



# An Phoblacht

## REPUBLICAN NEWS

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# Peace needs end to British violence

*"I am absolutely satisfied that collusion is neither widespread nor institutionalised. From time to time, however, there will be some bad apples in every barrel."*

— RUC Chief Hugh Annesley.

THESE WERE THE WORDS of the head of the RUC in a week when a serving member of the Royal Irish Regiment again appeared in court charged with involvement in the UVF murder of a Catholic man in Armagh earlier this year. The statement came almost exactly 25 years after the deaths of the first two people to die in this phase of the conflict — both killed by the RUC.

Francis McCloskey and Sammy Devenny were both beaten to death by the RUC in 1969 and died on 13 and 17 July respectively. Such deaths and the violent role of the RUC and British army is still being written out of the political equation by most commentators, but this violence must be tackled if lasting peace is to be secured.

Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams accused Annesley of "trying to distract attention away from the reality of conflict in the Six Counties and the role the RUC plays in sustaining it through repression and collusion with the loyalist death squads".

Annesley again predicted that loyalist violence would end if the IRA "called a halt to violence" and if the loyalists did not see a "sell out" in the background. But once again this was as much a threat as a prediction from Annesley, who has made similar menacing remarks, notably when he

forecast loyalist attacks in the 26 Counties last year.

What Annesley ignores is the reality that loyalist death squads act against any perceived political movement which threatens unionist domination. Loyalists — in and out of RUC uniform — were doing that long before the present IRA campaign started and were responsible for the first violent deaths. Responding in detail to Annesley's remarks, Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams said:

"Loyalist violence is not and never has been reactive. Annesley exposes his real political position when he qualifies this perverted view of loyalist violence by saying that loyalists would halt as long as they did not perceive a 'sell out', that their murder campaign will only stop if a political settlement is on loyalist terms.

"This is the unionist veto in practice — no political change, no change in the status quo and

nationalists forced to remain trapped within a political system which discriminates against them and denies them their democratic rights. Underpinning all of this there is the threat of loyalist violence, as voiced by Mr Annesley, particularly in the 26 Counties, if nationalists seek to advance these political objectives.

"Loyalist violence has only one objective — to secure unionist dominance. But it will not succeed in this. There will be no return to Stormont rule. The current loyalist murder campaign and the allied threats of unionist politicians are designed to derail a peace process which has the potential to bring about a negotiated settlement based on equality and democratic principles. Such a negotiated settlement threatens no section of the Irish people. It will benefit all of us including the unionists. The loyalist murder campaign does not advance their interests, it should be ended immediately.

"The RUC chief constable has nothing new to offer in the current efforts to advance the peace process. Indeed, he returns to his favourite subject of demanding still greater powers to add to the existing mountain of draconian legislation which the RUC already has at its disposal. This will only add to the conflict."

Elaborating on the present state of the peace process, Adams said:



"Peace is an achievable goal. What is required to make the hope of so many a concrete reality is a commitment by all the parties to the conflict is build on the existing peace process.

"I have repeatedly said that peace rarely results from single grand gestures on any one side. This is all the more so when seeking to unravel a conflict which is centuries old. In our effort to positively move the peace process forward, Sinn Féin is prepared to put into play what we have to offer. This includes our substantial electoral and democratic mandate and our total commitment to establishing peace.

"Since John Hume and I kick-started the peace process, we have all been in an evolving situation, a situation which requires patience and imagination, and which requires that the steps already taken be built upon.

"It must be remembered that Sinn Féin has helped formulate

proposals which have been enough to move the IRA to say publicly that their acceptance by the British government could provide the basis for peace.

"We must build on the positive achievements of the last 18 months. There is a clear need to press ahead with the peace process. The present intense speculation about the possibility of an IRA cease-fire in this climate is unhelpful and wholly misinformed.

"In addition we must also look at more specific short-term and intermediate-term objectives to develop the potential which the peace process has already provided for addressing issues of immediate concern.

"In the short to medium term: ■ We must ensure by our efforts that there is no return to unionist domination over local nationalist communities in the Six Counties;

(continued on page 2)

# Belfast RIR HQ blasted



IN A STATEMENT released after another devastating blow against the British army in the Six Counties, the IRA's Belfast Brigade said that several of their active service units (ASUs) breached tight security around the Royal Irish Regiment's centre of operations in the city in a daring mortar bomb attack.

The well-coordinated operation took place on Saturday afternoon, 2 July, around 2pm as the RIR base was packed with British soldiers attending a function inside their heavily-fortified compound. The base had been reinforced several years ago following a rifle attack which killed a British army private from what was then the Ulster Defence Reg-

iment inside one of the base's observation posts.

The IRA statement after Saturday's attack revealed that an engineering unit had mounted three mortar tubes inside a commandeered Ford Transit van before being handed over to the ASUs.

Providing armed cover to the ASU directly involved in the launching of the three heavy Barrack

Buster mortars was another ASU armed with a variety of automatic weapons. It is the first time these heavy mortars have been used in the city.

Positioning the mortar launchers in a prearranged area in Derryvolgie Avenue, yards from the Windsor Park/Malone Road base, the mortars' firing mechanism was armed and within minutes the first mortar shell had landed inside the RIR barracks closely followed by the others.

The three loud explosions were heard all over the city indicating the mortars' size and devastating capability.

Extensive structural damage was caused to buildings, including the canteen and administration offices. On completion of the third detonation, all Volunteers withdrew from the immediate area and, despite the presence of undercover units of the RUC, dispersed safely.



● Extensive structural damage was caused to the RIR's centre of operations in Belfast in a daring mortar attack by the Irish Republican Army

(continued from front page)

- Sinn Féin activists must be able to represent and speak for our communities in conditions of peace, uninterfered with by the British military or the RUC, free of personal harassment and free from the threat of the death squads. The censorship laws which are an affront to democracy and a denial of human rights must be scrapped;
- It is time that a real effort was made to end job discrimination and economic inequalities against Catholics;
- The underlying sectarian bias

- against nationalist areas in the allocation of economic investment must be brought to an end;
- The rights of Gaelgeoirí must be fully recognised and an equality of status for the Irish language including funding must be secured;
- The speedy release of all long-term prisoners, pending a full amnesty for all political prisoners, must become a matter of urgent concern;
- Repressive legislation must be ended;
- The links between British intelligence agencies and the loyalist death squads must be severed.

Collusion at all its levels must end.

"Peace is not simply an IRA cease-fire. The peace process must address all of the issues which lie at the heart of the conflict. The policies and structures of the past have failed. The status quo must be fundamentally changed.

"An end to violence and an agreed political settlement will bring with them a peace dividend which will bring with it a dramatic change in our social, economic and political way of life. Peace will benefit all the people of the island." — See report of London conference page 7 and '25 Years Ago' page 13

## IN BRIEF...

### UDA target nationalist families

THE UDA continued to target nationalist families in the Six Counties in their concerted campaign of violence aimed at terrorising Catholics into abandoning their nationalist aspirations.

A young boy narrowly escaped death on Sunday, 3 July, after he discovered a bomb planted outside his home in Barrack Street near the centre of Belfast. The youngster was locking up his father's car when he noticed the device next to the car. The device was in a thermos flask and the boy said it was ticking. Most of the street was evacuated as British army bomb disposal officers dealt with the device. The UFF, a cover name used by the UDA, claimed that they had planted the device.

### Death knell for rural schools

DROMORE Sinn Féin Councillor Pat Watters has warned of British government plans to close schools in the Six Counties after the recent publication of a policy document by the British Education Minister Michael Ancram. Watters said that any closures would sound the death knell for already hard-hit rural communities.

"In the rural hinterland of Dromore alone, it is obvious that a number of small primary schools are under review by the Western Education and Library Board and by the Catholic Council for Maintained Schools."

"Many of these schools have been the cornerstone of community life for several generations. I will be writing to Michael Ancram and will be asking him to reconsider any such plans to close rural schools. If you threaten to close small rural schools, you threaten to remove the heart from hard-pressed rural areas. It's as simple as that."

### Annesley "setting loyalist political agenda"

SINN FÉIN Ard Chomhairle member Martin McGuinness has accused RUC Chief Constable Hugh Annesley of being an apologist for loyalists, after he stated to the press that loyalist violence was reactive to IRA violence and that if the IRA were to suspend its campaign then loyalists would respond in kind.

McGuinness has challenged Annesley's interpretation of loyalist violence and said that was "intimately aware of the history and ferocity of loyalist violence. It's indicative of the mentality of the RUC that their chief constable should try to excuse loyalist killings of nationalists by saying that it was reactive.

"Mr Annesley is trying to set a loyalist political agenda by setting down conditions under which loyalist paramilitaries would call off their murder campaign."

### Call for local labour in Cobh

AT the first meeting of Cobh Urban District Council, newly-elected Sinn Féin Councillor Kieran McCarthy called for local labour to be employed on council contracts.

As the council adopted procedures for dealing with tenders for public works, Councillor McCarthy intervened:

"I am the only unemployed councillor and there are 807 people unemployed in the town. There is a major contract in front of the dole office and not one Cobh person is employed on it. I am proposing there should be a 60% local labour clause and a time limit on contracts."

Other councillors raised "difficulties" that would arise over funding and claimed EU rules on "free movement of labour" prevented local labour clauses. Speaking to AP/RN, Councillor McCarthy said that this highlighted how local authorities were being restricted both by government underfunding and EU rules, real or imagined, which were being used to stifle local initiative. Councillor McCarthy said he would be raising the issue again.

### Cookstown workers angry

Nationalist employees at the Unipork factory in Cookstown, County Tyrone, are angry at the company's unwillingness to remove a Union Jack flag which flies over the factory from the beginning of July until the end of August.

Cookstown Sinn Féin representative Martin Conlon has called on the Fair Employment Commission to investigate the situation. He said a number of Unipork employees had contacted him about the flying of this flag which they found offensive. He said:

"Unipork certainly are not in compliance with FEC guidelines on the display of flags and emblems at the workplace." He called on the management of Unipork to respect the sensitivities of all sections of the workforce.

# News

## Transfer hopes raised — families demand action not words

**HOPES HAVE AGAIN** been raised this week that Irish prisoners in British jails will soon be transferred to prisons in the Six Counties. Unsubstantiated reports have been circulated that the transfer, to allow Irish prisoners to serve their sentences closer to their families, is imminent.

These reports have neither been officially confirmed nor denied by the Northern Ireland Office (NIO) the Home Office, or indeed British ministers. The fear is that the expectations of prisoners' families are again being raised, only to be dashed.

Despite the fact that the transfer of prisoners has been the stated policy of the British government since their adoption of the Ferrers' Report in November 1992, they have so far failed to act on it. This report, the result of an 'interdepartmental review' between the NIO, the Scottish Office, and the Home Office, recommended that prisoners be moved under a procedure allowing for "temporary extended transfer" from Britain to jails in the Six Counties.

This procedure has in itself been criticised; not least because, as yet, not one prisoner has been transferred since the Ferrers'

Report was adopted. As outlined in the report 'temporary transfer' would mean that those currently serving sentences in Britain would remain under the authority of the Home Office, rather than the NIO, as is the case with those in Six-County jails.

As many Irish prisoners in Britain are serving life sentences, this procedure would, in effect, create two categories of life-sentence prisoners. Those eventually moved from Britain would continue to be subject to the arbitrary whims of the British Home Secretary for their release; they would also be denied parole to spend Christmas or Easter with their families.

The very nature of a "temporary" transfer implies prisoners could be sent back to Britain at any time, an instability which would result in further anxiety for families.

However unsatisfactory the arrangements for 'temporary transfer' may be, the Ferrers' Report did offer some hope to relatives, many of whom have been effectively exiled from their loved ones. Those who have, for as many as 20 years, made the long and tortuous journey to England, often to find their son, daughter, husband, wife or father has been 'ghosted' to another jail just prior to their visit, were offered some hope of being able to see their loved ones regularly. Indeed for some who, through ill-health or age, are no longer able to make the journey to England, the Ferrers' Report seemed to offer their only hope of once again seeing their relative.

Hopes of this nature have again been raised with reports that the British government is, some 20 months since the publication of their own report, and apparently under pressure from the government of the 26 Counties, prepared to implement the policy of repatriation of prisoners.

However, Dublin government itself has failed to ratify the European Convention on the Repatriation of Prisoners, the acceptance of which would pave the way for the return of Irish prisoners in Britain whose families are in the 26 Counties. Caroline McEvoy, of the Committee for the Transfer of Irish Prisoners, expressed the fears shared by many of the relatives, friends and supporters of Irish prisoners on hearing the latest reports. She said:

"British government officials have repeatedly told families that their relatives' transfer is imminent. They lied. It is difficult to discover whether current reports have more substance than those of the past 20 months. The statements of British ministers and officials appear to be deliberately evasive or inconsistent. For example, the number of prisoners to be transferred varies; as does the number of months a 'temporary' transfer order would last."

Sinn Féin representative Francie Molloy, while cautiously welcoming the reports that Ferrers' recommendations were to be implemented, remained sceptical. He said that Sinn Féin wanted to

see the return of all Irish prisoners, not just a number of prisoners from the Six Counties. Molloy made the point that any transfer of prisoners to a jail close to their relatives, as specified under European legislation, should be permanent, rather than 'temporary'.

For the Committee for the Transfer of Irish Prisoners, Caroline McEvoy made it clear that "any British government policy or document has to be judged by results".

"For the last 20 months families of prisoners in England have been waiting for word that their loved ones will be transferred from England to Ireland; yet not one single prisoner has been transferred under the new criteria laid down in the Ferrers' Report.

"Given the past history, until there are concrete results, in the shape of prisoners being transferred, people should remain sceptical of the current intentions of the British government in relation to the treatment of Irish prisoners."

"We are sick of being lied to, we are sick of the British government failing to put even its own policy into effect, and we are sick of the suffering and hardship that goes with travelling to England. The 20 years that some prisoners' relatives have been travelling to England is far too long."



● The recently-formed Tyrone POW Department held one of its first public meetings last Wednesday evening, 29 June. Chaired by Mickey Morgan, the meeting was attended by many relatives of Tyrone republican prisoners and several Sinn Féin councillors including Francie Molloy, Vincent Kelly and Séamus Campbell. Speakers included Carol Cullen, recently released from Maghaberry Prison after five years, Robert McClenaghan and Michael Browne. Issues addressed included the transfer of prisoners and extradition.

## Parole refusal slammed

**THE ATTITUDE** of the Northern Ireland Office which refused a prisoner permission to attend a family funeral, has been condemned as "uncompassionate" by Sinn Féin prison spokesperson Francie Molloy.

Francis McGoldrick, from Lisnaskea, has been refused parole to attend his grandfather's funeral despite the fact that he was

virtually reared by his grandfather.

Describing the decision as "harsh", Molloy said the reason given by the NIO was that the deceased was not a close enough relative of the prisoner. He said

that the NIO's refusal of parole to McGoldrick, coming so soon on the heels of the NIO decision to refuse Belfast man Peter Corbett permission to visit his father who was seriously ill in hospital, "flies in the face of claims that they are trying to create a caring and compassionate prison regime".

Molloy called for compassion-

ate parole to be available by right to prisoners to attend the funerals of close family members. He added that "grandparents in Ireland are a very important part of the extended family".

The Sinn Féin spokesperson also called for compassionate parole to be extended for at least 72 hours to allow families to grieve together.

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



● Cutting in progress at the Irish Steel plant in Cork — but for how much longer?

## Irish Steel faces meltdown

■ BY NEIL FORDE

**T**WELFTH-HOUR NEGOTIATIONS began between Irish Steel unions and their management on Wednesday, 6 July at the Labour Relations Commission (LRC).

The new round of negotiations only began after a last-minute appeal by the ICTU. Management had already decided to shut down the plant with an immediate loss of over 500 jobs. Another 500 service jobs are dependent on Irish Steel, while the knock-on effect in the local economy of a shutdown would lead to even further job losses.

In the current form the negotiations are yet another predictable step in the saga of protracted attempts by the Dublin government to dump another of its public sector corporations.

Irish Steel has been in a precarious position for at least the last four years. It is producing output in a contracting market where price is being driven below cost.

The company's management have failed to broaden the company's product base. The IDA and other development agencies have failed to put in place the vital ancillary industries around Irish Steel to make it viable in the long term.

But in common with TEAM, Irish Steel management see only one obstacle to the securing the long-term future of Irish Steel — its workers. They must agree to a 20% cut in basic pay, the loss of a right to sick pay, a longer working week and cuts in overtime payments.

Irish Steel is following the path of predecessors such as Dublin Cargohandlers, B&I, Siúicre Éireann and TEAM Aer Lingus. The workplaces are being 'rationalised' on the basis that the company is technically insolvent. Only when the company has shed workers and introduced reduced wages will the company spring back to life in the private sector.

That these form of negotiations are acceptable to the ICTU and the Dublin government exposes the work of the LRC as a sham. Irish Steel's current financial difficulties first emerged late last year. The management looked for and secured a £1 million plus cut in wage costs. However, it was the unions at the plant who approached government at the time and said that the management plan would not secure the future of the company. A second plan was produced by management which was rejected by government.

At this stage, the Minister for Employment and Enterprise Ruairi Quinn appointed consultants Simpson Xavier early this year to review the company's operations.

The consultants report was scathing of management at the plant, yet the first parts leaked to the media were the plans for worker redundancies. The unions were at first denied access to the report as, in common with the recent TEAM report, it had 'vital commercial information' which allegedly could not be disclosed to the workers. Eventually they gained access to the report.

**A**s a result of the report a new executive chairperson was appointed to the company. However, the new chairperson Pat Dineen has taken up where the old management left off.

Labour leader Dick Spring added to this union-bashing campaign last week by making one of his few comments on the

public sector his party is committed to preserving. Spring said that state enterprises cannot be sealed off from the rest of the economy and that "we cannot solve the problems of state enterprises, or create the basis for their further expansion by throwing money at them".

However, in recent years we have seen spectacular private sector collapses in the the 26 Counties with Larry Goodman's beef empire, GPA and MFA Kentz being prime examples. In each of these companies the Leinster House parties were falling over themselves to provide assistance, lucrative contracts and cash to these ailing private sector giants.

Larry Goodman's food companies had been extended £500 million of credit by 33 different banks with Dublin government backing before its collapse. Its debts have been rescheduled and it is being run by an examiner. The cabinet also made funds available to GPA/MFA Kentz. In both cases no redundancy guarantees or wage cuts were involved. Now, however, there is only silence on this double standard policy.

Sinn Féin Councillor on Cobh UDC Kieran McCarthy raised the Irish Steel issue at the first meeting of the new council. He proposed an emergency motion asking the council to call a special meeting and invite Dineen and four workers to discuss the future of the plant and attacked the Dublin government's role in the crisis at Irish Steel. McCarthy said: "Irish Steel's future will not be secured through drastic wage cuts, an all inclusive plan for the company formulated by unions and management is the only way forward for the company. The ICTU and the coalition must work to that end, otherwise Irish Steel will be let collapse and be sold off to the private sector."

## Spring feels the heat of TEAM workers' rage

**A**FURTHER 200 TEAM workers are set to be laid off at the end of the week as the coalition government made it clear that the management at TEAM have the full backing of the cabinet in the stand with unions. This came days after Labour leader Dick Spring was heckled and temporarily imprisoned in his ministerial Mercedes by angry TEAM workers. The incident happened when Spring made a trip to Coolock for the launch of a report on ending long-term unemployment.

Much was made of the incident, but nothing could disguise Spring's obvious discomfort. The sight of a 'socialist' Labour minister being heckled by trade unionists showed the consequences of Labour's role in holding up the monetarist vanguard in government.

Spring said afterwards that "we have to sort out the mandate for state companies in terms of the relationship between boards, management, trade unions and workforce in flexible and innovative ways that assist the commercial survival of the enterprise".

This has not happened and has not led to the TEAM unions being offered a partnership role in negotiations. Instead the whole thrust is wage cuts and labour costs, even though management failure has been the cause of all TEAM's problems.

Spring refuses to acknowledge this fact. He talks about relationships, but until unions are given an equitable role in TEAM and other companies their situation will deteriorate.

### Melodramatic brinkmanship avoidable

The Irish National Organisation of the Unemployed (INOUE) called this week for the coalition government to deliver on its commitment in the Partnership Programme for Government to set up an Employment Protection Unit.

The aim of the unit was to protect existing jobs and "to provide advisory services". The unit would also help management and unions to solve problems that threaten jobs.

INOUE Chairperson Mike Allen said "job creation measures are



● Labour TD Seán Kenny runs the gauntlet of angry TEAM workers in Coolock last Thursday. Kenny was the only North Dublin Labour TD to vote with the government

simply pouring water into a sieve unless we can save existing core jobs. It is quite clear in the case of TEAM and Irish Steel that existing institutions are inadequate for this".

Allen also said that: "If it is a national priority to maintain jobs, then we need the institutional arrangements and structures for

social partnership required to avoid melodramatic brinkmanship."

### Unemployment doublespeak

Political doublespeak on unemployment figures abounded last weekend with the release of the June unemployment figures.

The government regularly publishes two unemployment

figures. They are the "live register" and the "seasonally adjusted" figures. The live register is basically a measure of the average numbers signing on for a given month. The seasonally adjusted figure compares current trends with the same month in years gone by.

In June 1994, the live register figure increased by 1,300 to 278,400 and the seasonally-adjusted figure fell by 4,200. Enter government spokesperson with a 'feel-good' message. Up until June there had been six months of declining live register figures created mainly by government work schemes and emigration.

Suddenly the seasonally adjusted figures looked more pleasing and we were told that "this is the seventh successive month in which the seasonal figures have fallen".

June is always a month for increased unemployment as new graduates and school leavers come onto the register. However, it seems that this coalition government cannot even accept this economic reality and instead chose the ostrich route to analysing economic data.

If you have a story at your workplace, let us know. Contact AP/RN by phone 8733611 or fax 8733074.

## May report finds British legal system blameless

# FINAL WHITEWASH OF GUILDFORD FOUR CASE

"TRIVIAL, SHALLOW AND POINTLESS" was Gareth Peirce's verdict on the conclusions of Sir John May's inquiry into how the Guildford Four came to spend 15 years in prison for something they did not do. The main theme of the May report put the wrongful jailing of the Guildford Four down to "human error". He stated that the convictions of the four, almost 20 years ago, were a miscarriage of justice not because of a weakness in the criminal justice system but through the personal failings of dozens of individuals, including the English police officers and forensic scientists.

As the solicitor who represented one of the four, Gerard Conlon, as well as five of the Birmingham Six, Judith Ward, and the family of Giuseppe Conlon, convicted with the Maguire Seven and cleared posthumously on appeal, Peirce played a unique role in the long struggle to right the infamous travesties of justice which rocked the British legal system in the late 1980s and early '90s.

Her remarks are probably the most accurate description of an inquiry which was set up in 1989 after the Court of Appeal quashed the convictions of Paul Hill, Gerard Conlon, Patrick Armstrong and Carole Richardson for the 1974 Guildford and Woolwich bombings.

The findings of the May inquiry, which was held in private and had no power of subpoena, amazingly failed to identify who was responsible for the torture and false imprisonment of Irish people arrested in the mid 1970s. After an inquiry lasting nearly five years and costing several million pounds of public money, not a single police officer, forensic scientist or crown lawyer, let alone a judge, has been convicted of anything.

At the time of the momentous decision by the appeal court to free the Guildford Four, then British Home Secretary Douglas Hurd stood up in Westminster and announced the formation of the May Inquiry:

"This is a very grave matter for all who care about justice."

May, a retired appeal court judge, refused to pass judgment on either the circumstances in which the 'confessions' of the Guildford Four came to be made or the way they were treated while in police custody. The report added that there was no inconsistency between the quashing of the Guildford Four convictions and

the acquittal of Surrey police officers who were cleared last year of manufacturing the notes which led to the original convictions.

May expresses mild criticism of the Surrey police for arresting a crucial alibi witness with the clear intention of persuading him to change his story. He has no criticism of the forensic scientist who adjusted his evidence at the suggestion of the police and the DPP. He finds the DPP not guilty of suppressing crucial evidence, although he says it should have been disclosed.

He has no criticism of the Metropolitan Police for failing to properly investigate the statement by Joe O'Connell, a member of the IRA active service unit captured at Balcombe Street, London, in December 1975, that he and his unit were responsible for the Guildford and Woolwich bombings and that innocent people had been convicted. May also has no criticism of the Appeal Court (of which he himself had been a member) for failing to grant a retrial, even when it was clear to everyone that important new evidence had emerged.

When O'Connell's claims were substantiated by forensic and eye-witness evidence Sir Michael Havers, acting for the crown, rewrote the entire script. He told the Appeal Court that, yes, maybe the Balcombe Street unit were involved but they must have acted with the four persons convicted. But Havers could not even prove that the two sets of people had ever met. The Appeal Court, headed by Lord Roskill accepted this startling fact even though the prosecution had never suggested at the original trial that the defendants were acting in concert with others. As a result the Guildford Four remained in prison for another 12 years before the case collapsed. Sir Michael Havers was

later rewarded with the top post of the British legal system, Attorney General.

One of the crucial sentences in the 309-page report which glaringly exposes the nature of the whitewash comes when May acquits the British legal system:

"The miscarriages of justice that occurred in this case were not due to any weakness or inherent fault in the criminal justice system or the trial procedures which were part of the system. They were the result of individual failings..."

Yet as to which individuals "failed" and why, May is silent. For him the individuals' "failings" exonerate the legal system. But as the individuals are also an integral part of the system, May cannot bring himself to follow the logic of his findings and apportion appropriate responsibility. To do that would lead to those individuals finding themselves in the same dock once occupied by the innocent Guildford Four.

Paul Hill, one of the Guildford Four, condemned the report as a "mockery". Speaking from Boston last weekend, Hill said:

"The inquiry makes a mockery of the British legal system. I am disappointed but not surprised by this outcome. The most serious message which comes from this inquiry, is the message given to other police officers who are engaged in corruption, that is business as normal, nothing will ever come from your wrong doing. Those police officers can now rest assured that none of them will ever be held accountable for the most serious miscarriages of justice ever perpetrated in the British legal system."

May's conclusions came under fierce criticism from Gareth Peirce.

"If you start from the wrong approach," she said, "and without any philosophical analysis, it's hardly surprising you end up with something which is pointless. To devote time and energy to even looking at the conclusions is really fruitless."

Peirce was speaking in the wake of the exposure of a devastating series of miscarriages of justice which have shaken the British legal system to its foundations. A



● The main theme of Sir John May's report put the jailing of the Guildford Four down to "human error"

catalogue of false confessions and suppressed evidence have shattered the myth of the superiority of British justice. Public confidence in the system plunged to an unprecedented low when the Guildford Four were finally released. Demands for greater safeguards to ensure that nothing of the sort was allowed to happen again led to the formation of the May inquiry and a Royal Commission on Criminal Justice. May was also appointed to serve on the commission.

However, the crisis of confidence the above cases provoked provided a unique opportunity to analyse the British criminal justice system from first principles. With the release of the May report this has now been lost.

Non-disclosure by prosecution, fabrication by police and concealment by forensic scientists were common threads running through the cases. It is recognised by legal commentators that the basic cause of wrongful convictions has been missed. Peirce notes this and added in an interview with the *Guardian* newspaper last weekend:

"The cataclysmic shock that went through society as a result of becoming aware, for the first time, that people had been languishing in dungeons as a result of arbitrary power should have provoked a reassessment of the worth of our rights. Instead the reaction has proved to be shallow and short-lived."

What was never considered important, what was never upheld, what was never debated in any trial, what was never canvassed in any appeal was that these people who were suspects of serious crimes were deprived of rights that a suspect is guaranteed in international law. And the law was party to it, and the law assisted in it, and the law failed to provide a remedy for it. The law is still ignoring that all of this has taken place."

Rights which were breached in the Guildford case included the right to effective counsel, and to freedom from brutality and inhuman treatment and it is these fundamental human rights which Peirce has correctly identified as being the main feature largely ignored by May. Pointing to the fact that last autumn the British government announced plans to abolish the long-standing right to silence while in custody Peirce concluded:

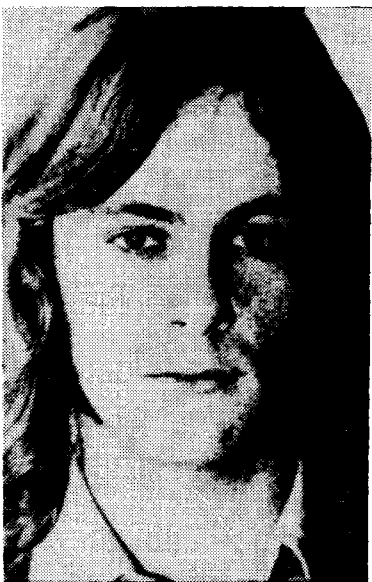
"None of these people, the Guildford and Birmingham defendants, Judith Ward, the Maguires, had a lawyer when being questioned by the police. The Birmingham Six met their barristers for the first time on the last working day before their trial."

Arguing for stronger safeguards, something which May refused to do, Peirce says that due to Britain not having a written constitution no real concept of individual rights exists as it does in international law. Rather than improving the legality of a suspect's detention while being questioned she argues that with the removal of the right to silence, defence lawyers who go to police stations will become part of the coercive process.

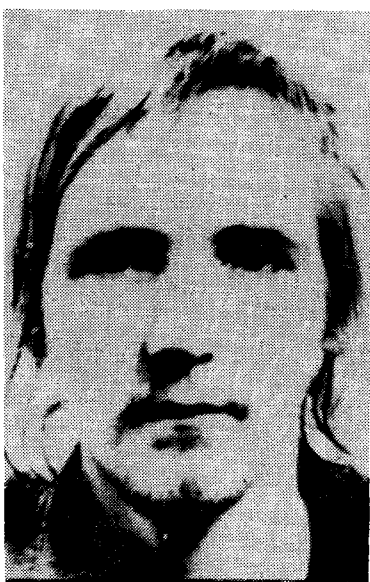
As in the case in the Six Counties where the right to silence was removed several years ago, the detainee will be told "unless you talk, you're more likely to be convicted at the end of the day".



● CAROLE RICHARDSON



● PAUL HILL



● PADDY ARMSTRONG



● GERRY CONLON



# An Phoblacht

REPUBLICAN NEWS

7 JULY 1994

## DUBLIN MUST ACT ON REPATRIATION

**R**EPUBLICANS have given a cautious welcome to news that the British Home Office intends to shortly introduce a system of extended temporary transfer for Six-County prisoners currently serving time in English jails.

This caution is understandable, given that prisoners' families have been given promises before and are still waiting. The proof of this particular pudding will be when the first prisoner is transferred. Another aspect of the proposed system of transfer which many republicans have grave problems with is the limited nature of the move. Prisoners will not be given permanent transfers. They will remain under the direct control of the British Home Office and can be moved back at any time as a punishment at the discretion of the British.

The families who have had to bear the expense and trauma of travelling long distances to try to keep in touch with their loved ones are also right to reserve their welcome until the British actually deliver.

They are the ones who have been given double sentences. Not only are their loved ones in jail, but they have been effectively sentenced to years, often decades, of travelling long distances just to try to keep in touch. As the wife of one prisoner put it, one jail is much the same as any other to a prisoner, but having a loved one within reasonable distance makes all the difference for their families, especially elderly relatives who may not be able to travel.

While republican prisoners have clearly stated that they reject any attempt by Britain to cloud discussion on the primary causes of the conflict with what is merely the consequence of the conflict, from a humanitarian point of view, the British movement on this issue has been less than wholehearted in its response by insisting on the temporary tag. The families will continue to demand that such transfers be made permanent.

But if the British government's response has been piecemeal in addressing the transfer issue, at least they are showing signs of activity. Successive Dublin governments have, despite repeated promises and commitments, failed to approve the legislation to ratify the European Convention on the Transfer of Sentenced Prisoners, which was signed in 1986. The present coalition government gave earlier this year yet another assurance of action, but no clear indication of when that action will be taken. Máire Geoghegan Quinn has given the vague promise that legislation will be introduced within the lifetime of the present government, but she admitted also that this issue is not a priority for the government.

It may not be long now before we are treated to the anomalous and farcical situation whereby the British government will be returning Irish prisoners to one part of Ireland, while the Dublin government, because of its failure to bring in the necessary enabling legislation, will be an obstacle to the British repatriating 26-County prisoners back to another part of Ireland.

The Dublin government has accepted the arguments around repatriation. It is about time that Máire Geoghegan Quinn acted on behalf of the families.

# News

## Half-a-million children have jobless parents £1,500 a year to rear child — day's pay for government advisor

■ BY NEIL FORDE

**O**NE OUT OF EVERY THREE school children is in receipt of payments from the Department of Social Welfare back to school schemes in the 26 Counties and nearly 500,000 children live in families where at least one parent is unemployed.

These were just two of the damning disclosures in a Combat Poverty report launched last week. The report titled *The Cost of a Child* estimates that rearing a child costs on average a minimum of £1,500 a year.

The report launch came in the same week where Minister for Social Welfare Michael Woods increased the Child Benefit Allowance by a derisory 42p a week for a three-child payment. Forty-two pence wouldn't even buy an extra litre of milk. The report found that food costs were the single biggest component of the cost of child rearing.

This leaves yearly child benefit for a single child at £1,040 a year, £460 less than the Combat Poverty measured minimum cost. The report also found that rearing teenagers involves costs almost twice as high as those for younger children, up to £1,900 a year.

The figures in the study were calculated using a typical basket of goods and

services required for a minimum standard of living. These included a basic diet, basic schooling costs, a modest wardrobe and limited recreational costs.

Launching the report, Gerry Flynn, chairperson of Combat Poverty, said the results "reinforce the case for immediate reform of child income support policies".

He said that child support measures must be improved if the cycle of poorer health, reduced life chances and educational underachievement is to be broken.

Hugh Frazer, director of Combat Poverty, said that the "report highlights the inadequacy of current income support payments for children. There is a very high incidence of child poverty in Ireland, where households with children have a two to three times greater chance of being in poverty than those without".

The report recommended that child benefit rates

should be increased progressively, that they should be neutral in relation to marital status or choice of living arrangements for the parents.

Specifically, the report recommends that "the initial focus of a new child benefit scheme should be larger families who are disproportionately at risk of poverty".

It also recommends that given the higher costs associated with older children, there should be an age-related supplement for children aged 12 and over. It also argues that the back-to-school clothing and footwear allowance should be increased to reflect the needs of school-going children.

Woods' miserly 42p increase in weekly payments signalled that the reports findings are to be ignored and that as the report fears "child poverty will remain a permanent feature of Irish society".

Commenting on the report, Dublin Sinn Féin's Larry O'Toole said that it was "a scandal that while thousands of families struggle with under £1,500 per year to rear a child, some of this government's special advisers have been getting up to £1,500 per day".

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## The Cost of a Child



A report on the financial cost of child-rearing in Ireland  
Claire Curney, Eilíne Fitzgerald, Gabriel Kieley and Paul Quinn

# News

## Labour debate looks towards unity and peace in Ireland

A VERY well-attended and upbeat conference 'Towards Peace in Ireland', convened by the British Labour Movement, took place at London's Britannia Conference Centre on Saturday, 2 July.

Attended by John Hume of the SDLP, British Labour Party front bench spokesperson on the Six Counties, Kevin McNamara, Chris McGimpsey of the OUP and Mitchel McLaughlin of Sinn Féin, the platform was the widest-ranging that any of the 200 delegates from Labour Party branches, trade unions, and Irish community organisations from throughout Britain could recall.

Kevin McNamara opened the conference by reminding everyone that Labour Party policy was to achieve the unity of Ireland by consent. This had recently been reiterated by Tony Blair, who is campaigning for the Labour leadership.

John Hume compared the unionists to the Afrikaner people of South Africa, saying that they believe the only way to defend

themselves is to concentrate all political power in their hands. In an appeal for dialogue and agreement, he continued: "When people are divided, they cannot be brought together by coercion or by force, only by agreement."

A number of well-attended workshops concluded the morning session and, having discussed topics ranging from the "one-island economy" to "human rights" and "winning consent", it was a determined audience that packed an uncomfortably hot conference hall for the main event of the day — Mitchel McLaughlin and Chris McGimpsey.



● Kevin McNamara, British Labour Party spokesperson on the Six Counties, who attended last Saturday's 'Towards Peace in Ireland' conference in London

## Britain must remove obstacle to self-determination

This is an edited version of the speech delivered by Mitchel McLaughlin at the London peace debate last weekend.



● MITCHEL McLAUGHLIN

I WOULD like to make a confession to this conference. John Major is not my favourite British prime minister of all time, although that list itself is not very long. However, I do recognise that John Major, despite his very pressing political problems, has devoted an unprecedented amount of his energy and attention to the challenge of ending conflict in Ireland. I also feel that it is correct to acknowledge that under his premiership, the British government position has shifted. The importance of this has not been ignored in Ireland.

But Sinn Féin has always warned about the dangers of simply tinkering with the issues and unfortunately, John Major is still playing for time. He still sees Official Unionist support for his political survival as more important than the potential for peace in Ireland or the lives of ordinary Irish and British people. Irish self-determination, real democracy and peace in Ireland should not be dependent upon any British government's selfish interests.

But John Major and his government are still, potentially, within touching distance of a real and lasting peace in Ireland. They must seize the opportunity now and not let it slip away. The

British government has a crucial role to play and its commitment to peace in Ireland will be measured by its willingness to re-examine the legislation which partitioned Ireland in the first place. The British government is the one participant that could disentangle these constitutional threads and rearrange them in a fashion which removes the impediment to Irish national self-determination.

It must be obvious that Britain's refusal to acknowledge that its policies have been the primary source of division, injustice and violence is seriously undermining the search for peace in Ireland. There are three armed groupings actively

at war in Ireland. There is the IRA, the British army and RUC, and there are the loyalist death squads.

The IRA's position is unambiguous. It struggles to end the denial of Irish self-determination and British involvement in Ireland. It has also stated, that given a serious commitment from the British government to confront the political consequences of its continued presence in our country, it would be flexible, generous and accommodating.

The British army and RUC, to put it simply, are the armed wing of the British government in Ireland, and are, in theory at least, under the control of parliament.

Loyalist paramilitaries claim that they are acting in support of their Britishness, they claim that they are only doing what the British forces are currently unable to do, namely, through unfettered terror, to suppress the

Official Unionist Party Councillor Chris McGimpsey began by accusing the conference organisers of putting forward a biased interpretation of the current situation in Ireland, which amounted to support for Sinn Féin and the IRA. He went on to make the admirable plea that people listen to all sides before coming to conclusions about the solution needed, but followed this by leaving the hall during Mitchel McLaughlin's contribution.

He then rather stretched the audience's credulity by claiming that: "While our fellow Irishmen and Irishwomen were voting in the second half of the last century for a Gaelic, Catholic and nationalist Ireland, we [the unionists] on the other hand were throwing in our lot with a liberal, pluralist, multiconfessional state made up of four nationalities and six linguistic groupings."

Mitchel McLaughlin thanked the conference for giving Sinn Féin the opportunity to address the British Labour Movement on the peace process.

He went on to say that "the history of Irish/British relationships has often been a tragic one and peaceful coexistence has so far eluded us. Building a lasting peace will not be easy, not least because of the legacy of our shared and mostly tragic history."

McLaughlin pointed out that "John Major and his government are still within touching distance

of a real and lasting peace in Ireland. They must seize the opportunity now and not let it slip away". (See edited text of speech on this page.)

Numerous contributors dealt with many and varied aspects of the current situation. MP Clive Soley spoke of the role the governments could play in creating the conditions for gaining consent to unity. He gave a very clear warning based on his previous experience in attempting to deal with the Irish problem as an economic issue to be solved by concentrating on so-called bread and butter issues. He stressed that it is a political problem which will require a political solution.

Ken Livingstone rounded the day off. He commenced by complaining that he was feeling old, having been asked by a journalist before the conference if it was true that he had gotten into trouble before for inviting Sinn Féin to London. He found it strange that something that was a major controversy in 1983 was not even remembered now. That should show us, he said, how much things have changed. "Does anybody doubt that we are in the final phase of British involvement in Ireland?" he asked.

This was the talking point for all at the conference — that the recognition of Sinn Féin's right to be involved in political discussion about Ireland and the readiness of a wide range of Labour Movement delegates to discuss and to assist the developing Irish Peace Initiative clearly demonstrates that things have indeed changed.

aspirations of the nationalist community.

Essentially, of course, and under the present constitutional arrangements, Britain has responsibility for the activities of its loyalist supporters. For years, elements within the British security service have treated the loyalist gangs as an Irish Inkatha. They have armed them, trained them, directed them, used them.

But, just as Inkatha were persuaded to accept a new reality when it suited their masters, so too can the loyalists. It would, of course, be foolish to claim that the savage capability of the loyalist gangs could be completely contained overnight, but they do not possess any external support and they do not have a sustainable ideology outside of a British framework.

For far too long, unionism has been excused and pandered to, by both the British and Irish governments. Unionist 'alienation' has become a facile excuse behind which the mass slaughter of Catholics takes place.

With the active support of the British government, the unionist community can be persuaded that their long-term interest lies in the creation of an agreed new Ireland. We all have a responsibility to ensure the continued development of the Irish Peace Initiative.

Sinn Féin will be approaching any future negotiations in a spirit of openness and will be adamantly opposed to the coercion of any section of the people who live in Ireland. What Sinn Féin does seek, is agreement amongst the people of Ireland on

political structures, in the context of national self-determination.

Albert Reynolds has outlined three principles which he describes as vital to a solution. The first "is that the status quo cannot be maintained". The second pointed out that "if the status quo cannot be maintained, then by definition, change must come" and he argued, "change can come about only by consent, as there can be no stable government without the consent of the governed".

The third principle he described as "change, if it is to succeed in bringing the sides together, must recognise the legitimacy of each. It must be based on guarantees which each side accepts and is willing to work."

Sinn Féin, in seeking an agreement that will be consistent with the democratic exercise of national self-determination, has already addressed these points in our document *Towards A Lasting Peace in Ireland*. We have always stated that the current status quo is unjust, undemocratic and inherently violent. It follows therefore, that those who are fixated with an IRA ceasefire, who vociferously condemn violence, from whatever source, or who simply want peace, must recognise that the future has to be both democratic and just. Or tragically, it too will probably be violent.

That is the challenge for all who claim to have a common agenda — peace, justice and a lasting settlement. It will be achieved by the establishment of a peaceful democracy in Ireland that is inclusive of all traditions, cultures and political perspectives. That has been Sinn Féin's stated objective throughout.

# THE BRITISH HELICOPTER FORCE IN IRELAND

# A BAROMETER OF

# SINKING FORTUNES

**THE MULL OF KINTYRE** crash of a Chinook helicopter last month in which the British forces in the North lost 25 senior military and RUC Special Branch officers, and four crew, focussed attention on the use of these aircraft by Britain.

Here Bernard Moffatt of the Celtic League looks at the role, historic and contemporary, of British helicopters in Ireland. AP/RN looks back at the last major gunbattle between the IRA and British choppers in South Armagh.

**T**HE HELICOPTER, immortalised in its Hollywood Vietnam war role in films such as *Apocalypse Now* has long been associated with the classic guerrilla war. However, aside from the tragi-glamorous connotations of 'tinsel town' the military helicopter has a more practical value. Its various incarnations and developments, as a conflict unfolds, are an accurate barometer of the rising and sinking fortunes of occupying powers in guerrilla war and counterinsurgency operations.

Since the Second World War various countries, initially the old imperial powers of Britain, France and Portugal, then followed by the United States, have utilised air support to retain control of territory and

subjugate guerrilla movements. France and the US opted early in developing the helicopter to support this role. In Algeria, France developed armed support helicopters when the type was still in its

infancy. In Vietnam, later, the US developed the type to military perfection, heavily armoured and heavily armed with sophisticated electronics. It was also used for more complex functions such as target illumination, surveillance and propaganda dissemination.

In its approach to counterinsurgency, Britain, whilst generously equipped in its early days with helicopter forces, did not deploy these forces with the degree of sophistication mentioned above.

Britain opted... Kenya, cited by... as 'classic' co... operations, we... with a blunt de... wing aircraft. I... tries, in an ech... the US would... villages in Vi... small commu... of open countr... tion bombed.

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## IRA ENGAGES HELICOPTER GUNSHIPS

# Fierce gun battle in South Armagh

**T**HE FIERCEST GUN BATTLE in South Armagh was how even British forces acknowledged the 30-minute exchange of fire and helicopter, truck and car chase across the South Armagh countryside on Thursday, 23 September. The IRA has released a definitive account of what happened when Volunteers of Oglaiha na hÉireann mounted a daring attack on three-armoured helicopter gunships in Crossmaglen.

Due to the fact that the British forces cannot use armoured vehicles on the roadways in South Armagh, for fear of IRA landmines and rocket attacks, they are forced to rely on helicopters to fly in troops and supplies. A total of 12 British helicopters have been hit by gunfire since 1977, with three of these being shot down in the South Armagh area. The shooting down and wrecking of these helicopters has been filmed by IRA Volunteers using hand-held video cameras during some of the operations.

The helicopters in use by the British include, the Puma, Lynx, Wessex and Chinook,



with many of the Lynxes being used exclusively as gunships. Some years ago, special anti-missile equipment was mounted on all British helicopters after one British helicopter pilot reported a near miss by a missile in County Tyrone. Most helicopters operating in the area are now armed with at least one heavy general-purpose machine gun, others being armed with an array of weapons, including rockets.

The Puma helicopter which was forced to land by IRA gunfire in Bessbrook this week is regarded as being one of the fastest aircraft in use around the world today — not fast enough though for the Volunteers of Oglaiha na hÉireann last week. Spent bullets were removed from the Puma's fuselage later in Bessbrook.

Five active service units took up positions around the heavily-fortified British base in the town to mount an attack on three helicopters. A fierce running gun battle across the South Armagh countryside ensued between the IRA's active service units and five helicopters, three of which were originally targeted, with even the British acknowledging that it was the most intense exchange of fire ever in the area.

In a supplied statement, the IRA's South Armagh Brigade



detailed the sequence of events which took place. According to the statement:

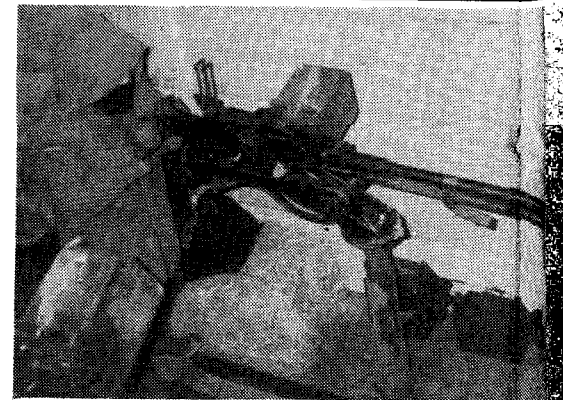
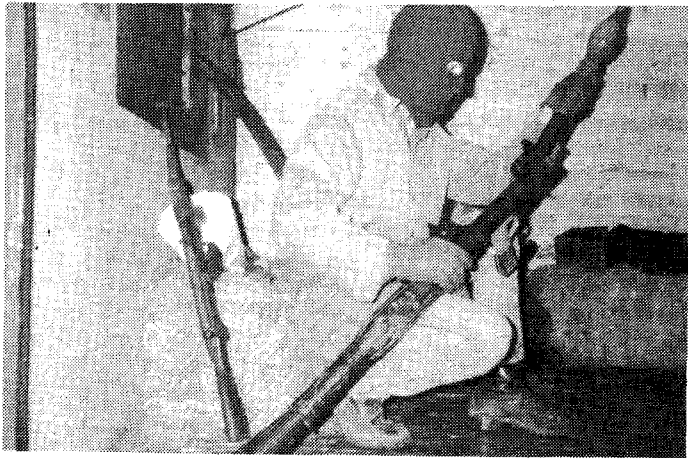
"A number of IRA mobile gun platforms moved into five different positions around Crossmaglen last Thursday afternoon. The day was sunny and visibility excellent.

"Shortly after 2pm one of the ASUs heavy machine-gun platforms, operating from a wooded area, opened fire. Other units encountered some mechanical difficulty when a number of other heavy weapons jammed, thus seriously reducing the planned weight of IRA firepower.

"Included on the gun platforms were several 12.7mm heavy machine guns (capable of firing

hundreds of armour-piercing rounds per minute), 7.62mm general purpose machine guns, 7.62mm AK assault rifles, and several RPG7s."

The ASU had opened fire on three helicopters coming in to land at the heavily-fortified Crossmaglen Barracks and heliport. The helicopters succeeded in manoeuvring away from the stream of bullets directed at them by the ASU and in attack formation flew at the now exposed positions of the Volunteers who continued firing a hail of bullets at the aircraft. Realising that some units were experiencing mechanical difficulties and as



one ASU could in no way match the intensity of the barrage of fire directed at them from the helicopters, the order was given to withdraw under covering fire to predetermined dispersal positions.

Explaining the sequence of events as the ASUs were withdrawing the statement adds that:

"As we made our way along the Newry Road two more helicopters circling close by joined [the other three gunships] and all five then opened fire with machine guns on two IRA trucks leaving the scene. A fierce gun battle, lasting 30 minutes, took place over a 12-mile route along the roads around the Cross area.

"Thousands of rounds of ammunition were fired in the exchanges. During this, one British helicopter, having been hit several times, was forced to break off and return to their Bessbrook base. The gun battle itself was the most intense ever to take place in the area.

"Our Volunteers fired at all times upwards at the enemy helicopters in the sky, but the British fired indiscriminately from the helicopter onto houses, farms and any vehicle moving around the scene of the shooting. One civilian car, with a number of people on board, was fired on by the British with rockets and machine-gun fire. Our Volunteers commandeered a number of vehicles and in one, a number of weapons were lost when a helicopter landed in front of it

and shot it up. D... Volunteers retu... base."

The statement with a commitment South Armagh they will continue those British for... py Irish territo... exchange of gun... the Irish Repu... and the Britis... acknowledged, British, as bei... intense ever in t... again proves the... to mount majo... against a suppos... enemy.



● Looking down th... 12.7mm heavy ma... to the actual attac... pictures in the pa... taken before the op...



other colonies. Realisation, however, soon dawned that in this latest manifestation of a long struggle by the IRA things would be difficult. As a result the British deployed, with tragic results, some of the lessons learned elsewhere and its use of 'countergangs' as in Kenya and Malaya. This led to some of the worst atrocities in the long conflict. They are still manipulating 'countergangs' — loyalist death squads — today.

It was also soon realised that British army ground control of parts of the Six Counties had been lost. In seeking to address this Britain could not apply lessons learned elsewhere. The nature of the conflict did not allow the deployment, as in Malaya or Kenya, of medium and strategic bombers to flatten local communities.

The British reaction was therefore 'kneejerk' and helicopter support of isolated garrisons began and continues to this day in border areas.

These operations invested the army operation with an initial sense of false security.

**T**he IRA, which is acknowledged by all to be one of the longest-standing guerrilla movements initially had problems. Its operations historically were steeped in a tradition of land operations facing a terrestrial response.

The republicans, however, proved adaptable and as with other guerrilla movements swiftly made moves to counter the helicopter threat.

Given that comparable movements globally found swift access to air to surface missiles, the IRA response to British air activity in Ireland, whilst apparently unable to procure these weapons, has been significant.

Since the late '70s there has been a steady and increasing attrition of British military helicopters in the Six Counties and a damaging downward spiral in the fortunes of the military air component.

This contention is borne out by the fact that throughout the '80s the armed component of helicopter operations has been increased. Most medium and heavy-lift helicopters are now armed as standard with one or two 7.62mm machine guns. Within the past four years the defensive process has accelerated with developments to both defensive armament and other equipment for target illumination, etc.

In parallel with the armament update, development of tactics has proceeded. Gone are the days when solitary helicopters could operate with impunity. Progressively heli-



● A Wessex helicopter airlifts the tail section of a Lynx helicopter shot down by the IRA in South Armagh in June 1988

icopters have had to deploy in two and, more latterly, three to support each other.

The tactics and armament have, however, still been found wanting. In September 1993 a fierce battle ensued between three helicopters (RAF Puma and two Army Lynx) and the IRA near Crossmaglen (See panel). The IRA reportedly deployed five active service units with a variety of automatic weapons including 12.7mm and 7.62mm machine guns. The IRA lost some weapons in the battle. However, more significantly and apparently totally unrecorded by British journalists briefed in Belfast by the army the following day, the air support operation in South Armagh had received a nasty surprise. To put this in context it is conceivable that a similar force of US helicopters engaging lightly-armed ground forces in Vietnam would have enjoyed such limited success.

That the British army received a shock is apparent by the fact that since this incident major changes have been initiated to helicopter forces. Now improved armour protection for flight crews have been installed, a new cabin door gun-mount plus a new sighting system developed. In addition, due to an apparent failure to coordinate back-up consideration is now being given to procuring a Westinghouse/Skyship (Air-

ship) as a flying command post which could loiter over sensitive areas controlling operations from a 'secure' height and calling up assistance in 'fire-fight' situations.

**A** more general review of available forces has also taken place. As indicated in the Celtic League magazine CARN (No 82) in June 1993, the UK helicopter force was already overstretched and attempts were being made to purchase second-hand machines overseas, because government cost-cutting would not allow the investment in newer or more modern combat helicopters.

These attempts having proved fruitless, within days of the Armagh battle Royal Navy Sea King helicopters were deployed to the Six Counties, the first such deployment for 15 years.

The Sea King was taken initially to support British forces in the west of the Six Counties releasing urgently needed



● A general-purpose machine gun on a Brit army Lynx helicopter

machines to bolster the battered effort in South Armagh.

Today in addition to the Royal Navy presence the RAF deploy two squadrons of ageing Wessex and Puma helicopters topped up with detachments of heavy lift Chinook helicopters of Nos 7-18 Squadron at Aldergrove.

Also based at Aldergrove is the largest Regiment of the Army Air Corps (AAC) flying Lynx AH 7 and Gazelle helicopters and a fixed wing unit of Islander Recce aircraft. In addition to aircrew a REME workshop and support unit is on sight to carry out maintenance and repair CAT 1-3 battle damage. This latter function is useful as it ensures no statistical evidence of minor damage inflicted becomes public.

British government cost-cutting is endangering the lives of military personnel according to British Labour Party's Shadow Defence Secretary, Dr David Clarke. Falling standards among arms manufacturers and contractors doing maintenance work has led to the admission that: "The army consider that a

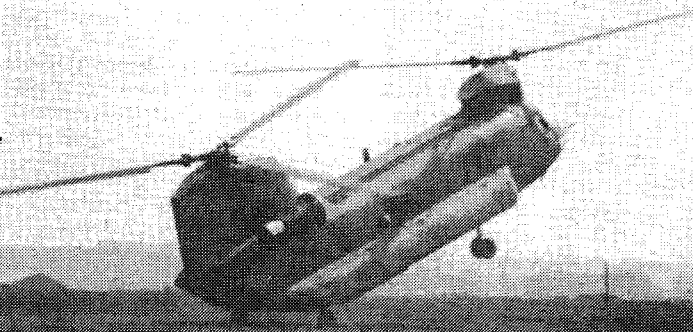
significant proportion of their equipment would fail in battle," and that at any time up to half of the RAF's front-line combat aircraft are unserviceable.

One of the examples quoted by Clarke was that of a Chinook helicopter on a test flight which was forced to make an emergency landing because a key had been left in the aft transmission sump.

Today's British air operation is a far cry from the one AAC-troop of six Scout light helicopters based at Aldergrove in 1969. Today's force strength is a telling indictment of Britain's failure to come to grips with its problem in Ireland. Despite a dramatic expansion of the force and an unparalleled degree of sophistication in armament and equipment, the air component is not able to operate with impunity in parts of the Six Counties. This despite the fact that the British forces' 'nightmare' scenario of the acquisition of surface-to-air missiles by the IRA has not materialised.



● A Sea King of the British navy — recently deployed after a gap of 15 years in the Six Counties by the Brits



● A Chinook helicopter similar to the one which crashed on the Mull of Kintyre



● Brits after disembarking from their Wessex helicopter

**BUSTER**

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# DRUGS AND DEATH — the dark side of USA '94

■ BY POL Mac STÉ

Without the emergence of a truly great player in this World Cup, media attention focussed briefly on football's connection with corrupt big business and drug cartels but only to brush them under the carpet again. For Ireland it was defeat and disappointment, for Argentina defeat and drugs, for Colombia defeat and death.

Ireland's performance against Holland, especially in the first half, left the impression that more could have been achieved. It was disappointing to go out on such a poor performance, lacking in class and imagination. For some, the game was lost in the first twenty minutes. For others, it was an hour before kickoff with the naming of the Dutch team. Advocaat used all the class and experience at his disposal, Charlton left his on the bench — Irwin, McAteer, Whelan. In hindsight, it's tempting to think how Irwin's defensive stability and distribution would have added to Ireland's passing game. It's also tempting to wonder how the presence of Whelan, the only midfield anchorman in the squad, would have affected Keane and Townsend. Sheridan was hopeless. McAteer, too, could have made a difference running at a poor Dutch defence made to look good.

Phelan's mistake which stemmed from Irish tactics of back passes to Bonner

and a long kick up field as they did against Mexico, left Ireland chasing the game. Bonner's amateurish blunder just before half time compounded the problem. Complaints about selection, tactics, mistakes, heat, etc, pale into insignificance alongside Ireland's biggest dilemma — goals. It's not that they don't create chances, they just can't finish them. No magic in the team, just good old workmanlike performances.

The one chance we had of witnessing a bit of magic has been taken away from us. Diego's been a bad boy again. So much for commentators' claims that he lacked speed in his two games with Argentina! That Maradona had taken banned substances is without question. That FIFA were against him and Argentina, as claimed, is not true, even though we'd like it to be.

Maradona is still the biggest name in football and his pulling power is enormous. He would glamourise the World Cup

finals where the rewards have never been higher. FIFA and the Argentinian FA wanted him, even though the Americans didn't, not only because of his personal drug convictions but also because he has been implicated in, and faces charges in Italy, of smuggling £500,000 worth of cocaine into that country in 1990, using the Argentinian team as cover. He had already been denied entry into America and Japan on promotional trips for his misdemeanours. For FIFA, the American Soccer Federation and Maradona, America was a huge market to be exploited — their gamble exploded in their faces.

It is still not clear whether Diego took substances to enhance his performances or to speed up and aid his weight loss and rehabilitation to full fitness. During his fitness programme before USA '94 he, it is alleged, had doping tests carried out, some say to make sure his body was clear of substances, others claiming that he, and whoever was advising him, wanted to know what they could get away with. If the latter was the case the tests were a little less rigorous than FIFA's.

For the World Cup and the world it's a tragedy to see such an amazingly talented player reaching for any means at hand to



● Could be worse Packie — you could be Colombian!

rediscover his pride, making one last attempt to leave us with a positive impression of his character and abilities.

While drugs are the cause of the fall of Maradona and Argentina, the grip the drugs business has on football in South America caused the tragic and brutal death of Colombian defender Andrés Escobar, scorer of an own goal and unwitting architect of Colombia's first round defeat to the US. The real architects were further afield.

Football is more than a game in Colombia, it really is a matter of life and death. To the drug cartels football clubs are serious toys to have, a way of making clean money, something to boast about and show off. Huge amounts of money are laundered through gate money,

inflated transfer fees and sales of nonexistent shares.

With so many experts predicting Colombian victory, up to 20 million dollars of Medellín drugs money was supposedly wagered on success. In this atmosphere, bets against Colombia were getting good odds. This, so the story goes, gave the Cali cartel, rivals to Medellín, a rich interest in Colombia's failure.

Before the game with the US, the Colombian football federation received a fax stating that team manager Francisco Maturana and his assistant Hernan Gomez's families would be at risk if Carlos Gomez, Hernan's brother and a member of the team, wasn't replaced. The fax was sent from Medellín but no doubt came from the Cali cartel dirty tricks brigade. The team, with their morale shattered, played miserably. Exactly

what was intended.

Just before the team arrived home, a Colombian television station received a call announcing attacks on government ministers and the national soccer team. "When they come back to Colombia, there will be an action that will leave the world with its mouth open." The call allegedly came from a Medellín cartel intent on revenge. Unfortunately, it was the one player renowned for his integrity and keeping his distance (as much as is possible in Colombia) from the cartels, who suffered. Escobar unwittingly signed his death warrant and became prime target for revenge after scoring his own goal. For Escobar and the other players the question is who would have been the targets and who would have been the perpetrators had Colombia won the competition outright?

## Fickle gods of Gaelic football

■ LE SEAMUS O CAOMHANAIGH

The eagerly-awaited replay between Dublin and Kildare produced another disappointing attendance in comparison to previous championship clashes, but the football on display was a big improvement on the drawn game.

Perhaps the Kildare supporters sensed their team had missed the boat when failing to put Dublin away at the first time of asking. In any event, as expected, the Dubs turned in a vastly-improved performance which, in the first half especially, left the Lily Whites trailing in their wake.

Brian Stynes ruled the roost at midfield, backed up solidly by Paul Bealin, who looked a lot sharper on this occasion and they wiped out Martin Lynch and Seán McGovern almost totally. With a plentiful supply of quality ball, the Dublin forwards made hay in the bright sunshine which bathed the environs of Jones' Road. But nine points down at half time, Kildare must have felt the sun was setting on another Leinster championship for them.

Only two points to their credit and several very scorable chances frittered

away in the first 35 minutes told it's own depressing tale and at that stage, it looked like they would be overrun totally in the second half. Help was on hand though, as the Dubs started indulging in one of their favourite pastimes — pushing the self-destruct button. The second period was barely up and running when Kildare were awarded a penalty for shirt pulling. Niall Buckley, the only Kildare forward to impress, slammed the ball home with great authority and the Lily Whites were on a roll.

Three more points were tacked on and they were within striking distance at 0-11 to 0-8. That was as close as Niall Buckley's men were to get though, as Davy Dalton returned the penalty favour when hacking down Mick Galvin in the square, a hasty challenge as Galvin had a difficult angle to shoot for goal. Up stepped Charlie Redmond

to give more coronaries to the faithful on Hill 16 as the ball went in off the butt of the upright, when it could just as easily have stayed out. But a goal is a goal and it helped settle the frayed nerves of 14-man Dublin, and they looked certain winners from there on in.

Paul Clarke scored a beauty of a point from the right wing and one wondered why he wasn't on from the start, particularly as several good chances of points from similar positions were passed up by Pat Gilroy and Niall Guiden among others. One interesting statistic — the Dubs could only manage 1-3 in the second half despite copious amounts of possession and chances, so there's still room for improvement on their part. Paul Bealin will miss what promises to be a cracker of a game against Louth this Sunday, but he really should know better than to commit the silly fouls that got him his marching orders. Kildare's prospects look decidedly bleak at this juncture. The harsh truth is they just haven't got what it takes,

currently at least, to mix it with the major powers, and their guru Mick O'Dwyer has given up the ghost and left them to their own devices.

The second big game in Leinster took place the following day, but the Sunday fixture proved even less attractive to the punters than the Saturday game, due to nobody giving Wexford a snowball's chance in hell against Meath. As it panned out though, the Royal County looked very vulnerable at times. Indeed, I suspect if they had faced Louth we could have seen the demise of Robbie O'Malley, and County Wexford once again showed they can win plenty of ball in the middle of the park, though their efforts at score-taking would embarrass a junior club side.

After a largely uninspired first half, brightened only by a well-taken goal scored by Wexford's Nicky Darcy, things started to get interesting with the introduction of Jody Devine for Meath after half-time. A slick move found him at the

edge of the Wexford square and he really couldn't miss at that range. Curtains for Wexford you'd think, but straight from the kickoff the ball was worked up the field and Tomás Kavanagh pounced on a fortuitous rebound off the post and squeezed the ball past Donal Smith in the Meath goal. The gods that rule Gaelic football would call in their markers in a big way for that slice of luck.

John O'Gorman the Wexford fullback is probably in hiding after last Sunday and if he isn't he should be. A free kick taken by Brian Stafford was tapped to Tommy Dowd, who looked less than 13 metres from Stafford, and on the return Stafford sent in a high dropping shot which O'Gorman managed to fumble into his own net. He was also at fault for the Tommy Dowd goal which followed later, a dreadful attempt at a clearance setting up the Meath forward for the score which buried Wexford. Add in two points given away in similar circumstances and Mr O'Gorman was in a match he won't forget in a hurry, for all the wrong reasons. Meath strolled to an easy and in a sense a facile 14-point win as Wexford had conceded long before the final whistle. So the Royal County are back in

a Leinster final but for all the margin of victory, a number of their key players looked less than convincing for long periods. But with a full four weeks break before they meet Louth or Dublin, they should sharpen up considerably in the interim.

One final comment on the match — the referee Pat Casserly had better days I'm sure. He allowed a lot of infringements to go unchecked, including charging, holding, jersey-tugging and pick-ups, the latter a particular ploy of Meath it must be said. Indeed, there were more pick-ups on display in Croke Park than you'd see on a Saturday night in a Navan disco — we'll have to wait and see if this trend continues.

Elsewhere, Leitrim drew with Galway in the Connacht football championship and they must now meet again in Tuam. Galway may perhaps be the marginal favourites on home territory to advance to the final.

Antrim became the first provincial champions of 1994 when they defeated Down in the Ulster Hurling final in Casement Park with six points to spare. Down must look to their footballers then for championship glory this year.

# Reviews/News

## A lot more than statistics

■BY Pádraigín Ní Mhuirí

VIOLENCE IN IRELAND is nothing new. There has been recurring conflict here since British interference began — the conflict has been a direct result of that interference.

However, the present phase of the conflict in Ireland

which has lasted 25 years and continues today, has been

without a doubt the most intense period of struggle for Irish independence. Evidence of this has been the number of deaths as a result of the conflict, now more than three thousand.

Malcolm Sutton's *An Index of Deaths from the Conflict in Ireland 1969-93* has recorded the details of every death arising from the present phase of conflict — the date of the death of the

victim, the name of the deceased, his/her age, their 'status' in relation to the conflict, which body was responsible for their death and a brief description of their deaths.

The index includes those killings which took place outside the Six Counties, either in the 26 Counties, in Britain or in Europe which are ignored by British official figures. As a result, an extra 200 deaths are covered by Sutton's figures.

The author has done a lot to make the book easily understood. This includes a glossary which gives a brief description of the organisations and armies involved in the conflict, a map of the Six Counties, a statistical summary, a year-by-year breakdown of deaths and an index of names of those killed which makes the search for details of specific killings simpler.

Malcolm Sutton has collected his research of all those politically-motivated killings from books, observing funerals, checking coroner's reports and has used newspaper cuttings which included AP/RN. Although there are some minor inaccuracies or incorrect interpretations of some of the deaths this can be expected when researching a task of this magnitude.

The final product, I believe, is a genuine attempt to give as fair as possible a description of the conflict-related deaths.

This book may be simply viewed as a book of statistics useful for researchers and academics. However, I believe it is an important book for many reasons.

Over recent years, those politicians who support British rule in Ireland have focussed only on republican actions and have dismissed British and pro-British violence as merely a response to the IRA. The facts in this

book undermine that argument.

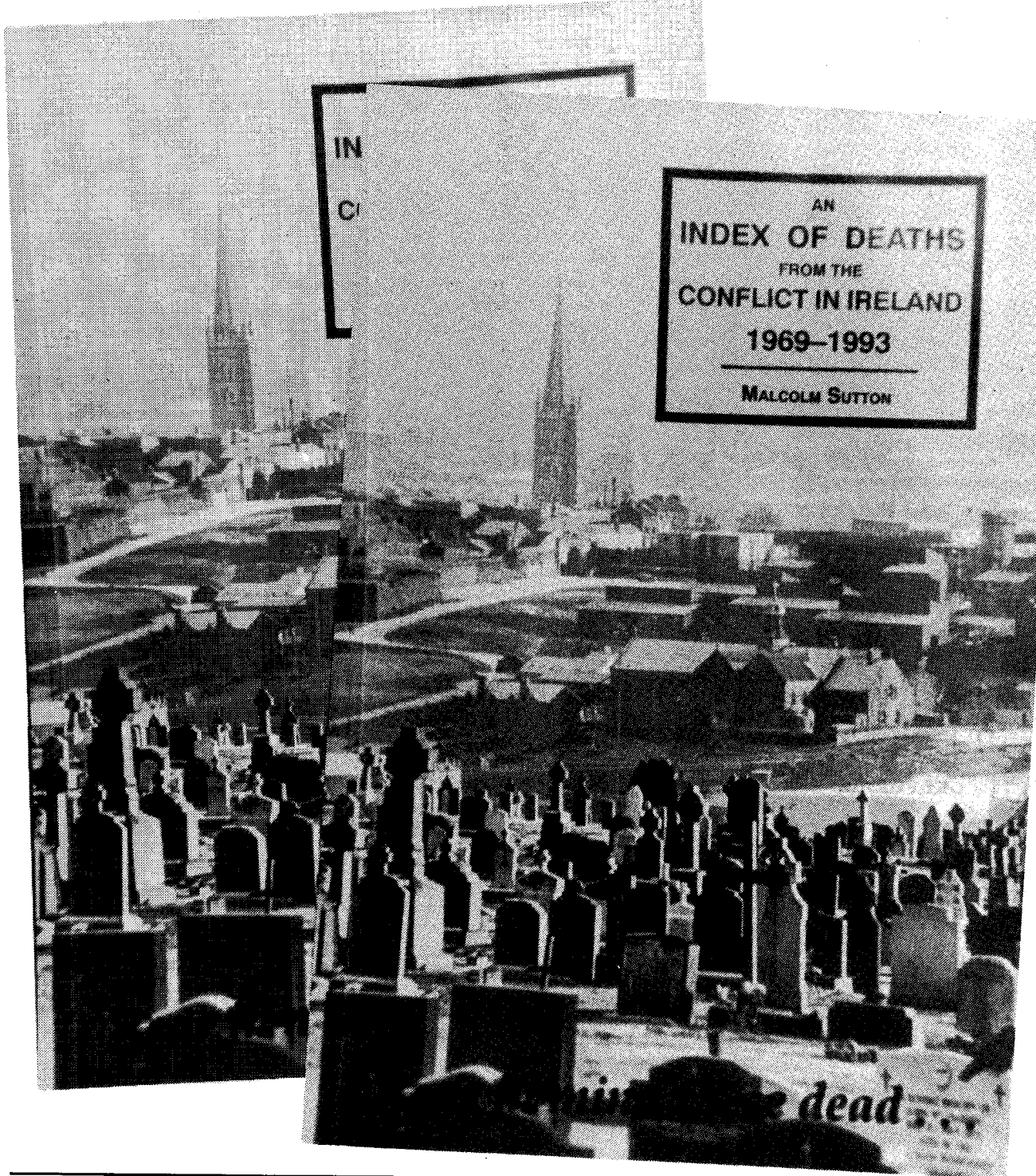
At the start of the present phase of Anglo-Irish conflict, as at the time of the Home Rule crisis in 1912, it was unionism and the British state which introduced violence into the political situation. In the period from 1969 up to 1971 (when the IRA killed the first British soldier to die in this period of war) the nationalist community was subjected to repeated RUC/loyalist/British army attacks. It was in that context that the present phase of armed struggle by the IRA began. Armed conflict in the North predated the start of the IRA campaign.

The book shows this. When the first death in this conflict occurred, 14 July 1969, it was almost a year before the first IRA killing. In the period between this there were repeated loyalist and British killings.

Furthermore, while often only IRA violence is condemned, this book shows that the majority of civilian deaths, most of them nationalist, have been caused by British forces and loyalists. Over 90% of those killed by loyalists and 55% of those by British crown forces have been civilians.

Therefore, not only is this an important book in understanding the conflict correctly — I believe it is more than a "memorial" to all the dead between July 1969 and December 1993 as the author suggests — but it serves another purpose. It shows us that there is a need for a real peace process set in the context of democracy and national self-determination so that there will be no need for a book on an index of conflict-related deaths after 1994.

● *An index of deaths from the conflict in Ireland 1969-1993*. By Malcolm Sutton. Published by Beyond the Pale Publications. Price £9.95



## Tension rises over Orange marches

A LARGE FORCE OF RUC and British army personnel were in evidence in the nationalist Lower Ormeau Road area of South Belfast on Wednesday evening, 6 July. An Orange parade, scheduled to pass the small streets of the Lower Ormeau community was once again aimed at totally disrupting life in the beleaguered community.

However, local people angry at not being allowed onto the Ormeau Road which links the community, organised a rally in protest at seeing Orange bands bearing loyalist death squads insignia (such as UVF and UDA) protected by the sectarian RUC.

The local protest has gradually grown in size, particularly following the brutal slaying of five local men in the Seán Graham bookmakers' shop in 1992. Following this slaughter by a UDA death squad Orange bands playing sectarian tunes raised five fingers as

they passed the spot where the men were cut down. As on other occasions the nationalist community were hemmed in by RUC armoured vehicles despite an RUC pledge that they would not be unduly affected by the coat-trailing procession.

Last year the Orange route was slightly altered away from the area using a route actually more direct for the Orange marches, but with the Orange Order insisting on the more contentious and provocative route the scene was set again for

major disruption by loyalists in the nationalist area. Last year alone there were 2,411 loyalist marches in the Six Counties, many through nationalist areas such as the Lower Ormeau, Cookstown, Pomeroy, Stewartstown and Ballyronan.

For nationalists across the Six Counties, imprisonment in their homes and streets will be the rule of law over the next few weeks.

Sinn Féin representatives Barry McElduff and Seán Hayes (Mid Ulster and South Belfast respectively) issued a joint statement on

Wednesday, 6 July, pledging their party's support for nationalist residents' protests.

"No one wants to deprive anyone of their right to freedom of movement or the right to hold a public assembly," said the representatives, "but this must not be at the expense of local nationalists locked into their areas."

"Nationalists will be monitoring the RUC behaviour in the nationalist areas affected by Orange marches. Only four weeks ago the RUC prevented nationalists walking through Cookstown despite the fact that the area is mainly a commercial area lived in by the nationalist community."

## Donna Maguire faces fourth court case

DONNA MAGUIRE (27) from Newry, County Down, who has been behind bars for over four years in Ireland and on the continent, during which she has never been convicted, is to face her fourth marathon court case in as many years.

She has been moved to Celle, northern Germany, for the latest trial, after being acquitted of murder in

Dusseldorf on 9 June at the end of a 20-month case with her codefendants Seán Hick and Paul Hughes.

The Dusseldorf judge said that there was insufficient evidence to convict her of taking part in the killing of a British army major in Dortmund. Maguire now faces charges of taking part in the bombing of a British army barracks in Osn-

abruck and of spying on British military installations in Germany.

She had already been cleared in Ireland and Holland before being handed over to the German authorities. Her current trial is likely to last three months.



# Íocann Ollscoil na Ríona £15,000 toisc idirdhealú: Ach an dtarlóidh a leithéid arís?

**B**HUAIGH BEAN Chait-ileach a d'fhulaing cur isteach seicteach nuair a bhí sí fostaithe ag Ollscoil na Ríona i samhradh 1992 £15,000 ón Ollscoil, Dé Máirt seo, 5 Iúil, nuair a socraíodh éileamh na mná d'idirdhealú creidimh.

Tiocfaidh an t-airgead don éileamh amach as airgead poiblí a cuireadh ar fáil don oideachas ach níl sé ach ar an dtóil is maille den idirdhealú leanúnach a d'imir an ollscoil in aghaidh Chaitlicigh na Sé Chontae.

Tuigtear cé gur chuir baill d'fhoireann Ollscoil na Ríona drochíde idirdhealach ar an bhean go bhfuil siad fostaithe ag an ollscoil go fóill atá lonnaithe i ndeisceart Bhéal Feirste.

Soiléiríodh chomh maith gur tugadh bagairtí don bhean i ndiaidh di gearán foirmeálta a dhéanamh faoin chur isteach uirthi. Bhí ar an bhean a post san ollscoil a fhágáil mar gheall ar na bagairtí seo.

Ag caint ar an socrú £15,000 dúirt Rosemary Connolly, stiúthóir de sheirbhísí dlíthiúla leis an Choimisiún do Cothro- maíocht san Fhostaíocht gur "cás gruamach eile é de dhaoine ag tiomáint comhoibriú ona post de thairbhe go dtáinig sí ó chúrla phobal eile".

"Tá socruithe airgeadúla táb- hachtach ach ní thig leis an crá a cheilt a tharraingíonn an sórt seo iompair ar dhuine."

Leag Connolly béim ar leith ar an ghá d'fhostóirí na Sé Chontae gníomhú go gasta nuair atá siad ag deileáil le cásanna den sórt seo.

Ach go hiontach d'ainneoin an soiléiríú náireach is maille seo d'admhaigh Ollscoil na Ríona nach dtiocfadh leo "déanamh cinnte de nach dtarlódh an leithéid de rud arís".

Ach i ndiaidh feachtas fada ag an ghrúpa Cothromaíocht in aghaidh cleachtaithe míchothro- ma idirdhealacha fostaíochta san ollscoil d'admhaigh

Ollscoil na Ríona go raibh orthu siopaí oibre ar "fhaillean- na cothroma" a reáchtáil de thoradh éilimh eile roimhe seo. Bhí ar an ollscoil "comhair- leoirí ar chlipeadh seicteach" a cheapadh.

Cuirfidh an £15,000 a d'íoc Ollscoil na Ríona amach leis an mhíshásamh go bhfuil airgead poiblí á threorú ó scéimeanna fiúntacha leis na héilimh seo a shocrú. Tá Cothromaíocht ag moladh gur chóir do na daoine atá freagrach don idirdhealú bheith freagrach don chostas.



● Ag obair ag an áis nua do Ghaeilgeoirí

## Ais nua ríomhaireachta do Bhéal Feirste

**T**A SIOPA NUA ríomhaireachta oscailte i Seanmhuileann Mhic Chon Midhe i mBéal Feirste atá ag díol cláir ríomhaireachta Gaeilge chomh maith le haistriúcháin de fhacáistí atá ar fáil cheana.

Tá Siopa an Ríomhaire ar an chéad siopa den sórt seo sna Sé Chontae.

Tá an raon iomlán de ríomhairí agus treallamh ar fáil sa siopa agus tá an siopa ag tairiscint cláir i nGaeilge dírithe ar na meán-

scoileanna agus ar na hollscoileanna.

Dúirt an fear atá i mbun an tsiopa, iarmhúinteoir Dónall Mac- Bill, go bhfuil sé ag díriú bunús a chuid clár ar an roinn oideachais. I measc na gclár atá ar fáil tá

córas próiseála de stór focal agus abairtí do dhaltáí GCSE, anailíseoir comhréire agus foclóra cnomn maith le coras pasthocaíl chun comhaid a chosaint.

Dúirt MacBill go ndéanfaidh sé aistriúcháin Ghaeilge do dhaoine ar chlár agus go gcuirfidh an siopa traenáil ar fáil.

"Tá riachtanas sna Sé Chontae do bhogearraí Gaeilge agus cuideoidh sé seo go mór le daltaí atá ag foghlaim na teanga."

Cé go bhfuil an seanmhuileann á athchóiriú go fóill tá an siopa oscailte agus tá fáilte roimh chách bualadh isteach.

## Ollscoil as tiúin arís

**L**eis an scéala an tseachtain seo go bhfuil an Ollscoil Oscailte Lchun deireadh a chur le amhrán náisiúnta na Breataine a sheint ag a chuid searmanais bhronnadh céime tá Ollscoil na Ríona fágtha as tiúin leis na hinstiúidí eile tríú leibhéal sna Sé Chontae.

Le roinnt blianta anuas tá Aon- tas na Mac Léinn in Ollscoil na Ríona ag éileamh gur chóir

deireadh a chur le seinm God Save the Queen agus is gnách le roinnt mac léinn gach bliain

fanacht ina suí (nó ina luí fiú!) lena linn.

Tá an t-aontas ag an ollscoil ag moladh gur chóir do na sear- manais bheith neodrach. Dúirt an ollscoil go bhfuil siad ag amharc ar an cheist uilig agus go bhfoilsíodh siad tuairisc ar an ábhar roimh dheireadh na bliana.

Tá Ollscoil na Ríona anois ar an aon instiúid tríú leibhéal sna Sé Chontae a leanann leis an traí- disíún seo.



● FRANCIE MOLLOY

## Toradh comhdhála ina bhua do chainteanna iltaobhacha

**C**REIDEANN an comhairleoir Shinn Féin as Dún Geanainn Francie Molloy go bhfuil dul chun tosaigh mór déanta i gcomhairlí na Sé Chontae i ndiaidh gur foilsíodh na torthaí de chomhdháil uile pháirtí a reachtáileadh i Samhain 1993.

D'eagraigh an Páirtí Glas an chomhdháil agus bhí ionadaithe ann ó na mórpháirtithe polaitiúla uilig sna Sé Chontae ach amháin an DUP. D'aontaigh na h-ionadaithe gur chóir cumhacht agus na poist mhóra a roinnt sna comhairlí uilig.

Tá Molloy den bharúil gur thaispeáin an chomhdháil go raibh na páirtithe uilig ábalta suí síos le

chéile gan réamhchoinníollacha ar bith agus go raibh siad ábalta torthaí a bhaint amach.

Dúirt sé go raibh toradh na comhdhála go maith do mholtaí Shinn Féin do "chainteanna uile- taobhacha agus thaispeáin sé cad é mar a oibreodh sé".

Agus dúirt Molloy nach ndéan- faí dul chun cinn ar bith fad is go

gcoinnítear daoine amach ó chain- teanna.

D'ionsaigh eagraí na comhdhála, Peter Emerson, an dóigh a ndéantar cinnidh faoi láthair. Dúirt sé gur modh sheanaimseartha de dhaon- lathas cinnidh a dhéanamh ar bhonn vótaí tromlacha nár thug guth do mhionlaigh mhóra. Dúirt Emerson gur foirm de fhorlamhas é.

Vótáil an chomhdháil gur chóir go mbeadh cinnidh sna comhairlí bunaithe ar "vótaí ilrogha" agus nár chóir gníomhú ar mholtaí nach raibh tacaíocht de 75% acu.

## TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO...

# RUC causes first two deaths

**T**HE FIRST two fatal casualties of the present conflict died within days of one another in July 1969. Both were victims of the RUC and both were Derrymen — one from the county and one from the city. They were Francis McCloskey and Sammy Devenny and their deaths spurred the nationalist people on to step up their campaign for civil rights.

Sammy Devenny had been savagely beaten in his own home when RUC men rampaged through Derry's Bogside on 19 April. He died in hospital in Belfast on 17 July. Four days earlier on 13 July 66-year-old Francis McCloskey died when the RUC baton charged a nationalist crowd in Dungiven.

The pattern of increasing RUC violence against civil rights demonstrators had been evident since the October '68 attack on the march in Derry and at Burntollet Bridge in January '69 when RUC members collaborated with the loyalist mob that attacked the People's Democracy marchers.

Prominent in all these attacks on peaceful protesters were the

notorious 'B' Specials. Officially known as the Ulster Special Constabulary they had been formed in 1921 as an auxiliary force for the RUC. They were really a sectarian militia armed by the Stormont government. While on duty they were uniformed and armed, but their arms were supposed to remain in local barracks — a rule not generally enforced. They served in their home districts and each patrol technically consisted of three or four members and one regular RUC member. In reality they were deployed in force wherever needed.

The 'B' Specials were mobilised whenever the state felt the need to quell opposition and it attempted

to do so throughout 1969. During June, protests and pickets by the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA), People's Democracy and associated groups continued after NICRA had ended its moratorium on demonstrations on 1 June. On 5 July 2,000 people took part in a civil rights march in Newry.

**A**t Orange marches on 12 July, the 'B' Specials were left in no doubt that their activities had the backing of the unionist leadership. The next day the 'B' Specials baton charged in Dungiven and Francis McCloskey was killed. Later that evening they fired shots at nationalists leaving a dance hall in the town.

The deaths of Samuel Devenny and Francis McCloskey demonstrated the lengths to which the Orange state was prepared to go to defend its sectarian privilege. They also pointed to what was to come as the events of July and August escalated. In Dublin a new government under Jack Lynch had taken office after Fianna Fáil won the June general election. For them, as for the people of the Six Counties, nothing would be the same again after the summer of 1969.



● The first fatalities of the present conflict were inflicted by the Orange state's very own paramilitary police the RUC, pictured here in May 1969 in riot gear

## RTÉ decision 'extraordinary'

**R**TÉ has been criticised this week for its lack of coverage of the 25th anniversary of the deployment of British troops in the Six Counties. RTÉ have admitted that they have no plans for any special programmes to mark the anniversary.

Historian Tim Pat Coogan and civil rights activist Michael Farrell have both attacked RTÉ's decision not to screen any programmes and have labelled its

decision as "extraordinary".

"It's a bit extraordinary when British TV companies are carrying serious programmes on the past 25 years and the Irish

national broadcasting service is not," stated Michael Farrell.

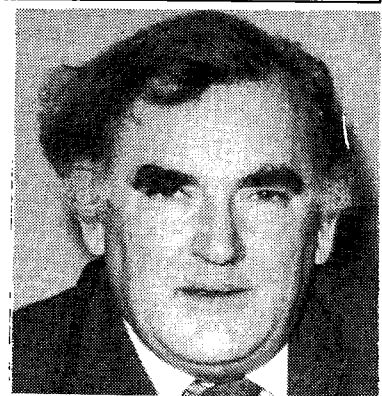
"This period is crying out for a serious analysis, especially at this time when the peace process is ongoing. RTÉ should be taking its responsibility seriously."

Tim Pat Coogan has labelled RTÉ's failure to cover the anniversary as "disgraceful... it's

very light minded and trivial of RTÉ and typical of their unease and unsureness about the North".

An RTÉ spokesperson said that the station had nothing planned to mark the anniversary.

Channel 4 is running a series of documentaries over the next two weeks to mark the 25th anniversary of the deployment of troops in the Six Counties. (These programmes will be reviewed in future issues of AP/RN.)



● TIM PAT COOGAN

# Time to Go CONCERT for Royal Hospital

**T**he Royal Hospital Kilmainham is the new venue for the Time to Go — Time for Peace campaign's gala concert on 14 July.

Following the decision of the National Concert Hall to pull out of the concert, the new venue is the Royal Hospital, home of the Irish Museum of Modern Art.

Tickets are £10 and can be obtained at the door on the night or by pre-booking. Phone 4530334 or 8202019. Book now!

### LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

**Brian Dunning** (jazz flautist from the USA)  
**and Mícheál O Domhnaill** (guitarist from USA)  
**Jimmy MacCarthy** (singer/songwriter)  
**Donal Lunny** (musician/composer)  
**Andy Irvine** (singer/songwriter)  
**Keith Donald** (musician/composer)  
**Francie Conway & The Works** (band) (singer/songwriter)  
**Mary Stokes** (blues singer)  
**Deiseal** (modern trad music)  
**Máire Breathnach** (modern trad music)  
**Tony MacMahon** (musician)  
**Tony Curtis** (poet)  
**Theo Dorgan** (poet) and **Paula Meehan** (poet)  
**Joe Savino** (actor)  
**Eilish Moore** (singer)  
**String quartet**  
**Irish dancing**  
**Plus very special guests**

**Comper: Fionnuala Flanagan** (actress)

● The doors open at 7.30pm and the concert commences at 8.00pm sharp. There will be a 20 minute intermission. The concert will finish at 10.45pm approximately.

## MICHAEL GAUGHAN



### 20th ANNIVERSARY COMMEMORATION

1974 — 1994

Sunday 17 July

3pm Leigue Cemetery, Ballina  
County Mayo

Speaker: Councillor Sean MacManus (Sligo)



BRITISH DEFENCE spending cutbacks have led to severe slashes in the length of time British soldiers now have between tours of active duty — a development which is already affecting morale and causing mass resignations of trained personnel.

The British are now so short of trained infantry that the Kings Own Scottish Borderers' Regiment have had their extended emergency duty in the Six Counties extended by seven months. The battalion of the Duke of Wellington Regiment which was due to relieve it late last year is currently still based in Bosnia and will not arrive back until September. Within just three months it will take over the KOSB's role in occupied Ireland.

The Scottish regiment is currently based at Preston, Lancashire, from where it has acted as a reserve force for service in the Six Counties for the past two years. Two hundred men are flown over every six weeks for emergency deployment in what has become known in army circles as a "rent-a-jock" rotation system.

Every member of the regiment has spent a minimum of six months on unaccompanied tour in the Six Counties since 1992. They were scheduled by now to be on garrison duty in Britain, close to their families.

The Duke of Wellingtons will take up the KOSB's reserve function in the Six Counties after just two months leave. Eleven months later, the KOSBs will be sent back on six months unaccompanied tour. This is contrary to Ministry of Defence promises last year that despite regimental amalgamations and cutbacks in spending there would be a minimum gap of 17 months between tours, which would increase to 24 and 30 over the next couple of years.

A senior officer has complained that "the situation is getting worse, not better". He warned that many trained officers and NCOs are leaving rather than put up with the new hardships of being away from wives and families caused by defence cuts. Another senior officer has complained that "nobody has yet explained how the withdrawal of a single battalion from Bosnia will miraculously reduce the deployment level to 30 months".

THE PROPOSED amalgamation of the Gordon Highlanders and the Queen's Own Highlanders into a new single Highlanders regiment also has severe implications for British soldiers facing hard times in the Six Counties.

The two regiments are due to be amalgamated from September under the British Defence Ministry's Options for Change cuts in military spending. From December to March 1995 the new regiment will provide emergency cover, after which it will be post-

ed to the Six Counties for a two-and-a-half-year garrison tour. The Queens' Own Highlanders are set to lose half of their officers and men in the amalgamation; senior officers are already complaining that the new regiment will "not have time to shake down" before it is thrown into the Six Counties. They have warned that although the regiments are experienced, they will also contain many new recruits who will not have time to be properly trained before being posted to Ireland.



THE BRITISH SOLDIER ABROAD is a dreaded tourist phenomenon as notorious as the deservedly maligned British soccer hooligan. This page has often had occasion to chronicle a trail of crimes and misdemeanours involving British soldiers through NATO states, colonies and former colonies.

Just last month almost 100 visiting British soldiers were involved in a drunken brawl in the ironically named town of Medicine Hat, Canada. The fight, which took nine police officers, eight bar staff and two military police nearly an hour to break up, has angered locals. Some bars in the town have been forced to restrict the number of soldiers allowed on their premises at any one time due to thuggish elements. Other bars have asked British commanders in charge of troops on manoeuvres at nearby Canadian Forces Base Suffield to put their premises off limits.

FOUR DRINK-SODDEN members of the Royal Marines who stripped naked and chased women along the streets of a town in Guyana, are to be disciplined by their bosses.

The visiting hooligans, all members of 29 Commando Logistics Regiment, terrorised the locals while on a break from a three-week training exercise in the former South American British colony.

STAYING WITH the British army, it is understood that for the first time ever, black soldiers, including even a black officer, are likely to take part in next year's trooping the colour at Buckingham Palace.

The army is concerned that last month's 100 per cent white turnout for the ceremony might give the impression that it is opposed to widening recruitment. Any hint of discrimination will be combatted next year by a tokenistic display, when, on orders from on high, at least five black faces will peer out from under the bearskins.

This will take some organising as at present there are thought to be zero black officers in any of the regiments involved in trooping the colour. The Household Cavalry and Grenadier, Coldstream, Scots, Irish and Welsh Guards are not exactly well known for their tolerance of ethnic minorities. Witness the countless tales of racist bullying dutifully reported in full inglorious detail by myself and my predecessors. According to one Household Cavalry source "it has caused a panic. There is going to have to be a pretty quick promotion".

The reality of course is that the army is attempting to paint over the cracks. The MoD refuses to say how many black soldiers they actually have. It is believed though, that since the 1970s the numbers of ethnic minorities in the army has fallen, due in no small measure to the racial intolerance of the forces. Commenting on the proposed introduction of black faces in the annual pageant, the Commission for Racial Equality said: "The army has so few they could almost be a statistical mistake."

# Dúirt Siad

A jury's verdict of not guilty is not a positive declaration of factual innocence. Similarly, a judgement of the Court of Appeal quashing a conviction does not constitute a finding that the appellant did not commit the offence. — The May Inquiry report on the miscarriages of justice which it was set up to investigate, but ended up whitewashing over, Thursday, 30 June.

The inquiry makes a mockery of the British legal system. I am disappointed but not surprised by this outcome. The most serious message which comes from this inquiry, is the message given to other police officers who are engaged in corruption, that it is business as normal, nothing will ever come from your wrong-doing. — Paul Hill on the May Inquiry report, which was published on Thursday, 30 June

Someone, somewhere had decided these were small lives that could be thrown away in order to preserve great reputations. That is the scandal Sir John May ought to have unearthed. After an inquiry lasting nearly five years and costing several million pounds of public money not a single police officer, forensic scientist or Crown lawyer — let alone a judge — has been convicted of anything. Meanwhile, in gentlemen's clubs and freemason's lodges, wherever two or three lawyers or police officers are gathered, the whispering campaign that began on the day that Gerry Conlon walked out of the front door of the Old Bailey goes on. — Chris Mullin, the Guardian, Friday, 1 July.

The courts knew what was going on. The idea that two officers could come up with identical versions of an interrogation without illegally collaborating is absurd. Judges must have known this was absurd. Yet there is no mention of this systematic collusion in May. The judges were not even interviewed. Not until the judges and lawyers recognise their complicity will real reform be achieved. — Guardian editorial, Friday, 1 July.

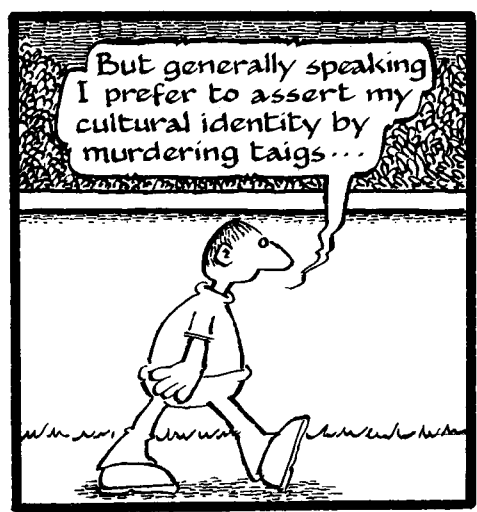
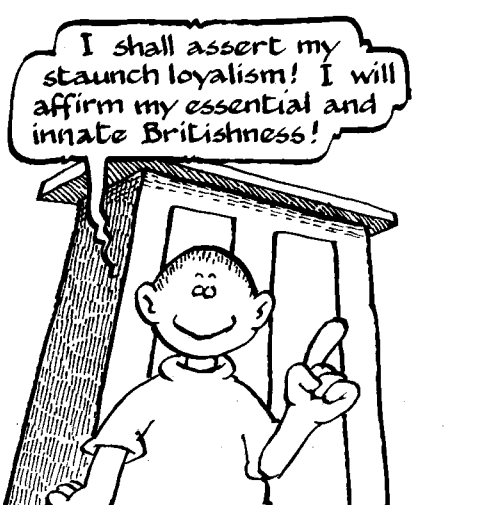
If these are smoke signals, they are using the wrong fire-lighters. — Unnamed Sinn Féin representative on limited British proposals for the temporary transfer of prisoners from Britain back to the Six Counties, the Guardian, Friday, 1 July.

Although a couple of people I am fondest of are from the North, I must confess to a very serious dislike of Northerners. I don't like their attitude. And attitude must be in the tap water Up There... Reflect on the votes in the recent European elections. The attitude candidates of the DUP, SDLP, Sinn Féin and the OUP received a huge mandate to proceed en route to civil war. That's one reason I don't like Northerners. They're trouble. — Eamon Dunphy's thoughts about Six-County people in the Sunday Independent, 3 July. He also doesn't like northerners' "self-pity, whining and sneering". Eamon was upset at being ejected from a New York bar after starting an argument with an Irish fan from the Six Counties.

The next time St Eamon climbs up on his scaffold to denounce the IRA's men of violence remember these lines written in passion near Disneyworld: 'It's not surprising given the constant fire from the mighty weaponry that corporatism' (surely not Heinz) 'thrusts in their faces each American day, that people break. As the cases of Simpson, Mike Tyson... suggest, violence is your only man.' Violence is your only man. Remember that. — Emmanuel Kehoe on Eamon Dunphy's attitude towards Americans, who he describes as "ugly people mouthing platitudes", the Sunday Press, 3 July.



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# Unionist racism exposed

*The people committing these crimes were being defensive. They are retaliatory actions. These fellows are people who have suffered themselves... They are the defenders of the Protestant community and their job is to defend Ulster. — DUP Councillor Cecil Moore on the Loughinisland massacre and the UDA and UVF.*

*Every face had these little slanted eyes and they all looked the same to me. — Moore on the people of Malaysia where he served in the British army.*

*I wouldn't like to see them go anywhere... But I see they're well-travelled. They've got a few coloureds in the team now, too. — DUP deputy leader Peter Robinson MP, on the Irish soccer team.*

**T**HE SHEER RACISM that underlies the beliefs of many unionists was exposed with the outrageous remarks of Democratic Unionist Party Councillor Cecil Moore and deputy leader Peter Robinson last week. Both were openly racist and Moore backed the UDA and UVF and called for the killing of nationalists and republicans.

While Robinson's remarks received most attention, those of Moore were more sinister as he openly expressed support for loyalist death squads. The East Belfast councillor advocated slaughter on a mass scale as he said the British forces should use the same methods they used in

Malaysia, where up to a million people were killed in counterinsurgency war waged by the British army against the civilian population of that country.

Moore was interviewed by a Finnish newspaper and by the *Sunday Business Post* in Dublin and

said that Sinn Féin members should be "eliminated with the IRA jointly".

Defending US slaughter of villagers in Vietnam and the same British tactic in Malaysia, Moore showed his racism when he said that "every face had these little slanted eyes and they all looked the same to me". He advocated internment, the cordoning and curfewing of nationalist areas, and the forced removal of nationalist communities. All this echoes the "ethnic cleansing" of the UDA's "doomsday plan" published in the *Sunday Life* newspaper on 16 January 1994.

Moore praised the UDA and UVF as "defenders of the Protestant community" and said that killings like those at Loughinisland were "defensive" and "retaliatory".

While a string of such comments has been made by unionist spokespeople recently, both unionist leaders — Ian Paisley of the DUP and Jim Molyneux of OUP — have gone unchallenged by the media, especially by RTÉ, for the remarks of their colleagues.



● Peter Robinson — his recent racist remarks show up the true nature of loyalism

## Over 700 bias cases pending in Six Counties

**I**T WAS REVEALED LAST WEEK in a leaked confidential circular that the British government's Audit Office in the Six Counties has conducted an inquiry to establish how much public money is being spent defending cases of unfair employment practices and unequal opportunities at the workplace. The survey was ordered by Comptroller and Auditor General John Dowdall who reports directly to the British parliament at Westminster.

The Audit Office has written to all public sector employers in the Six Counties demanding to know how many cases they face and how much money they have spent fighting them. Among those contacted were health and education boards, the civil service, the Housing Executive, universities and colleges, councils and local government authorities.

The survey revealed that over 520 fair employment and more than 200 equal opportunities cases are pending. Of these, at least half involve public sector employers. In addition to this, the Equal Opportunity Commission is backing 12 equal pay cases, involving several hundred employees in the case of one workplace.

With the lengthy legal process involved before a case is even considered for tribunal hearing, costs for solicitors and barristers can run to tens of thousands of pounds. Public sector bosses normally employ both senior and junior counsel, as well as solicitors, ensuring that a sizeable return is guaranteed for the legal profession.

From 1991 there have been a number of high-profile compensation payouts by public bodies.

The Eastern Health Board has paid out around £65,000, the Northern Health Board £30,000, the Housing Executive around £35,000, Belfast City Council some £52,000, Cookstown District Council £31,000 and Dungannon District Council around £8,000.

Forty-three other public sector cases have been settled out of court with confidentiality clauses which preclude publication of details of the award.

Reacting to the confidential document's disclosure, a spokesperson for the Audit Office insisted that there was "nothing significant or out of the ordinary". The spokesperson also said that while there was no intention at this stage to send a report to Westminster he confirmed that there had been "parliamentary interest" about the high payouts.

The fact that public money has been used to defend blatant discriminatory practices in the hiring and promotional aspects of employment in the Six Counties has been criticised by a wide spectrum of concerned commentators, notably in the health unions.

**U**NISON regional secretary Inez McCormack has criticised the waste of much-needed public money in paying for the costs of those who practice discrimination in the workplace. Those responsible for this abuse of public funds must be made accountable, she said.

Spokesperson for the anti-discrimination group Equality, Oliver Kearney, called for disciplinary action to be taken against those who abuse public funds in this manner. He said:

"This is an utterly indefensible abuse of public funding to protect those who are responsible for organising

discrimination throughout the public service.

"The government auditor will not have completed his job unless he insists upon the most stringent disciplinary action against those responsible for discrimination and those who decide to protect them by abusing public money."

**I**n a further challenge to anti-nationalist discrimination, Belfast Sinn Féin Councillor Máirtín O Muilleoir has made it known that he intends to picket the next meeting of British Economy Minister Tim Smith's newly-created Belfast Economic Forum in protest at its unionist-only ethos.

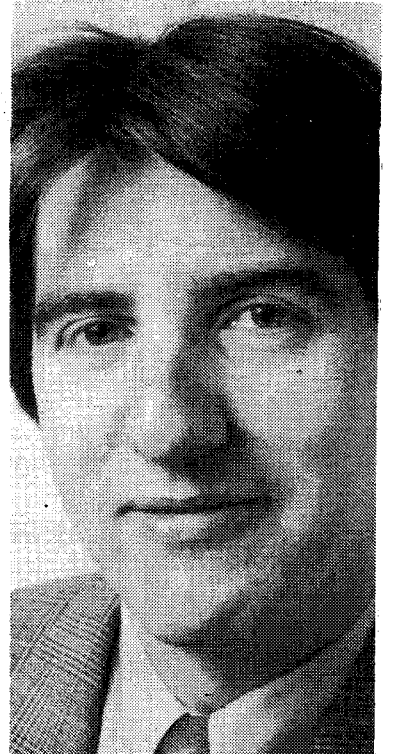
Likening Smith's forum to a Johannesburg forum which contained no Blacks, O Muilleoir said that for the nationalist community of Belfast, the days when they

were treated as second-class citizens were long over.

"Belfast nationalists see this as a further slap in the face by British ministers, who swan in and out of the Six Counties to the detriment of those who have to eke out a living after they have departed back to Westminster."

"We have heard of a Protestant parliament for a Protestant people, but now Economy Minister Smith has created a Protestant forum for a Protestant people"

"There are no Catholics, much less nationalists on the minister's much-vaunted Belfast Forum. The six elected representatives, the Lord Mayor of Belfast and the five chairpersons of the council's standing committees are all unionists. Only Tim Smith could create such a monumental snub to the 43% of Belfast citizens who are nationalists."



● MAIRTÍN O MUILLEOIR



# An Phoblacht

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