and verbal abuse of the relatives and friends of Stephen Larkin.

"The RUC obviously knew that there would be further trouble today with a crowd of about 40 loyalists attended the hearing. Normally, access to the court is restricted but in this case it

appears that loyalists were given free run of the court."

Having being evicted from the court onto Crumlin Road, the loyalist gang, backed up now by masked men armed with cudgels, laid siege to the building. The crown forces still did not intervene. Petrol bombs and missiles were thrown and a hijacked van was set on fire behind the courthouse.

One of Stephen Larkin's relatives told AP/RN that the situation was very tense and that they were worried that they would not get out of the court safely. "After what happened we could not trust the RUC to protect us." Eventually, a coach was hired to bring the relatives to safety.

In the aftermath of the court disturbances, loyalists were involved in a spate of hijackings and rioting against the crown forces. In at least one case, a number of shots were fired in the North Queen Street area of North Belfast.

News

Two of Ballymurphy Seven released

THREE GO TO TRIAL

AFTER more than three years on remand, another two of the Ballymurphy Seven, Danny Pettigrew and Stephen McMullan, walked free from Crumlin Road court on Monday, 12 September, when their 'confessions' were thrown out by Judge Kerr. In a hastily-delivered judgement, which lasted barely ten minutes, he said that there were significant questions over the interrogation of the two, but not surprisingly, he refused to accept that they had been subjected to ill-treatment and torture while in custody.

Earlier this year, another two of the seven, Brendan McCrory and Ciaran McAllister, were released "to avoid unfairness and in the interests of justice".

Scenes of joy were short-lived in court as Judge Kerr then ruled that the 'confessions' made by the remaining three, Michael Beck, Hugh McLaughlin and

Tony Garland, are admissible as evidence.

Families and supporters of the seven were deeply angered at the judgement and by the treatment they received in court. Those in the public gallery were unable to hear what was happening and only became aware that two of the boys were being freed when they stood up in the dock to embrace and bid farewell to their friends. Supporters in the public gallery called for the release of the

remaining boys and condemned the activities of the RUC.

After his release, Danny Pettigrew said:

"I felt like apologising to the people alongside me in the box when I heard I was to be freed. I can't find any reason why they let us out and not them. We were all forced to sign confessions after ill-treatment and torture in Castlereagh."

Stephen McMullan went on to say:

"We won't be free until they are

freed. They are innocent men and people should be helping them. The RUC and judges should not be allowed to get away with this."

Speaking on behalf of the families, Josie Garland said:

"They arrested, tortured and forced from our sons admissions of involvement in something of which they are innocent. In our opinion, having lived through three years of hell with our children in Crumlin Road Prison, the RUC is an unacceptable force, incapable of behaving like a police force."

Commenting on the judgement, Sinn Féin spokesperson Barry McElduff said:

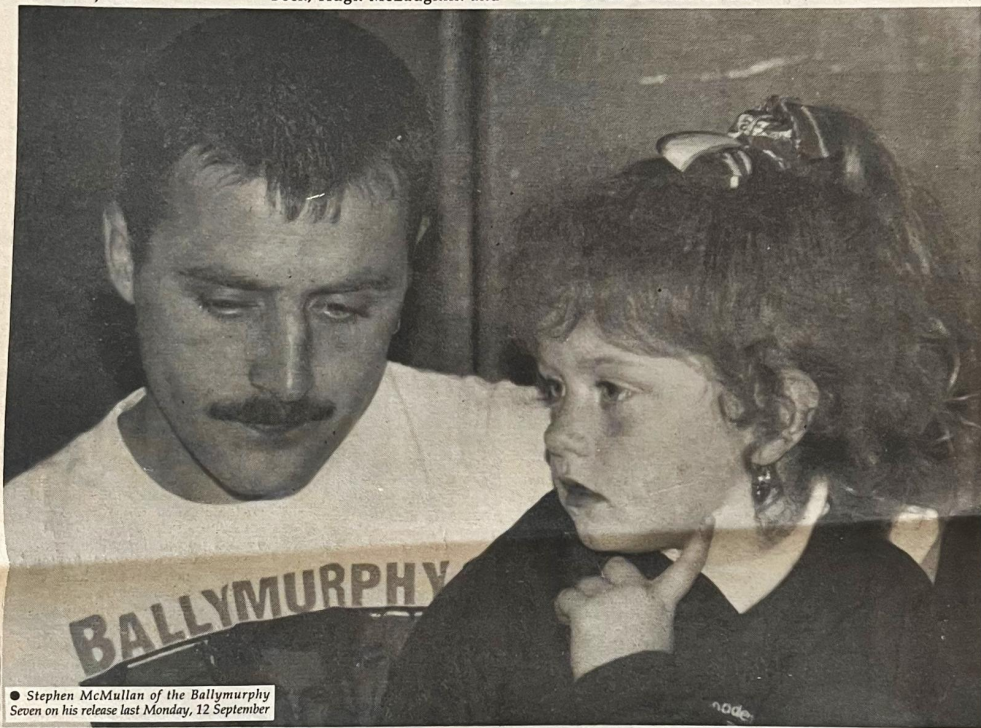
"The decision to proceed with the trial of the last three members of the Ballymurphy Seven is inherently unjust. All cases which are based solely on confession evidence are suspect from the outset. The experience of Birmingham and Guildford underline this truth."

The court hearing was attended by Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams, Amnesty International, the Committee for the Administration of Justice, the Brehon Law Society (USA) and the Voice of the Innocent group from Dublin.

To coincide with Monday's court appearance, Voice of the Innocent in Dublin issued an appeal letter calling for the release of all of the boys. Signatories to the letter include TDs Declan Bree, Tony Gregory, Éamon O Cuív and Neil Blaney and Labour MPs Ken Livingstone and Tony Benn. It was also signed by many of those involved in similar miscarriage of justice cases.

The trial of Michael Beck, Tony Garland, and Hugh McLaughlin begins today (Thursday, 15 September).

The families and supporters of the seven have vowed to continue the campaign until all the boys are freed. Anyone wishing to get involved in the campaign can do so by contacting Belfast (0232) 232234 or Dublin (01) 8367497.



● Stephen McMullan of the Ballymurphy Seven on his release last Monday, 12 September

Regional papers welcome chance for peace

■ BY LIAM O COILEAIN

REGIONAL NEWSPAPERS welcomed the IRA's cessation statement and have been generally optimistic for the future. If there was a trend, it was that papers in border areas, which have been most directly affected by the conflict, devoted more coverage to the peace process than others.

The Cavan-based *Anglo Celt* blasted the word "CEASEFIRE" across its front page on 1 September, recording the moment with "a palpable sense of history". Its editorial foresaw great changes in the future, in particular the growth of left-wing parties "which could challenge the dominance of political conservatism here".

The Monaghan-based *Northern Standard's* front page on 1 September was similarly exuberant. "THE END! — Historic IRA Ceasefire Supplies Substance for Peace," it exclaimed, recording "an overwhelmingly positive and optimistic reaction at all religious, political and community levels" in the county for the announcement. Its editorial noted that "the politicians have been declaring that peaceful negotiation is the only way.

The *Western People*, in a mostly negative and begrudging column,

put forward the hypothesis that Sinn Féin might even take over the SDLP in the future and that "a newly-confident and respectable Sinn Féin, with its tightly-knit organisation, would be a formidable force, which might, in time, threaten some of the southern parties as well".

The *Derry People* and *Donegal News* exclaimed happily that "the long shadow cast over Donegal for the past 25 years began to shorten at midnight on Wednesday". It, the *Donegal Democrat* and other papers in border areas, looked forward to a boost in the tourism industry as a result.

In an editorial the following week, the *Donegal Democrat* was less optimistic, warning that the Six Counties "is a tinderbox awaiting a spark that could rekindle conflagration yet again". In a separate story, the paper recorded the visit to the county of the Ulster

Society for the Promotion of British Culture, for a historic tour of the Lagan. The society was greeted by members of Letterkenny Urban Council and presented with council ties (and presentation boxes of sweets for the women and children). Reporter Connie Duffy likened the fraternal visit as the Ulsterbus crossed the border to "Apollo 11's successful moon landing mission of 25 years ago".

The *Sligo Champion* of 2 September described the cessation as "a major turning point" but warned that it was only the first step "on a very long, hard road to an agreed settlement".

The *Roscommon Champion* dismissed the "semantic and pedantic" arguments over the cessation statement, saying that the cessation was "the single most significant development in Irish history since the Treaty which enshrined partition and since violence broke out in the North in 1969". It concluded that "in the final analysis, in this as in so many matters, actions speak louder than words".

The *Drogheda Independent* was cautiously hopeful, although this

positive tone was tempered by its ready acceptance of spurious 'IRA racketeering' stories and a homily on the use of force.

The following week, 9 September, it carried a special page on the new developments, headed "A New Dawn", recording the optimistic views of people in the town who had been forced out or decided to move from the North.

Kerry's Eye favoured a united federal Ireland based on the "now scorned Éire Nua document of the '70s" but it added: "There is no hurry. If the violence ends, we can debate at leisure. Permanent peace 'comes dropping slow'."

The *Nationalist* and *Monster Advertiser* of 10 September addressed itself to the unionists, advising that "they should not stay aloof from the process of peace that is evolving on this island".

The *Nationalist* and *Leinster Times* of 9 September wondered if the day was not far off when Gerry Adams and James Molyneux could "sit at the one table and sup

from the one bowl", but it concluded that "it will take longer before Ian Paisley can find his way into the 20th Century".

The Methodist minister of Portlaoise and Mountmellick, Reverend John Stephen, was hopeful about the prospects and also had an interesting local angle. "Would it not be nice," he wondered, "for Portlaoise to be recognised on its own merits rather than the town which houses the Republic's high-security prison?"

The *Longford Leader* of 9 September was churlish in its front-page article by Eugene McGee, who wondered if the cessation was in fact an IRA surrender. In the paper of Albert Reynolds' heartland, he was lauded throughout. Elsewhere, it recorded that in Stokestown District Court, a judge, dealing with a traffic case in which a local man alleged garda harassment, impatiently fumed: "On this beautiful day in Ireland, when the most serious vendetta has been buried, I don't want to hear about personal vendettas." Some things never change.

News

Burke pledges to stand by street traders

SINN FÉIN Dublin City Councillor Christy Burke said that he was satisfied with last week's High Court ruling quashing a one-month's sentence imposed on himself and fellow Councillor Tony Gregory TD.

The sentence was imposed on the pair in the District Court in July 1987, arising from their participation in a peaceful protest by Dublin street traders in July 1985. They were charged with causing a breach of the peace in O'Connell Street. The street traders had blocked the traffic in protest after a large number of gardai had driven them off Henry Street. Within 20 minutes the gardai, using heavy-handed tactics and with batons drawn, arrested everybody. Burke and Gregory were among them.

Under the 1842 Police Act the maximum fine is 40 shillings. The judge decided to instead ask both to sign a peace bond with a surety of £1,000 or face a month's imprisonment.

Both men pleaded guilty to the original charge, but refused to sign the bond as it would have

prevented them from making public protests on any issues concerning their constituents. In January and February of 1986 respectively both men were arrested and taken to Mountjoy Prison for refusing to be bound over. Burke, Gregory and a number of street traders spent two weeks in Mountjoy. At the time Christy Burke said:

"These people have a constitutional right to earn a living and Sinn Féin will not sit back and watch them hounded off the streets."

In 1987 they were again sent to Mountjoy Prison for continuing to refuse to sign the bond, but appealed to the High Court within days for a judicial review, arguing that the imposition of such a stringent measure was out of proportion with the original offence.

In the High Court on Friday, 9 September, Judge Rory O'Hanlon

ruled that the District Court was within its constitutional rights to order the two men to sign the bond or face a month's imprisonment. But O'Hanlon also ruled that because of the amount of time which had elapsed that the order for imprisonment should be quashed as its purpose was spent. Both councillors, however, will have to pay their own costs.

Commenting on the decision, Councillor Burke said:

"I feel that this was a dignified outcome to the case. It was a fair judgement. We could not have signed the bond in all conscience as it would have prevented us from adequately working on behalf of the street traders, a group who are marginalised and discriminated against."

"I personally will remain loyal to the street traders. The problem lies not with people who are following a long Dublin tradition of earning a living, but with other more influential groups who deny them designated trading areas."



● Sinn Féin Councillor Christy Burke with Tony Gregory TD, at the original court hearing in July 1987

Republicans in daring escape bid

■ BY MICK NAUGHTON

THE BOLD AND DEFIANT bid for freedom by five republican prisoners and a civilian prisoner from the new state-of-the-art high security Whitemoor Prison has led to calls by the British media and establishment for the resignation of British Home Secretary Michael Howard.

Last Friday's break-out from Whitemoor Prison in Cambridgeshire, England, narrowly failed when the alarm was raised, guard dogs were let loose on the escapees and the rapid deployment of a helicopter equipped with thermal imaging technology, searchlights and radar located two of the POWs who got beyond the prison's perimeter.

Whitemoor Prison is one of Britain's newest and most sophisticated prisons, built at a cost of £2 million and only opened three years ago. At the time of its opening officials said that security was impenetrable. Courage and ingenuity proved them wrong.

The five republicans, Paul Magee and Liam McCotter, both from Belfast, Gilbert 'Danny' McNamee from Crossmaglen, Peter Sherry from Tyrone and Liam O Duibhir from Dublin are all serving long sentences. Magee, was one of six republicans who shot their way to freedom from Crumlin Road Jail in Belfast 13 years ago. Nonpolitical prisoner, Andrew Russell, also took part in the escape.

The bid for freedom began when the six at the end of a

recreational period and just before night-time lock-up put their plan into action. The five republican prisoners armed with two pistols, had improvised ladders and used wire cutters to cut through the fences that blocked their route to freedom. Daringly they scaled four 35-foot high walls topped with razor wire and scanned by closed circuit cameras.

Despite the fact that they were locked in a prison within a prison, the escapees avoided being detected on any of the dozens of surveillance cameras covering their escape route, and made it safely to the outside. During this first part of the escape, which began at 8.10pm, prison officer John Kettlebrough was shot and slightly wounded when he interfered with the escape attempt.

On reaching the exterior of the jail the escapees encountered a dog patrol which had been alerted because of the sound of gunfire. The prison officers set the dogs on the fleeing prisoners. Three shots were fired in the air by the escapees to try and deter their pursuers, but unfortunately four were captured. The other two, Liam O



● Prison officers search a ditch near Whitemoor Jail where two republican prisoners were found after their escape

Duibhir and Peter Sherry, made it to the A14 roadway over a mile away, where they concealed themselves in high grass close to the ditch.

However, the roadway was

speedily closed and the alert was signalled to surrounding police units and a helicopter patrol. It was in this follow-up operation that the two remaining escapees were recaptured after two and a

half hours of frantic searching by this large force of prison guards and armed police units.

Their return to the prison was the signal for prison guards to indulge in needless brutality against the six, which left them all (including the nonpolitical escapees) requiring emergency medical attention.

Of the five republicans who were beaten, Dingus Magee and Danny McNamee suffered worst, with McNamee requiring eleven stitches to a head wound. All were forcibly moved into solitary confinement despite several having wounds which were still bleeding.

AP/RN has learnt that the five will be split up (probably this weekend) and dispatched to separate prisons covering the length of England. As in the past following republican escapes or attempted escapes this will almost certainly take place without relatives being notified. Some of these relatives will be travelling to England this week, to visit their relatives and to find out the extent of the injuries.

In the immediate aftermath of the break-out, as it was being announced that an inquiry was being set up under Sir John Woodcock, instructions were being hastily issued by the British Prison Service that all prisoners in England holding Irish political hostages were to be put on "a special state of alert". This has resulted in republican prisoners' cells and personal belongings all over English prisons being pulled apart, particularly at Belmarsh Jail. This South London prison holds a number of republican remand prisoners.

Sinn Féin calls for 'popular dimension' to forum

SINN FÉIN'S Ard Chomhairle met on Saturday, 10 September, to discuss the evolving peace process. The Ard Chomhairle congratulated the IRA for their courageous initiative.

The meeting heard a report from Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams on his discussion with Albert Reynolds and John Hume. The meeting also discussed a range of options, including the party's preparation for the Forum for Peace and Reconciliation and the levels of harassment across the Six Counties. Sinn Féin intends to set

up a network to monitor the behaviour of crown forces.

After the meeting, party General Secretary Lucilita Bhreatnach said:

"There needs to be a popular dimension to the forthcoming forum. Submissions from campaigning organisations representing justice groups, women's

groups, trade unions and farming interests need to be part of the forum. The future of Ireland is too important to be left to the politicians."

Bhreatnach also called on the British government to immediately dismantle their military installations along the border, and to stop destroying roads opened by local residents.

Also on Saturday, Sinn Féin's Press Officer, Rita O'Hare,

denied that day's *Irish Press* report which stated that Gerry Adams had met Albert Reynolds a month ago.

"The story in today's *Irish Press* is untrue and malicious," she said. "In this climate, journalists have a responsibility to accurately reflect the situation and not run sensational stories based on lies."

Albert Reynolds also denied the report, and the *Irish Press* said

on Monday that it accepted his statement.

On Tuesday, Sinn Féin representatives met with Dublin government representatives in Government Buildings to discuss the terms of reference for the proposed Forum for Peace and Reconciliation. Sinn Féin was represented by party chairperson, Tom Hartley, Sinn Féin General Secretary Lucilita Bhreatnach and Ard Chomhairle member Anne Speed.



An Phoblacht

REPUBLICAN NEWS

15 SEPTEMBER 1994

LOYALISTS MUST FACE REALITY

THIS WEEK'S UVF bomb attack in Dublin echoes other attacks earlier this year and those of previous years, most notably in 1972 and 1974. All these attacks were perpetrated against civilian targets and all had the same purpose — to terrify people in the 26 Counties and, as a result, pressurise the Dublin government into altering the course of its policy towards the Six Counties.

The use of commercial explosives in recent UVF bomb attacks recalls the memory of the 1974 bombings and the involvement of British intelligence in acts of political violence south of the border. It is without doubt that the British secret services in Ireland are amongst those most resistant to any fundamental change to the political status quo because of the effect it will have on their role in this country.

The recent activities of the loyalist death squads also offer the final irrefutable proof, if such was needed, that loyalist violence is not reactive to the actions of the IRA. This claim, peddled repeatedly by opinion-makers amid media North and South for many years, has, in the context of a complete cessation of military operations by the IRA, been exposed for the lie that republicans always said it was.

Loyalist violence is reactive, not to the actions of the IRA, but to any sign of forward political movement on this island. UVF bomb attacks against the citizens of Dublin, like death squad killings of nationalist civilians in the Six Counties, are the brutal physical manifestation of a reactionary philosophy which opposes progress towards reconciliation, accommodation and lasting peace in Ireland.

Decades of British government support for unionism has encouraged the inflexibility and tunnel vision which at its extremes results in indiscriminate acts of violence to resist political change. It is with the British government that the heaviest responsibility lies for encouraging unionists to finally come to terms with reality.

Not all the recent signs from the unionist community are depressing. This week, Sinn Féin's Six-County Chairperson Mitchel McLaughlin welcomed signs that elements within that community understood the need for change and accommodation in any future relationships. He said it was encouraging to see that some unionists and elements within the business and professional communities were prepared for the fundamental change that had to come, and looked forward to constructive dialogue with representatives of the unionist community "sooner rather than later".

He went on: "The veto exercised by the unionists is a negative power which entrenches unionist attitudes and resistance to change. It inhibits any incentive for the unionists to engage in meaningful dialogue. Peace and reconciliation can only be achieved through the agreement of the people on this island and any such agreement must be based on political maturity and a willingness to create new structures acceptable to all.

"The effect of the veto has been to ensure that unionists have no self-interest or encouragement to examine their role within an Irish political context. British government policy has inhibited and removed any incentive to engage in dialogue. The veto has promoted intransigence and an absolute unwillingness to consider any proposal for political progress.

"Unionists need to accept the fact that inclusive, generous, political dialogue leading to all-Ireland discussions, represents the only real way forward."

JOIN SINN FÉIN

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

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

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News

RTÉ GUIDELINES RELAXED

British broadcasting ban on last legs

BY ART Mac EOIN

PRESSURE to remove censorship restrictions against Sinn Féin has mounted in Britain and Ireland since the IRA's declaration of a cessation of military operations. The British Trade Union Congress (TUC) has unanimously approved a motion from the National Union of Journalists (NUJ) for the lifting of the six-year-old broadcasting ban against Sinn Féin, while RTÉ has effectively relaxed its restrictive guidelines on live interviews with Sinn Féin members.

Addressing the TUC congress in Blackpool, John Freeman, Irish regional secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union, emphasised the onerous responsibility on Britain in securing a lasting peace in Ireland by responding to the IRA initiative. "I hope this opportunity for peace and reconciliation is not going to be jeopardised over semantics that would appear to placate the right-wing of the Tory party," he said.

Delivering a fraternal address to the Blackpool conference as president of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions, Phil Flynn said that Britain had a heavy onus to contribute positively to the peace process. "Neither self-interest considerations on their part nor intimidation or violence must be allowed to derail the free democratic play of forces as they have done on a number of times in the past." The vote to remove the broadcasting ban had

overwhelming support. The British minister with responsibility for broadcasting, Douglas Hurd, has not indicated whether he intends to lift the ban.

Meanwhile, RTÉ management has effectively dropped its restrictive guidelines for interviews with members of Sinn Féin. No change, however, has been made yet to the written guidelines issued in January following the Dublin government's decision not to renew Section 31. The guidelines banned live interviews and required programme-makers to pre-record all Sinn Féin interviews.

But since the IRA announcement, journalists and programme-makers have been allowed to include Sinn Féin members on live programmes for the very first time. RTÉ Director of News Joe Mulholland was quoted in the *Irish Times* on Wednesday, 8 September as saying that the guidelines had been reviewed recently "in the

light of ongoing developments". Sinn Féin has again called for the complete repeal of Section 31 and the removal of discriminatory internal guidelines in relation to interviews with Sinn Féin members.

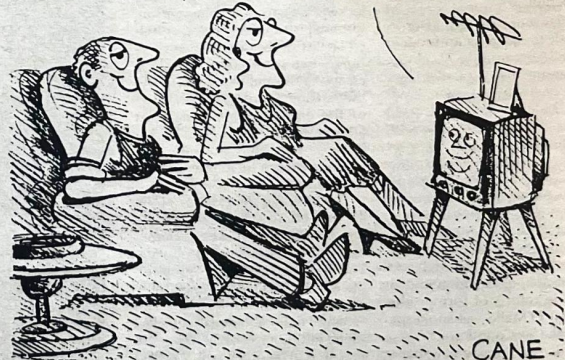
The issues of censorship and freedom of information were also raised at a Let In The Light (LITL) conference in Dublin last weekend.

LITL, the campaign against censorship and secrecy, who organised the conference are demanding that "the principle of freedom of information is enacted into Irish law".

The conference titled 'Freedom of Information — Making Democracy Effective' had a range of speakers including Maurice Frankel, the director of the Campaign for Freedom of Information, Eithne FitzGerald, Dublin government minister of state and Ronan Brady, co-author of *Democracy Blindfolded: The Case for Freedom of Information*.

The conference raised the case of Susan O'Keefe, the researcher facing charges over non-disclosure of sources and called for legislation to allow government documents to be seen by the public and for an end to the Official Secrets Act.

HERE IS THE SIX O'CLOCK NEWS! SO SIT BACK, RELAX AND CLOSE YOUR EYES..



CANE

Sinn Féin

News

PEACE DIVIDEND — MYTH AND REALITY

■ BY HILDA Mac THOMAS

NOW that we "have peace" — as some commentators, politicians and business people with tunnel vision would say — let us all look forward to the "peace dividend". An economic and social boom, we are told, will "follow a sustained period of peace", to quote the words of Roy Baillie, the chairperson of the Confederation of British Industry in the Six Counties.

The US government has asked Dublin and London to submit bids. Various sums have been mentioned, the last one around \$200 million. This sum is equivalent to the British government's spending in the Six Counties for two to three weeks.

It is worth remembering also that cash promised by the US government to various countries where a conflict had been settled, such as Palestine or South Africa, has yet to materialise. Current US subvention is paid through the International Fund for Ireland, and amounts to \$19.8 million per year.

And this raises another question. Who would administer this aid money? In Monday's *Irish News*, the SDLP's Eamon Hanna wrote that the Phoenix Trust, of which he is executive director, had already made a submission to the US government. In it, he said, the trust suggested that areas of high unemployment be designated as 'most favoured regions' for corporation tax purposes.

Many people of West Belfast have had memories of this type of scheme, which in the past,

attracted fly-by-night companies who leave once they have found a better deal elsewhere. Strathearn Audio and De Lorean Motors are two examples.

The other problem is the lack of specific industrial skills in areas of high unemployment. The various youth training schemes set up, mainly to take people off the dole for a while, have been severely lacking in providing these skills to young people of nationalist areas.

The institutionalised discrimination which nationalists have suffered since partition, must be reversed. The British government, up to now, has been unwilling to take the bold steps needed to effect this reversal. Nationalists and their community organisations need to continue campaigning vigorously for a complete package which would raise the skills of the unemployed and set up wealth-creating ventures in their areas.

The British government has in the past, quashed attempts by local community groups to set up such locally-based ventures, and

has preferred a system of grace and favour which showered politically-acceptable bodies with money and vetted groups suspected of being anti-British or pro-republican. One such 'acceptable' body is the Phoenix Trust, run by the Catholic Church and the SDLP.

As for the IFI's track record in selecting worthy targets for funding, it has been rather poor. From the refurbishing of a bank to the empty white elephant of a heritage centre in Coalisland, examples abound of misdirected funding, particularly in the early years of the fund, set up in 1988.

Much of its recent funding has been directed towards retail, tourism and cultural projects. Retail is a poor indicator of economic health. The people who get jobs out of such schemes are usually women, low-paid, part-time, and poorly or not unionised.

There is no doubt that the economy of the Six Counties will need restructuring, given in particular, the large number of people employed in the 'security' sector, and the pockets of chronic unemployment.

Many economists have, for a while now, agreed that Irish reunification makes economic sense. Various ideas such as a unified electricity grid, and a South-North natural-gas pipeline will undoubtedly be implemented in the next few years.

But once again, the political agenda behind each economic venture must be written by those most directly concerned, the Irish



● Gerry Adams in the Short Strand last week said that peace will bring an economic dividend — but there also has to be equality

people, and particularly local communities and sections of the population most economically deprived.

All these various aspects of the debate have been framed in the context of a big lie being created in front of our eyes. It goes like this:

"The IRA was the main or sole cause of violence in Ireland. Now that they have ceased operating, Ireland is at peace. The IRA wrecked the economy. In order to rebuild it, and prevent violence from recurring, the British government, the European Union and the United States are preparing to throw cash at Northern Ireland."

The reality is completely different, not to say a lot more complex. The IRA made a bold and generous gesture two weeks ago by announcing a complete cessation of its military operations. This has yet to be emulated by the main source of violence in the Six Counties — the British government,

with its 30,000-plus armed personnel on the ground, backed by an infrastructure of barracks, checkpoints and spyposts, and an arsenal of emergency laws. Indeed, the second main source of violence in the Six Counties — the loyalist death squads — have not declared a cease-fire.

The causes of the conflict are the violations of human rights and national rights in Ireland. Political pressure and agitation are forcing the London and Dublin governments to address these, but it is a slow process and there is a long way to go.

The British government continued the conflict by increasing public expenditure in the North, 18% of which was spent on 'Law, Order and Protective Services' — LOPS as the British government refers to it.

Decades of unionist misrule and discrimination had created a biased economy. Direct rule created a 25-year economic holding pattern. Before dealing with the peace dividend, a real, just and lasting peace must first be built.

Drowning Harney seeks Thatcherite life belt

■ BY NEIL FORDE

AFTER A SUMMER OF BODY BLOWS, including two damaging defections with possibly more pending and a bruising EU election campaign, Mary Harney, not even finished her first year as party leader, strains to hold together her dissipating democrats.

The PDs were reeling after Pat Cox left to stand as an independent in Munster in the EU election and defeated party founder Dessie O'Malley. Then, last week, Waterford TD Martin Cullen defected to Fianna Fáil, citing Harney's grudging response to the peace process as one of his reasons — shades of rats from sinking ships.

The panacea prescribed by Harney for the Progressive Democrats' mounting ills is a dose of privatisation, the unleashing of double jobber Michael McDowell as finance spokesperson and the probable return of former chief Desocrat O'Malley as spokesperson on the Six Counties.

Readers of Sunday newspapers were treated last weekend to the thoughts and musings of Harney as she struggled to put the Cullen debacle behind her. He had a fear of women, Harney told Olivia O'Leary, while she confided to Emily O'Reilly that: "I'll bloody show them, I'm going to have all these pundits in a year saying that these things have come round for Harney, just like they're saying for Bruton."

That Harney should envy the lame-duck leader of Fine Gael, shows the dire straits in which she finds herself.

In the O'Leary interview, Harney offered her new thoughts on who the PDs should be appealing

to and what policies they should be advocating.

"I really believe in radical not redundant. I don't like the politics of blandness." Harney, articulating corporate-speak, said the rationalisation of the PDs was "a bit like a business-rescue plan". The PDs, she said, needed "a clearer focus, a clearer image".

Harney's rescue plan is in stark contrast to Dessie O'Malley's bland and meaningless assertion in March 1993 that "the Progressive Democrats represents this country's best hope for the future. Because it's in the future our vision is placed. In the future of our country of our people."

The main plank in Harney's new PD policy is privatisation. "The state is more dominant now than when we were formed in 1985," claims Harney. Taking the monetarist Ladybird Books view of economics, Harney argues that "obviously you can't sell everything off in one day. I would look at every single enterprise and say, should we be doing this?"

Harney claimed that the state sector was full of "overmanned state companies and that puts up the price to the consumer, the individual".

The British experience, where the privatisation of water, gas and electricity utilities has meant the rip-off of consumers and job losses, was



● Dissipating Democrats leader Mary Harney — captain of a sinking ship

lost on Harney. Also not contested by her interviewer was her assertion that the advertising campaigns of "cosy monopolies" are an abuse of the "huge marketing budget" such companies have.

This leads one to the conclusion that Mary Harney lives in a world where the marketing campaigns of Pepsi, Coke, Nike, and even Guinness are acceptable, while a similar public-sector campaign is somehow unfair.

It is unfair for the state to have a monopoly in a successful profitable public-sector corporation like Telecom, but it is perfectly

acceptable for multinationals like Cable and Wireless, or AT&T and British Telecom to have a virtual private-sector monopoly of such an Irish public sector company. That seems to be the current PD logic.

The last tactic in Harney's rescue plan is the move of Michael McDowell from Six-County spokesperson to finance, where he can give full vent to his free-market rants. One Sunday newspaper has a senior party member describing McDowell: "It's as though he never had a chance

to mature or something. I shiver when I hear him sometimes."

McDowell led the PD rant against the Irish Peace Initiative, describing the term national self-determination as Provo-speak in April 1993. McDowell's other well-known positions on the conflict in Ireland were his constant demands for changes in Dublin's already unique extradition laws and the abandonment of Articles Two and Three.

His probable successor, Des O'Malley's position on formulating PD policy is equally clear. O'Malley is the minister who introduced the Offences Against the State Act in 1972 and told *Magill* in 1986 that PD policy "will often have to be a reaction to events that are happening there, or events as they happen in terms of Anglo-Irish relations".

In 1990, O'Malley claimed that "the greatest problem afflicting this island today is the continuing agony of Northern Ireland, caused primarily by the murder campaign of the IRA". In 1991, advocating Section 31, O'Malley declared: "I am glad that they [the men of violence] are denied access to the airwaves to foment hatred."

In his 1992 annual conference address, O'Malley told delegates that he found the decision to ban Sinn Féin from the Mansion House "gratifying". So, eight years on, the PDs are still peddling the same mix of Thatcherite, neo-unionist politics. They didn't "break the mould", Dessie didn't "do it" and Mary Harney's new image seems doomed to failure.

NEXT WEEK Sinn Féin publishes a revised and updated booklet *British Intelligence, Brian Nelson and the Rearming of the loyalist death squads*. Nelson worked for British intelligence within the UDA, set up people for assassination, and imported arms from South Africa. The Nelson scandal exposes the extent of collusion between British forces and loyalist death squads and in this chapter which we reproduce here shows the South African connection.

South African Britain's deat

THE CLOSE LINK between the official and unofficial arms of the British war effort in Ireland has always meant loyalist killers have had relatively easy access to crown forces' weaponry.

When the UVF killed four men in Cappagh, County Tyrone, on the 3 March 1991, for instance, the muzzle for one of the guns used was found at the scene and identified as one which could only have come from a British army weapon. The discovery was made all the more significant when the RUC admitted the guns used in the attack were used in seven other killings in the Lurgan and Mid-Ulster area by the UVF.

But if loyalists have ever been in need of extra weaponry, British intelligence has provided it. In 1974, leading loyalist William McGrath imported arms from Holland with the collusion of British intelligence. McGrath, who had been instrumental in the moves to set up the UDA, headed a loyalist 'doomsday' planning group called Tara, but was best known as a rapist in the Kincora Boys Home case. The Dutch arms import took place at the time of the UDA-managed Ulster Workers' Council strike against the Sunningdale Power-Sharing Executive. The arms shipment was never recovered.

William McGrath had links through British Military Intelligence with the White Apartheid regimes in Rhodesia and South Africa and was later described by a former associate, Clifford Smyth, as "a gunrunner".

In 1985, British intelligence again helped loyalists acquire weaponry, this time using Brian Nelson as their gunrunner.

The South African-loyalist link was further aided by a 48-year-old ex-merchant seaman originally from Portadown, who had gone to live in South Africa.

Dick Wright's Ulster connections made him a useful intermediary — he was the uncle of Alan Wright, leader of the Ulster Clubs and co-founder of a loyalist paramilitary organisation set up with the support of the DUP, Ulster Resistance. He was also an agent for Armscor, the South African state-owned company, which, in defiance of the 1977 United Nations arms embargo, set about making South Africa self-sufficient in military hardware.

Within a decade, Armscor had made the country one of the world's top ten arms exporters. It was particularly anxious to acquire a sophisticated modern missile system for use in Angola and Namibia. Israel (which had given South Africa its start in the arms business, supplying designs for ships, missiles and small arms)

was equally keen to get details of the most advanced missile available — the Starstreak being developed by Shorts in Belfast.

In 1985, Dick Wright visited the home in East Belfast of a senior UDA leader. His offer was to supply guns to the order of at least a quarter of a million pounds, but missile parts or plans would be an acceptable alternative to cash.

The offer was taken seriously by the UDA. Leader John McMichael sent UDA intelligence chief and British army intelligence agent Brian Nelson to South Africa to investigate the possibility of a deal. In February 1992, *Private Eye* reported that Nelson's visit was cleared not only by the Ministry of Defence dirty war directors, but also by an unnamed British government minister.

The crowds travelling from Belfast to London over the weekend of 7/8 June 1985 for the McGuigan/Pedroza boxing match provided cover for the first part of Nelson's journey.

During his two weeks in South Africa, Nelson was shown warehouses full of weapons by Dick Wright, representing the South African state. Other reports have claimed that Nelson also met Charles Simpson, a South African Defence Forces (SADF) member who was also an MI5 agent. Charles Simpson had left William McGrath's Tara group in the early 1970s, went to Rhodesia to fight for Ian Smith's regime and joined the SADF in the early 1980s. Nelson is alleged to have inspected a consignment of arms in Durban with Simpson, arms later shipped to the Six Counties. One account states that this shipment landed in the Six Counties in December 1989.

Whoever the contact or contacts, Nelson made a deal. The loyalists were to supply South African agents with missile secrets or parts — if possible a complete Shorts-missile system — in return for a substantial shipment of arms. Some reports stated the South Africans also promised finance of up to £1 million.

In June 1987, the robbing of the Northern Bank in Portadown provided the loyalists with money for the deal to go ahead — £150,000 of the £325,000 taken in the raid was spent on South African arms. This bought more weaponry than the UDA could handle, so the UVF and Ulster Resistance were made 'partners' in the enterprise. A top secret unit respon-



● BRIAN NELSON

sible for developing channels of communication on behalf of several loyalist paramilitary groups was set up.

Roy Metcalfe, a member of the unit, represented Ulster Resistance in the negotiations. When he was executed by the IRA in October 1989, Ulster Resistance claimed he had been 'set up' by British intelligence.

The deal was completed and final arrangements were made in December 1987. Military intelligence had been informed by Brian Nelson of developments at every stage of the proceedings; he passed on all the details including the method to be used to smuggle in the weapons. No action was taken.

At the end of December 1987, Joseph Fawzi, a Lebanese intermediary employed by a US arms dealer working for the South Africans, dispatched a huge consignment of arms which landed without difficulty in January 1988 somewhere along the County Down coast. Two hundred AK47 automatic rifles, 90 Browning pistols, around 500 fragmentation grenades, 30,000 rounds of ammunition and a dozen RPG7 rocket launchers disappeared without trace, the haul having apparently been divided into three parts shortly after its arrival.

If discovered, the arms would not have revealed their true origin; many were Czech-made weapons initially used by the PLO in Lebanon where they had been captured by the Israelis and sold to Armscor.

The shipment had not been let in through negligence, mistake or oversight. The decision to allow it to go ahead had been taken (presumably at the highest levels) months before. Brian Nelson states in a prison journal:

'In 1987 I was discussing with my handler Ronnie the

South African operation when he told me that because of the deep suspicion the seizure would have aroused, to protect me, it had been decided to let the first shipment into the country untouched.'

Nelson's involvement in setting up the UDA's transport system meant he, and therefore British intelligence, knew the location of the farmhouse where the weapons would be stored initially after landing. Yet, at the time of Nelson's trial, British Intelligence was telling the BBC's *Inside Ulster* that their surveillance of the shipment had "broken down". Later they claimed they had "lost track" of the shipment, but never disclosed at what point this is supposed to have happened.

On 8 January 1988, Davy Payne, an ex-British paratrooper and a UDA brigadier, was arrested outside Portadown as he transported 60 assault rifles, rockets and handguns — the portion of the shipment assigned to the UDA. At the time, the arrest was attributed to good luck and 'keen observation'. The UDA did not appear overly concerned with the seizure and in fact, later disowned Payne. On the 14 March 1988, it held a press conference announcing "a resumption" of its military campaign and stating that despite the interception of its portion of the South African shipment, it was "better equipped than ever before".

Davy Payne's arrest in the Portadown seizure also drew attention to Ulster Resistance. A telephone number written on Payne's hand turned out to be that of Noel Lyttle, a civil servant, former member of the UDR and close associate of Ian Paisley and Peter Robinson. Lyttle had stood for the DUP as a candidate in local government elections and was a member of the coordinating committee which set up Ulster Resistance. In November 1988, an Ulster Resistance dump was uncovered in Richhill, County Armagh. Along with Ulster Resistance berets were Shorts missile parts, army fatigues and detailed maps of the Monaghan area, just south of the border.

In 1989, Lyttle was warned on two or three occasions that he was under surveillance by the crown forces. Even his questioning and release without charge did not interrupt Ulster Resistance attempts to renegotiate with the South Africans for further weapons.



● A section of the UDA's consignment of weapons which were uncovered in Portadown in 1988



● DAVY PAYNE

The Starstreak, being developed under a £225 million Ministry of Defence contract at Shorts, was what the South Africans wanted. A fully operational unit had been on display until a few hours before a raid in 1987 in which Ulster Resistance had stolen a Javelin aiming unit. The extraordinary coincidence did not raise any suspicions. The discovery of the Ulster Resistance hide, Lyttle's questioning and the warnings were ignored and three Ulster Resistance members travelled to Paris to negotiate with the South Africans, who had already made a down payment of £50,000.

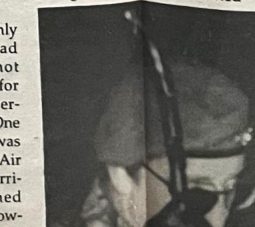
They were offering not only the missile parts they had acquired (which though not operational could be used for research purposes) but expertise in firing the weapons. One of the three, Samuel Quinn, was a senior NCO in the Ulster Air Defence Regiment of the Territorial Army. Quinn trained recruits in the use of the Blowpipe missile. One of the weapons offered to the South Africans was a dummy Blow-

pipe, stolen from Newtownards Barracks, where Quinn served.

In April 1989, the three — Noel Lyttle, Samuel Quinn and James King, were arrested in Paris along with arms dealer Douglas Bernhardt and a South African diplomat, Daniel Storm.

Storm claimed diplomatic immunity and was expelled from France. A diplomatic row blew up — but there was more noise than genuine surprise on the part of the British authorities, who were well aware of Bernhardt's activities. A naturalised American citizen, born in South Africa and married to an Englishwoman, he had operated a gun dealership, Field Arms, in Mayfair, London, for three years. His business had received material assistance from the British Department of Employment.

The security services knew of Bernhardt's loyalist connections; they knew he was the US dealer involved in the January 1988 shipment. They would also have been aware that Armscor agent Dick Wright had been employed as a marketing executive by Field Arms. Noel Lyttle later admitted that he had known Dick Wright as an Armscor agent who had represented



● DUP MP Peter Robinson, Alan Wright, a candidate, one of the three arrested in Paris

an arms for death squads



...were uncovered in UDA Brigadier Davy Payne's car

...South African state for
"quite a few years".

No request for the extradition of the three was made. No request was made for an investigation into Bernhardt or his company, the Geneva-based Agencia Utica, although the Swiss authorities did hold one of their own.

The Ulster Resistance members were released on bail. Following the 'revelations' of contacts between the South African government and the Paris trio, the British government expelled three South African Embassy personnel. They were Staff Sergeant Mark Brunwer, who did not appear on the diplomatic list and was described in the press as "a technical officer"; the First Secretary of the embassy, Jan Castelyn; and Etienne Fourie. Although the Foreign Office emphasised that they had been chosen at random, it must have been just another coincidence that Etienne Fourie was considered the 'eyes and ears' of the London embassy and had worked as a journalist in the North in the 1970s.

Whatever the true story behind the arrest of the Paris three, loyalist arms dumps

were in no urgent need of fresh supplies. Two thirds of the vast shipment arranged by Nelson has never been uncovered, and there are indications that the January 1988 shipment might not have been the only one arising out of his South African contacts.

If further evidence was needed that British intelligence was involved in the arming of loyalist death squads aside from the Nelson case, it was provided in the court reports of the trial of Robert Henry, charged in connection with the killing of Sinn Féin Councillor John Davy. Henry was the son of a businessman killed by the IRA in 1987 for continuing, despite several warnings, to do construction work for British military bases in Ireland. At a pretrial hearing, the defence counsel alleged that a British soldier working for military intelligence had given Robert Henry photos of people he claimed killed his father and had helped him contact a London arms dealer with a view to smuggling £1 million worth of weapons to the UVF.

An example of the loyalist attacks in which weaponry traceable to the South African consignment was used occurred within two days of the end of Nelson's trial. Five people were killed in a UDA massacre at Seán Graham bookmakers on the Ormeau Road, Belfast. On 22 October 1993, a member of the Ulster Young Militants (the still legal youth section of the UDA) was charged with supplying one of the East European assault rifles from the British intelligence arranged shipment to the Ormeau Road killings.

Raymond Smallwood, the leader of the UDA brigade which carried out the Ormeau Road massacre, visited South Africa later in 1993. Smallwood, a prominent member of the UDA Inner Council and UDA representative on the Combined

Loyalist Military Command, went with Ken Kerr and several other leading loyalists and met representatives of the Inkatha Movement in the Fredericksen building in Johannesburg in March 1993.

The purpose of the meeting was never disclosed, but Inkatha and the loyalists had more in common than the positions they occupied in the political landscape of their respective countries. It was later revealed by the South African Goldstone Commission that one of the South African Apartheid regime's death squad organisers, Colonel Eugene De Kock, was the original source of gun-running to both Inkatha and to loyalist death squads during the 1980s.

At the time of the Ormeau massacre and an attack by an RUC officer on Sinn Féin offices on the Falls Road on 4 February 1994 in which three people were killed, Direct Ruler Peter Brooke made the following ironic statement in the British House of Commons:

"The overwhelming majority of the people of Northern Ireland deeply abhor and want no part of, the wanton destruction perpetrated by that tiny minority who, without democratic, moral or spiritual authority, have taken upon themselves the right to decide who should live or die... We will take whatever action is necessary to bring terrorism to an end. But we will not abandon the underlying principle of our security policy, which is determination to deal with terrorism under the rule of law."

For its part, in its statement the IRA called for no sectarian retaliation for the killings and said:

"The attacks over the last week seek to spread fear and terror in our country. The aim is to demoralise nationalists and to deflect attention away from Britain's central role in this war by drawing people into futile sectarian conflict."

The British strategy the IRA was pointing to was similar to an equally deadly one being pursued around the same time by members of the Apartheid regime in South Africa. The strategy was aimed at thwarting the moves towards democracy by increasing so-called 'Black-on-Black' violence through train massacres and township violence. In the dying days of the regime, the Goldstone Commission, led by Sir Richard Goldstone found that a group called



● Peter Robinson with former UDA chief John McMichael

Third Force, run by three of South Africa's most senior police, was involved in organising political murders, the manufacture, purchase and smuggling of weapons and their supply to the Inkatha Freedom Party, along with full-combat training.

Goldstone named a key figure in Third Force as Colonel Eugene De Kock, who headed a notorious police death squad in the '80s that operated from a farm near Pretoria called Vlakkplaas. De Kock's familiarity with Ireland went beyond his gun-running links with loyalists. As dirty tricks chief of South African intelligence he had been involved in a joint British/South African intelligence bid to jointly discredit the ANC and the IRA. The bid, dubbed 'Project Echoes' was later revealed in South African Supreme Court records.

De Kock's role in anti-ANC warfare was exposed by a former South African policeman turned whistle blower, Dirk Coetzee. Coetzee fled to Zambia in 1989 and ended up living in London in 1991. In November 1992, a secret South African investigation prompted by British media speculation found that British intelligence agent Charles Simpson and members of the RUC had been involved in a plot to kill Coetzee which De Kock had sanctioned.

The investigation revealed that RUC officers provided surveillance and intelligence on Coetzee and also offered to 'take him out'. Two South African Defence Force agents negotiated with Simpson and RUC officers on a trip to London and Ireland in April 1991.

The two were Pamela Du Randt, a captain in the South African intelligence service and secretary to the head of South Africa Military Intelligence, Christoffel van der Westhuizen; and Leon Flores, an ex-policeman on the South African Intelligence payroll.

Flores paid £2,000 to Charles Simpson "for services rendered by his RUC friends" in monitoring the activities of Dirk Coetzee. When Flores and Du Randt came to London, Charles Simpson took them to meet what British intelligence claimed were three loyalist assassins at the Three Kings pub in Kensington. The South African intelligence inquiry stated the

two of the three were RUC officers.

Following the Three Kings meeting, Du Randt and Flores travelled with Simpson via Dun Laoghaire port to a second meeting in Hillsborough, County Down. There, further payment by means of the supply of Semtex explosives, weapons, night vision equipment and electronic eavesdropping devices was discussed for the continued monitoring of Coetzee.

These claims made in the internal South African investigation were later confirmed in the South African Supreme Court when Flores and Du Randt were subpoenaed to appear at the inquest into the murder of Bheki Mlangeni, a lawyer who had earlier been killed in South Africa in a parcel bomb intended for Dirk Coetzee.

The Dublin-based Phoenix magazine has reported the agreement to monitor and kill Coetzee was an attempt to sting South African Military Intelligence by British intelligence, giving the latter leverage in persuading the South Africans to keep quiet about British involvement in the arming of loyalist killer gangs.

The full details of the role of Eugene De Kock in servicing British-backed death squads in the Six Counties may yet emerge, to the embarrassment of his British contacts and the RUC. He survived the changes in South Africa and had even been awarded a £250,000 golden handshake in the final days of De Klerk's regime. In April '94 he attempted to travel to Hillsborough through Dublin to meet a man he had known through 'Project Echoes'.

But De Kock never got a chance to barter his political asylum with British intelligence. Nor did Dublin gardai get to question him on his involvement in the supply of arms which have killed dozens of Irish citizens since 1988.

Acting under the advice of British intelligence via the RUC, on 20 April 1994, Irish Justice Minister Máire Geoghegan Quinn, signed an order prohibiting De Kock from entering Ireland. But on his return to Pretoria, De Kock was arrested on 5 May 1994 and is now in prison awaiting trial under four murder charges.



...Wright, Alan Wright of the Ulster Clubs and Noel Lyttle, former UDR soldier and DUP
...three arrested trying to exchange missile parts for weapons with South African diplomats

News

Bree slams sectarian state at Lynch ceremony

A VERY LARGE CROWD assembled at the memorial to Liam Lynch on the Knockmealdown Mountains on Sunday last, 11 September, to hear Alderman Declan Bree TD give a wide ranging and comprehensive speech during the course of an oration.

He traced Liam Lynch's career from the 1916-'21 war, to the Civil War which followed the acceptance of the Treaty. He pointed out that in the aftermath of this struggle the old colonial relationship was to be continued in the Six Counties in a new more vicious form — a sectarian political slum carved out solely to protect Britain's interests in these islands.

He further stated that the period since the introduction of British troops onto the streets of the Six Counties was marked by harassment, brutality, ill-treatment, torture, internment, political executions, the deadly and widespread use of plastic bullets and the collusion between loyalist death squads and the crown forces.



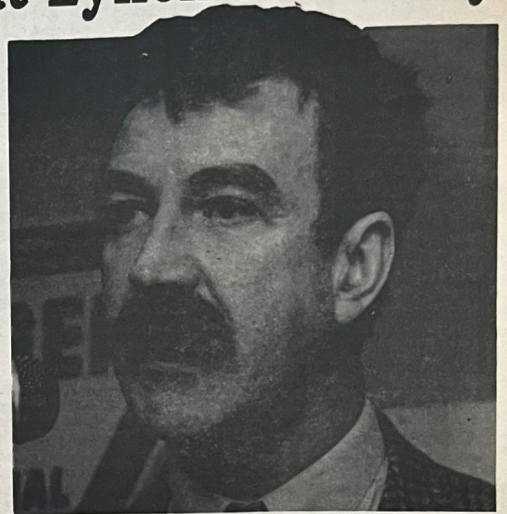
● LIAM LYNCH

The cease-fire, he said, was welcomed by nationalists, social-

ists, democrats and republicans throughout Ireland and that they now looked forward with hope and confidence to the next phase of consolidating peace, building reconciliation and searching for a peaceful settlement with our fellow Protestant countrymen and women of the Six Counties.

He concluded his oration by stating that the IRA cease-fire was the best news that the people of this country had received for 25 years and he urged everyone to join in a process which would help to bring a lasting and just peace to this island.

A lone piper from the Thomas Davis Pipe Band, Mallow, played the lament and a wreath was laid on behalf of the Republican Movement by Malachy McCreesh. Enda O'Riordan, (Clonmel) thanked the people for their unwavering support over many years and the ceremony drew to a close with the playing of *Amhrán na bhFiann*.



● Labour TD Declan Bree

Irish delegates describe Turkish atrocities

TURKISH helicopter gunship attacks on a UN Kurdish refugee camp, a village of over 1,000 people forcibly evacuated by the army, a journalist tortured by police for three days and a Kurdish civilian who was mutilated by Turkish police. These were among the human rights violations committed by the Turkish state uncovered by the ten-member Irish delegation which visited the region from the 10-21 August.

The delegation heard eyewitnesses and saw physical evidence of a Turkish army bombardment of a UN Kurdish refugee camp in northern Iraq. Two weeks ago, according to refugees, two Cobra helicopters launched a machine-gun and rocket attack on the camp, leaving several dead and many more injured. The camps, which provide shelter to around

16,000 Kurdish people, are regularly under fire from the Turkish army, according to the refugees. Delegates also received accounts of intimidation and death threats by the Turkish army from civilians in the Kurdish village of Gunduz. Many villagers told the delegation that the community of over 1,000 were ordered by the military to

leave their homes or face death. The reason, they said, was because they refused to take up arms in the state war against left-wing PKK guerrillas.

In Istanbul, a journalist, Saffet Tepe, was interviewed by delegates three days after his release from prison where he was tortured. Tepe, who works for the pro-democracy newspaper *Osgur Ulike*, was arrested along with three colleagues in the Kurdish town of Van on 10 August on charges of separatism. His torture consisted of hanging by the wrists for 30 hours, beatings on his feet and death threats. He was finally released on 13 August.

According to his newspaper, over 30 of its journalists have been killed in the last 16 months with the alleged involvement of the state security apparatus.

The delegation interviewed a Kurdish civilian who had an ear cut off and was buried and left for dead by police. He said they attempted to kill him because they suspected him of being a guerrilla. The man is now in hiding and in fear of his life.

Photographic and film evidence of these attacks on civilians was seized by Turkish "anti-terrorist" police as the delegation returned from northern Iraq. The delegation was

detained under armed guard at Silopi, inside the Turkish border, for over 17 hours. A female member of the delegation, Brenda Nixon, was forcibly strip-searched.

The material confiscated included six hours of video tapes, 14 rolls of film, one audio cassette and 200 pages of notes. The notes were later returned. Police told the delegation that the confiscated material would be forwarded to the British Consulate after being examined. The delegation of ten includes lawyers, trade unionists, journalists, film-makers and human rights activists.

US trip raises concern over IFI

■ BY TONY MASTROGIORGIO

SAN FRANCISCO resident John Fogarty joined a fact-finding mission to Ireland last month to explore discrimination in employment and British forces' activities in a series of meetings with government officials, political and community leaders and grass-roots activists.

Fogarty, who travelled as the head of the Bay Area chapter of the Irish American Unity Conference, returned from Ireland convinced of the need for MacBride Principles legislation and with serious concerns regarding the administration of the International Fund for Ireland.

The delegation attempted to present letters supporting the fact-finding mission from the Secretary of State for Mexico and several San Francisco government officials (including City Supervisors Kevin Shelley, Bill Maher and Terence Hallinan) to the British Northern Secretary, but they were refused. Despite this setback, the group met with a wide variety of political groups from Sinn Féin to the Democratic Unionist Party. "We were determined to meet with everyone possible. We felt it was important to consider all opinions

in our report," Fogarty said.

The fund (IFI) is a conduit of American tax dollars to community development groups throughout the 32 Counties. According to Fogarty, the trip raised serious questions about the distribution of the money. Fogarty cited two instances as characteristic examples.

In one case, he described a man from the Ardoyne area of Belfast who does extensive work with children, arranging outings and camping trips for over 100 at a time. The man cannot get IFI money from the notoriously conservative area administrator because he is an ex-prisoner. Fogarty points out that in an area like Ardoyne, nearly every male of a certain age is going to be an ex-prisoner due to internment and the high level of political imprisonment over the past 25 years.

The other instance concerned Queen's University in Belfast, which has done little to redress the imbalance in staffing despite having received many thousands of dollars from the IFI, according to Fogarty. In addition, the university has paid out thousands in discrimination settlements. "I think the American taxpayers have a right to an accounting of their money and the right to

approve how it's being use." The delegation's suggestion that they may support a withdrawal of IFI funds from the university caused headlines in Belfast.

Overall, Fogarty was sharply critical of the record of the Fair Employment Agencies which have done little to alleviate the discrimination felt by Catholics in the North. He pointed out that over the past 17 years the lot of

Catholics has improved according to government statistics only to the extent that a Catholic is 2.3 times more likely to be unemployed than his Protestant neighbours now, as opposed to two and a half times as likely when the Fair Employment Agency began its work. "At that rate it would take 60 years to reach parity."

Fogarty vowed to campaign vigorously for the passage of the MacBride Principles in California, suggesting gubernatorial candidate Kathleen Brown is likely to sign such a bill.

His trip ended just days before the IRA cease-fire announcement. "The truce is a great opportunity, but there is still along way to go and a lot of work to do. The truce itself does to promote fair employment, but it does mean people are going to be searching for new ways to solve their problems. It's critical that we do what we can to make sure that an end to discrimination is on the negotiating table," he added.

Fogarty was escorted on his trip by GP Austin and Ronan Murphy, both of the New Mexico branch of the Irish American Unity Conference. They will be delivering a report on their trip in the coming months and plan on presenting it to the White House.

■ From the San Francisco Gael

THE MACBRIDE PRINCIPLES

- Increasing the representation of individuals from under-represented religious groups in the work-force including managerial, supervisory, administrative, clerical and technical jobs.
- Adequate security for the protection of minority employees both at the workplace and while travelling to and from work.
- The banning of provocative religious or political emblems from the workplace.
- All job openings should be publicly advertised and special recruitment efforts should be made to attract applicants from under-represented religious groups.
- Lay-offs, recalls, and termination procedures should not, in practice, favour particular religious groups.
- The abolition of job reservation, apprenticeship restrictions, and differential employment criteria, which discriminate on the basis of religious or ethnic origin.
- The development of training programmes that will prepare substantial numbers of current minority employees for skilled jobs, including the expansion of existing programmes to train, upgrade, and improve the skills of minority employees.
- The establishment of procedures to assess, identify, and actively recruit minority employees with potential for further advancement.
- Appointment of a senior management staff member to oversee the company's affirmative action efforts and the setting up of a timetable to carry out affirmative action principles.

December 21st 1984.

D-day for Down and Dubs

BY SEAMUS O CAOMHANAIGH

KILKENNY gained their only hurling title this year when they ousted the reigning champions Galway in some style, to win the under-21 championship. In so doing, they gained a measure of revenge for their defeat in the replayed final last year at the hands of the Tribesmen.

The groundwork for the Cats' impressive victory was firmly laid in the first half. Playing against the wind, they always looked the sharper and slicker side in attack, while their defence was solid and assured. Galway, on the other hand, lacked conviction and seemed unable to build up a head of steam. This was surprising, as over half the winning team from 1993 survived to play in this final but to no avail — perhaps the glass was half empty rather than half full.

In any event, Kilkenny enjoyed greater possession and with Dermot Maher making a mark at midfield, there was plenty of ball being fed in to the forwards. A mixture of poor shooting and pretty competent defending by the Westerners kept the wolf from the door, but only just. Galway were in fact leading 0-4 to 0-3 when the key score of the opening half came via a kicked goal from Kilkenny.

Scrappy perhaps but very effective, given the day that was in it and Brendan Ryan can take much of the credit for it even though it was Robert Shorthall's boot which connected with the sliotar. For the remainder of the half, Galway totted up four more points to Kilkenny's one, to lead going into the interval 0-8 to 1-4. Given the way they'd been playing and the prospect of having so slim a lead facing into the wind in the second period, it never looked enough.

The black and amber brigade made things a little more difficult for themselves than it had been in the second half but when PJ Delaney whacked in the second goal of the afternoon, they looked winners all the

way. Galway could only manage a feeble three points for the entirety of the second half but then they only played as well as Kilkenny let them and the Cats were not in a generous mood in Tullamore last Sunday. The run-in to the final whistle saw a fine goal from Brendan Ryan which had a look of supreme confidence about it and was just reward for his efforts on behalf of the victors. Galway battled courageously until the end but it was for pride rather than any realistic hope of snatching something at the death. So, Kilkenny add another underage title to their haul and no doubt some of the present side will provide some raw material for future senior teams. The supply line would seem to be in very good shape.

Lack of space prevented me from writing about the minor hurling final, played of course, on 4 September. Galway emerged with the honours and the Irish Press Cup but there must be some question marks over their victory. More of that in a moment. Galway led 0-9 to 0-5 at half time but the scoreline did not do justice to their dominance. Sure, they were aided by a strong wind at their backs but they seemed physically and mentally yards ahead of their opposite numbers on the Cork team. The lead of only four points looked vulnerable but it didn't seem to bother the Westerners. On the restart, they immediately struck a point, closely followed by a goal from Eddie Brady. Eddie nearly brought the sliotar all the way to Athenry before he slotted it home. How the referee didn't whistle for over-carrying I don't know, but the score stood.

The Leesiders were on the

rack at this stage, 1-10 to 0-5 in Galway's favour but with some powerful play from their half-back line in particular, they clawed their way back. When Kevin Kelleher scored Cork's only goal of the game midway through the second period, the Reds were back in business and they proved this by hitting three further points in succession over the Galway bar to squeeze ahead 1-11 to 1-10.

In fairness, it must be said, there were suspicions concerning the lead-up to the Cork goal, over-carrying again seemed to be involved, but rough justice may have been done and it could be argued that one dubious goal cancelled out the other. But there could be no excuses for the last score of the game. Galway carved out their second goal through a piece of subtle skulduggery. A fumbled ball in the closing minutes led to a melee of sorts in the Cork goal area. Several attempted clearances were fluffed before Eddie Brady booted the sliotar in, with his colleague Martin Cullinan also trying to help it on its way for Galway. But immediately preceding the ball finally going loose to this duo, a Cork defender with a great chance of at least smothering the ball had his jersey tested with a neat tug at the crucial moment. The ball running clear for that second or two was enough to see Galway through.

The Cork half back Cathal Collins could perhaps be blamed for the original mistake which led to the vital score, but the goal should not have stood — the umpires were at fault for not signalling the offence to the referee. If I could see it on the Canal End several hundred yards away, they should have spotted it from 12 yards or so. However, Cork still had time and opportunities to retrieve the situation but it was not to be. Galway took the honours

on a scoreline of 2-10 to 1-11 and created history, as this was the first time they'd beaten Cork at minor level — a tainted victory though.

Congratulations to the under-21 footballers of Cork for chalking up another title. Reinforcements are on the way for the senior team and not a moment too soon.

So the decks are now clear for the highlight of the sporting year in Ireland. Sunday 18 September must be another D-day, this continuing the decade of the D — Down, Donegal, Derry and Down again? Or will Pat O'Neill's charges exercise the doubts and demons accumulated in the collective psyche of the Dublin team and supporters? The match has a lot to live up to — the two best teams in the country meeting to decide who will be supreme.

The football final will have to be something very special to match or surpass this year's unforgettable hurling final. I expected the hurling final to be very physical but it didn't turn out that way. But a Down v Dublin football match could well have its share of robust exchanges as the euphemism has it.

Both teams have problems going into this showdown too. Dublin paid the penalty for a stupid decision to play their club championship quarterfinals in the run-in to the All-Ireland. Nice one Dublin County Board. Not. As a result, Cianan Walsh picked up a needless injury which is a headache O'Neill and Co could do without I'm sure. Down's Eamonn Burns is also a possible nonstarter due to injury and both teams' management will have to ponder long and hard their respective pairings.

In 1994, the Sam Maguire is there for the taking. Barring a catastrophe, self-inflicted or otherwise, whichever team is the hungrier should do it.

IN BRIEF...

Cork councils back peace process

ON THE PROPOSAL of Sinn Féin Councillor Martin Hallinan, Youghal Urban District Council passed a motion on 12 September agreeing to write a letter of support and congratulations to "the four leaders of Irish nationalism", Gerry Adams, John Hume, Albert Reynolds and Dick Spring, for successfully bringing the peace process to this stage.

The motion went on to say that the real task of securing lasting peace lies ahead. Councillor Hallinan, who praised the IRA for their initiative, said that many forces in Irish society recognised that partition had failed and called for people to work together. A similar resolution was passed at Clonakilty UDC on the proposal of Sinn Féin's Cionaith O Súilleabháin.

Service charges scandal

A 75-YEAR-OLD WOMAN was amongst the hundreds of people to receive summonses from Cork Corporation in recent weeks to appear in court as the corporation attempts to collect outstanding service charges.

"These charges have been comprehensively rejected by the people of Cork at every local election since 1985, so not only is the water tax immoral and unfair, but it has no democratic support", said Cork Sinn Féin spokesperson Don O'Leary. His comment came as his party colleague, Martin Hallinan of Youghal UDC, had a motion passed on 12 September calling on the government to abolish service charges and to replace the lost revenue by imposing a tax on money leaving the state in the form of repatriated profits.



● DON O'LEARY

SDLP councillor joins Police Authority

THE DECISION by Cookstown SDLP Councillor Francis Rocks, to accept an appointment to the Northern Ireland Police Authority has led to his suspension and resignation from the party.

Fellow Cookstown SDLP Councillor Denis Haughey announced the suspension on Tuesday, saying that the Police Authority "as presently constituted does not have the power to hold the police accountable to the community they serve" and hence the SDLP had a policy of not appointing representatives to it.

Cookstown Sinn Féin Councillor Séamus Campbell described the SDLP councillor's decision as an attempt to legitimise the RUC. He said Francis Rocks is "completely out of step with nationalists in the Loup, Ballinderry and general Lough Shore community which he claims to represent on Cookstown Council".

Management undermine Irish Steel

INDUSTRIAL STRIFE RETURNED to Irish Steel this week as management refused to implement their commitments to refer disagreements over the context of new work practices to the Labour Court. Sixteen craftworkers have been suspended.

Cobh UDC Councillor Kieran McCarthy said that: "It has always been my belief and that of many of the people of Cobh, that the government wants Irish Steel to close. The only question was how could they manage it with the minimum of public outcry".

The Cork Council of Trade Unions has called for the suspensions of workers to be lifted and for negotiations to take place. On Wednesday afternoon it was announced by management that the winding down of the plant would begin, thus threatening imminent closure.

CHARTER FOR JUSTICE AND PEACE IN IRELAND

IN HIS 1994 Ard Fheis speech, Gerry Adams addressed the need for an Irish freedom charter. He called on republicans and anti-imperialists to "consider how best to advance the basic national demands in the new conditions and possibilities opening up before us". Adams invited suggestions as to the possible content of an Irish freedom charter.

In this edition of the *Starry Plough*, Tom Hartley addresses one possible element of an Irish freedom charter in a paper titled 'Charter For Justice and Peace in Ireland'. This paper concerns itself with the period of national reconciliation, or the transitional period.

'Charter for Justice and Peace in Ireland' is based within the view that a British withdrawal, based on the exercise of self-determination

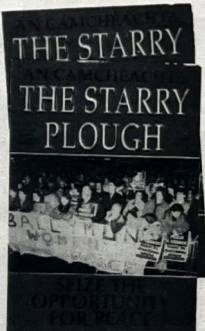
by the Irish people as a whole, can best take place after a defined period of national reconciliation — the transitional period. In Hartley's view, the human rights programme contained in 'Charter for Justice and Peace in Ireland' is the possible foundation for the process of national reconciliation.

The *Starry Plough* invites other activists to take up the challenge and put pen to paper in response to Tom's

paper or other aspects of an Irish freedom charter.

Included in this edition of the *Starry Plough* are some of the contributions that were made at the Sinn Féin Peace Commission hearings. These contributions cover the Downing Street Declaration, women in the peace process, a trade union view on a viable peace process, ideas on demilitarisation and a view from the unionist community on what is needed to advance the peace process. Also included is an assessment of the contributions from the Peace Commission report.

The magazine contains the motions on the Downing Street Declaration that were passed by Sinn Féin's



national internal conference in Letterkenny.

● *The Starry Plough* — An *Camchachtá* is available from Sinn Féin Book Bureau, 44 Parnell Square, Dublin 1 and from the Art Shop, 51-55 Falls Road, Belfast. Price £1.

Nuacht

Cosc ar chomhairleoirí Shinn Féin maslach

RINNE an Comhairleoir Sinn Féineach Pat McGeown léirmheas ar réiteach de chuid Oifig Thuiscceart Éireann a choscann ar chomhairleoirí Shinn Féin cuairteanna a thabhairt ar chimí sna Sé Chontae.

Bhí McGeown, stiúrthóir náisiúnta de Roinn na gCimí ag iarraidh cuairt a thabhairt ar Róise Nic Thoirealaigh, banchime poblachtach i bPríosún Mhaigh gCabrait, Déardaoin seo caite, 8 Meán Fómhair, nuair a stopadh é.

Nuair a d'iarr McGeown míniú ar oifigeach príosúin dúradh leis go ndearn Stiúrthóir na bPríosúin Mr. Shannon an réiteach.

Lena chois sin dúirt an t-oifigeach príosúin go raibh cosc cuairte ar achan chomhairleoir de

chuid Shinn Féin. Chuir Pat McGeown in iúl don oifigeach go raibh sé ar chuairteanna ar idir na Blocanna-H agus ar Mhaigh gCabrait ar na mallabhbh.

I ráiteas a chuir McGeown amach i ndiaidh an diúltú dúirt sé: "Tá sé foróineach ar an mhaidín i ndiaidh do Mharyehw cuairt a thabhairt ar cheann de na heagrais is mídhaoilthaí ar an oileán seo, an t-Ord Oráiseach,

chun a dhearcadh a mhíniú dóibh, séanann sé cead isteach do chomhairleoir a thoghadh go daonlathach a bhí a g déanamh iarracht an staid láithreach pholaitiúil lasmuigh a chur in iúl do dhuine dá thoghlach.

"Tá cimi poblachtacha ina thoghlach tábhachtach i measc poblachtóirí agus mar sin tá an réiteach seo thar a bheith amaideach.

"Ar ndóigh nuair a chuimnítear gur tugadh cead isteach i bPríosún na Cromghlinne do cheathrar chomhairleoir dílseacha mí ó shin le fadhanna a réiteach tar éis sliucáis ag cime dílseacha tá an cinneadh áirithe seo maslach amach is amach."



● PAT McGEOWN



● BRID HUASAF



● LIAM O CUINNEAGAIN

SLOGADH SHINN FÉIN

BEIDH Slógadh Shinn Féin 1994 in Ostán an Dóilín sa Cheathrú Rua i gContae na Gaillimhe ar an 30 Meán Fómhair — 2 Deireadh Fómhair.

Is é an Slógadh an príomh imeacht bhliantúil phoblachtach a thugann seans do dhaoine ón illomad seasamh polaitiúil teacht le chéile le poblachtóirí i dtimpeallacht Ghaelach le ceisteanna tábhachtacha na tíre a phlé.

8.30in Dé hAoine le díospóireacht ar athraithe i sochaf na hÉireann le 25 bliana anuas. Scrúdófar cúrsaí eaglaise is cúrsaí na mban. Cuirfear deireadh leis an oíche le ceol agus filíocht.

Maidín Dé Sathairn ar 10.15rn beidh oscailt oifigiúil na h-imeachta.



● Foireann an Slógaidh i gConamara i 1992 - beidh craic ann arís i mbliana

Tosóidh obair an lae le díospóireacht ar shéanadh cearta cultúrtha in Éirinn agus is iad Brid Huasaf is Flann O Riain na cainteoirí.

Ar mhéad lae cuirfear fáilte roimh an aoichainteoir Liam O Cuinneagain ó Oideas Gael.

Leanfar leis na díospóireachtaí um thráthnóna le díospóireacht ar dhaingniú na teorann agus an damáiste a dhéanann sé sin ar eacnamaíocht na hÉireann. Labhróidh Aontón O Muircheartaigh agus Robbie Smith ar an ábhar seo.

Beidh turas stairiúil thart ar an cheantar ar 3.30in.

Ar a bin beidh an díospóireacht dheireanach "Éire mar a shamlaítear í uaidh seo amach i gcomhthéacs phróiseas na stochána."

Ar a 9in bronnar Gradam na Poblachta ar dhuine a rinne an-saothar ar son chúis na Gaeilge. Críochnófar na himeachtaí ansin le damhsa.

Ag leantúint ó thairbh na bliana seo caite beidh mioncholáiste do fhoglaimeoirí. Mairfidh sé seo ó 10.30rn go dtí na am lón. Tá teorainn leis an méid duine ar féidir leo

freastal ar seo agus dá bhrí sin is gá clárú romh ré.

Tá fáilte roimh chách agus saorchead isteach ag na díospóireachtaí ach dóibh siúd atá ag iarraidh stopadh san ostán gearrfar E45 as leaba is bricefaosta don dá oíche agus dinnéar ar an Satharn. Má tá tuilleadh eolais uait nó má tú ag iarraidh seomra a chur in áirithe déan teagmháil le Marcas Mac Ruairí, 64b Br Ráschúrsa, Doire, BT 48 8DS nó scairt ar (0504) 59747.

Beidh mionbhus ag fágaint Baile Atha Cliath ar an Aoine. Chuir áit in áirithe, glaohar ag Aengus ag 8733611.

Gaeil ó Thuaidh ag leagan amach éileamh

CUIREADH BRÚGHRÚPA ÚR ar bun ag cruinniú i gCultúr-lann Mc Adam/O Fiaich i mBéal Feirte Déardaoin seo caite, 8 Meán Fómhair le cás na Gaeilge a chur chun tosaigh.

Is é príomhaidhm an bhrúgrúpa Gaelchearta ná "brú a chur ar na húdaráis stáit uilig cothrom na Féinne a thabhairt do Ghaeil i gcomhthéacs úr polaitiúil ár linne."

Tá siad ag tathaint ar rialtas na Breataine an Ghaeilge a chur chun cinn sa státseirbhís, sa chóras oideachais, sna meáin chumarsáide agus san healaíona.

Thar rud ar bith eile tá an grúpa ag iarraidh acht Gaeilge do na Sé Chontae a bhéarfadh lánstádas don

teanga mar theanga pobail ar chomhchéim leis an Bhéarla. Creideann an grúpa gur féidir bunús na n-éileamh teanga a shásamh in aon phiosa amháin reachtaíochta a thabharfadh stádas don teanga mar theanga dhlísteannach agus mar theanga oibre de chuid an stáit.

Tá Gaelchearta ag éileamh tacaíocht do na naiscoileanna, na bunskoileanna agus na meánscoileanna uilig. Molann Gaelchearta gur chóir institiúidí tríú léibheal lán Ghaelacha, ollscoil, ceadóil agus coláiste oiliúna a mhaoiniú. Molann siad gur chóir áiseanna taca a mhaoiniú a chuideodh leis na tionscnaimh oideachais.

Dúirt siad go bhfuil dream de dhíth le comhordú a chur ar iarrachtaí na scoileanna chomh maith le háiseanna neamhspleách a chuirfeadh téacsleabhair, seirbhísí foilseacháin agus áiseanna iomadúla teagaisc ar fáil don Ghaelscolaíocht.

Tá Gaelchearta ag éileamh go mbeadh ionadaithe oílte in achan rannóg stáit a bheadh ábalta gnó.

lomlán a dhéanamh leis an phobal trí mhéad na teanga.

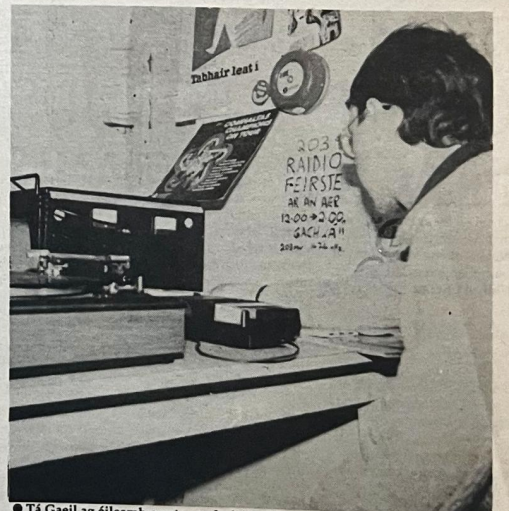
Tá an grúpa ag iarraidh go gceartófaí an claonadh in aghaidh na Gaeilge sna meáin. Tá siad ag éileamh maoiniú do stáisiúin neamhspleách raidió agus teilifíse lánGhaeilge agus go dtabharfaí an tacaíocht chúfí d'fhoilseitheoireacht na teanga.

Mhíniugh úrlabharf ar son an grúpa cad é an plean a bhí acu chun na moltaí a chur chun cinn. Arsa sé: "Bhí an cruinniú againe leis na príomhthéimh de ghluaiseacht na Gaeilge a leagan amach.

"Tá sé de rún againn tacaíocht a lorg do na héilimh ó na meáin agus ó na páirtithe polaitiúla. Má bhíonn scorú polaitiúil ar bith anseo beimid ag déanamh cinnte de go bhfuil a fhios ag gach duine a bheas páirteach sa socrú sin cad iad bun rianachtais an phobail Ghaeilge."

Chuir an Comhairleoir Sinn Féineach Gearóid ó hEara fáilte roimh an scéala go raibh Gaeil ó thuaidh ag teacht le chéile chun a n-éilimh a chur chun cinn.

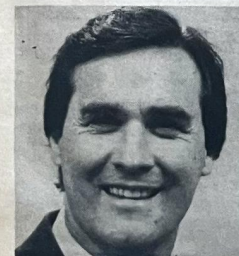
Tá O hEara ag iarraidh cairt chearta don Ghaeilge san Sé Chon-



● Tá Gaeil ag éileamh cearta craolacháin ó Thuaidh

tae agus dúirt sé gur chóir do rialtas na Breataine "deireadh a chur leis an idirdhealú in aghaidh na

Gaeilge sa chóras oideachais, sna meáin agus in achan ghné de shaoil an phobail."



● GEARÓID Ó HEARA

Letters

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

British can't be trusted

A Chairde,
I have never second guessed the Army Council. I have always supported the IRA in its operations — even when some of the operations caused controversies, I do not plan on second guessing them now.

I do pray they are right in declaring a cease-fire. Centuries of colonial imperialism have made the ancient enemy of the Irish people masters at deceit and political intrigue. The British can never be trusted. I will not be at ease until the last oppressive British soldier leaves Irish soil and once again, Ireland is a 32-County republic, united, Gaelic and free.

Joseph F Joyce,
Hanover, Va.

Aggressors still armed

A Chairde,
In the matter of peace in Ireland, let no one be fooled. Britain has always been heavily addicted to war and has managed to wage it mostly in other people's countries, so that she has been in a position to say that the 'natives' are always fighting among themselves.

The Six-County killing fields are the continuation of a war between two conflicting members of British royalty, King William and King James. This completely English gang-war was very successfully exported to Ireland. The Irish had to suffer for it and the Irish had to pay for it in land and in money, and heavy emigration. Britain, while pretending to promote peace, actually has to create wars in order to sell her weapons at extravagant prices.

While waiting for peace in the Middle East, she was insuring that there would be continuous war. Her own Sir John Troutbeck was in charge of affairs in the Middle East at the end of the Second World War, and he assured the cognoscenti that it would never be in Britain's interests to have peace in the Middle East. In 1949, Britain went out of her way to block Arab/Israeli peace moves.

This may be a carbon-copy situation in Ireland. And I notice that everyone keeps calling on the victims to lay down their weapons. Why does no one call on the aggressor to lay down her arms? Why does Britain continue to support and to arm the aggressors?

Máire Ní Chuinn.

Appeasing loyalist paramilitaries

A Chairde,
In the aftermath of the laudable cease-fire by the IRA, a number of disturbing questions have come to light, particularly concerning the coverage of events by the

British media.

One disturbing aspect is the media portrayal of the loyalist death squads. For years, when the IRA were considered the enemy (of the British), we were told that they were evil murderers, and that no concessions could ever be given because that would be "giving in to terrorism". Now that the loyalist death squads are in the spotlight, the media are still attempting to justify their campaign. All the talk is about "appeasing" them. If anyone had dared to suggest "appeasing" the IRA then that would have been "giving in to terrorism". The favoured approach was to bash them at every opportunity. Apparently, appeasing the loyalists is considered OK. It seems that the so-called justification for the continuing campaign of killing is that the poor things understandably don't believe the IRA about the cease-fire (which of course makes it all the IRA's fault) and naturally they can't possibly believe the cease-fire was unilateral and unconditional because nasty republicans couldn't possibly be that visionary — therefore, there must have been a deal struck with the British. Perfectly sound logic if you're a reactionary bigot, but hardly credible, even to the British public. Even the most devout adherent to the word of John Major can clearly see that the loyalist violence is not fit-for-fat, and that nobody is to blame for it but the loyalists themselves.

Even more disturbing, however, is the unhindered appearance of two masked loyalist killers at the loyalist damage-limitation parade on Saturday, 3 September. I came over from England to be present at the republican march to Belfast City Hall on 14 August. This was a totally peaceful march, and no IRA Volunteers were visibly represented.

Nonetheless, the British security presence was phenomenal. Armoured cars, armed soldiers and armed RUC police were everywhere to be seen, lining the streets, trailing the march, surrounding the rally and so on. If two armed Volunteers had turned up at that rally, I have no doubt that the British crown forces would have found some way to remove them from circulation. The British have never shown much constraint in the past in the field of crowd control. (Bloody Sunday — need I say more?) Yet these loyalist killers were allowed to appear, fire shots, and then disappear back into the woodwork. I can only conclude, then, that either there was little or no security presence at that loyalist march, or else the security forces simply decided not to arrest the killers. Either possibility begs serious criticism of the British crown forces' so-called "impartiality". The world will judge this action for itself.

Jill Baker,
St Albans,
England.

Bunoscionn?

A Chairde,
Is dócha gurb é an bhunoscionn a shocraíonn an tsí chun léirscaileanna a dheard. An é sin an fáth go mbíonn mapáí Iarthair Bhéal Feirste i gcónaí ag feidhm de réir an ghnáth-chaighdeán idirnáisiúnta. Tá An Phoblacht ciontach chomh maith le nuachtán ar bith eile. Cur i gcás mapáí "Springvale" in eagrán Tú Meán Fómhair.

A bhúiochas don chompaís maighnéadach, is dócha, is é an gnáth-nós an tuaisceart a thaispeáint ar bharr an mhapa. Ach nuair a bhíonn Iarthair Bhéal Feirste a phlé bíonn an t-Iarthair (Baile Andarsan) i gcónaí ar bharr an mhapa, an t-Iarthair in ionad an Tuaiscirt. Uaireanta bíonn fadhb ann muna n-oireann mapá tuaisceart ar bharr le lúf clódóireachta an leathanaigh. Tá sí shimplí chun an fhadhb sin a réiteach. Ba chuma cé'n treo atá ar an mapa is féidir saighdeag ar cur an chun treo an tuaisceart a thaispeáint.

Bíonn an treochas an-tíbhachtach i gcaint an ndaoine. Mar shampla: "ag dul ó thuaidh" nó "ag teacht anoir". Tháinig Iarsma den smaoinneamh sin i mBéarla na hÉireann, ach tá tionchar na Gaeilge ag laghdú le brú na teiflís. In ionad an chompaís maighnéadaigh, tá na treochas dóchais bunaithe ar éirí na gréine. Mar sin bíonn an t-oraí ag féachaint ar éirí na gréine agus sin é barr an mhapa; an Deisceart ar a lámh dheis nó ar an taobh dheis den mapa, agus mar sin de. Mar sin tá leithscéal dúchasach gan glacadh leis an nós idirnáisiúnta. Ach ní hámhlaigh an scéal maidir le mapáí Iarthair Bhéal Feirste a bhíonn bunoscionn de réir an nós dhúchais.

Le déanaí bhíodh Forbairt Chuan Dún Laoire á plé san *Irish Times*. Nuair a bhíonn mapáí le taispeáint bíonn an t-Oirtheair (éirí na gréine) ar bharr an mhapa. An amhlaidh go mbíonn an *Irish Times* níos Gealaí ná An Phoblacht? Mise, ag féachaint soir, Fádraig Ó Conchúir.

Does Britain want peace?

A Chairde,
The nit-picking response of the British prime minister, secretary of state and some unionists is rightly condemned by Senator Gordon Wilson. The question should be asked of them — are they prepared to make the same unconditional offer of peace, word-for-word, as the IRA have done, namely: "There will be a complete cessation of military operations. A solution will be found as a result of inclusive negotiations. It is our desire to significantly contribute to the creation of a climate which will encourage this. We urge everyone to approach this new situation with energy, determination and patience."

If they are prepared to do this then final peace will be

assured. If they are not they should be asked why not? Hugo V Flinn, Newtownmountkennedy, County Wicklow.

Irresponsible behaviour

A Chairde,
As an Irish person living in Northern Ireland, I feel the most profound sadness and anger at the utterly irresponsible behaviour of politicians who should be providing leadership to all the Irish people in these critical times.

Thirty-five million pounds of public money has been spent in a Tribunal of Enquiry, the principal beneficiaries of which have been lawyers, who resemble nothing less than a flock of carrion crows glutting themselves on the remains of a dead sheep.

The tribunal has concluded that, despite tax evasion, a falsification of documents, and abuse of public trust on a massive scale, no one is actually guilty of anything, except the Irish people, who must foot the bill.

With the lawyers departed to their banks, the politicians are now clawing over the entrails of the enquiry, to suck out some poisonous little bone with which they can assault their opponents on the floor of Dáil Éireann and the TV screens.

Meanwhile, the haemorrhage of emigration of the bravest and best of our youth drains Ireland of her future; 30% of our people live below the poverty line; our inner cities deteriorate day by day into a morass of unemployment, hopelessness and alienation; the war in the North grinds relentlessly into deeper savagery.

Is this really all that Irish democracy, and Irish political life, has to offer in the last decade of this second Christian millennium?

If Albert Reynolds has achieved nothing else in his leadership of the Irish government, he has offered the hope that it is at least possible to bring to an end the war in the North. And he has done so, with a patience and persistence which is unprecedented in an Irish taoiseach.

Whatever his other faults and failures (which no doubt are plentiful), he deserves the maximum possible support and encouragement in this endeavour for the sake of the future of all the people of Ireland.

Instead, it appears that John Bruton, Mary Harney, et al, not content with clawing over the entrails of the Beef Tribunal, are utterly determined that he will not achieve peace in the North — regardless of the bloody price which continues to be paid by the people of the North and of all this island.

Mr Bruton in particular, appears to have decided that he will oppose, tooth and nail, any initiative which might



● JOHN BRUTON

bring about even a temporary or partial alleviation of the conflict.

Since he has nothing to offer the people of Ireland in relation to poverty, emigration, unemployment, crime waves, and industrial anarchy, it is too much to expect that he will at least refrain from his bitter and relentless opposition to the efforts being made to secure peace in the North.

Before indulging himself further at the expense of the people of the North, Mr Bruton should take an extended holiday in the working-class ghettos of Belfast, and the countryside of Tyrone, in order that he can learn at first hand, the price which has to be paid, night after night, for his grandiose posturing on RTE.

Perhaps he would invite Ms Harney and other politicians to join him? Betty Noone, Maghera, County Derry.

A message to the haves from the have-nots

A Chairde,
Just in case you've been trusting the United Snakes, with history erased, we're about to give you an update of white, male, Anglo domination for so long — so much misinformation you don't know what's going on.

A heavily-armed and brutal police force constantly patrols the streets of the inner city. Arrests and shootings occur nightly in the nation's capital. The original owners of the land are hidden away on barren patches of land and spiritually wounded with the White man's social diseases — alcohol, poverty, poor housing, unemployment, and golf-course encroachments. Prostitution is legalised, the health service is an elite privilege and the Klu Klux Klan terrorises with impunity.

To secure the corporate elite illusion, the system encourages individualism, greed. The mindless consumerism and the big

dollar culture joins the ranks of being told what to think by video-TV vanity, owned and dictated by corporate bosses. In addition to a multi-billion dollar patriarchal pornography and beef industry, the CIA secures the predominance of right-wing bloodsucking regimes abroad.

The system's values of violence from the male sexual identity include competition, sexism, racism and the exploitation and oppression of the US underclass. This system of modern slavery is modern capitalism and the global kingpin is US imperialism.

These are some of the realities that POWER exposes in their activating, empowering, educating music, which in the United States, is one of the only channels for African Americans to express dissent. POWER's angry voice is a new revolutionary documentary of resistance from the belly of the monster. When socialism is applied to America, which an American Reaganist education taught me to equate with the evils of Marxism and communism, the wisdom and rage of James Connolly abounds. Because the US is the most oppressive nation (it pretends to be the liberal land of opportunity, but more obviously controls and exploits the global world system), this is where real socialism will occur in the future after the exhaustion of imperialism. POWER's message is that this is a call for unity and you are not alone in the struggle.

POWER Dedicated to World Revolution 1994 available on Network Productions Box 330-1755 Robson St, Vancouver BC, Canada V6G 3B7.

See *Race & Class*, 35,1 (1993) *Rap, Race and Politics* for a greater perspective... Fotis Spiridakis, Chicago, Illinois, USA.

Get your money in

A Chairde,
With yet another summer drawing to a close, the various sponsored activities by republicans in aid of Irish-medium education were a success. The sponsored climb by the Cultural Department was on 25 June and the prisoners' sponsored fun-run was completed on 8 August. The money collected will hopefully make a significant contribution to lessening the financial difficulties experienced by those involved in Irish-medium education. On their behalf, I would like to thank those friends and relatives of the prisoners who took the time and effort to gather sponsors.

However, to ensure the success of the run, it is important that all proceeds are collected as soon as possible and forwarded to: Marcas Mac Ruairí, 64B Racecourse Road, Shantallow, Derry.

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

PLEASE KEEP LETTERS SHORT

News

CORONER ABANDONS ARMAGH INQUESTS TWELVE-YEAR 'SHOOT-TO-KILL' WHITEWASH

IT IS NOW ALMOST 12 years since IRA Volunteers Seán Burns, Eugene Toman and Gervase McKerr were shot dead on a dark roadside near Lurgan, County Armagh. Three other men, INLA members Roddy Carroll and Séamus Grew and civilian Michael Tighe were to die in the following month during the most notorious phase of the British 'shoot-to-kill' policy in the Six Counties.

Last Thursday, 8 September, the inquest into the six deaths was finally abandoned. The coroner was frustrated at the failure of the RUC to supply details of their own inquiry into the events of November and December 1982, thus thwarting any attempts to get at the full facts behind the shoot-to-kill policy.

On the night of 11 November 1982, Burns and Toman were being driven by McKerr in his car along Tullygally Road East when at around 9.40pm the three were shot dead by the RUC. None of the three was armed.

According to the version of events propagated by the British in the aftermath of the shooting, the car crashed through a roadblock injuring an RUC member. However, local witnesses denied the existence of a road block. The scene of the shooting was sealed off for hours with even a priest being denied access to administer last rites.

The fourth person to be shot dead by the RUC was 17-year-old Michael Tighe. On 24 November 1982, he and a friend, Martin McCauley, were shot in a shed close to Ballyneery Road North, again near Lurgan. The two had found three pre-1917 bolt-action weapons, which they were examining, when the RUC opened fire, killing Tighe and seriously wounding McCauley.

INLA members Roddy Carroll and Séamus Grew were shot dead at 8.30pm on 12 December 1982. The two were travelling unarmed along the Killylea Road, Armagh, on their way to Grew's home nearby.

An RUC statement issued immediately after the shooting once more claimed that the car passed through a roadblock, injuring one of their personnel. Local eye-witnesses again denied the existence of such a roadblock.

A witness also observed the car travelling at a normal speed along the Killylea Road. This witness added that Grew recognised and waved at him. He then watched as a second car, travelling at speed, overtook Grew and Carroll, and pulled in front of them. Then shooting was heard.

Following these six killings, there was international outrage and questions were raised by concerned bodies and officials. On 1 September 1983, an ex-British soldier, Constable John Robinson (a member of a 'Special Mobile Support Unit' [E4A] attached to RUC Headquarters) was charged with the murder of Séamus Grew. On the following day, the Armagh

coroner, Gerry Curran, deferred the inquests of Grew and Carroll due to the charges brought against Robinson.

The trial was to be the first public manifestation of the cover-up with Judge McDermott acquitting Robinson and saying that he had "no doubt" that the crown had failed to convince him that the accused had not acted in self-defence.

On the same date that the inquest into the deaths of Grew and Carroll was adjourned, 2 September 1983, the Armagh coroner, Gerry Curran, criticised the DPP for obstructing him in the investigation into the deaths of Toman, Burns and McKerr. Curran had received no documents other than the autopsy report.

On 16 September 1983, it was reported that three RUC men were to be charged with shooting dead Eugene Toman. Sergeant William James Montgomery, Constables David Brannigan and Frederick Nigel Robinson were brought to trial on 29 May 1983.

The full facts of what happened on the night Eugene Toman, Seán Burns and Gervase McKerr were shot dead may never be known. A total of around 109 bullets were fired by the RUC, 56 of which struck the car. The RUC claimed they fired in response to the opening of the car door which sounded like a gun shot.

Burns, Toman and McKerr had been linked, via an informer, to a landmine which killed three RUC members at Kinnego, Lurgan, on 27 October 1982. Again, it became clear during the trial that the men were targeted by the specialist unit E4A.

This unit often contained ex-British army personnel who were rushed through RUC training in order to join the E4A. Senior Deputy Constable Micheal McAtamney, gave evidence that the specialist training given to E4A is to react with "speed, firepower and aggression". He added that, "once you decide to fire, you shoot to take out your enemy". The judge, Gibson, asked whether this is intended to "mean permanently out of action", the reply from McAtamney was "yes".

Diplock Judge Gibson acquitted all three defendants of murder, and commended them for their bravery. Gibson added that the RUC are to be congratulated for bringing "the three deceased men to justice, in this case to the final court of justice... a policeman or soldier is ordered to arrest a dangerous criminal and on the basis of that order to bring him back dead or alive..."

An internal RUC inquiry headed

by the same RUC officer who had given evidence for the defence in the Toman case, McAtamney, failed to allay the general concern. This led to the setting up of the Stalker inquiry.

The now notorious Stalker affair at first appeared likely to be the usual whitewash of one British police force investigating another British police force. However, the Deputy Chief Constable of Greater Manchester John Stalker, despite being obstructed at every turn, carried out a more thorough inquiry than the RUC had anticipated.

Stalker concluded that there were grounds for charging a number of senior RUC officers, but before these could be finalised, Stalker was the subject of dirty tricks from his own side. Allegations of disciplinary offences made against Stalker were later dropped, but not until he had been replaced as head of the shoot-to-kill inquiry by Colin Sampson, Chief Constable of West Yorkshire.

Stalker was denied access to various pieces of evidence which would have enabled him to have a clearer picture of the events which led to the deaths of the six people. This included an M15 tape recording of the Tighe killing.

The role of an informer in the North Armagh area was also hidden from Stalker, who was prevented from speaking to the person concerned. This informer was paid £2,000 following the deaths of McKerr, Toman and Burns. It is also believed that the same informer identified the shed where Tighe and McCauley were shot as the hiding place for explosives used in the Kinnego landmine, thereby linking the first two shootings.

In January 1988, the then Attorney General, Patrick Mayhew, announced that eight RUC members involved in "a conspiracy to pervert the course of justice" and for obstructing the Stalker inquiry would not be prosecuted on the grounds of 'national security'.

Inquests into the killings of the six men had originally been delayed in order to await the outcome of the prosecution against the RUC members. On 22 August 1984, the coroner, Curran, due to examine the deaths of Grew and



● RUC godfather Hugh Annesley

Carroll, resigned because of "grave irregularities" in the police files.

The following week, the acting coroner said that he would be unable to take over this inquest or that of McKerr, Toman and Burns, due to "professional commitments". The inquests were then delayed until the findings of the Stalker inquiry should be known.

However, Public Interest Immunity Certificates (PIIC) first used in the Gibraltar Three case to repress evidence, were in turn used to prevent the coroner from exploring the facts around the shoot-to-kill operations in Armagh and in particular to ensure that Stalker/Sampson remained secret.

Repeated attempts by the coroner, John Leckey, to force the RUC to produce the Stalker documents as evidence have failed. In an attempt to force Hugh Annesley's hand, Leckey issued a writ in which he asked the High Court in Belfast to force the RUC chief to present the report to the coroner's court.

This, however, was unsuccessful. The courts ruled in Annesley's favour and this led to Thursday's decision. Leckey said: "After very considerable thought and having carefully weighed all the issues that I believe are relevant... I have decided not to resume the inquests, but instead to proceed to register the deaths. I am satisfied that my aim in deciding to hold the inquests... is no longer achievable."

There was widespread condemnation of the circumstances leading to the coroner's decision. Families of the dead men maintained that the Stalker report contained the crucial evidence surrounding the killing and should be made public.

Sinn Féin's justice and legal affairs spokesman, Barry McElduff, was critical of the inquest system: "It is incapable of arriving at a just outcome. It is obvious too, that the RUC and British military intelligence have conspired at the highest level to conceal the truth in these killings."



An Phoblacht

REPUBLICAN NEWS

15/9/94

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