



An Phoblacht

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REPUBLICAN NEWS

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25 YEARS ON — WE SHALL OVERCOME

AS PEOPLE in Ireland and worldwide prepare to mark the 25th anniversary of the redeployment of British troops on the streets of the Six Counties, Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams has made a call to nationalist Ireland to use all its powerful potential to bring about political and constitutional change.

Speaking in Belfast on Wednesday evening, 10 August, Adams said that "for the first time since the heady days of the Civil Rights Movement, there has emerged tangible evidence of increasing self-confidence and awareness within nationalist Ireland". He said the task now was to harness this confidence and hope for the future, in a way which can assist the resolution of the conflict.

The British government, said

Adams, created and sustained the unionist veto and must recognise and accept the need for a radical policy change. Elaborating on Sinn Féin's view of the veto issue, he said a new approach was needed which "tilts the balance away from the prohibitive and negative power of veto and towards the positive power of consent, of seeking con-

sent, of considering consent, of negotiating consent".

Adams pointed out that the driving force of all the progress made in the past year and a half had come from nationalist Ireland. "How much more powerful and effective a lobby for political and constitutional change could nationalist Ireland be if its enormous political, economic, cultural

and moral potential could be organised and given focus and direction," he asked.

Outlining the need for an Irish freedom charter, he said that the republican vision of freedom "sees past the failure of partition and the despair of poverty and rejects forced emigration and unemployment, cultural oppression, sexism and inequality. Our vision embraces

democracy. It is economic as well as political."

Expressing optimism that a viable strategy to address and resolve the core issues at the heart of the conflict can be achieved, Adams said he was optimistic that, after 25 years, the Irish people can move beyond division and conflict and towards a just and lasting peace.



There can be no going back to the days of Stormont rule and loyalist pogroms against nationalists

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RIR soldier killed, law courts bombed

IRA ATTACKS in the County Down village of Crossgar and in Belfast left one member of the British crown forces dead and two others injured.

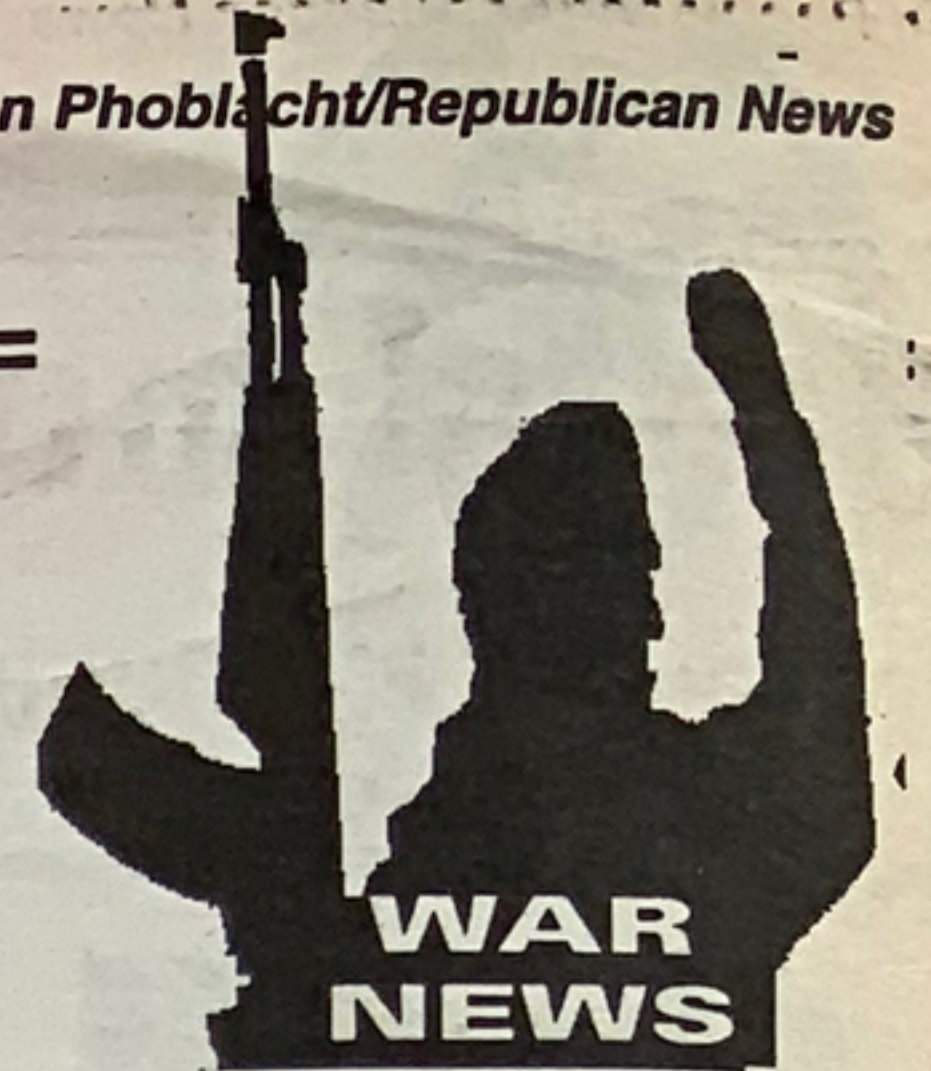
Claiming responsibility for the Crossgar operation, the South Down Command, Oglai na hÉireann

said that its units had the British soldier under surveillance for some time before launching the attack.

The IRA statement said: "On Monday, 8 August, an active service unit attached to our command executed a member of the British army's locally-recruited Royal Irish Regiment. "The RIR soldier, Trelford Withers, was a corporal in the regiment. He

had enlisted in 1983.

"Our intelligence units had the soldier under surveillance for some time and had positively identified him as a member of the crown forces. It was only then that our Volunteers mounted this operation."



"Our Volunteers returned safely to base after the operation despite the massive enemy reinforcements sent to the area in a bid to capture our them."

LAW COURTS BOMBED

In yet another attack on the heavily-fortified law courts in South Belfast, two members of the crown forces were injured when IRA Volunteers attached to the Belfast Brigade launched a bomb attack on an observation post.

In a statement, the IRA said: "At approximately 11.30pm on Saturday night, 6 August, Volunteers from Belfast Brigade, IRA, carried out a bomb attack on the crown forces guarding Belfast's High Court."

"The Volunteers drove past the observation post at the junction of Chichester and Oxford Streets and threw a bomb from the vehicle. The bomb landed below the observation post and exploded causing blast damage."

"Two crown force personnel occupying the post at the time were injured with an RUC officer suffering head injuries. A British soldier suffered cuts and bruises."

"Our Volunteers made their escape easily evading an intense crown force follow-up operation."



Man admits informing for RUC

Crown forces trawl for agents

THE IRA has revealed how a man from County Monaghan came forward and admitted to working as an informer for the RUC. The man said he was coerced into working for the RUC in 1993 when under arrest in Newtownbutler in County Fermanagh. This revelation comes in a week when two other men have spoken out about how they were approached by the crown forces to inform but refused.

Detailing the case of the man who admitted informing, the IRA said in a statement:

"A man originally from Monaghan, having resided in various locations in Monaghan and Fermanagh, but now based in Clones, came forward to Oglai na hÉireann a number of weeks ago and admitted his role as an RUC informer."

"The man cited the recent execution of RUC agent Caroline Moorland as his main reason for coming forward. His fear of being caught actively assisting the enemy and the much-publicised assurances given by Oglai na hÉireann, who said that those who do come forward will not be harmed also spurred the man to admit to his activities."

"The man was first compromised while under arrest in the North, in Newtownbutler, during 1993, where he faced an assault charge. The RUC threatened to hand the man over to gardai in Monaghan where he was wanted for an assault on gardai and with resisting arrest. Faced with this threat, the man agreed to work for the enemy."

"The Special Branch officer who turned the man gave him a contact phone number for Lisnaskea RUC Barracks, Ext 230, and told him he was to ask for

Shane. He also gave him Shane as his own codename.

"The man had dealings with Shane on three separate occasions since that time, with the last being Thursday, 21 July 1994."

"He was promised weekly retainers. On one occasion he received £70 through the post. On another, his handler anonymously paid a £300 fine that was outstanding with the gardai."

"This was to enable him freedom of movement both North and South of the border to target specified republicans and to collect general information on republican activists and activities. He was also advised that he would be given anti-interrogation training."

"This man, a father of two children, has done the correct thing in coming forward."

"To those who are looking for a way out of a similar situation, we say: No matter how deeply you have been compromised, no matter the wrong you have done there is a way out. Come forward and you will not be harmed."

"The person in question is not allowed back into the Six Counties for obvious reasons and for his own protection."

"Oglai na hÉireann reiterates, in the strongest terms, that those who are caught assisting the enemy and who do not avail of the

open door, will face the ultimate sanction for they will be clearly seen as proactive agents of the enemy."

A West Belfast man has called for an the prosecution of an RIR soldier who threatened to kill him. The incident happened in Belfast city centre on Sunday, 24 July, and the man believes that if there had not been other people about, he would have been killed.

Martin Fox (23) from the Andersonstown area of the city, told AP/RN how he and a friend were stopped in the Corn Market area of the city centre by a combined RUC/RIR patrol. A member of the RUC took down Fox's personal details while another held a gun in his side.

One of the RUC men had been involved in an incident in which Fox was harassed in the city centre on the previous week. Afterwards, the RUC then moved off and parked their car on High Street a short distance away.

"The next minute one of the RIR soldiers offered me money to become a British informer. I told him what he could do with it", said Fox. "I was offered amounts of up to £200 on a regular basis in exchange for information."

The soldier then threatened Fox, saying: "You are due for assassination, by the way."

"He cocked the gun and put it to my head and said: 'I'd love to shoot you, you Fenian bastard,'" recounted Fox.

The murder bid has terrified Fox and he believes that only for patrons coming out of a nearby bar the soldier would certainly have shot him.

Fox was subjected to a heavy-

handed body search and a torrent of sectarian abuse during which he was grabbed by the throat, thrown up against the wall and called a "dirty Fenian bastard".

An RIR member said he would pass the Andersonstown man's details on to loyalists.

This was the latest in a long series of attempts to pressure the man into becoming an informer. In previous months, the man has had to give up his job as a window cleaner because of RUC harassment. He was also told by neighbours that the RUC had called at his house on several occasions.

On the previous Saturday, Fox was stopped by the RUC and forced to endure an extremely rough physical search. He has lodged an official complaint with the RUC, "but even the RUC man who took the complaint was snide, cheeky and didn't really care", he said.

"My solicitor is sending a copy of my statement to the Irish government and I am suing the individual members of the RIR who were involved in the incident".

Fox now fears for his life and has put in for a security grant from the DSS which was refused. "I showed them a letter from my solicitor, but they still refused my application".

The RUC have tried to blackmail a West Belfast taxi driver into becoming an informer. The 46-year-old man, who works at a local shopping centre, told AP/RN that the RUC said that they would waive a motoring offence if he passed on information about people in his area.

The incident happened five weeks ago when a motorised RUC

patrol examined the taxi as it sat in the car park of a shopping centre. An RUC man examined the tax disc of the man's car. This was out of date, so the driver was asked for insurance documents. He told the RUC man that he kept them at home and was then told to produce them at Grosvenor Road RUC station at 3pm the same day.

The man went to the RUC barracks and was brought to an interview room where the RUC officer who searched the car was.

"He said that he knew that my tax disc was a 'bum' one, but he did not charge me, he just asked me to come down tomorrow to see this other guy. I assumed that it was to do with the tax disc so I said 'ok'."

"On that occasion, I met a cop in plain clothes who introduced himself as Paul. He seemed to be Special Branch and he mentioned the names of several people from the area and asked did I know them. He then asked me to take a phone number and pass on any information about the people named to him."

"I said that I didn't need that shit. The Special Branch man then tried to bribe me. He said, 'forget about the disc'. But I knew what he was playing at. I didn't want to be manipulated so I told him to fine me for the tax disc."

"Paul" ignored what I said and continued to try and sweet talk me. The branch man had done his homework because he knew my nickname and all about me and my family".

The man refused to cooperate and was eventually allowed to leave after 15 minutes. The taxi driver was never fined over the tax disc and he fears that the RUC might try and blackmail him at a later date. He hopes that by going to the press that it will expose the RUC and their actions.

News

Brutal murder of pregnant mother of five

Family call for inquiry into collusion

KATHLEEN O'HAGAN was shot to death by a pro-British death squad, near Greencastle in County Tyrone, some time between 11.30pm on Saturday night, 6 August and 2am on Sunday morning, 7 August.

The 38-year-old nationalist woman, wife of Paddy O'Hagan and mother of five boys Patrick (8), Damien (who was 7 on Monday the seventh), Niall (5), Raymond (3) and Thomas (17 months) was over four months pregnant when she was killed.

Dressed in her night clothes, it was obvious to her killers that Kathleen was pregnant when her UVF assassins pumped bullets into her body.

In killing Kathleen, the death squad was delivering the most brutal, vicious message it could to Six-County nationalists.

Paddy O'Hagan, distraught and heartbroken, spoke to AP/RN on Monday, 8 August about the circumstances of his wife's murder.

He said that he left home at about 11.30pm on Saturday to meet some relatives, from the USA and England, who were visiting. Kathleen was tired because she had spent most of Saturday getting the boys' clothes ready as they were going away for the day on Sunday.

When returning, Paddy drove into the yard behind his home. He got out of his car and went to the back door. He noticed its window

smashed and glass lying on the step. It was about 2.30am.

"The door was still locked so I had to open it with my key and push it open with my shoulder as glass was blocking it.

"The wee boys heard me and come running out. 'Daddy, daddy', they were calling, 'bad men were here and they shot Mummy'."

Realising something terrible had happened, Paddy rushed to the bedroom to find Kathleen's body slumped in a corner.

"There was blood on her face and chest," he said, "she was still warm".

At this point, realising that there was still a threat to him and his sons, Paddy gathered them up and took them, dressed in their underclothes, to a neighbour's house. From there he went to the undertakers. After speaking to the undertaker, Paddy went home and at about 3am he called the RUC.

It wasn't until approximately six o'clock that the RUC arrived. The killers had ample time to make their getaway.

When helicopters arrived on the scene and carried out their sweep, they did not spot the killers' burning getaway car which

was less than one mile away on a side road. It was, in fact, local people who informed the crown forces of the location of the car, a Volkswagon Jetta. Mourners visiting the house told AP/RN that the occupants of a similiar car had been spotted, earlier in the evening, acting suspiciously.

When AP/RN spoke with Paddy he was still unclear how the UVF gang gained entry to the house. Despite the broken window and sledge-hammer indentations on the back door jamb, Paddy had found the back door locked when he arrived at the murder scene.

Damien, the second-eldest of the O'Hagan sons, was to give his father information that helped fill in some of the gaps that existed. Damien said that his mother had given the baby, Thomas, a feed and then changed his nappy. She then went out the back to dispose of the dirty nappy.

It was usual for Kathleen to switch on the light before going to the yard, so she may have surprised the gang, lying in wait.

The UVF may have been waiting to ambush Paddy, but their statement asserted otherwise — that both O'Hagans were to be killed.

The killer gang apparently forced Kathleen back into the bedroom, shot her dead, and before fleeing, fired five bullets into the wall over the baby's head as bullet holes in the wall make clear.

Paddy believes the killers then



● Kathleen O'Hagan, pictured with her husband Paddy and young child, was brutally murdered in her home by a loyalist killer gang, operating with the assistance of British forces

went out, broke the glass and sledgehammered the door to give a false impression of what happened. He thinks one of the children may have locked the door.

Paddy O'Hagan is convinced the killers acted on information from the crown forces and in collusion with them. The gang waited at the back of the house because they knew that family and friends never used the front door. They also had the confidence to lie in wait, unworried about detection.

The road on which the killers burned their car is obscure, with some locals not even aware of its existence. AP/RN reporters travelled this road, which eventually loops back onto the main Cookstown-Omagh Road, an unusual route to make a getaway on if you were worried about a crown forces follow-up.

Paddy O'Hagan has received intense and systematic harassment from the crown forces over the past five years. On occasions, they stopped him while travelling with his sons and took him from the car. The body searches he received were little less than physical assaults and his life was threatened. His children, witnessing this, have often been left in hysterics.

The harassment became constant after 1988 when the family home was torn asunder during a crown forces' raid. A JCB digger

was used to dig up the hall, while inside and outside, the floors and the grounds of the house were also ripped up.

Kathleen O'Hagan's family has called for an independent, international inquiry into her death. The family says it has no faith in an RUC inquiry and calls on that force to answer these questions:

- Why did it take them two and a half hours to respond to the initial emergency call?

- How did those involved in the follow-up helicopter operation fail to locate the burning car within a mile radius of the home?

- Why was the family singled out?

- What is the forensic history of the guns used in the attack?

"In our opinion", reads the family statement, "only an independent inquiry will provide the answers and arrive at the truth in this case".

The family also rejected the UVF statement claiming responsibility for Kathleen's murder and said:

"No words can properly describe your lust for the blood of Catholics. Your campaign has no political basis except to strike terror into defenceless Catholics. What justification do you have for slaughtering a loving mother, for robbing a baby in the womb of a chance to live and for depriving five young boys of a mother's love?"

intensively search nationalist estates is in stark contrast to their response to the killing of Catholics".

The widespread and largely indiscriminate nature of this passing on of documents was demonstrated by the example of one South Belfast man who has been notified twice in the past six weeks that his details are in the hands of loyalists. The wife of the same man was informed on 1 August that her details too have been made available to loyalists.

In March of this year, the man's house was raked by gunfire. A UDA gang drove into the street and sprayed the house with automatic gunfire, but the man and his family, who were upstairs at the time, escaped injury. In a similar attack in the Lower Ormeau Road two weeks later, Theresa Clinton was shot dead in the front room of her house.



● The five O'Hagan boys suffered the harrowing ordeal of witnessing the murder of their mother at the hands of loyalists

Files 'go missing' from RUC barracks

YET MORE FAMILIES in Belfast have this week been informed by the crown forces that their names and details are in the hands of loyalists.

Following calls to more than 20 families in the Short Strand as reported in last week's AP/RN, it

was the turn of people in the Woodbourne, Lenadon and Poleglass areas to be told by the RUC

that they should 'review their security'.

Over the weekend of 6 and 7 August, and into the following week, at least 60 families were notified that files containing their details had been 'mislaidd', and had

mysteriously found their way into the hands of loyalists. At the time these visits were taking place, the crown forces who had 'lost' these documents were also engaged in searching homes in the same area.

These revelations come

against a background of loyalist murders, and of continuing evidence of collusion between members of the crown forces and the death squads.

On Wednesday, 4 August, RIR member Darren Millen was charged with passing on information about nationalists. Two loyalists charged alongside Millen gave addresses in Blacks Road, close to the Woodbourne area.

Upper Falls Sinn Féin Councillor Alex Maskey, said:

"It is believed that the information came from within the Woodbourne RUC barracks on the Stewartstown Road."

And speaking of the searches which took place at the weekend, Maskey pointed out that "the vigour with which the state forces



● Short Strand collusion picket outside Mountpottinger RUC Barracks, held last Friday, 5 August

News

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

TEAM management escalate dispute

■ BY NEIL FORDE

THE WITHDRAWAL of TEAM Aer Lingus management from the ICTU-sponsored talks with craft unions has created a serious escalation of the dispute at the plant.

Marches and work stoppages at the airport were intensified during the week as the 1,300 redundant TEAM workers sought to highlight the fact that they had been "robbed of their jobs by inept management and inept government". Maintenance staff still employed with TEAM have joined the stoppages for short periods during the week.

Craft Union spokesperson Denis Smyth explained their actions when he said that "we are responsible for some 1,300 families who are threatened with the loss of their livelihoods. What other way can we express ourselves?"

Management withdrawal from negotiations came at a stage when unions maintained that a "very significant level of progress" was being made and that management inexplicably bailed out. The case now goes to the Labour Court.

The whole management debacle was ignored by the coalition cabinet as was the announcement last week that the European Commission has approved rescue packages for Aer Lingus' competitors which make the £175 million allowed for Aer Lingus to compete look paltry.

The Portuguese Airline TAP received £736.5 million, while Air

France was allowed subsidies of £2.435 billion from the French government.

The Dublin government used the EU Commission as a tool to coerce Aer Lingus workers to accept 10% wage cuts and longer working weeks. Workers were told that the government was bound by EU regulations when rationalising Aer Lingus.

However, the French government was prepared to go all the way to secure the funds needed to put its company in an advantageous position, while the Dublin coalition took the minimum payment allowed.

As we await for the Labour Court hearing on TEAM, it seems that yet again the coalition has taken the ostrich route to policy formulation for Aer Lingus.

Dunnes erode workers' rights

Pickets were placed on Dunnes Stores branches in Dublin, Killarney and Galway by the MANDATE union last Sunday, 7 August, as Dunnes management refused to pay employees overtime for Sunday working.

Dunnes, seeing a commercial advantage in Sunday trading, have rostered their staff for Sunday opening as part of a normal working week. Under existing agreements, workers are paid treble time for Sunday opening during the Christmas period. Now Dunnes management have broken that agreement.

MANDATE has called on the minister for consumer affairs to provide an adequate enforcement mechanism for workers covered by the Shop Acts to be given rea-

sonable notice of their starting and finishing times.

Dunnes has set two dangerous precedents. One, that workers should not be paid extra for working unsocial hours. Two, that the working week can be as long as management dictates. MANDATE's action is set to continue this weekend.

Greencore redundancies

Tuam Engineering, a Greencore subsidiary has been threatened with closure if its 38 workers do not agree to the lay-off of 14 people.

Greencore is a profitable company with £19.5 million profits for the first six months of 1994. Tuam Engineering is allegedly running annual losses of £300,000. Management is seeking wage cuts of 10% and the elimination of certain allowances and benefits.

Average executive director pay and benefits at Greencore increased 17% last year to £229,000.

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

UVF claims on Thompson killing dismissed

THE ULSTER VOLUNTEER FORCE (UVF) said it murdered Protestant man David Thompson (48), whose body was found in undergrowth near a derelict farm building in Ballyhill Lane, a small road which connects North Belfast with the city's international airport on Friday, 5 August.

The UVF claimed that Thompson, who lived with his wife and family at Firmount Drive in Antrim, had set up several loyalists, including Shankill Butcher Lenny Murphy, for the IRA. The IRA dismissed this claim in a statement saying that Thompson "had no association with the IRA and was not an informer for the IRA".

Thompson's family also vehemently denied the UVF claim. Thompson was buried on Tuesday, 9 August, in Antrim Cemetery after a church service.

Meanwhile, the RUC has stated that the rifle found in a field near Saintfield, County Down was used in the Loughinisland massacre carried out by the UVF on O'Toole's bar in June this year.

The rifle was found during searches of a field near the Carsonstown Road. Three handguns, a rifle magazine, boiler suits and a balaclava were also uncovered.

When asked, however, had the rifle been used in a previous UVF attack on a bar in Kilcoo, County Down, in November 1992, when Peter McCormack was killed, the

RUC spokesperson said it was policy not to discuss the forensic history of a weapon. This is despite the fact that the RUC regularly issues statements about the forensic history of IRA weapons, or alleged IRA weapons.

Sinn Féin spokespersons have consistently called on the RUC to make public the forensic history of weapons used in loyalist gun attacks. In particular, they have demanded to know whether or not the weapons used in these attacks are from the consignment of South African weapons brought into the Six Counties for loyalist death squads by British agent Brian Nelson.

A West Belfast youth narrowly escaped death when a loyal-

ist bomb attached to the car he was driving failed to explode. The 18-year-old was returning to his Ballymurphy Road home after a visit to a relative in Downfine Park when he heard an object drop from the bottom of the Fiat Uno car, owned by his older sister.

The youth, who then stopped and checked the car, discovered pegging and wiring attached to the back wheel on the driver's side.

In an obvious state of shock, the youth got back into the car and drove back home, where the car was again checked by the teenager and other family members before the RUC were informed of the situation.

It is suspected that the unex-

ploded device, which has still not been recovered, was attached to the car in the Divismore area, near the home of the youth.

This was where the owner, a young mother, had parked the car just ten minutes before her younger brother had taken the car to visit the relative. It is believed that the loyalists mounted the attack during this period as the car was in use all day by the owner who had a young baby in the car with her. Ironically, the car was rarely used by the teenager.

Clearly on view when the loyalists planted the device was the child seat in the back of the car. However, this did not deter the bombers from attempting this indiscriminate attack.

Prisoners set out case on parole issue

A DOCUMENT written by republican prisoners in the H-Blocks of Long Kesh and aimed at raising awareness around the issue of compassionate parole was launched at a press conference in Belfast earlier this week.

The release of the document follows years of campaigning by republican prisoners for changes in Northern Ireland Office policy on compassionate parole. The document entitled *Prison Conditions — Compassionate Issues*, which has already been presented to the NIO by the H-Block prisoners, addresses the issue of compassionate parole based on the following principles:

■ Parole should fully encompass compassion;

■ Compassionate parole should be meaningful and substantive;

■ Paroles labelled 'compassionate' must incorporate compassion for prisoners' families as well as prisoners;

■ Applications for compassionate parole made by republican prisoners should be seen in the context that compassionate

paroles have always, and will remain to be, fully honoured on principle by republican prisoners and as such there are no security criteria for a negative response from the NIO;

■ Applications for compassionate parole made by prisoners should not be subject to political control.

The prisoners in their document point out that republican prisoners held in the 26 Counties had a compassionate parole system that was substantive and wide-ranging:

"It is our view that the NIO should accept the obvious — prisoners in the H-Blocks are no more dangerous, and we and our families have no less emotional or domestic need, than our counterparts, and their families in the 26 Counties."

The republican prisoners also requested "all interested parties"

to support their proposals and called for the current NIO policy of classing grandparents, aunts and uncles as not "immediate family" to be ceased.

The prisoners' proposals, put to the NIO, are that:

● Compassionate parole lasting 72 hours should be allowed for the death of extended family members;

● Compassionate parole be extended to take in such circumstances as prisoners' children being hospitalised due to illness or therapy;

● Compassionate parole to take into account religious beliefs and practices and be granted for births, christenings, communions, confirmations and marriages of children;

● A series of eight to ten hour compassionate paroles be granted in the event of a terminal illness being diagnosed in an extended family;

● Compassionate parole be granted to all prisoners to visit family members who, through

age, infirmity, or illness are unable to visit the prisoner;

● The six-year ban on life sentences prisoners before they are eligible for compassionate parole must be ended.

The prisoners viewed retaining links with their families and preparation for eventual release as inextricably linked concepts.

"The most meaningful way prisoners can maintain links with families is to play as full and as active a role in family relationships as is possible. That is to say, we must be allowed to take part fully in the loss of a family member, play roles in the parts of life which are most meaningful in any family, births, religion, illness, and deaths.

"By restricting parole for a bereavement to 24 hours, the prison service not only ignores the customs and beliefs of prisoners and our families, and of the larger community, they also show extreme unfairness and disrespect," stated the prisoners' document.

Regarding the policy of only allowing compassionate parole for the immediate family, the prisoners said that the NIO must accept that the concept of a family for most prisoners is that of a close extended family unit and not merely a nuclear family, and compassionate parole must reflect this.

Speaking at the launch of the paper were Carol Cullen of the Sinn Féin POW Department, Fr Des Wilson and Maura McCrory.

Des Wilson called for the church to endorse the prisoners' document.

"This document is very important. Every effort should be made for the church to accept it. The church talks a lot about the notion of the family, but this document says more about the family than any document I've seen in the last ten years."

A spokesperson for the Sinn Féin POW Department said in light of the prisoners' proposals, "the responsibility now rests with the NIO to come forward with a policy on compassionate parole which is both meaningful and broad enough to take account of the proposals presented to them by the republican prisoners in the H-Blocks".

25 years — time to go



A PARADE FOR PEACE & BRITISH WITHDRAWAL

Commencing with an Open Air Concert in Parnell Square, Dublin at 1.00p.m.

20 August parade details announced

THE Time for Peace — Time to Go parade on 20 August will be preceded by an open-air concert at 1pm in Parnell Square, featuring the Wolfe Tones, Niall O Callanáin and Cormac Bhreatnach, Máire Bhreatnach, Mairéad Ní Dhomhnaill and other artists. The parade itself will begin at 3pm, led by a pageant symbolising the horrors of 25 years of conflict. The parade will also feature at least a dozen bands and up to 20 floats depicting various aspects of struggle over the past 25 years, including the prison struggle, the border roads campaign, British

watchtowers, extradition, campaigns for employment equality, extradition, the Dublin and Monaghan bombings campaign, collusion and political censorship.

Bands are asked to assemble at 2pm on Denmark Street.

Floats should assemble at

2pm on North Frederick Street.

Members of the public not involved with a float who are participating in the parade should assemble at the Garden of Remembrance on Parnell Square.

The parade will culminate with a dramatic performance on a specially-erected stage and set at the GPO, featuring a play and poetry recital.

Further details from Time for Peace — Time to Go. Phone (01) 8366489.



An Phoblacht

REPUBLICAN NEWS

11 AUGUST 1994

25 years on — we demand a new beginning

A QUARTER of a century ago, Ireland was a rapidly-changing country. Social and economic forces were consigning the old Ireland to the past and few would have denied that for better or worse, nothing would ever be the same again.

The 1970s offered the prospect of further rapid change, the onset of EEC membership, growing industrialisation, the fast growth of the cities and the rise of a new suburban working-class generation.

It seemed at one stage that the old pattern of unemployment, emigration, rural decline, urban decay and even 'Civil War politics' would be broken. This was the promise in the Ireland of the 1960s, now an almost mythical decade. But the reality was to be very different. The unfinished business of partition and this nation's connection with Britain was about to sweep everything else aside.

The reason was very simple, even though its full implications were not clear at the time. The state in the Six Counties had resisted even the most basic of demands for reform from nationalists, whom it had treated as second-class citizens since partition. The irresistible force of nationalist protest met the immovable object of unionist intransigence.

The civil rights struggle in 1968 and 1969 was essentially about the nationalist people rising up off their knees after 50 years of oppression. The reaction of the state to the civil rights demands was to unleash the violence of the 'B' Specials and loyalist mobs against peaceful protestors. The first deaths were caused not by rioters or the IRA but by the RUC.

The IRA hardly existed as a military organisation in 1969. The resumption of armed struggle originated as a defensive response to the combined attacks of the RUC, loyalist mobs and the British army. In response to joint RUC and loyalist attacks, nationalist Derry was barricaded from August 1969 until July 1972. In Belfast, for a much shorter period, there were barricades up in 26 Catholic enclaves. Whole streets had been burned to the ground and the loyalist pogroms caused the biggest forced movement of population since the Second World War.

Nationalists used whatever came to hand in their attempts to hold off attacks — sticks, stones, petrol bombs and barricades. The IRA was disorganised and almost completely unarmed. It was in no shape to offer any organised response. But events changed all that and the IRA was hastily reorganised into a defensive force of unprecedented effectiveness which gradually progressed into an offensive against the state which had kept nationalists in subjection. Stormont was toppled in 1972 and the British imposed direct rule from London.

Over two decades of unremitting warfare have passed since, with massive destruction and suffering. The conflict has devastated the Six-County area and scarred the island as a whole, turning the dream of the late 1960s into a nightmare for many of our people. The situation cries out for a negotiated settlement which will bring peace. The potential for progress in such a direction has never been as strong as in the past year. The 25th anniversary of the redeployment of British troops on Irish streets provides an opportunity for those who want to see a final break with the failed policies of the past.

The end of the 1960s provided hope for the Irish people, North and South, and events provided an opportunity for the British to break with the past. It was an opportunity they failed to grasp at the time and that failure consigned this country to the conflict of the past 25 years. New opportunities now exist, but pressure must be applied for them to be taken up.

The potential of the Irish people to solve our many problems and to build a new society on the basis of equality can only be realised in the context of national democracy. The ending of sectarian division will not be easy and will take a long time, but it cannot happen in a state which itself sustains sectarianism.

That there can be no internal settlement in the Six Counties and that the future must be based on the free exercise of national self-determination by the Irish people as a whole are basic truths which are recognised by nationalist Ireland. They must be recognised also by the British government.

By remembering events which mark the misjudgments of the past we can better understand the way forward. Nationalists and democrats need to get back to the streets now on this 25th anniversary to raise the demand for an end to conflict and division and a new beginning.

23rd anniversary of internment — 25th anniversary of deployment of British troops

**GO ON
SHOO!
LEAVE US
IN PEACE**

**MARCH & RALLY BELFAST CITY HALL
SUN 14TH AUG**



25 years — time to go

BATTLES, BARRICADES AND B MEN

Our streets will never burn again

AP/IRN speaks to eyewitnesses to the tragic events of August 1969 in interviews which reveal a defiant community determined to see peace and freedom after 25 years.

Peadar O Griofa (Derry)

PEADAR O GRIOFA was nine years of age at the time of the Battle of Bogside, but remembers well the threat posed to the nationalist areas of Derry by the 'B' Specials, the RUC and the Orange hordes that supported them.

"I remember the whole area of the Bog and the Brandywell being sealed off. The barricades were up all over the place and they were there to protect the areas.

"The vigilantes were on the streets as well guarding against an invasion by the 'B' Specials. The big talk at the time was that the loyalists were going to burn the chapels. The rioting was fierce and there was this big cloud of CS gas hanging over the street where we lived, so somebody came up with the idea that we should soak hankies in water and vinegar.

"Recently, I was doing some research into the history of the time and discovered that the first slogan on what is called Free Derry Corner was, 'This is Free Derry'.

"And the other thing that comes to mind is the big fleadh that was put on in the town. It was good craic so hopefully the 25th anniversary fleadh that's on this year is as good, especially as most of the original artists and performers will be playing."

Sinn Féin Councillor
Gearóid O hEara (Derry)

"THE TENSION was really high around that time. Everybody knew that once the Orange parade was allowed to go through the town there was every chance there would be trouble.

"And as far as the people of the Bogside were concerned, their rights, whatever rights they had, were being trampled on when the Apprentice Boys got the all-clear from Stormont to march through Derry along the route that brought it to within yards of the Bogside.

"What sticks out in my mind, after the rioting started, was the Apprentice Boys with their orange and purple sashes running up William Street behind the RUC. They were stoning the Catholics and hurling abuse and insults. It kind of puts the idea of a 'church parade' into context, doesn't it?

"What 1969 marked for me was that it was a time when Catholics really did stop being second-class citizens. That defending their homes and their lives against the Orange state was all about standing up and saying: 'We've had enough.' The discrimination, the abuse and the bigotry was going to stop, because we were off our knees."

Dominic Doherty (Derry)

"DURING THE FIRST night of the rioting on 12 August the whole of William Street was blazing. My flat, that I had just moved into two weeks previously, was the first to be burnt. So there I was in William Street watching my flat go up in flames and listening to the flour containers in the bakery exploding.

"The RUC issued a warning that they

were going to start firing CS gas, which they did. The whole area was clouded in a massive cloud of gas, because they must have fired hundreds of canisters.

"It was sickening. It tore at your throat and lungs. I felt really bad with the nausea.

"Anyway, the RUC were trying to come down the Little Diamond to get in behind the rioters in Rossville Street, so we put up barricades.

"To counter this, some of us went up and attacked Rosemount Barracks. We were in Toner's field throwing bricks and petrol bombs over the roofs and I heard this voice behind me saying: 'You're stupid boys, you'll never hit the barracks from there.' It was Father Anthony Mulvey, giving us the benefit of his wisdom!

"I was hit in the chest with a CS gas canister. I thought I was shot and thought my chest was going to cave in. My brother and cousin dragged me away."

Maria Bonner (Derry)

"WHEN ALL THE tension was building up during the week before the Apprentice Boys' march, people hoped it would be rerouted away from William Street.

"Everyone was anticipating the worst, because all the talk was about the 'B' Specials being sent in. I remember my sister's husband getting ready to, as he said, defend our homes, families and lives. He made himself a baton from the branch of a tree and a catapult with bicycle tubing. It seemed that everybody was doing whatever they could to defend the area.

"During the rioting I was in Rossville Street when the cops charged up behind their armoured cars. They were holding their shields in front of them, but the next thing I saw was the petrol bombs being thrown off the high flats and one of them exploded on a cop's shield. He was covered in flames. Some of the others pushed him into the back of an armoured car.

"There was a defence committee set up and they were organising things. Éamonn McCann was on it, Seán Keenan was there as well and Paddy Bogside, although I hear they are calling him Paddy Windsor now." [Paddy 'Bogside' Doherty recently hosted a reception for England's Prince Charles in Derry.]

Geordie Murphy (Ardoyne)

"I REMEMBER August 1969 very well. I was shot by Paisleyites across the Crumlin Road. I wasn't long married at the time. I was working as a chef in the city centre and sometimes had to walk it up home to Ardoyne, what is now known as old Ardoyne.

"I walked past Carlisle Circus. It was scary, either the 'B' men or the Paisleyites were firing a Browning machine gun near the Mater hospital.

"I got as far as Hooker Street and was holding a pint of milk and talking to a neighbour when the gunfire started again. I was hit in the back of the neck and left leg. I didn't know it at that time, but it was shot-gun pellets. I still have about 15 in my leg. I felt the blood at the back of my head and somebody pulled me off the street.

"Dutch Doherty gave me a towel and wrapped it round my neck. There wasn't many motors about then, but finally somebody got me down the Cliftonville Road to the Mater. The shooting was still going on near the hospital but we made it okay.

"That was on 14 August and after Hooker Street was burnt out by Paisleyites.

"After I got out of hospital I ended up cutting beef in the boys school for Tom Fleming to feed people who had been burnt out. I must have made thousands of sandwiches. Men like Tom Fleming made sure that people got shelter and a bite to eat.

"If medals are ever given out here, men like Tom and Martin Meehan should get them. Martin was organising the defence of the district and never stopped. There were many others, but my vivid memories of that time were of Tom in the school night and day, seven days a week.

"Don't tell Martin this, but I can remember seeing him standing in the street in a mohair suit using a jackhammer to dig up the road to stop the Brits from getting in in their big lorries. The Brits were facing him down the street, but he shouted over to me to give him a hand.

"Ignore them, there's work to be done," said Meehan. So I gave him a hand. There was me in my chef's whites, and Martin in his mohair suit. But it was things like that which prevented more people being shot.

"Strangely, it was almost exactly two years to the day when I was shot again. It was on the night before internment in '71. The British army opened up along the Berwick Road and I got shot in the chest by an SLR bullet. It was like a grenade going off. I had a hole the size of a tennis ball in my back. Later the doctors told me the bullet had passed between two heart valves. I was bad for six months but pulled through.

"Sixty nine and '71 hold special memories for me but it wasn't just being shot, it was how the people pulled together. Sadly, many of the faces aren't with us now but because of the people's defiance then our district will never burn again!"

Harry Maguire

"WE MOVED FROM ARDOYNE to the mainly Protestant area of Tyndale in 1961. Things were quiet for most of the '60s, but support for Paisley was noticeably on the increase from the mid '60s. The area was very tense during August '69. We were worried for our own safety and the safety of our relatives in Ardoyne.

"On the night of 14 August while the 'B' Specials and loyalist mobs were attacking Ardoyne, other loyalist gangs were concentrating on looting and destroying Catholic-owned bars in the Crumlin Road area.

"My father worked in a bar off Tennent Street for more than 20 years. It was owned by a Catholic. A loyalist crowd looted and then burned the bar. The RUC and Specials looked on and then joined in the 'celebrations' as the fire took hold. The same bar had been burned in the 1920s. This time it was not rebuilt.

"When my father went to the scene the next day many local people approached him saying they were sorry, but pointing

out that there was nothing they could do as the RUC had stood by drinking with the looters as the pub burned.

"Tyndale, like most of Belfast, was very tense during that period. Rumours abounded that the 'Taigs' were to be put out. However, a neighbour, Bob Stewart, a former Grand Master in his Orange Lodge came and assured the local Catholic families, there were seven in our street and between 25 and 30 Catholic families in the estate, that we would be safe from intimidation as relationships had always been good.

"However, within three years all the Catholic families had been driven from Tyndale and neighbouring Silverstream estates."

Jim Gibney

"THE SUMMER OF '69 was an eventful period for me in more ways than one. In August I turned 15, passed my junior certificate, left school and got my first job, washing bottles in a local brewery.

"I was into, in a big way, Jimi Hendrix, the Stones, Pink Floyd, Thunder Clap Newman to name a few favourite rock groups.

"My parents were partially spared my teenage angst as I found another outlet for my instinctive rebelliousness outside the house, on the streets. My summer nights were taken up between chasing girls and volunteering my services as a vigilante to protect the Short Strand against attack by loyalists.

"By the time the leaves were falling from the trees in the Autumn of '69, I had been assaulted and arrested by the RUC, heard gunfire and witnessed my neighbours carrying guns on otherwise tranquil streets.

"Last week, 25 years later, I was again arrested by the RUC, taken to court and charged with assaulting one of them. A group of teenagers from the Short Strand, standing on the same streets as I did at their age, also heard the sound of gunfire directed at them by a loyalist gunman. Fortunately, they survived the murder bid.

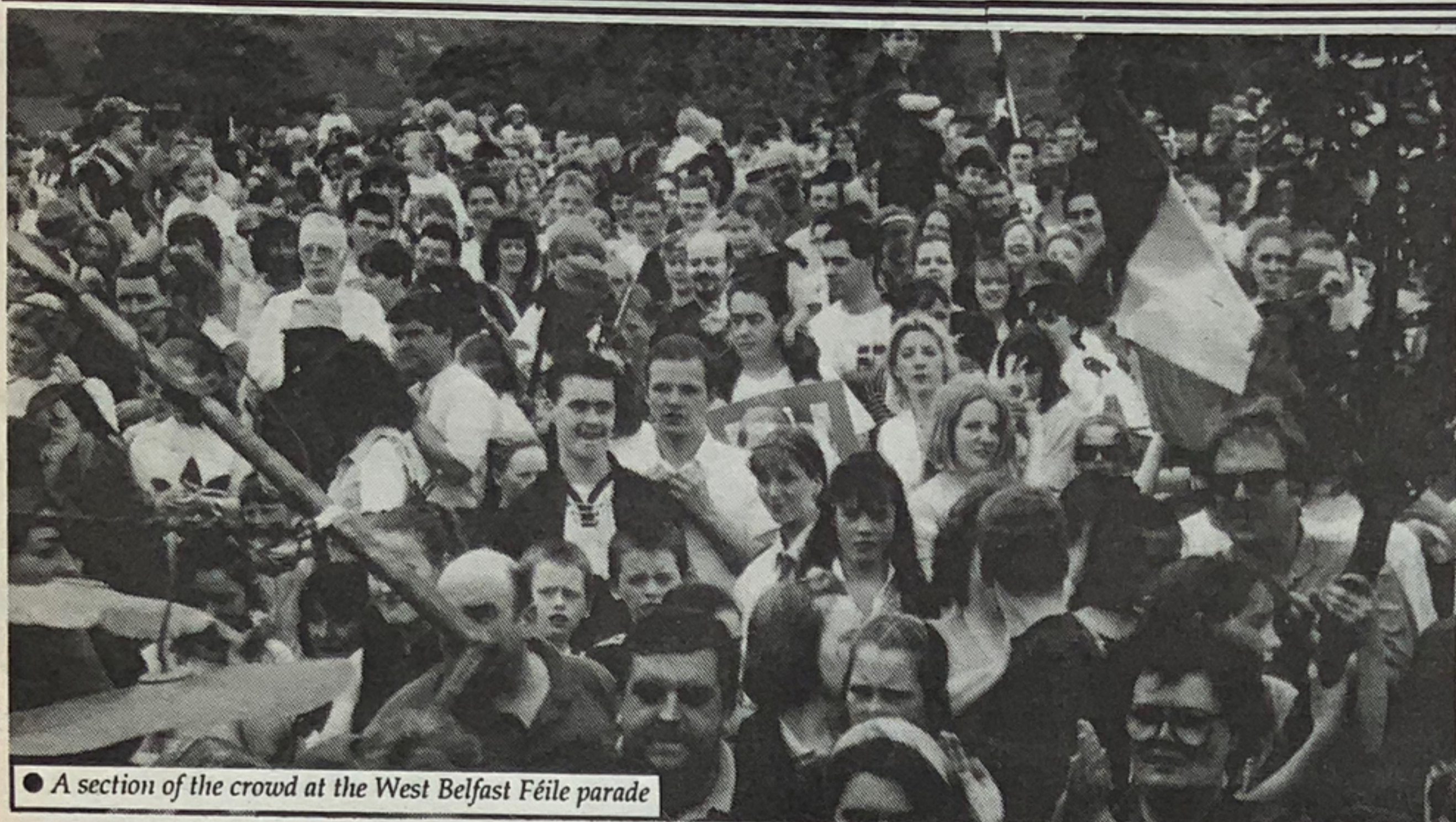
"Twenty-five years is not a long time in the life of a country, but it is in the life of an oppressed people struggling for freedom. The last 25 years have witnessed dramatic and unimagined political change across the globe. Many colonised countries are now free. In recent times the winds of change have blown across the Soviet Union, Europe, Palestine, and South Africa. Republicans have been waiting a long time for such a wind of change to touch the shores of our struggle. I think it has arrived."

Éamonn Boyce (Dublin)

"I REMEMBER looking at the television, looking at these, what we would call teddy boys at the time, up in Derry saying give us something to protect ourselves. I remember thinking this is what we were trying to do for years, get the ordinary guy on the street to stand up and say — we've had enough.

"Feelings like, what was going on in the North, feelings were strong about it. I, like everyone else, got angry." — Éamonn Boyce from Drimnagh, in Dublin. A republican activist, he was convicted of treason for his part in the 1954 Omagh Raid, which he led. He served nine years in Crumlin Road Jail. In 1955 he was stood as a Sinn Féin candidate in the Westminster elections, polling 8,447 votes. He was living in Dublin when the events of August 1969 came to a head.

25 years — time to go



● A section of the crowd at the West Belfast Féile parade



● GERRY ADAMS

The long road to freedom and peace

■ BY GERRY ADAMS

THROUGHOUT the Six Counties, nationalists are celebrating the strength and confidence of our struggle for democratic and national rights. Our celebrations are taking place in the context of a peace process which has seen potential for real progress at an all-time high. Throughout Ireland and among our exiles and friends across the world, 25 years of British troops on our streets, and 25 years of unbroken struggle for democracy, are being remembered and celebrated.

In August 1969, British troops took to our streets in an attempt to stabilise the crumbling Six-County state. Twenty-five years later they

have failed. In August, 23 years ago, internment without trial was introduced again (as it had been in every decade since partition) in an attempt to crush nationalist resistance. That failed also.

Every such failure illustrated the British government's inability to subdue the nationalist people. They must now look with some bewilderment upon people who -- after 25 years of tragic conflict

which has seen so many of them killed and injured, bereaved and imprisoned — celebrate their sense of community in such a vibrant way. The West Belfast Festival and the Ardoyne Fleadh, the Gasyard Wall Festival in Derry, the Time to Peace — Time for Go activities around the country, culminating in the parade and pageant on 20 August, show the collective ability and creativity of a people determined to be free and at peace.

In the civil rights struggle of 1968/69, in the pogroms of August '69 and in the onslaught against our people during the Falls Curfew, internment and Bloody Sunday, there was forged a community solidarity which is strong to this day. It has sustained a struggle for freedom, justice and peace for two and a half decades. It is needed now more than ever.

One of the tragedies of 1969 was that on a political level the nationalist people were largely unorganised. Republicans were divided and it took us years to mould a political strategy fitted to the dramatically-changed circumstances in which we

found the struggle. But it was through struggle that republicans educated ourselves. From the Civil Rights Association, Citizen Defence Committees, the Relatives Action Committees, the H-Block/Armagh Committees and in cooperation with other political forces there emerged a politicised movement experienced in street politics and rooted in communities.

Sinn Féin developed from the '70s through the campaigns in support of the prison struggle into the '80s with our electoral strategy and our present peace strategy.

Sinn Féin has systematically applied itself to the task of constructing a real peace process over the last seven years. The pace of this work has increased over the past year, particularly since the agreement between myself and John Hume and the Irish Peace Initiative which developed from this. Despite the criticisms of our political opponents in London, in Stormont and in sections of the media, Sinn Féin has single-mindedly applied itself to the issue of peace during this period.

I have said on a number of occasions that I believe we are in the final phase of the conflict. I have said that I do not know how long this phase will last, that it depends on the willingness of all sides to make progress. I want to reiterate Sinn Féin's commitment to advance the current situation towards a negotiated settlement, despite all the difficulties.

After 25 years of unbroken conflict, over 70 years of unionist domination, after centuries of British interference and occupation, we deserve peace. Building a lasting peace based on justice and freedom remains the task of all of us in the months ahead. We should apply ourselves energetically to that task. And it should be manifested on the streets where the demand for lasting peace based on national self-determination needs to be seen and heard throughout our country and overseas.

We have come a long way since 1969. The building of a new future lies ahead along the road to lasting peace. We face that future with confidence. Beir bua.

BRITISH OPINION POLLS FOR WITHDRAWAL

Date	Agency	Pro-British withdrawal
1971, Sept (after internment)	MORI	59%
1975, Dec	Gallup	64%
1977, Feb	Gallup	53%
1978, May	Gallup	53%
1978, Sept	Gallup	55%
1980, Nov	(for Weekend World)	50%
1981, April	Marplan	58%
1981, May	MORI	59%
1981, 19-24 Aug	Gallup	54%
1984, May	MORI	53%
1987, 19-24 Jan	MORI	61%
1987, 20-24 Nov	Marplan	40%
1988, March	MORI	50%
1989, 13-17 Dec	Harris	51%
1990, Dec	British Social Attitudes	59%
1991, Oct	MORI	61%
1992, March	MORI	54%



■ BY ART Mac EOIN

The August days

The days of August 1969 in the Six Counties were some of the most momentous in Irish history.

■ TUESDAY, 12 AUGUST

Fifteen thousand loyalists marched through Derry in the annual Apprentice Boys parade.

Clashes took place with nationalist demonstrators as the march passed through Waterloo Place.

The RUC baton charged the nationalist crowd and armoured cars roared into the Bogside. The RUC were met with fierce resistance from Bogside residents using stones and petrol bombs.

The RUC retreated from the Bogside and gathered around William Street.

At midnight, following authorisation from the unionist Minister of Home Affairs Robert Porter, the RUC fired CS gas at the nationalist crowds and, reinforced by a civilian loyalist mob, attacked the Bogside again. The RUC barracks' in Coalisland, Strabane, and Newry were attacked that night by angry locals.

■ WEDNESDAY, 13 AUGUST

The Six-County Minister for Home Affairs Robert Porter announced a ban on all parades for one month. British troops were installed at the British naval base in Derry. During the day, the Bogside remained under siege and the Rosemount RUC Barracks was set on fire.

In Belfast, RUC barracks' in nationalist areas were attacked and barricades were erected in West Belfast.

Broadcasting on radio and television, Major Chichester Clarke announced the immediate recall of the Stormont parliament and said the loyalist government was now acting to strengthen "the hand of the forces of law and order. We will also use the Special Constabulary to the full."

Later in the evening, Taoiseach Jack Lynch said in a radio and television broadcast that the Dublin government was asking the British government to request the United Nations to send a peace-keeping force to the North

immediately. It was evident, he said, that the Stormont government was no longer in control of the situation. He said many people had been injured and he had arranged for field hospitals in County Donegal and other points on the border to be made ready.

Major Chichester Clarke said in a statement that he heard Lynch's remarks with indignation and added:

"I must hold Mr Lynch personally responsible for any worsening of feeling which these inflammatory and ill-considered remarks may cause."

Rioting continued all night in Derry.

■ THURSDAY, 14 AUGUST

At Stormont, Chichester Clarke issued a threat to the Dublin government:

"We must and we will treat the government which seeks to wound us in our darkest hour as an unfriendly and implacable government, determined to overthrow by any means the state which enjoys the support of a majority of our electorate."

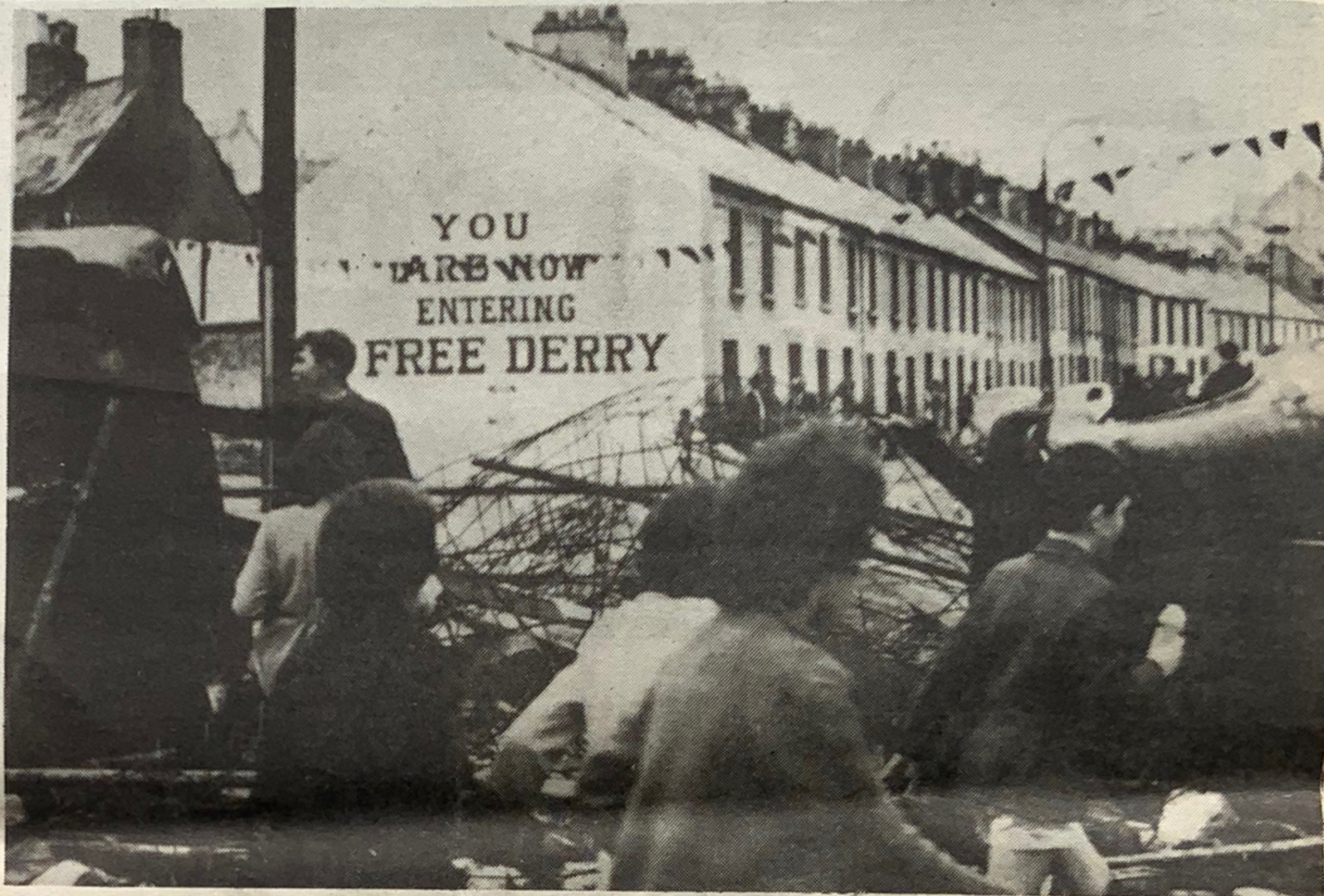
The regular RUC in Derry was by now exhausted and defeated at the hands of the nationalist population and the 'B' Specials were drafted in. On Thursday afternoon they appeared on the streets wielding cudgels and pickaxe handles.

By 4pm the decision to deploy British troops had been agreed by the British Home Secretary James Callaghan. At 5pm British soldiers entered Derry city centre.

In Armagh, John Gallagher was shot dead by 'B' Specials following a civil rights meeting. The 'B' Specials also opened fire on people in Dungannon.

Loyalist mobs burned down houses in Belfast's Conway Street and Brookfield Street.

That night, the RUC, using Browning machine guns mounted on Shorland armoured cars, fired into the



● The people of the Bogside put up strong resistance in defence of their area from RUC attackers, backed up by loyalist mobs

Divis Flats killing nine-year-old Patrick Rooney who was sheltering in his back bedroom. Four high-velocity bullets pierced two walls before entering Patrick Rooney's room and striking him in the head.

Also killed by RUC bullets was Trooper McCabe, a British soldier home on leave.

■ FRIDAY, 15 AUGUST

When daylight broke on Friday, the scene in several nationalist areas of Belfast, especially Divis Street and Ardoyne, was one of utter devastation.

Six people lay dead, whole streets had been burned to the ground, while many people packed everything they had and were forced to flee their homes. Six-hundred British soldiers took up positions in Belfast around 5pm.

The pogrom continued that day.

Fifteen-year-old Gerald McAuley, a member of the republican scouting organisation Fianna Éireann, was shot dead in Waterville Street while defending the

Clonard district from attack by rampaging Orange mobs. Gerald McAuley was the first republican activist to lose his life during the current phase of struggle.

Nationalist Bombay Street was razed to the ground by loyalists as were over 20 houses in Ardoyne.

Refugees flooded into the 26 Counties.

Following a meeting with 26-County Foreign Affairs Minister Patrick Hillery, the British Minister of State, Foreign and Commonwealth Office Lord Chalfont, rejected proposals that a United Nations force or an Anglo/Irish peace-keeping force be used in the Six Counties.

In Dublin, windows in the British Embassy were smashed and the union jack torn down and burned. People marched from the GPO, where Paddy Devlin of the SDLP had appealed for guns, to Collins Barracks where a similar appeal was made.

■ SATURDAY, 16 AUGUST

In Dublin, 50 people were injured following a Garda baton

charge on demonstrators outside the British Embassy.

Five-thousand people attended the funeral of John Gallagher in Armagh.

British troops entered Ardoyne in North Belfast.

■ SUNDAY, 17 AUGUST

At a press conference in Stormont attended by the world's media, Chichester Clarke said that the cause of disorder in the Six Counties was republicans and "others determined to overthrow our state".

He defended the decision to allow the Apprentice Boys march through Derry, but to ban other marches and he called the intervention of the Dublin government "clumsy and inept".

■ MONDAY, 18 AUGUST

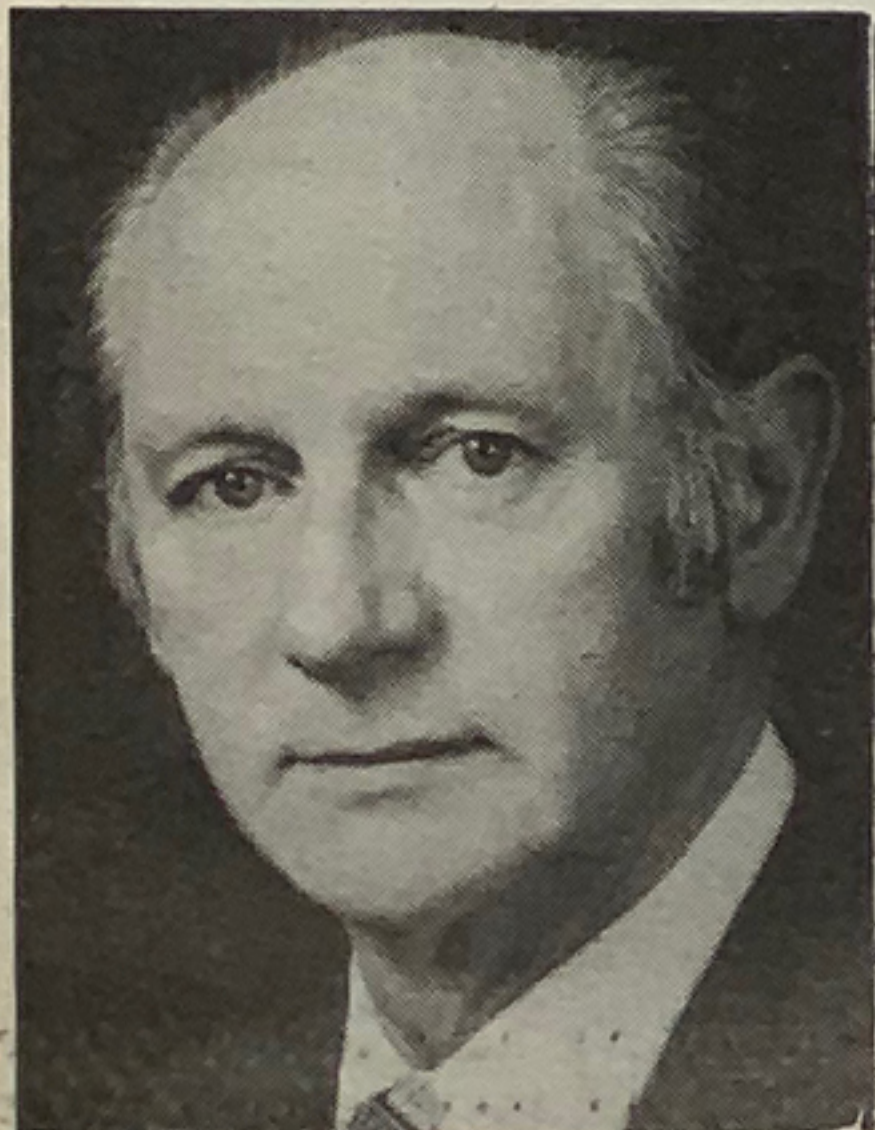
Dublin Foreign Affairs Minister Patrick Hillery said in New York that he was not confident that the United Nations Security Council would meet urgently to consider sending a peace force to the Six Counties.

■ TUESDAY, 19 AUGUST

The Six-County Premier James Chichester Clarke and British Prime Minister Harold Wilson and members of their cabinets met at Downing Street.

A joint communique was issued which stated that the British army's General Officer Commanding in the Six Counties would have overall responsibility for security there.

The British government then issued a seven-point declaration setting out policies agreed between it and Stormont for the running of the Six Counties.



● JACK LYNCH



● PATRICK ROONEY



● FIAN GERALD McAULEY



● HAROLD WILSON

25 years — time to go



● Barricades were erected in Bombay Street in a vain attempt to repel loyalist gangs and state forces during the pogrom against nationalists

BOMBAY STREET PURGE

— A RESIDENT REMEMBERS

THE MERCILESS purge of nationalists in Bombay Street, Belfast and the surrounding area by loyalist gangs is forever embedded in the nationalist psyche. Like the attack on civil rights activists at Burntollet, the fleeing residents of Bombay Street, and the terror they endured, for many summed up the sectarian and violent nature of the unionist-dominated northern state and their military and political overlords in Westminster.

Bombay Street residents like 69-year-old Rita Canavan and her family were burnt out of their

houses at the height of the loyalist pogrom against nationalists in August 1969.

"The loyalists worked their way up from Conway Street in the Lower Falls right up to here," said Rita Canavan.

"At that time, there was no so-called 'peace wall'. Protestant houses were back-to-back with Catholic houses.

"I worked in the Royal Victoria Hospital as a cleaner up until my house was burnt out, but I was



● The view from Clonard Monastery shows the devastation on Bombay Street following the loyalist attack

told that I would no longer be employed by them as I had not given them notice that I was taking time off!

"We were in St Paul's Parish Hall on that night. The place was full of refugees from Conway Street who had been burnt out previously and families from other streets who were too afraid to stay the night in their own homes. The next morning, people were told to go home, except the people from Bombay Street.

"But we went up anyway. We thought at worst that the houses had been looted. But we were devastated when we saw what had happened. My house had been gutted. The only thing that had survived was my dog Drumaleen who had taken shelter in the back yard."

Her resentment and anger at the part played by the crown forces is still apparent 25 years on.

"I was going to work one day with my friend and we noticed the loyalist crowds gathering in the streets. There was a car parked in the next street with four 'B' Specials in it. We told them that we feared that the mobs would burn our houses and asked them to protect us. But all they said was: 'We have not got any reports to go round there... you have to fend for yourself'."

"The RUC were handing the gangs petrol bombs from crates as they attacked our homes.

"The houses in Bombay Street went up soon after that. As you can see for yourself from pictures taken at the time, the devastation

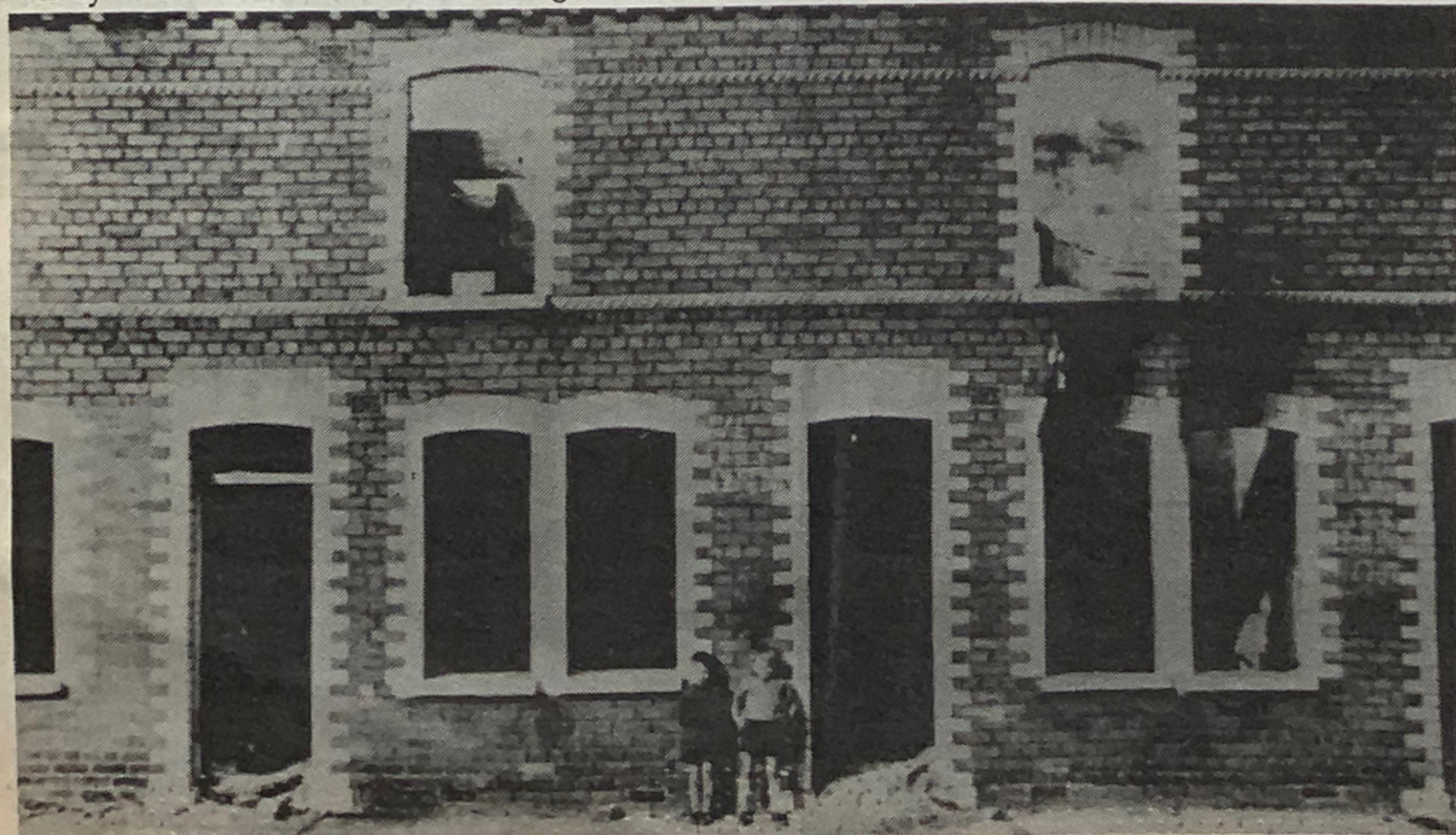
is so much that it looks more like a scene from the blitz of the Second World War."

She praised the many people who came from all over to help residents salvage their furniture and belongings. She singled out the young men especially for praise. "They held the loyalist gangs at bay while their families saved what they could. They were heroes."

(The first member of the Republican Movement to be killed in this last 25 years of struggle was 15-year-old Fian Gerald McAuley, who was shot dead on 15 August. He was shot in Waterville Street while defending Clonard from attack by rampaging Orange mobs.)

The Travelling community came in for praise from Rita Canavan. "Many residents are eternally grateful to the Travellers who would go in to the Protestant areas and collect the furniture of Catholic families in their lorries. They were great. They wouldn't even take money for saving the furniture."

Rita Canavan still lives in Bombay Street in the new houses that were built there, and residents are still subject to the same kind of harassment. A wall now separates the two areas, but residents of Bombay Street are subject to missile-throwing youths. "We are waiting on some child getting killed. We have informed the RUC, but they seemed to be unwilling to do anything about it," concluded Rita Canavan.



● Rita Canavan's house (left) was one of the many burnt out by loyalists, with the active support of the RUC and 'B' Specials

OLIVER'S

ARMY

THE TRUE colonial role of the British army in Ireland and the war from the point of view of soldiers are the themes of a forthcoming book by Aly Renwick, exclusive extracts of which we carry here.

Aly Renwick is a Scottish ex-soldier who spent eight years in the British army. Finally managing to buy himself out in 1968, he moved to London and joined the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign whose demonstrations he had taken part in while still a soldier. When the North of Ireland erupted in 1969 and British troops were sent onto the streets, he helped organise the Irish Civil Rights Solidarity Campaign and the Anti-Internment League. In 1974 he was a founder member of the Troops Out Movement and was one of their national organisers for several years. In 1978 he helped set up Information on Ireland and edited their first publication *British Soldiers Speak Out On Ireland*. His last book was *Last Night Another Soldier*.

— BRITISH SOLDIERS IN IRELAND

ON 16 April 1921, Major Arthur Ernest Percival led a party of his Essex Regiment soldiers to Woodfield, the home of the Collins family in West Cork. Michael Collins was then the most wanted IRA terrorist in Ireland, but would shortly become a 'statesman' by meeting the British PM Lloyd George at Downing Street and signing the Treaty.

There was an 'official punishment' policy of destroying the family homes of rebels in martial-law areas, although this was supposed to include giving notification to the residents to allow them to remove valuables. No warning was given to the Collins family. The two women and eight children were roughly forced from their homes and could only watch in horror as Woodfield was set alight and destroyed. Some soldiers tried to help the family, rescuing some family possessions from the flames while their officer's back was turned.

Twenty-one years later, Percival, now a Lt General, commanded the British and Commonwealth forces in Malaya and Singapore. On 15 February 1942, he surrendered to the Japanese attackers — whom his own troops outnumbered almost three to one — one of the greatest military humiliations ever suffered by Britain. As POWs, many of his 130,000 troops were to suffer and perish on Japanese slave labour projects like the Burma railway.

Many parts of the British empire were threatened or even occupied by enemy troops during the Second World War. The indigenous fight against the invaders was often led by nationalists or communists or a combination of both. Afterwards, it was clear that the war had created an

attitude of mind and an availability of arms that was conducive to throwing off the chains of colonial rule. Britain found that far-off lands were no longer willing to live under the union jack.

As the red of empire gradually shrank in our atlases, new 'trouble spots' sprang to attention. The late James Cameron was a journalist who covered many of these small wars:

"I have spent the greater part of my working life watching British troops being pulled out of places they were never going to leave. The process started in the 1940s, when Mr Churchill insisted that the British could never leave India, and of course, they did. A wide variety of colonial secretaries in the years to come made it abundantly clear that their forces would never leave Malaya, or Kenya, or Cyprus, or Aden. All these places were integrally part of an imperial system that could not be undermined and must be protected, and one by one all these places were abandoned, generally with the blessing of some minor royalty and much champagne.

"In most cases, some rebellious nationalist was released from jail, or its equivalent — Nehru, Nkrumah, Kenyatta, Makarios — given the ritual cup of tea at Windsor and turned into a president.

"The thing in the end became

a formula, though the process wasted a great many lives and much time and money, and as far as I know, on every occasion the formula followed the one before it: We shall not leave; we have to leave; we have left. At no time in our colonial history did one occasion leave any precedent for the next one, except for the statement that we would never pull out, which was always one thing before the last."

ON Thursday, 14 August 1969, soldiers of the First Battalion, the Prince of Wales' Own Regiment were sent out onto the streets of Derry to 'aid the civil power'. The British authorities, however, had no intention of changing the status quo, as the Labour government's Home Secretary, James Callaghan, made clear in Westminster: "The General Officer Commanding (GOC) Northern Ireland has been instructed to take all necessary steps, acting impartially between citizen and citizen, to restore law and order. Troops will be withdrawn as soon as this is accomplished. This is a limited operation and during it, the troops will remain in direct and exclusive control of the GOC, who will continue to be responsible to the United Kingdom government... The Ireland Act of 1949 affirms that neither Northern Ireland nor any part of it will in any event cease to be part of the United Kingdom without the consent of the parliament of Northern Ireland, and the United Kingdom reaffirms the pledges previously

given that this will remain the position so long as the people of Northern Ireland wish."

The intention of the British government was to stabilise the situation. The early days of troops on the streets became known as the 'honeymoon period'. An ex-officer recalls that time: "The arrival of British troops was greeted with open-hearted joy by most of the Catholic population. Tea was brewed for the troops in huge quantities by ordinary people delighted we were there. A patrol of the Catholic Markets area of Belfast inevitably meant half-a-dozen stops for a drink and a chat, and several more for the loo.

"Community relations' became the big army occupation — organising trips to the sea for kids, dances for teenagers or soccer matches with the local lads. And we all felt what a jolly good job we were doing." (Y Saeth, Spring 1977, by a Welsh ex-soldier)

The intervention of British troops had been regarded as a victory, over Stormont and its RUC and 'B' Specials, by many nationalists:

At first, the troops were welcomed into the Catholic communities, in much the same way as federal marshals were welcomed by SNCC workers in Mississippi in the summers of 1963 and 1964. They were accepted as impartial guardians of a law and order that would redress the grievances which had developed under the repressive rule of the Ulster Protestants, whose police consistently behave with

the decorum of southern sheriffs. It was widely assumed that the presence of the British army would put an end to excesses of brutality and that the Labour government might itself intervene directly to meet the modest demands of the Civil Rights Movement.

At first it looked like these expectations might be fulfilled. Condemned by the Hunt Report, the RUC was to be disbanded and the 'B' Specials dismantled, on instructions from Westminster. It appeared that the British government, the media and most soldiers on the ground were sympathetic to the nationalist position:

"I think we were aware of the political dimensions. And it is only fair to point out that we as officers — and most of the men as they understood it — were anti-Stormont, anti-Orange Order and very probably anti-Protestant as well! We all had a feeling there was injustice over housing, jobs, education and even justice. I think we certainly felt that we were on the side of the Catholics... there was a huge amount of sympathy for them. That lasted a long time and it was probably the ham-fistedness of the army as much as the politicians that put paid to that." (A young officer, quoted in *Pig in the Middle — The Army in Northern Ireland 1969-1984*, by Desmond Hamill).

It would have been an ideal time to have pressed forward with a political solution that would have restructured the relationship between Britain and the two parts of Ireland. Radical changes, however, would have meant going against the unionist grain. In fact, the troops' primary task was to uphold law and order, a task the discredited RUC and 'B' Specials could no longer do. Anyway, the Labour government, in an election year, did not want to rock the boat and opted to support the status quo: "The Labour government clearly knew

the risks of a violent Protestant backlash against any meaningful reforms, and it refused to run this risk at a time when the Tories were already campaigning for law and order. Labour wanted to sit on the whole Northern Ireland problem until after the election. It couched every proclamation on the problem in noncontroversial terms within a consensus which Liberals and Conservatives would share, effectively leaving practical day-to-day matters in the hands of the army command in Belfast under General Freeland, a veteran colonial soldier renowned for his command of the Mau Mau campaign in Kenya."

British troops were now the main force for law and order on the streets. With Westminster prevaricating and refusing to take any decisive political action, the 'honeymoon' between the troops and the nationalist population started to break down.

Anxious to recruit school-leavers with little or no experience of civilian life, the modern recruiting sergeant hooks the potential soldier with themes like 'adventure, sport and travel': "I joined up because I had no education or qualifications, and where I lived in Essex, there wasn't much work available. I knew others who had joined up, so I decided to follow them. I joined up as a junior marine when I was 16. I wanted a bit of excitement, a bit of travel, to be tough, to be something — rather than just be nothing outside." (Ian Phillips, ex-Royal Marine Commando, from *British Soldiers Speak Out on Ireland*, Information on Ireland, 1978).

Recruiting youths with a low educational background ensures that disaffected soldiers will have difficulty articulating their grievances or organising protests. Some recruits are attracted by the macho image that many regiments like to portray. Many have racist and sexist prejudices current in our society, often encouraged in subtle — and sometimes not so subtle — ways, during training.

Not all recruits take easily to this type of military life, and the first casualties of these methods often occur inside training units themselves:

"A bullying corporal made life



British troops, often recruited at a very young age and with a low educational background, continue to be used as tools of British government policy

hell for army recruits, it was claimed yesterday... At barracks' where three young soldiers have died in the last three months... "The Royal Regiment of Fusiliers' corporal denies at a court martial at Aldershot, Hampshire, four charges of hitting soldiers and a further two of ill-treatment.

"The incidents are alleged to have taken place at Shorncliffe Barracks, Kent, last summer.

"At the barracks in December, 17-year-old soldier Nicholas Burnup apparently shot dead a corporal and turned the gun on himself.

"A month later, another 17-year-old, Jeffrey Singh, was found hanging, dead.

"Former junior fusilier Kevin Elay, 17, told the court martial (Corporal) Latham beat his head against a door because he was late getting outside with his section.

"Elay also said a drunken Latham lined his section up one night and told them they'd have to learn to take his punches. 'He then punched everyone in the stomach,' claimed Elay." (*Daily Record*, 5 March 1987).

In late 1973, a campaign for Troop withdrawal, called the Troops Out Movement was started. Supported by a number of Labour MPs, it quickly attracted considerable publicity and support among liberal sections of the population. At the same time, Peggy Chaston, a Reading housewife and soldier's relative, started a public petition calling for the withdrawal of all British troops from the North of Ireland:

"Opposition MPs at Westminster have been talking for months about the growing resentment in the country against the rising death toll of British soldiers in Ulster, but it has taken a housewife to present the feeling in concrete terms.

"... With a minimum of national publicity, she has secured in four weeks more than 42,000 signatures for the petition.

"... Mr William Whitelaw and other political leaders have warned Mrs Chaston that her campaign can only have the result of encouraging the IRA.

"... She steadfastly refuses to listen to criticisms about the effect her campaign could have on the ordinary civilians of Ulster. This is her struggle, and British people should not be made to die for it," she said. "Neither should their wives and mothers be forced into nervous breakdowns." (*The Times*, 2 July 1974, report by Christopher Walker)

Some soldiers, including many who would have become NCOs, began to leave the army in large numbers: "Years ago when the 'troubles' first started, soldiers viewed the conflict in Northern Ireland as an opportunity to get some active service in. To many young soldiers who had not served in Aden and Malaya, despite the dangers, Northern Ireland seemed very exciting. It was the real thing, something to boast about back home.

"However, the novelty wore off. By 1975, when I was discharged, a tour of Northern Ireland was the worst thing that could happen. The number of soldiers deserting or going AWOL would increase, alcoholism and violence was prevalent, and the cost to family relationships was immeasurable. Apart from very

Daily Mirror
Man shot dead... five people wounded
ULSTER GUN BATTLES
The tough job

new recruits who had never been there, the attitude of most soldiers is that we should get out — though it is usually expressed by saying that we should let them fight it out." (Ian Phillips, ex-Royal Marine Commando, *Hansard*, 2 May 1977).

In 1649, troopers in Cromwell's Army wrote *The Soldier's Demand*:

"Fellow soldiers... Oh! the ocean of blood that we are guilty of! Oh! how these deadly sins of ours do torment our consciences!

"What have we to do in Ireland, to fight and murder a people and a nation which have done us no harm...? We have waded too far in that crimson stream already of innocent and Christian blood."

In 1979, Mr Douglas Maggs talked to a London paper, after his son, Trooper Maggs, had died in a Belfast barracks:

"He dreaded going back there, but it wasn't just the mere fact that he was in danger.

"It was the act that everyone is your enemy out there. No one wants you there — its a lost cause like Vietnam. There is no end in sight." (*Evening News*, 26 February 1979).

That same year, the tenth anniversary of troops going out onto the streets in the North of Ireland, ex-captain Mike Biggs, who left the army as a conscientious objector, told listeners on BRM Radio:

"An army is an instrument of government, and I see the army going back into Northern Ireland, and its presence there, as allaying a political embarrassment for successive governments in this country. Northern Ireland is a problem, a problem that we started, and a problem that we'd like to go away, but it's not going away. And the idea of having the troops out there to allay that problem hasn't worked, because we've come no further towards any kind of peaceful solution."

In 1992, Colonel Derek Wilford, who was the commanding officer of the 1st Battalion of the Parachute Regiment at Bloody Sunday in Derry said:

"It's an event [Bloody Sunday in Derry] which is in my subconscious all the time, and occasionally it comes to the surface. If anything, I suppose its made me anti-war. But its also made me anti-politician and anti a hierarchy that allows the situation to go on. I'd like to think that out of that tragedy — which it was, however you look at it — something more positive could have happened. Instead, it just became something that went into the history books.

"I'm sure I'd be censored for saying so if it came into the open, but I really believe that we should find a more positive solution than hyperbole to a situation which has gone on for 20 years and will go on for another 30 — because there is no desire from either side to end it. I hear people saying: 'Troops out of Ireland.' It's like: 'Troops out of Aden.' There we did make a positive decision and I think we need to make a positive decision now about ending the war in Northern Ireland. (Remember Bloody Sunday, BBC television documentary, 28 January 1992. Colonel Wilford was interviewed by Peter Taylor. Also eight-page article in *The Sunday Times Magazine*, 26 January 1992).

Christ, I remember the day we arrived in Ulster. All the Rambos in our regiment [1st Battalion Royal Regiment of Fusiliers] were loving it — they were crazy — they thought this was all some film, like. I knew it was no film. For every single moment I was there, for two whole bloody years, I was terrified, man, sheer terrified! Even today, man, when I hear a click, my ass hits the floor! I lost four of my best mates there, blown to bits, and I wonder now just what the hell it was all for. No, man, I have no fears in the ring, absolutely none at all. After two years crawling around Tyrone and South Armagh, it don't frighten me none! — Nigel Benn, then the Commonwealth middleweight boxing champion, interviewed in *You, the Mail on Sunday* magazine, 23 April 1989.

I saw lots of blokes who had been given a real hammering. One of the first things I saw when I arrived there was a little room called 'the box'. It was about ten feet by ten feet with a table and chair in it — and it was covered in blood. Other blokes said — 'It's just from blokes who get a working over'. There were pictures in the intelligence room of blokes propped up between two marines, really smashed to pulp...

In the orderly room of Tac HQ was kept all day-by-day records of the unit's operations in the area...

I remember in particular the sniper files which documented the hits and misses of unit snipers. The shooting of unarmed suspects by army snipers was carried out with the full knowledge of commanding officers. And even in those cases where the sniper claimed the man was armed, the secret positioning of the sniper and his likely distance from the target preclude the possibility of giving any effective warning which is required by the yellow and blue card regulations — Royal Marine Ian Phillips.

Whilst there, I saw a lot of what was going on, and after a few months, I realised the pointless efforts of the British army. What popularity they had had in Catholic areas slowly deteriorated, and the biggest crunch to show whose side the army was on came when internment was introduced. Hundreds of men were interned for their beliefs and opinions, homes wrecked and innocent people shot dead.

I saw plenty of deaths, but none struck me more than the body of a young girl shot dead in a gun battle, and knowing that if the army wasn't there, this girl would most probably be alive today.

One must understand the average soldier in an infantry battalion who is sent to Ireland. The large majority of them do not realise that they are there to carry out a peace-keeping role; they think that the Catholic community is the enemy and should be treated as such. How often I have heard the remarks from troops, 'Fenian bastards' and 'Papist bastards', never would one hear anything about 'Prod bastards'. — From a speech by an ex-military police officer given at a public meeting in Fulham Town Hall, in October 1973.

When they get back to England they tend to forget about the problem, so the numbers for withdrawal would drop slightly. But while we were over there, even the most conservative-minded officer — and I belonged to a conservative-minded regiment — could be heard muttering: 'What the hell are we doing here, let's get out'.

From junior lieutenants aged 19 and fresh out of Sandhurst to grizzled lieutenant-colonels, they thought likewise'. — *Irish Times*, 8 March 1984, interviewed by David McKittrick, then London editor.

Later I changed my mind. They call the IRA terrorists, but the longer I thought about it, the more I began to wonder who the real terrorists were. For a guy drinking his pint and watching the telly it's simple who the baddies are, but such a person does not know the history of the situation or about the oppression or harassment. — Ex-soldier Dave Roach in *Humo*, 10 August and 17 August, 1989.



WHAT THE SOLDIERS SAID...

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25 years — time to go

The war between the British army and the IRA



UNRELENTING dedication, ingenuity and inestimable sacrifices in the face of overwhelming odds have been the hallmarks of the last 25 years of the IRA's campaign against Britain's military occupation in Ireland.

This week to mark 25 years of republican struggle AP/IRN's NEIL FORDE highlights this campaign. He traces the IRA's re-emergence as a defender of the nationalist community from loyalist and British attack to the development of the IRA as a cohesive guerrilla army.

Defending the people

The Battle of St Matthew's in Short Strand and the Balkan Street raids in June and July 1970 showed the determination of the revitalised and reorganised IRA of the first period of the conflict.

On 27 June 1970, the 'Little Twelfth', the IRA in East Belfast and Short Strand defended 6,000 nationalists deliberately isolated by the British army, who had cut off all bridges to the west of the city as loyalist mobs attempted to petrol bomb St Matthew's Church, which effectively stood at the entrance to the nationalist Short Strand.

IRA Volunteers engaged the loyalist mob, defending the area in a gun battle in which Volunteer Henry McIlhone was killed.

A week later, the British army, who had abandoned the nationalists of Short Strand, went publicly on the offensive against the nationalist community of the Lower Falls. On 3 July, British soldiers, many of whom were from the Black Watch Regiment, arrived in Balkan Street and began to raid homes taking weapons in an obvious attempt to leave the community there defenceless.

One British soldier was heard to shout to the outraged crowd: "Fenian bastards, we're giving your guns to the UVF." The raid provoked rioting against the British soldiers and a nine and a half hour gun battle.

IRA Volunteers threw nail bombs, while others took up sniper positions. Even though the IRA knew they had not the fire power to match the British, they continually shifted personnel from location to location, fooling the British soldiers.

Ciarán De Baróid in his book *Ballymurphy and the Irish War*, sums up the Battle of St Matthew's and Balkan Street when he writes: "For the second time in 24 hours, the IRA had shown that there would be no repeats of August '69. Nationalist areas would henceforth be ruthlessly protected against sectarian attack."

A campaign of resistance

The ongoing subjugation of the nationalist communities directed by the Stormont regime and carried out by crown forces, led by the British army, was intensified in 1971.

When British troops were first deployed in August 1969, just over 3,000 soldiers were on the streets. By the introduction of internment

on 9 August, British troop levels had reached 12,300, including the UDR, which had replaced the 'B' Specials.

Accommodating these troops meant a new phase of fortification for the crown forces. Parallel to this was the new-found role for the British army of intelligence-gathering and a range of new spying equipment, while CS gas guns were replaced by rubber bullets.

In February 1971, unionist leader Chichester Clarke declared that: "Northern Ireland is at war with the IRA." His replacement Brian Faulkner said in a statement in May that the army could "open up". This reinforced the previous year's shoot-to-kill directive by British General Ian Freeland, who had said that "any soldier seeing any person with a weapon or acting suspiciously may, depending on circumstances, fire to warn or with effect without waiting for orders".

The result was a change in the direction of the IRA campaign

which moved from a purely defensive role to offensive attacks on the crown forces.

Up to July 1971 there were over 125 explosions, mainly bomb attacks at both commercial and military targets.

This change of strategy in IRA operations was acknowledged in a public statement carried by *An Phoblacht* in November 1971: "On the military front, our fight has changed from a defensive role to defence and retaliation and then to an offensive campaign of resistance in all parts of the occupied area."

In the aftermath of Bloody Sunday, the IRA offensive continued and in March 1972 one of the IRA's primary objectives was achieved with the dissolution of the Stormont regime. In an attempt to move on this step, the IRA became involved in a bilateral cessation of military operations in the hope that they could secure "a just and lasting solution". This process was abused by the British, the



● The year 1978 saw the IRA take on an internal reorganisation which would help produce the highly-effective fighting machine needed to meet the challenges ahead

cessation ended and the IRA returned to military operations.

By this stage the IRA faced an enemy with the vast resources of an imperialist power backing it up. Plain clothes British army undercover units, the Military Reconnaissance Force (MRF), precursors of the SAS in the Six Counties, became active.

One of their schemes, the Four Square Laundry company was exposed and attacked by the IRA. The undercover operation by the British involved posing as a legitimate laundry company, touring nationalist areas of Belfast. Agents hidden in the roof of the van photographed houses and people, while van operatives gathered verbal information. The actual laundry from individual houses was checked to see if families were running safe houses for Volunteers.

On 2 October 1972, two Volunteers machine gunned the van, killing two intelligence officers and their driver. Two more MRF members were killed the same day.

The long war

The IRA campaign of commercial bombings and attacks against the crown forces continued throughout the mid 1970s. British troop levels continued to rise, with almost 22,000 troops in the Six Counties in July 1972. The figure fell to around 15,000 by the middle of 1974.

IRA actions had succeeded in forcing huge capital expenditure by the British, on providing British army security for commercial centres and on carrying the costs of compensation for massive bomb damages. The war had been extended outside of nationalist areas and this the British army were not able to contend with. Their own headquarters was attacked in 1974 with a 1,000lb van bomb.

It was also clear by this time that the British forces had settled in for the long term and the introduction of the criminalisation, normalisation, Ulsterisation strategy by the British dampened the IRA's potency.

However, no one could ignore the fact that by the mid 1970s no previous republican campaign had ever been prolonged with such intensity and costs. The 1975 Truce called by the IRA "to provide the British government with a further opportunity to produce positive results towards a lasting solution" was instead used by the British to weaken the resolve of Six-County nationalists with a wave of sectarian terror unleashed by the crown forces against nationalists.

The IRA were weary and tactically disadvantaged by an opponent who could not secure military victory, but extended its campaign to sectarian fronts, terrorising the nationalist community.

Striking back

Learning from recent setbacks, the IRA reorganised itself internally to counter the new challenges posed to its campaign. This was summarised in an exclusive *Republican News* interview in November 1978 with a member of the IRA leadership.

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● A good day's work — the IRA demonstrated its ability to inflict heavy casualties on the enemy by executing 18 British soldiers in Warrenpoint (above) and killing Lord Mountbatten on the same day

massive reorganisation of the movement" in which they replaced the old locally-based pyramid structure and set up a cell system.

The spokesperson also told of the costs inflicted on IRA Volunteers. "We have to suffer imprisonments, torture, being constantly on the run, isolated from our families. Then our friends and comrades are being killed and many of us constantly run the risk of summary execution."

The intent and capability of the IRA reorganisation was clearly shown on 14 November 1978 when in a 45-minute period the IRA launched bomb attacks on Dungannon, Omagh, Cookstown, Enniskillen, Derry and Belfast, two weeks after an IRA spokesperson told *Republican News* that "we are committed to and more importantly geared to a long war".

The intensified IRA campaign was maintained throughout 1979. On 27 August near Warrenpoint, 18 British soldiers were killed in an IRA operation on the same day that Lord Mountbatten was executed in an IRA explosion at Rosses Point, County Sligo.

The Warrenpoint ambush was the most successful IRA attack against British forces in this phase of the conflict. A full rifle platoon of paratroopers was wiped out in the attack.

Earlier that year the British army had inadvertently acknowledged the resourcefulness and ability of the IRA when AP/RN revealed in May 1979 the contents of what is now commonly known as the Glover Report.

The report, written by Brigadier JM Glover, was an assessment of the IRA's capabilities and organisation. The 27-page analysis of the IRA written in December 1978 said: "Our evidence of the calibre of rank-and-file terrorists does not support the view that they are merely mindless hooligans drawn from the unemployed and unemployable."

Glover also admitted that "they will probably have the manpower they need to sustain violence during the next five years" and the report concluded with the acknowledgment that "the Provisionals' campaign of violence is likely to continue while the British remain in Northern Ireland".

Into the 1980s

Many of Glover's predictions came to pass and the 1980s saw the IRA move their campaign back to Britain and British military targets in Europe. The 1980s saw

the IRA faced with a foe who increasingly hid themselves in fortified bunkers, towers, and heavily-armoured vehicles. When British forces moved on the ground they moved only in saturation numbers.

In May 1981, in the middle of the hunger strike, IRA Volunteers killed five soldiers in a Saracen armoured car at Bessbrook near Armagh when a remote-control bomb detonated a landmine under the vehicle. In October, IRA ASUs in Britain injured 22 British soldiers in a bomb attack on London's Chelsea Barracks.

More spectacular IRA attacks in Britain came in 1982 when the IRA attacked the Household Cavalry in separate attacks at Hyde and Regent's Parks in central London.

The first attack at 10.40 am, 20 July came as 16 mounted cavalry of the Blues and Royals Regiment recently returned from the Falklands rode to the changing of the guard at Buckingham Palace. A bomb hidden in a car on the route was detonated as the soldiers rode by.

Two hours later the IRA struck at the Royal Green Jackets in Regents Park, who were, despite the first attack, still participating in a prearranged military concert. In all, nine British soldiers were killed and 27 injured.

Earlier in March 1982, three members of the same regiment had been killed in an IRA gun attack using the powerful M60 machine gun.

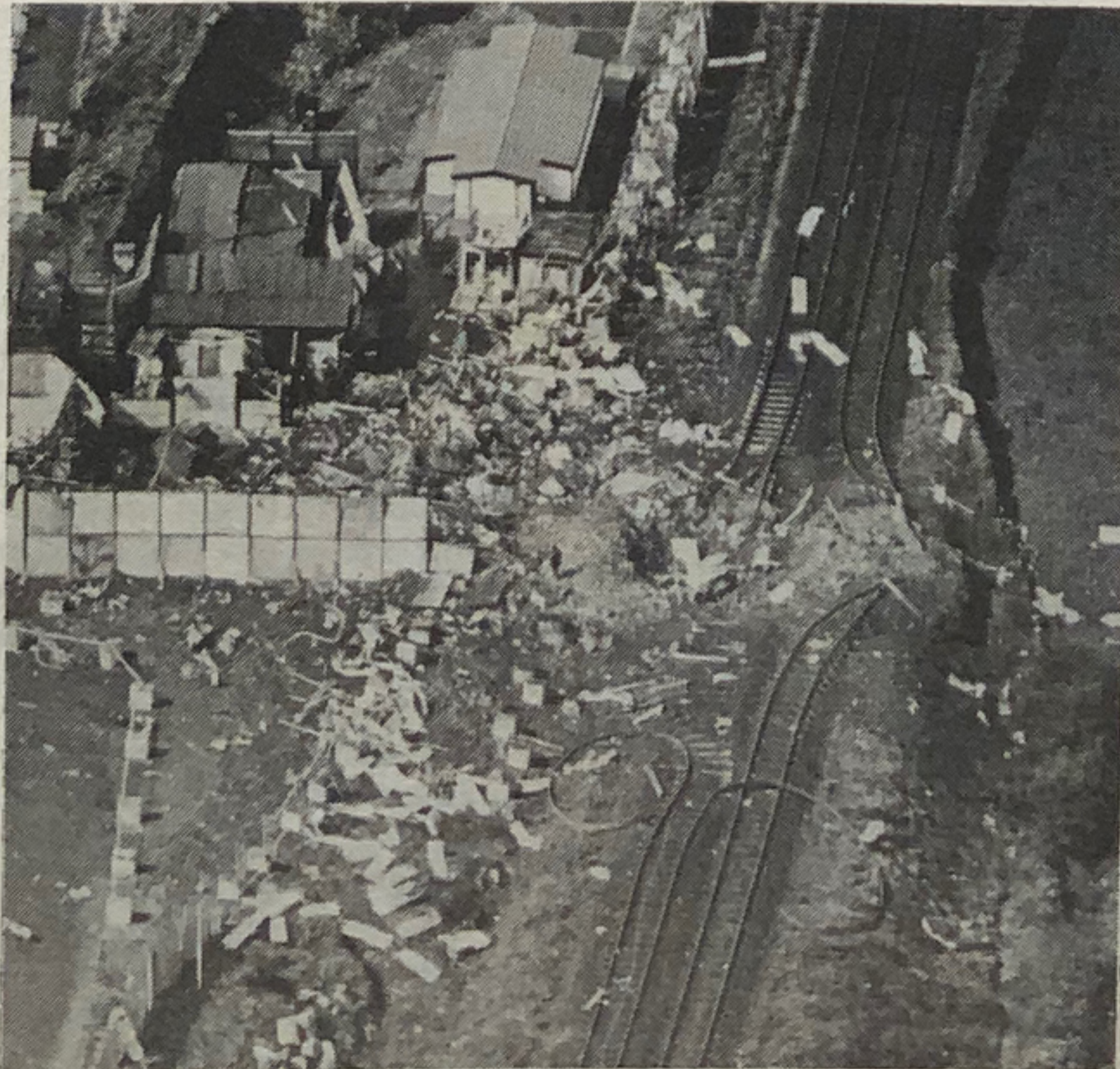
In May 1985, an M60 machine gun was also used to spectacular effect by the IRA. Together with two .50 Browning heavy-machine

guns mounted on an open-back truck, IRA Volunteers attacked a British army Wessex helicopter as it flew near the heavily-fortified Crossmaglen Barracks.

While the IRA campaign continued unabated throughout the 1980s, there were heavy casualties of Volunteers. But the IRA also struck at the British army with spectacular effect. In June 1988 six British soldiers were killed in a bomb attack on their van in Lisburn. Later the same month, Volunteers shot down a British helicopter using anti-aircraft guns.



● IRA Volunteers in South Armagh, armed with M60 and Browning machine guns, prepare to engage British forces



● The ingenuity of the IRA was demonstrated in this railway van bomb attack, which destroyed Killeen Road border checkpoint



● IRA mortars have been developed into a potent weapon in both Britain and Ireland

Helicopters have been used consistently since 1969, but with the success of IRA attacks on the ground, the British army is dependant on them for transport and such attacks severely limit their mobility. The most decisive blow to the British forces in 1988 came on 20 August, when eight British soldiers died in a bomb attack on their bus at Ballygawley as they travelled back to their barracks after leave.

A sustained campaign

By the late 1980s the IRA campaign had developed into four identifiable successful strategies. Bomb attacks on commercial targets, mortar attacks on the crown forces, a range of attacks in Britain and Europe and in the early 1990s a successful use of weaponry in ongoing sniper attacks against the crown forces.

Attacks on British checkpoints have always been a feature of the IRA campaign. On 13 December 1989 at Derryard Military Checkpoint on the Fermanagh/Monaghan border, one of almost 40-fixed checkpoints on the border, the IRA drove a lorry packed with two bombs into the checkpoint while other IRA units closed access roads leading to the base. In

a daring attack the post was badly damaged and even though the British claimed that only two soldiers had died, the real bodycount must have been significantly higher.

Another British border post, in one of the most militarised zones in the Six Counties was completely destroyed on 1 May 1992. The IRA used a van bomb specially adapted to fit on railway tracks. It was detonated as it passed the base killing one soldier and wounding others

IRA mortar attacks have become an increasingly-used weapon against not only British forces but also the British cabinet itself, which was spectacularly mortared during the 1991 Gulf War. Mortars were also used this year in Britain when IRA units broke through the Heathrow Airport security system to land mortars inside the airfield in three separate attacks.

IRA attacks on prestige commercial targets in Britain over the past five years have left the British government with costs running into billions of pounds, with the Baltic Exchange and Bishopsgate explosions wreaking severe financial damage to London's position as an international financial services location.

The IRA mortar has in recent years been developed from the horizontal mortar used for attack on mobile patrols to the Barrack's Buster, introduced with such great effect in 1993.

Introduced in February 1993 the Barrack's Buster made redundant the massive British fortification programme of the previous ten years. The mortar was used on military installations in Clogher, Crossmaglen (three times), Bessbrook, Keady, Rosslea, Dungannon, Derry, Kilkeel, Caledon and Newry Courthouse.

IRA sniper attacks have also been used with deadly effect, six crown forces personnel were killed in sniper attacks in 1993, while two have been killed so far this year.

In 1994 the Volunteers of the IRA began with the same resolute determination that brought them onto the streets in 1969 to protect the nationalist people of the Six Counties.

As they said in their own words: "Assured of the justness of our cause and confident in our ability to apply ourselves to the tasks in hand, we challenge the British to pursue the path to peace or prepare for the path of the war."



● British soldiers on the Falls Road during August '69

Remember Belfast '69!

A personal recollection by Danny Morrison

As well as marking the 25th year of British troops on the streets, 1994 marks the 15th year of publication of *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, which was amalgamated from the two republican papers in January 1979. This article was first published in August 1979 on the tenth anniversary of the arrival of British troops and is by Danny Morrison, then editor of *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, now a republican prisoner in the H-Blocks.

THE ROLLING STONES were at number one and then came Thunderclap Newman with, ironically, *Something in the Air*. It was a sweltering summer of pop music and girls in mini-skirts, and of being a corner boy.

Not being inside the Republican Movement or NICRA [Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association], at 16 years of age I and most of my friends were swamped in the English culture of the BBC, of Graham Greene books and their pop music. Below the surface, however, there was Irishness, waiting to be tapped and to explode.

Most of us had a long apolitical approach to the trauma of August '69, a trauma which we have never recovered from since. But the signs of an impending conclusion to all the months of marching and spasmodic rioting were there for those who could see.

The Apprentice Boys' march on 12 August and the RUC invasion

of the Bogside was for the media, and therefore for us, the beginning.

14 August

Derry put up fierce resistance. It was inevitable that the sectarian state would retaliate. None of the young people — and it was young people who came to the forefront — who rolled rubber tyres across the Falls Road on that balmy night of Thursday, 14 August, and set up the first defiant barricade, realised the extent of the retaliation to come in the next few hours.

All there was, was a consciousness of the need to help Derry — the fear that the RUC would move their men out of Belfast, unless they were kept preoccupied, and resume the attack on the Bogside. (The intervention of the Brits eighty miles away implicitly meant nothing to us in Belfast.)

I remember walking down the Falls Road that night with my friend Robert and seeing that barricade being built near North Howard Street. Isaac Agnew's car showroom next to the Falls Baths was then broken into and cars were driven out and overturned.

Before August '69 I had the

impression of a division of areas. That is, that the Lower Falls was a distinctly tough, working-class community, in comparison to Iveagh which was more middle class. It amounted to snobbery. And there was a general consensus that to move 'up the road' (towards Andersonstown) was a step up in the social ladder.

After August '69, all this was torn down, as the people of Beechmount, the Rodney and Andytown joined in confronting the Brits and their war machine over the issue of who owns this country.

I got home and went to bed just after midnight, but on the one o'clock news on the radio the headlines said that in a shooting incident in Armagh a man had been shot dead. The killers were later identified as the Tynan Battalion of the 'B' Specials (now mostly UDR members) [now the RIR] and their victim was John Gallagher, a civil rights protestor.

I remember being profoundly shocked at this violet act. Soon, however, the sound of rattling gunfire from half-a-mile down the road was to terrify me even further.

Very early the next morning, Friday, I went back down the road to see what had happened and to see what assistance I could offer. People were stumbling about in a state of shock. The left hand side of the Falls Road below Daly's pub was a scene of rubble. There was an incredible sense of bewilderment at the deaths, the burned-out homes in Cupar Street, Conway Street, Ardmoulin Avenue, Dover Street and Percy Street, the mills were burned out shells.

A friend of mine, Joe Doyle, was burned out of his home in Conway Street. He and his elderly parents barely escaped from their petrol-bombed home with their lives.

I helped people load what they could salvage out of some of their homes onto prams or lorries. Water gushed from burst pipes and there was a heavy, threatening smell of escaping gas. Further up the street, towards the Shankill, militant youths were keeping the loyalists at bay with stones and bottles.

Every now and again a shot would ring out and everyone hit the ground.

Among the people helping in the evacuation, there were stories of 'B' men sniping from the roof of the high mill at Northumberland Street, and accounts of the invasion and the house burnings.

'B' men had looted the Arkle Inn at the corner of Dover Street and stood drunk and triumphant in Divis Street and on the Falls Road.

St Comgall's School was pelted with loyalist and RUC bullet holes; from the school a few armed republicans had kept off the surging, intoxicated loyalists from burning down the whole Pound Loney.

There were bullet holes throughout the Divis Flats complex where perfectly-sober RUC men in Shoreland armoured cars opened fire with Browning machine guns and made the crows lie down.

Nine-year-old Patrick Rooney was shot dead as he slept in his bed.

For demanding civil rights, for the victory of the Battle of the Bogside, this was the ultimate state response.

Lorries were driving up and down the Falls Road moving families from mixed areas throughout Belfast as the intimidation stepped up and attacks continued.

It was pathetic to see refugees escaping from their homes with what bits of furniture and valuables they could grab, kids clinging to their crying mothers as an exodus to West Belfast and Andersonstown schools began.

There was fear in the people and anger in the youth — the results of which are now in Milltown Cemetery and the H-Blocks and, of course, those active on the outside.

But there were other results — some friends emigrated, some turned to exasperation and more importantly, the Republican Movement split.

Milling about

I spent all of Friday milling about the Lower Falls.

Paving stones were getting torn up and scaffolding was used to strengthen barricades as it was expected that the onslaught would be resumed again that night. A woman on her way to the Royal

● An RUC m

Victoria H travelled thr people we Catholics an retaliating th

This drew big man I wa

Political g everywhere Leeson Street ed the threat War' which b weak we wen

There was tion and, ap Falls, barrie thrown up instead of a fronts. It wa plenty of cuts

On Friday ists invaded C down both sid before being armed locals.

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25 years — time to go



● An RUC member feels the heat of nationalist resistance

Victoria Hospital said she had travelled through the Shankill and people were terrified that the Catholics and the IRA would be retaliating that night.

This drew a dry guffaw from a big man I was standing beside.

Political graffiti was appearing everywhere and at the corner of Leeson Street someone had painted the threat 'Civil Rights or Civil War' which blatantly ignored how weak we were.

There was very poor coordination and, apart from the Lower Falls, barricades were being thrown up along every street instead of along a number of fronts. It was hard work, with plenty of cuts and sore hands.

On Friday afternoon, the loyalists invaded Clonard and burned down both sides of Bombay Street before being repelled by poorly-armed locals.

Fifteen-year-old Gerald McAuley was killed by gunfire. He was a member of Fianna Éireann [the republican scouting organisation] and was killed defending his district.

Our barricade in Iveagh Parade backed on to a Co-op shop and a Guinness billboard. A Tricolour was instinctively hoisted from the roof of the building and a rota was drawn up for the night duties.

That night we tuned into the RUC on a VHF radio and heard their sectarian comments as other districts came under attack — Ardoyne, I think it was, this time. Rumours abounded about a blue mini driving past corners and the occupants opening fire on bystanders. The atmosphere was tense.

We could shout across the barricades to the vigilantes behind theirs in all the streets opposite. All the talk was of Jack Lynch not 'standing idly by' and there was a naive hope of guns arriving and it all being over bar a bit more fighting... That was ten years ago.

The Brits came

Nearly everybody enrolled into the new Auxiliaries or the Fianna and were promised weapons training. The pirate station Radio Free Belfast was broadcasting from above a bar in Leeson Street. A hair dryer was blowing on the valves to keep them cool.

People's Democracy activists were printing and distributing *Free Citizen* and they seemed to be a major part of whatever political organising was going on. In political terms, they were to the left of the civil rights, but to the right of the subsequently-developed armed struggle.

Another station Radio Peace came on the air and unlike Radio Free Belfast it was not continually jammed. It insisted on monotonously playing *Give Peace a Chance* by John and Yoko, and played a role of being subservient to the state.

When the Brits came in to our district they took over Broadway Presbyterian School which was, like the local Presbyterian church, sited and tolerated in a Catholic area.

Ignorant opinion was in the ascendancy and merged with an appeal from the Catholic church, and so the soldiers were generally welcomed. It was naively believed that they were here to help us — although republicans scorned the people giving them cigarettes and the women making them sandwiches, and engaging in chit-chat.

I remember in Broadway School expressing an interest in a British soldier's radio and he nastily snatched it away, keeping secret the frequency and telling me to "fuck off".

What sticks in my mind is that they were certainly not embarrassed about swearing or cursing. Also, their romantic overtures to the local girls incensed the local men.

Over the weeks some of our barricades were 'talked down'. Sweet-talking Brit majors accompanied by the parish priest would condescend to spend ten minutes persuading us and assuring us of their protection. But where real fear existed the barricades remained.

Cross-town routes like Albert Street and Northumberland Street died in August 1969. But in Broad-

way, we were persuaded into moving our barricade onto the corner of Iveagh Street and opening the thoroughfare.

It was on this road two weeks later that ignorant opinion got an education. Paisley had threatened to march up Broadway and remove the rest of the barricades. One night, his followers gathered and then attempted to move in. On Broadway they beat up and seriously injured a journalist.

Mr Dempsey from Iveagh Parade ran out to help defend the district and in the furore he dropped dead with a heart attack. (He is not one of the casualties mentioned by British propaganda. He is not even part of their statistics).

A flare was fired into the sky and illumination of the loyalist mobs temporarily froze them. But out came the Brits and turned their weapons and bayonets on us.

A fight developed and young Tommy Cosgrove (now 'on the blanket' for almost three years) was involved in a fracas with the Brits. It was not long before it was a criminal offence to write 'No Tea for Dad's Army' on the walls of Belfast.

A few weeks later, Catholic houses in Coastes Street beside Hastings Street Barracks were burned down in the presence of the Brits.

During autumn, the rest of the barricades were also 'talked down', but a mixture of exhaustion and the need for perfecting other means of defence and struggle also played a part. And besides, we were coming more and more into confrontation with the increasingly-aggressive Brits than with the loyalists.

The loyalists sat back and rested and when they were dissatisfied with British repression of the nationalist people, they joined in, assassinating Catholics. But more and more the British were seen to be, as they have always been, the main enemy of the nationalist people.



● British soldiers brought in to prop up the crumbling Orange state, soon turned their attention to attempting to crush the political demands of the nationalist community

The Refugees

A hurried worried people, a human stampede to God knows where,
Were spat out from the back streets, for God knows who to care.
Their little kitchen houses lit up the night around about
'For God and Ulster' was the reason that the refugees were driven out.

Oh little humble homes where the people hugged the open fire,
Oil-clothed floors and little ornamented cabinets that the neighbours would admire,
The little backyard havens where the youngsters would play
And in the hall the little font of holy water to bless you on your way!

They were little narrow streets where the door was never closed,
Where characters and folklore were born and not composed,
And where, by the street lamp by the corner, the children made a swing
In a concrete jungle where the hoker was the king.

Oh a kindly people, too clannish were they not,
A simple cup of tea or the milkman's price, were things that weren't forgot,
And when there was trouble sure didn't all of them muck in,
Wouldn't everyman amongst them go out and get stuck in.

Ah sure some returned; others? God knows where they've gone,
Driven out in terror by that bigoted Orange throng.
'Tis well I recall those hurried worried people, their little mansions burnt down,
As I watched them go in, their thousands on the road to Gormanstown.

THESE VERSES were written by Bobby Sands, IRA Volunteer, Fermanagh/South Tyrone MP and hunger-strike martyr. His own family were refugees, forced out of their home in Rathcoole and moved to Twinbrook.



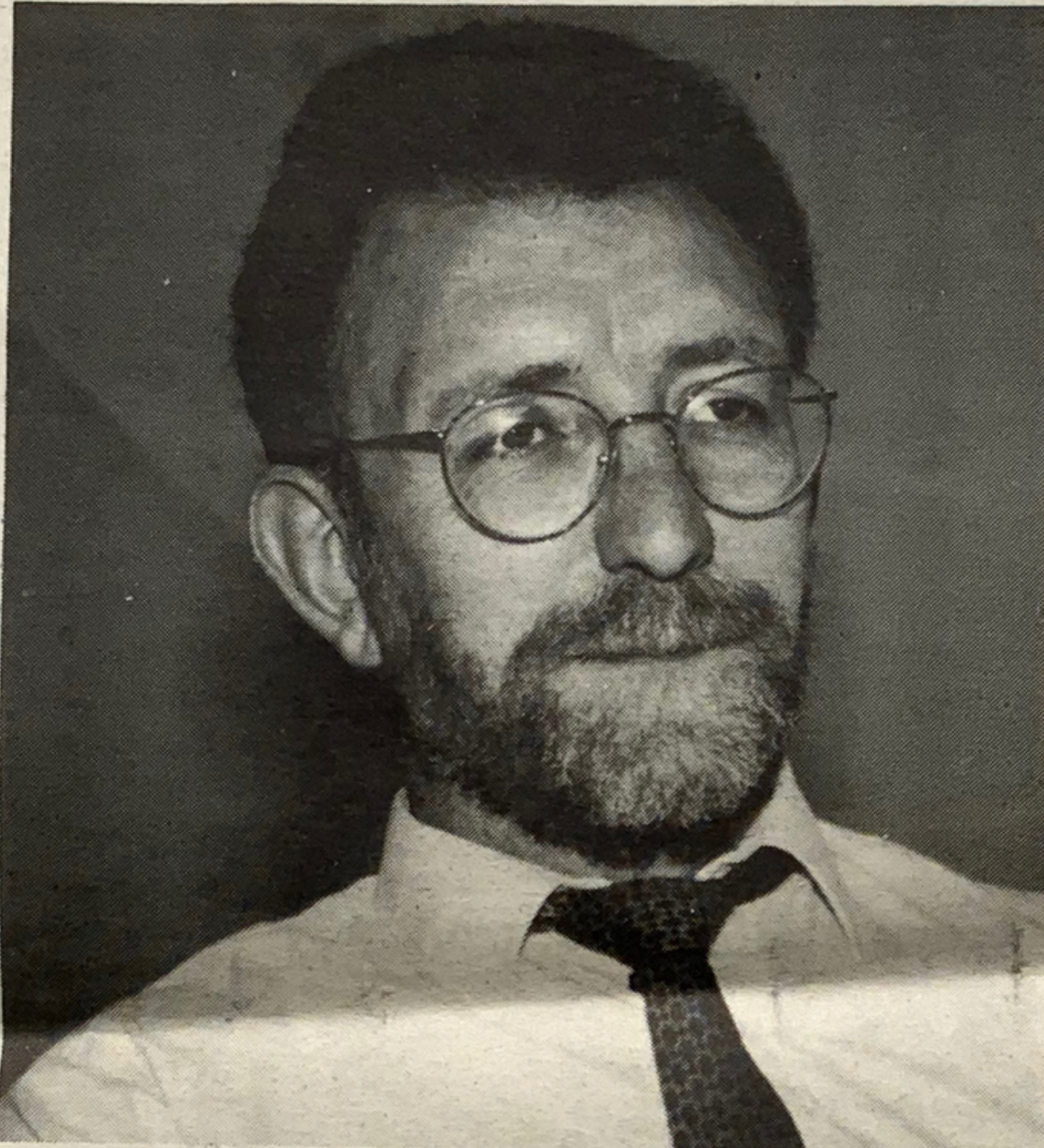
25 Bliain — is cóir imeacht

Fearghus O hIr in agallamh le AP/RN

Mhothaigh muid ár gcumhacht fhéin

LE LINN FHEACHTAIS na gCearta Sibhialta idir 1968-'69 bhí Fearghus O hIr ina mhac léinn i mBaile Atha Cliath. Bhí sé ina bhall fosta den People's Democracy, grúpa sóisialach de mhic léinn. Chaith sé cuid mhór den bhliain sin ag taisteal idir Bhaile Atha Cliath agus Béal Feirste le freastal ar mhórshiúlta, cruinnithe agus gníomhaíocht eile pholaitiúil. D'fhill sé ar Bhéal Feirste do shamhradh 1969.

AP/RN: Cad é an príomhchúimhne atá agat ar an tréimhse 1968-'69? Fearghus O hIr: Is é an chumhacht a mhothaigh tú nuair a bhí tú amuigh ar na sráideanna don chéad uair le moll mór daoine. Bhí an dearcadh againn go dtiocfadh linn rud ar bith a dhéanamh. Bhí an rialtas anseo ag titim. Thit O Néill agus Chichester Clarke ina dhiaidh. Shocraigh muid ar rud éigin a dhéanamh agus chuaigh muid amach agus rinne muid é. Ní raibh sé ar ndóigh chomh simplí sin. Bhí muid óg agus, is dócha, saonta ach chonacthas dúinn nach raibh rud ar bith nárbh fhéidir linn a dhéanamh.



● Fearghus O hIr (thuas) agus postaer toghcháin dá chuid nuair a sheas sé mar iarrthóir H-Bloc i 1981

AP/RN: Cad é spreag chun gnímh sibh ag an am sin? F O hIr: Bhuel, bhí tionchar mór ag gluaiseacht na gcearta sibhialta sna SAM orainn. Bhí teilifís ag achan duine don chéad uair faoin am sin agus bhí muid ábalta amharc ar na himeachtaí i Meiriceá de réir mar a bhí siad ag titim amach. Bhí rudaí ag athrú go mór sna '60í. Caithfidh tú cuimhniú gur deireadh na '60í luascacha a bhí ann. Shíl muid go raibh achan rud nuaimseartha. Bhí seabhrán de shórt ann.

AP/RN: Cad é mar a thosaigh tú ar an obair pholaitiúil? F O hIr: Rinne an People's Democracy bileog faoin Acht úm Chumhachtaí Speisialta. Scaip muid na bileoga seo. Bhí rialtas Stormont ábalta chóir a bheith achan rud a dhéanamh faoin dlí seo, imtheoranú a chur i bhfeidhm, daoine a chrochadh nó a fhuipeáil. Bhí sé dochreidte.

Shíl mé ar dtús nuair a léigh mé na bileoga seo go ndearn rialtas Londain dearmad orainn. Shíl muid nach raibh le déanamh againn ach a rá 'Eist a Harold [Wilson, Príomhaire na Breataine 1964-'70] an bhfeiceann tú na fadhanna atá againn anseo?' Cúpla mórshiúl agus bheadh sé thart. Déarfadh Wilson nó duine éigin, 'Ní raibh a fhios againn, fan bomaite, cuirfidimid i gceart é'.

In ionad sin nuair a chuaigh muid amach ar na sráideanna bhuail na péis muid cúpla uair.

AP/RN: Ar chuir sé iontas oraih cad é mar a phléigh na péis libh?

F O hIr: Chuir sé iontas orm go raibh an méid sin fuatha ag na péis orainn. Chónaigh mise i mBaile Andarsan agus níor bhuaill mé leis an sórt seicteachais sin go minic. Bhí muid ar na sráideanna ag iarraidh bunchearta mar thithíocht, vótaí agus obair agus bhí na péis agus lucht Paisley ag dul ar mire. Chuir seo ag smaoineamh mé, cad é an chraic anseo? B'fhéidir nach bhfuil muid chomh nua-aimseartha agus a shíl mé.

Thuing mé go raibh daoine ag iarraidh an stát a choinneáil mar a bhí sé. Thosaigh mé ag meabhrú ar cad

chuige agus cérbh iad. Go dtí sin shíl muid, an t-aos óg, go raibh na poblachtánaithe seanaimseartha, go raibh Pádraig Mac Piaras agus an dream sin go maith sa seanam. Ach go tobann bhí muid ag foghlaim seancheachtanna faoin éagthromaíocht agus cad chuige a raibh daoine ag iarraidh an stát a choinneáil mar atá. Bhí orainn smaoineamh cad chuige nach raibh siad sásta cearta a thabhairt dúinn. Próiseas foghlamtha a bhí ann agus bhí muid ag foghlaim na gceachtanna sin ar an tsráid.

AP/RN: Nuair a chuaigh sibh amach ar an fheachtas cearta sibhialta ag an tús bhí sibh ag iarraidh cearta do chách. An raibh sibh ag dúil le Protastúnaigh teacht i gcomhar san fheachtas?

F O hIr: Ag an tús tháinig dream beag Protastúnach linn, is dócha gur Ronnie Bunting an duine is cáiliúla. Rinne muid iarracht dul suas Bóthar na Seanchille le bileoga a thabhairt amach. Bhí dearcadh sóisialach againn agus shíl muid nach mbeadh le rá againn ach go raibh muid uilig sa lucht oibre agus go dtiocfaidís linn. Bhí muid saonta mar a dúirt mé. Thug an PD bileoga amach i gceantiracha Protastúnacha in aghaidh an CE agus ag iarraidh saortháill bus sa chathair. Cé gur aontaigh daoine leis an teachtaireacht nuair a fuair siad amach go raibh muid sa PD ní raibh siad sásta a thuilleadh bileog a thógáil dinn.

AP/RN: Nuair a bhí sibh ag dul do na hagóidithe ar shíl tú in am ar bith go n-éireodh rudaí chomh dáiríre?

F O hIr: Nuair a thosaigh rudaí ag éirí níos dáiríre bhí ortsa ceist a chur an raibh tú sásta dul ar aghaidh leis an rud seo. Is é an dearcadh a bhí

bogadh. Bhí muid éirithe ónar nglúine.

AP/RN: Cad é an cúimhne atá agat ar theacht na saighdiúirí ar shráideanna Bhéal Feirste?

F O hIr: Is cuimhin liom nuair a tháinig siad ar Bhothar na bhFál go raibh ciúnas ann. Bhí daoine ag amharc. De réir na meán gur tugadh cupáin tae dóibh láithreach. Is dócha gur tharla sin ach ag an tús bhí daoine ag amharc ar na 'Tom-mies' agus iad ag amharc orainn agus ní raibh duine ar bith ag rá rud ar bith.

Chuaigh argóint ar aghaidh ina dhiaidh sin idir na daoine. Bhí siad siúd ann a shíl go raibh na saighdiúirí ann chun sinn a shábháil agus gur rud maith é. Shíl daoine gur chiallaigh sin nach raibh Stormont i gcumhacht níos mó. Chiallaigh sé go raibh Westminster freagrach as na Sé Chontae.

Bhí na sean phoblachtánaithe ag argóint áfach go mbeadh fadhbanna againn le teacht na saighdiúirí. Thuig siadsan níos fearr ná cuid de na daoine óga cad é a bhí ag titim amach le teacht na saighdiúirí.

AP/RN: Cad é mar a d'fhreagair an pobal ionsaithe armtha an stáit ar na ceantair náisiúnacha i 1969?

F O hIr: Is é an freagra a bhí againn don stát ná na baracáidí. Bhí achan duine freagrach as na baracáidí a chur suas. Bhí róta againn agus daoine ag déanamh sealaiochta ar a chéile. Tá cuid den spiorad sin de dhíth orainn anois, measaim. Bhí an chumhacht ag na daoine i gcónaí. Bíonn daoine ag fanacht ar na hOglaigh anois. Ag an am sin chuaigh daoine amach ar na sráideanna agus bhí siad ag foghlaim leo.

AP/RN: Ar chuir sé iontas ort i ndiaidh '69 gur mhair Stormont a fhad agus a mhair sé?

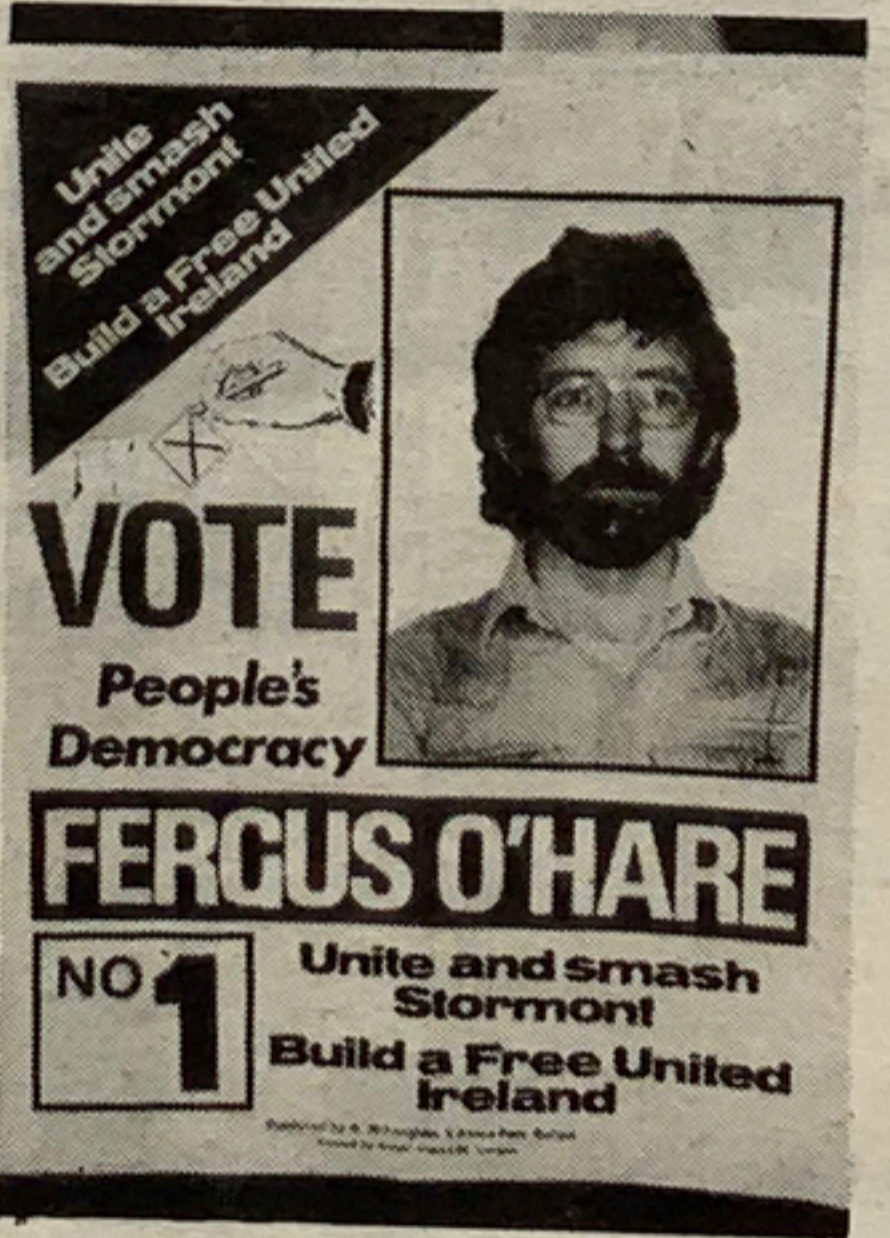
F O hIr: Bhí an oiread sin ag tarlú nár mhothaigh tú go ndeachaigh trí bliana thart thit Stormont. Bhí an feachtas ag dul ar aghaidh an t-am ar fad. Bhí achan rud ag tarlú go gasta.

AP/RN: Cad é mar a d'athraigh an feachtas polaitiúil i ndiaidh '69?

F O hIr: Bhí muid muiníneach i gcónaí go raibh rudaí ag bogadh cé nach raibh muid cinnte in amanna cad é an treo. Bhí muid den bharúil go gcaithfidh chan amháin Stormont ach an stát ó thuaidh a scriosadh.

D'éirigh rudaí ní ba chrua i ndiaidh '69. Ionsaíodh sinn nuair a bhí muid amuigh ar na sráideanna roimhe ach ina dhiaidh sin bhí siad ag ionsaí na dtithe is na gceantiracha. D'athraigh an chuma a bhí ar an fheachtas.

D'athraigh cuirfiú na bhFál 1970 dearcadh an phobail cuid mhór. Chonaic daoine nach raibh Arm na Breataine ach ag déanamh an rud céanna a bhí an RUC ag déanamh



againn ná dá stopfaimis anois bheadh achan rud cailte. Agus bheadh sé ní ba dheaire don chéad dream eile rud ar bith a dhéanamh.

Mhothaigh tú i Mí Lúnasa '69 nuair a chuaigh tú na gunnaí don chéad uair go raibh rudaí ag iarraidh cineál dáiríre. Ach mhothaigh tú an chumhacht go fóill.

Nuair a thosaigh Cath Thaobh an Bhogaí chuir duine éigin amach ráiteas ag rá go gcaithfimis an brú a ghlacadh de mhuintir Dhoire. Go díreach chuaigh daoine amach ar na sráideanna i mBéal Feirste agus i mbailte beaga na Sé Chontae leis an RUC a tharraingt ó Thaobh an Bhogaí. Ní raibh le rá ach 'deán sin' agus bhí sé déanta. Sin an chumhacht a bhí ann. Gluaiseacht phobail a bhí ann. San am sin bhí sé i bhfad ní ba shimplí rudaí a dhéanamh. Fógra beag nó ráiteas sa pháipéar agus bhíodh an áit plódaithe le daoine. Bhí daoine ag

roimhe. D'éirigh an t-aos óg náisiúnach ach go háirithe ní ba chrua fosta ina gcur in aghaidh fhórsaí an stáit.

AP/RN: Cad iad na príomh-dhifricí mar gheall ar '69?

F O hIr: Sílim go mothaíonn na náisiúnaithe go bhfuil níos mó cumhachta agus féinmhuiníne acu anois ná mar a bhí acu. Níl siad sásta cur suas leis an éagthromaíocht a thuilleadh.

Bhí gníomhaithe '69 ar an chéad dream náisiúnach a raibh óideachas tríú leibhéal acu agus chuaigh a gcuid argóintí go mór i bhfeidhm ar an phobal i ré nua na teilifíse. Bhí níos mó muiníne asainn féin mar gheall ar sin.

Anois tá an dream óg níos cinnte astu féin.

Ach má tá fadhb ar bith ann is é nach bhfuil an t-aos óg ag foghlaim mar a d'fhoghlaim muid ar na sráideanna.

Tháinig dream s'againne tríd an fheachtas do chearta sibhialta agus ina dhiaidh sin in aghaidh imtheoranú. D'fhoghlaim dream eile tríd an fheachtas in aghaidh na mBlocanna-H/Ard Mhacha. Tháinig ceannairí an lae inniu as na feachtais sin agus d'fhoghlaim siad na scileanna practiciúla ar an tsráid. Labhair mé féin don chéad uair de thairbhe go raibh cuid mhór daoine tógtha agus cuireadh mic i mo lámh ag cruinniú poiblí.

AP/RN: Cad é faoi dtaobh de bhunéilimh Ghluaiseacht na gCearta Sibhialta? Ar baineadh amach go fóill iad?

F O hIr: Tá na tithe níos fearr ná mar a bhí siad cinnte. Ach tá sé tábhachtach cuimhniú gur tharla sin de thairbhe gur tógadh an fhreagracht do thithíocht sa lámha na gcomhairlí aontachtacha. Murach gur thóg an Feidhmeannas Tithíochta an cúram sin ní dhéanfadh na haontachtaithe féin an t-athrú. Chuir na haontachtaithe in aghaidh thógáil an Phoill Ghlais mar shampla.

O thaobh oibre de tá an dífhostaíocht níos measa anois ná mar a bhí sé i 1969 agus tá an t-idirdhealú san fhostaíocht chomh mór anois agus a bhí sé.

Fuair muid an vóta maith go leor ach níl na haontachtaithe sásta glacadh leo siúd a thoghaimid.

Fuair muid rudaí áirithe ach níor thug na haontachtóirí dúinn iad. Níor dúirt siad uair amháin, 'tá brón orainn, rinne muid meancóg, tabharfaidh muid cearta daoibh ó thaobh tithe, vótaí nó rud ar bith eile'.

Tharla sé de thairbhe gur chuir muid brú ar na Sasanaigh nó ar an chomhphobal idirnáisiúnach thar cheann na n-aontachtóirí. Níor athraigh na haontachtóirí féin a ndearcadh. Deir siad 'go bhfuair sibh seo nó siúd cad chuige a bhfuil sibh ag gearán go fóill'. Tá an dearcadh diúltach seicteach acu go fóill.

Nuair a thosaigh mé shíl mé gurbh fhéidir an stát seo a athrú. Anois creidim go bhfuil sé dodhéanta de thairbhe nach dtáinig na haontachtaithe ar a athrú de dhearcadh.

D'ainneoin sin uilig caithfidhne déanamh cinnte de go n-aithneofar dearcaithe difriúla i gcibé socrú a dhéanfar anseo.

● Pat D. Memorial picture Council

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Reviews

O'Hanlon honoured in Monaghan

■ BY LIAM O COILEAIN

MEMBERS of a United States tour group, made up of people from all over America, joined with Irish republicans in Monaghan town on Sunday last, 7 August, for the 13th annual Fergal O'Hanlon Memorial Lecture.

The tour group of 50, which includes members of various Irish/American organisations and a student body, is visiting Ireland in a trip sponsored by the *Irish People* newspaper in New York. As part of their tour of Ireland, North and South, they were invited to attend the Fergal O'Hanlon lecture, which was delivered this year by Sinn Féin Vice President Pat Doherty.

The well-attended lecture, held in Monaghan town, was followed by the first official launch of *Nor*

Meekly Serve My Time, a new book, compiled by former prisoners using the accounts of POWs themselves, which tells the story of the struggle against criminalisation in the H-Blocks between 1976 and 1981.

After a very enjoyable dinner, laid on for their guests and the host families by Monaghan Sinn Féin, local Urban District Councillor Owen Smyth introduced the main speaker, Pat Doherty, who addressed Irish/British relations against the background

of the current Irish Peace Initiative.

"Britain's attitude to Ireland and the Irish people has been shaped by its history of conquest and our history of resistance," he said. "It would probably have been difficult to establish mutually-beneficial and respectful relations given that history, but those relations would inevitably have developed if a truly independent nation had been established."

Doherty told the audience of over 200 of the hope for change that now exists and of Sinn Féin's view that "lasting peace can only be achieved by the creation of an inclusive national democracy which can accommodate the diversity of the Irish people". He

emphasised that this could not be achieved by partitionist arrangements which, he said, "perpetuate division and conflict".

Doherty outlined Sinn Féin's strategy to put a peace process in place and spoke of the need to put the republican struggle in the international context, reminding his audience that in 1957, when Fergal O'Hanlon lost his life, "British colonialism was repressing national movements in countries as far afield as Kenya, Malaya and Aden". This policy continued into Ireland after 1969, but, said Doherty, "their political leaders did not learn the greatest lesson of all — that a nation's desire for self-determination cannot be quenched by repression — that in the end

the negotiated withdrawal of the government and the forces that deny national self-determination is inevitable".

He then spoke of the Downing Street Declaration and its place in the peace process, which he said has now "entered a new phase". He ended by quoting Seán Mac Diarmada, who in 1916, he said, "summed it up when he said: 'Damn your concessions England. We want our country.' Fergal O'Hanlon gave his life for the very same cause. Our message in 1994 is this — we will not be denied our right to national self-determination. Let us move forward together to achieve it."

The meeting was also addressed by Sinn Féin European representative Martin Spain. This speech was complemented by Monaghan Councillor Caoimhghín O Caoláin, who spoke of the fine work being done in the United States to promote awareness about the real nature of the Irish situation and to advance the peace process.

Following the book launch, what had been a highly-enjoyable and informative evening ended with a traditional music session, courtesy of a group of young members of Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann.

The following morning, the American delegation were shown the moving video, *Dragons' Teeth*, filmed in 1990, which documents the devastating effects on local communities on both sides of the border caused by the crown forces' policy of closing cross-border roads. The film also chronicles the struggle by people in the border area to reopen those roads. Following the showing of the video, a copy of which was presented to tour leader Larry Quinn by Councillor Pádraigín Uí Mhurchadha there was a question and answer session on Ireland hosted by Caoimhghín O Caoláin, Owen Smyth and Uí Mhurchadha.



● Pat Doherty delivered the 13th annual Fergal O'Hanlon Memorial Lecture in Monaghan last Sunday night. Also in the picture are Martin Spain (Sinn Féin Euro rep), Sinn Féin Councillor Owen Smyth and Councillor Caoimhghín O Caoláin

MOVING TESTIMONY OF HEROIC STRUGGLE

■ BY LIAM O COILEAIN

THOSE WHO attended the Fergal O'Hanlon Memorial Lecture in Monaghan at the weekend had the added honour of being present at the first official launch of the book *Nor Meekly Serve My Time*. The book is a history of the dramatic and still emotion-filled prison struggle between 1976 and 1981 as republican POWs fought against Britain's policy of criminalisation, a struggle which culminated in the Hunger Strike of 1981.

The book is comprised of written accounts by those who were prisoners themselves. Many still are. It was edited for publication by former prisoners Laurence McKeown, Felim O'Hagan and Brian Campbell.

McKeown and O'Hagan were present at the launch. O'Hagan is currently out on parole after serving 17 years in Long Kesh. Special guests at the launch were relatives of hunger strikers Bobby Sands, Martin Hurson, Raymond McCreesh and Kieran Doherty.

O'Hagan explained that the book had originally been intended as a pamphlet to

coincide with the tenth anniversary of the hunger strike, but such was the volume of material sent in by prisoners and ex-prisoners that it was decided to produce a book. He felt that it was "extremely important" that republicans tell their own story: "Until the lions start to tell their own story, history will be the history of the hunters," he said, quoting an old African proverb.

Laurence McKeown, who participated in the hunger strike, said that it had taken this much time for the people so close to the event to put it down on paper because the memories

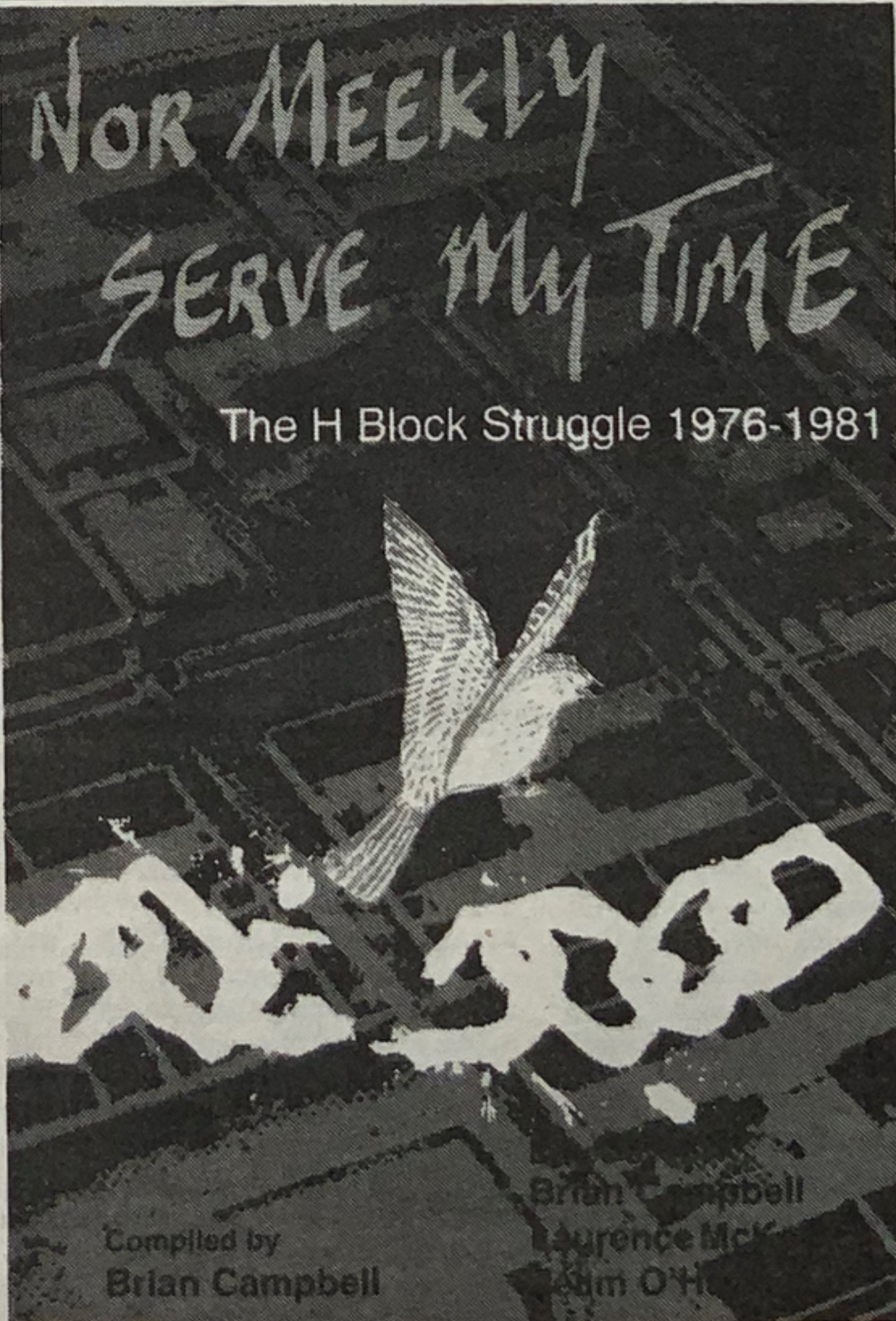
of especially those 217 days in 1981 are still so very painful.

Councillor Pat Treanor read out a message from Seán Lynch, officer in command of the prisoners currently held in Long Kesh. Lynch said that the book is "the story of perhaps the most important phase in prison history, not only in the past 25 years, but in the history of republican resistance".

"It is told in the words of men from diverse family and social backgrounds who were thrown together by a common enemy into conditions which made them all equal in terms of the deprivation they suffered."

Lynch ended his message on an optimistic note:

"The hardships and suffering endured and the sacrifices made by our comrades remain a powerful force. Those of us who shared those times with them still derive strength



and women of the H-Blocks and Armagh.

"The enormity of the sacrifice of the hunger strikers and their families is forever etched on our minds. This watershed in our struggle has seen the emergence of a resolute and politicised Republican Movement. We face into the future with confidence and in the knowledge that all of what has gone before has been necessary and worthwhile as will be the crossing of those hurdles which may lie ahead."

Signed copies of the book were then presented to Marcella and Bernadette Sands, sisters of Bobby Sands, Alfie and Margaret Doherty, parents of Kieran Doherty (who was elected as a TD for Cavan/Monaghan while on hunger strike), Jimmy and Michael McCreesh, father and brother of Raymond McCreesh and to members of the family of Martin Hurson.

● *Nor Meekly Serve My Time, The H-Block Struggle 1976-81*, compiled by Brian Campbell and edited by Brian Campbell, Laurence McKeown and Felim O'Hagan is published by Beyond the Pale Publications and retails for £9.95.

and determination from their sacrifice.

"Those more recently sentenced, many with lengthy sentences ahead of them, speak of the influence of and their admira-

tion for our comrades who died on hunger strike. This book is dedicated to Bobby, Frank, Raymond, Pat, Joe, Martin, Kevin, Kieran, Tom and Mickey. It honours the blanket men

Notices

Imeachtaí

TIME FOR PEACE — TIME TO GO: Dublin Phone: 8366489, office hours 10am-4pm, for leaflets and posters. Photographic exhibition now available depicting the last 25 years of conflict

TIME FOR PEACE — TIME TO GO: Leafleting at the GPO, O'Connell Street, DUBLIN every Thursday 4-6pm and Saturdays 2-4pm

BALLYMURPHY SEVEN PICKET: Every Saturday, 2-4pm, O'Connell Bridge, DUBLIN

PICKET: To release all political prisoners and highlight the struggle of our POWs and their

families. 12.30-2pm, Thursday, 11 August, British Embassy, Ballsbridge, DUBLIN

MARCH AND RALLY: Annual Internment March and Rally. Sunday, 14 August, Belfast City Hall, BELFAST

INTERMENT BUS: Dublin bus travelling to Belfast from GPO. 10.45am, Sunday, 14 August. Leaving Finglas village 11am. £8 waged/£6 unwaged

PICKET AND LEAFLETS: Time for Peace — Time to Go, 1.30pm, Saturday, 13 August, Daunt Square, CORK

MARCH: Time for Peace — Time to Go. 7pm, Saturday, 13 August, from Francis Street, NEWRY. Prominent speaker

WREATH-LAYING CEREMONY: In honour of Volunteer Thomas McElwee. 12.15pm, Sunday, 14 August, St Mary's Churchyard, BELLAGHY, County Derry. Prominent speaker

FUNCTION: 8pm, Friday, 19 August, Caesars, DUNDALK. Music by Justice. Táille £3. Bus to go from Newry

DRAW RESULTS

South Derry Martyrs Flute Band Draw Results
1st prize £200: R McLaughlin, Laganvalley. 2nd prize £150: S Kelly, Magherafelt. 3rd prize £50: G Doherty, Bellaghy.
Thanks to all who supported the draw and congratulations to the prize winners.

Join Sinn Féin

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

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

Name

Address

.....

Tel: Age

InDíl Chuimhne

CLARKE, Michael; HARVEY, Séamus; LENNON, Danny; MAGORRIAN, Paul; McADOREY, Patrick; McELWEE, Thomas; McGLYNN, Gerard; McWILLIAMS, Paul; MURTAGH, Colm; O'HAGAN, Patrick; O'SEANACHAIN, Pádraig; PARKER, Anne; SIMPSON, Séamus; STEELE, Jimmy; WATTERS, Brendan. In proud and loving memory of Volunteers Michael Clarke (died 11 August 1972), Séamus Harvey (died 11 August 1973), Danny Lennon (died 10 August 1976), Paul Magorrian (died 14 August 1974), Patrick McAdurey (died 9 August 1971), Thomas McElwee (died 8 August 1981), Gerard McGlynn (died 11 August 1973), Colm Murtagh (died 9 August 1972), Patrick O'Hagan (died 9 August 1986), Anne Parker (died 11 August 1972), Séamus Simpson (died 11 August 1971), Jimmy Steele (died 9 August 1970), Brendan Watters (died 8 August 1984), Fian Paul McWilliams (died 9 August 1977) and Sinn Féin member Pádraig O Seanacháin (died 12 August 1991). "Believing that the British government has no right in Ireland, never had any right in Ireland, and never can have any right in Ireland, the presence in any one generation of Irish people, of even a respectable minority ready to die to affirm that truth, makes that government forever a usurpation and a crime against human progress." — James Connolly. Proudly remembered by their friends and comrades in the Republican Movement.

DAVISON, Brendan (6th Ann). In fond and loving memory of our dear friend Volunteer Brendan 'Ruby' Davison, Belfast Brigade, Oglagh na hÉireann, who died on 25 July 1988. Always remembered by the Fleming family circle, Derry.

DAVISON, Brendan (6th Ann). In proud and loving memory of our dear friend and comrade Volunteer Brendan 'Ruby' Davison. Always remembered by his friends in Derry city.

DOHERTY, Kieran (13th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Kieran Doherty, who died on hunger strike in Long Kesh on 2 August 1981. From Séamus Finucane and family.

DOHERTY, Kieran (13th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Kieran Doherty, who died on hunger strike in Long Kesh on 2 August 1981. From Dermot Finucane and family.

DOHERTY, John (10th Ann). In proud and loving memory of my dear son, murdered by the RUC on 12 August 1984. Mary Queen of Ireland pray for him.

Always remembered by his loving father Gerry.

DOHERTY, John (10th Ann). In proud and loving memory of my dear brother, murdered by the RUC on 12 August 1984. Our Lady Queen of Ireland pray for him. Always remembered with love by his sister Susan, brother-in-law Eugene and family.

DOWNES, John (10th Ann). In proud and loving memory of my dear brother, murdered by the RUC on 12 August 1984. Always remembered with love by his brother Gerard.

DOWNES, John (10th Ann). In proud and loving memory of my dear brother, murdered by the RUC on 12 August 1984. Always remembered with love by his brother Dermot, sister-in-law Kate and family.

DOWNES, John (10th Ann). In proud and loving memory of my dear brother, murdered by the RUC on 12 August 1984. Our Lady Queen of Heaven pray for him. Always remembered with love by his loving sister Annette, brother-in-law Frank and family, Dublin.

DOWNES, John (10th Ann). In proud and loving memory of my dear brother, murdered by the RUC on 12 August 1984. Always remembered by his friends Tom and Evelyn.

LYNCH, Kevin (13th Ann). In memory of Volunteer Kevin Lynch, who, with nine comrades, sacrificed his life in Long Kesh. Proudly remembered by Eric, Walter, and the Wolfe Tone Republican Band, Paisley, Scotland.

LYNCH, Michael (25th Ann). In loving memory of Michael Lynch, murdered by the RUC on 15 August 1969. Mary Queen of the Gael pray for him. Always remembered by Sammy, Roisín and children Stephen and Patrice.

McALORNON, Sammy (25th Ann). In loving memory of our dear father Sammy, murdered by the RUC on 15 August 1969. I kneel beside your graveside and place each flower with care, but no one knows the heartache as I turn and leave there. Sadly missed by his loving son Sammy, Roisín and grandchildren Stephen and Patrice.

McAULEY, Gerald (25th Ann). In proud and loving memory of my son Fian Gerald McAuley, who died on 15 August 1969. Behind my smile, there lies a tear for my son I loved and lost so dear. St Teresa pray for him. Always remembered by your mother Nellie.

was murdered by pro-British agents on 8 August 1993. One year has passed yet it seems just like yesterday. Like so many others, you died because of the political bankruptcy of this failed sectarian statelet. But we shall have our freedom. Always remembered by his loving mother Val, father Bobby, brothers Neil, and Roibéard and sisters Siobhán and Treasa.

LAVERY, Seán (1st Ann). In proud and loving memory of our nephew Seán, brutally murdered by a loyalist death squad. You left us saddened by your parting, but it is only for a short time. Never forgotten by his uncle Danny, aunt Maureen, Danny Boy, Manuel, Angela and Laura.

LAVERY, Seán (1st Ann). In fond memory of our dear friend Seán, whose anniversary was on 8 August. We knew you well and remember all the good times. Those British agents who killed you and attacked a family home have nothing to offer for our future. Never forgotten by Seán, Ann and clan, Mick, Maggie and clan and all your friends in the Lodge.

LENNON, Danny (18th Ann). In loving memory of our good friend Volunteer Danny Lennon, who died on active service on 10 August 1976. To those who understand, no explanation is necessary. To those who do not understand, no explanation is possible. Always remembered by his friends Tom and Evelyn.

LYNCH, Kevin (13th Ann). In memory of Volunteer Kevin Lynch, who, with nine comrades, sacrificed his life in Long Kesh. Proudly remembered by Eric, Walter, and the Wolfe Tone Republican Band, Paisley, Scotland.

LYNCH, Michael (25th Ann). In loving memory of Michael Lynch, murdered by the RUC on 15 August 1969. Mary Queen of the Gael pray for him. Always remembered by Sammy, Roisín and children Stephen and Patrice.

McALORNON, Sammy (25th Ann). In loving memory of our dear father Sammy, murdered by the RUC on 15 August 1969. I kneel beside your graveside and place each flower with care, but no one knows the heartache as I turn and leave there. Sadly missed by his loving son Sammy, Roisín and grandchildren Stephen and Patrice.

McAULEY, Gerald (25th Ann). In proud and loving memory of my son Fian Gerald McAuley, who died on 15 August 1969. Behind my smile, there lies a tear for my son I loved and lost so dear. St Teresa pray for him. Always remembered by your mother Nellie.

McAULEY, Gerald (25th Ann). In loving memory of my brother. Twenty-five years on, the terrible memories and your loss don't get any easier to bear. Sadly missed and loved always by your sister Rita and nephews Joseph and Jim.

McAULEY, Gerald (25th Ann). In proud and loving memory of my brother Fian Gerald McAuley, who died on 15 August 1969. My heart still aches, I whisper low, God bless you Gerald, I still miss you so. Mary Queen of the Gael pray for him. Always remembered by his sister Frances and niece Gemma.

McAULEY, Gerald (25th Ann). In proud and loving memory of my brother Fian Gerald McAuley, who died on 15 August 1969. Our hearts are filled with sadness, with pride we speak your name, though life goes on without you, it will never be the same. Sadly missed and loved always, by your brother Liam, sister-in-law Katrina, nephew Liam Og and Laurance.

McELWEE, Thomas (13th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Thomas McElwee, who died on hunger strike in Long Kesh on 8 August 1981. From Séamus Finucane and family.

McELWEE, Thomas (13th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Thomas McElwee, who died on hunger strike in Long Kesh on 8 August 1981. From Dermot Finucane and family.

McELWEE, Thomas; DEVINE, Mickey (13th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Volunteers Thomas McElwee, who died on 8 August 1981 and Mickey Devine, who died on 20 August 1981. Always remembered by Div, County Donegal.

McGLYNN, Gerard; HARVEY, Séamus (21st Ann). In proud and loving memory of Volunteers Gerard McGlynn and Séamus Harvey, who died on active service on 11 August 1973. Always remembered with love and pride by the Dunganon Martyrs Sinn Féin Cumann; By the Coalisland Martyrs Sinn Féin Cumann; By the Clonoe Martyrs Sinn Féin Cumann; By the Jim Lynch Sinn Féin Cumann, Clogher; By the Colm Keenan/Martin Hurson Sinn Féin Cumann, Cookstown; By the Martin Hurson/Fergal O'Hanlon Sinn Féin Cumann, Galbally; By the Eoin McNamee Sinn Féin Cumann, Kildress; By the Martin Hurson/Séamus Woods Sinn Féin Cumann, Pomeroy; By the Frank Ward Sinn Féin Cumann, Carrickmore, Creggan; By the Ahern/Loughshore Martyrs Sinn Féin Cumann, Ardboe,

Mooretown and Stewartstown; By the South Tyrone Comhairle Ceantair Sinn Féin; By the Tyrone National Graves Association.

MURTAGH, Colm (22nd Ann). In loving memory of Volunteer Colm Murtagh, who died on 9 August 1972. Always remembered by friends and comrades in Newry Sinn Féin.

O'HAGAN, Patrick (8th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Patrick O'Hagan, who died on 9 August 1986. Gone from the land, but not from our mind. Remembered by John, Mariana and family, the Fullerton family, John, Bernie and family, Tony, Marie, Toni and all the republicans in the Bunrana area.

O'HAGAN, Patrick (8th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Patrick O'Hagan, who died on 9 August 1986. Always remembered by Skippy.

O'HAGAN, Patrick (8th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Patrick O'Hagan, who died on 9 August 1986. "Our laughter will be the joy of victory and the joy of the people. Our revenge will be the liberation of all and the final defeat of the oppressor of our aged nation" — Bobby Sands. Proudly remembered now and always by Mary and Patrick and the Fullerton/McLaughlin/O'Hagan Sinn Féin Cumann, Bunrana.

O'SEANACHAIN, Pádraig (3rd Ann). In memory of a proud republican, Pádraig O'Seanacháin, executed by pro-British forces on 12 August 1991. Always remembered by his friends and comrades in Castlederg/Aghyaran Sinn Féin.

PARKER, Anne (22nd Ann). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Anne Parker, who died on 11 August 1972. Always remembered by Martin and family, Dublin.

REILLY, Thomas (11th Ann). In loving memory of our dear friend Thomas 'Kidso' Reilly, murdered on 9 August 1983. RIP. Our Lady of Lourdes pray for him. Still sadly missed by his friends Joe and Maggie Hagen and family, Glasgow.

SIMPSON, Séamus (23rd Ann). In proud and loving memory of my dear son Séamus, Volunteer, Oglagh na hÉireann, killed on 11 August 1971. Always remembered by his broken-hearted mother.

SIMPSON, Séamus (23rd Ann). In proud and loving memory of our brother Volunteer Séamus Simpson, killed on 11 August 1971. Never forgotten by his sisters Josephine, Mary, Patricia, Susan and Margaret. Also remembered by his brothers-in-law Frankie and Brian,

nephews Paul and Niall and niece Seánna.

SIMPSON, Séamus (23rd Ann). In proud and loving memory of our brother Volunteer Séamus Simpson, killed on 11 August 1971. Always remembered by brothers Joe and Seán. Also by his sister-in-law Mary, nieces Christine and Sinéad and nephew Séamus.

WATTERS, Brendan (10th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Brendan Watters, who was killed in action on 8 August 1984. Always remembered by his father Eddie and family.

WATTERS, Brendan (10th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Brendan Watters, who died for Ireland on 8 August 1984. Always remembered by Micky, Bernie and Ciarán.

WATTERS, Brendan (10th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Brendan Watters, who was killed in action on 8 August 1984. Always remembered by PJ, Eileen and family.

WATTERS, Brendan (10th Ann). In proud memory of Volunteer Brendan Watters, who died on 8 August 1984. Always remembered by friends and comrades in Newry Sinn Féin.

WREN, Tony (3rd Ann). In proud and loving memory of Tony Wren. Always remembered by Pauline, Gerry and family.

Comhbhrón

BURNS. Deepest sympathy is extended to John (Shannon) and Davey and the Burns family, Belfast, on the death of Margaret. From Danny and Eilish McGettigan and family, Shannon, and the Terence McSwiney Sinn Féin Cumann, Shannon.

BURNS. Deepest sympathy is extended to Davy Burns and family on the death of Margaret. From Thomas and Carmel McDade and family.

COYLE. Deepest sympathy is extended to Tyrone POW Dermot Coyle (Long Kesh) on the recent death of his brother Séamus. From the Tyrone POW Department.

MORGAN. Deepest sympathy is extended to Micky Morgan, Tyrone POW Department chairman, on the death of his sister Mary. From all in the POW Department in Tyrone.

Beannachtaí

O'NEILL. Greetings to my darling wife Bernie on the occasion of our wedding anniversary — the eight best years of my life. Lots of love. Kissy Kissy XXXX. Laurence (H5 Long Kesh); Greetings to our parents Bernie and Laurence, from their daughters Tanya, Brenda and Lauren.

IRISH WOMAN Kate Magee has been finally cleared of a charge of withholding information from the police under the Prevention of Terrorism Act. Magee is a sister of Joseph Magee, who earlier this year beat extradition proceedings in Dublin on a charge of alleged involvement in the killing of a British soldier in Derby in 1992.

Kate Magee was arrested in the wake of the attack. Originally charged with conspiracy to murder, which was later dropped, she still faced a charge of withholding information. The trial, at which she was unanimously acquitted after just two hours by the jury, was originally set for October 1993, but the prosecution succeeded in delaying it. Campaigners feel that the reason for this was so that she and her brother could be tried together should he be extradited. "There was a miscarriage of justice from day one in my eyes," she said afterwards. "They couldn't get who they wanted so any scapegoat would do and my name happens to be Magee."

Magee's solicitor, Gareth Peirce, says that section 18B of the PTA on withholding information is out of step with other English criminal law as only in cases brought under the PTA are people obliged to give information to the police. Only eleven people have been convicted since its introduction in 1976, when ministers promised not to use it against family members. Even government reviews have called for its abolition.

THERE ARE those who have scoffed over the years when we asserted that the crown forces were using the Six Counties as a training ground for dealing with civil disturbances in Britain.

But only last month, police in London admitted that they almost fired plastic bullets for the first time in Britain during the protest march against the Criminal

Justice Bill, when some of the demonstrators tried to break through the security gates at the entrance to Downing Street.

Had the gates given way, it has been revealed, a van load of officers equipped with plastic-bullet guns was waiting at the far end of the street and would have opened fire on the protestors.

THE LATEST STOP PRESS on the fatal Chinook crash in June which deprived Britain of so many 'security' personnel is that the crash scene posed a severe health risk to local people who rushed there to try to help.

There was near panic in the wake of the crash as personnel scoured the area for the confidential documents which were littered far and wide. But the safety precautions which should surround modern aircraft crash scenes, due to the health risks caused by burning carbon fibre, were not adhered to at the Mull of Kintyre.

When burned in an aviation fuel, fire carbon fibre components, widely used in aircraft because they are light and strong, decompose, liberating dust clouds of needle stick filaments which can be blown many yards and have serious effects on skin and can be lethal if ingested. The RAF themselves held a meeting to discuss procedures for such situations earlier this year. That meeting was told that the carbon fibre when burn-



ing was more lethal than blue asbestos and that after any crash the site should be cleared of 'every vestige' of ground cover, top soil, trees, etc.

US guidelines in such situations suggest that affected areas should be doused with a liquid 'fixant' to contain the fibres. One of the aircraft covered by these guidelines is the CH46. In US parlance, that's a Chinook.

ADISILLUSIONED British soldier told a court last week that he'd rather go to jail than spend his time "poncing around on horses" on ceremonial guard duty.

Paul Humphrey broke into a car then allowed himself to be arrested. He then asked the court in Bedford, England, to jail him so that he would no longer have to do guard duty.

"I joined the army to drive tanks. But all I do is sit on top of a horse in a suit of

armour so that tourists can take pictures of me," he moaned. His solicitor sympathised. "He understood he would be kicked out if he went to jail," she told the court. "The poor man wanted to drive tanks, but instead he spends his whole time just poncing around on horses."

Humphrey escaped with a fine from the judge, but the army gave him his 28 days in chocky on a separate charge of being absent without leave.

SCOTTISH landlord is still waiting for an apology after British soldiers sparked a brawl in his pub. The soldiers, members of the Royal Scots Regiment, are stationed in Balmoral, their duty being to guard Liz Windsor's official Scottish residence. But the landlord of the Prince of Wales pub, Ken Chalmers, was not amused when they started fighting among themselves on his premises.

Ken complained: "They do not know how to behave. After three or four pints they think they can rule the world." Ain't that the truth.

BRITAIN'S Ministry of Defence is currently being forced to pay massive amounts in compensation to women who were dismissed unfairly from the armed forces when they became pregnant.

The British armed forces have never served as much of an example in terms of equal opportunities or fair treatment for minority or disadvantaged groups. Note the many publicised cases of racist abuse, assaults on young new recruits and also the treatment of

homosexual members, who, when discovered, face long interrogations and summary 'administrative' dismissal.

Since 1990, 260 army personnel have been sacked from the armed forces on the grounds of homosexuality. Although the British parliament recently voted to decriminalise homosexuality in the armed forces, the Queen's Regulations, which make such activity grounds for administrative dismissal, still apply and will continue to do so.

A FORMER BRITISH soldier is currently on trial in Germany facing charges of murdering a German frozen food millionaire in Düsseldorf.

The ex-squaddie, identified only as James P, was hired by millionaire Joachim Duesterberg to give karate lessons to his wife and children. Unfortunately, his new employer soon afterwards suspected James of having an affair with his wife, the court heard.

James claims that Duesterberg offered him £10,000 to leave. He says that the millionaire then threatened to kill his own children. At that point, says James, he took the knife which Duesterberg was holding, from him.

The court heard that Duesterberg was then stabbed in the throat and chest and that James then cleaned the knife, washed his hands and, when he returned, strangled the millionaire, whom he found to be still alive. He then fled in Duesterberg's Mercedes.

James P, who served in Germany with the British army, was trying to set up a bodyguard company to protect German industrialists when the incident occurred.

Dúirt Siad

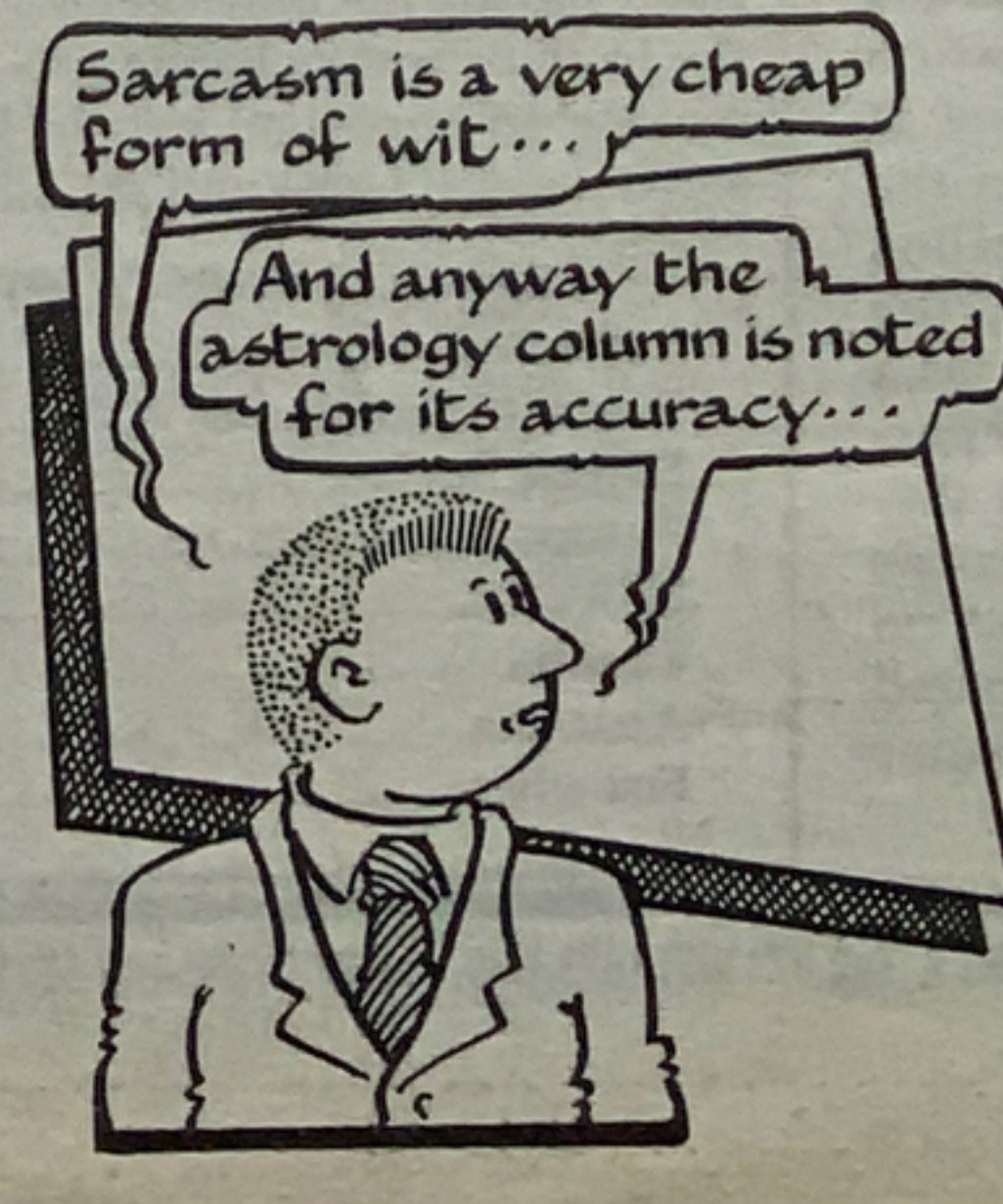
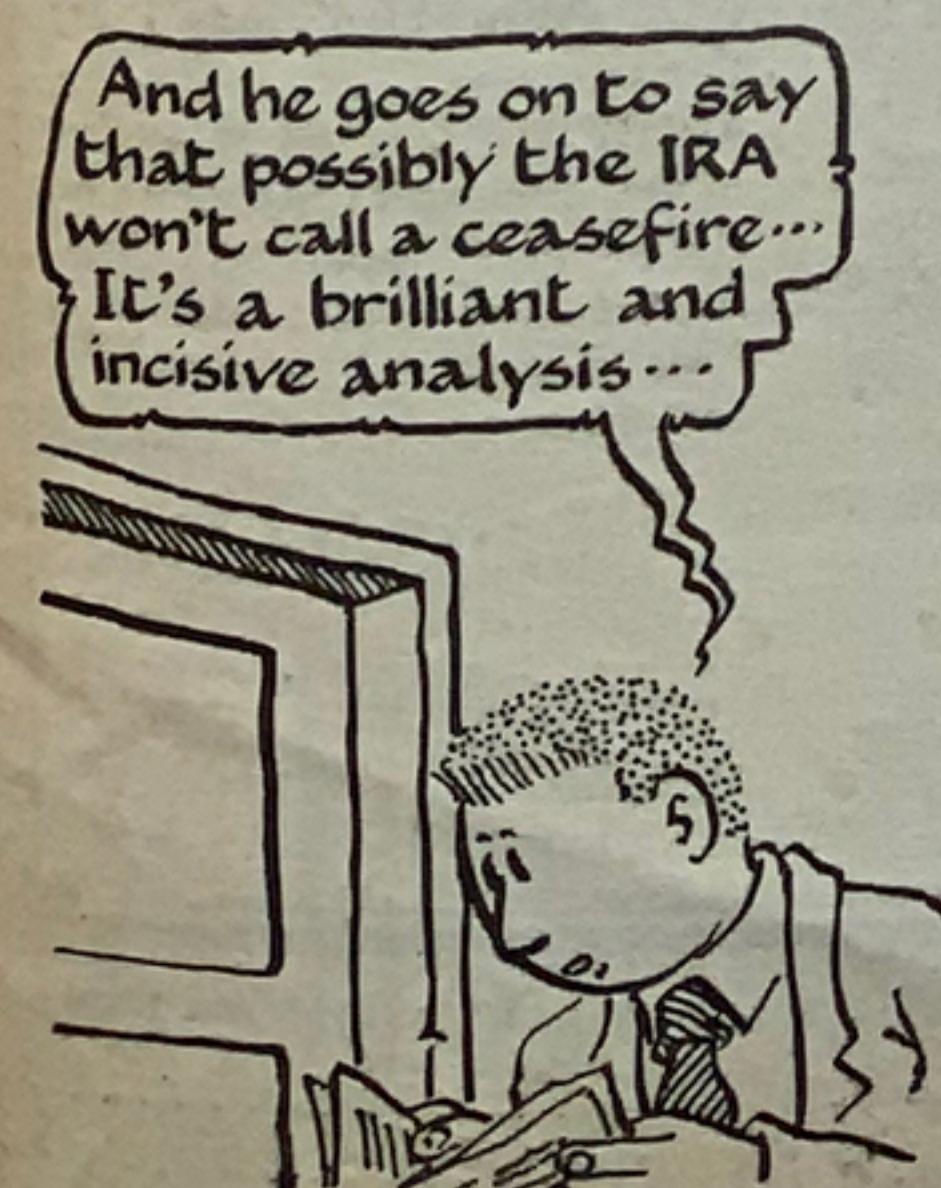
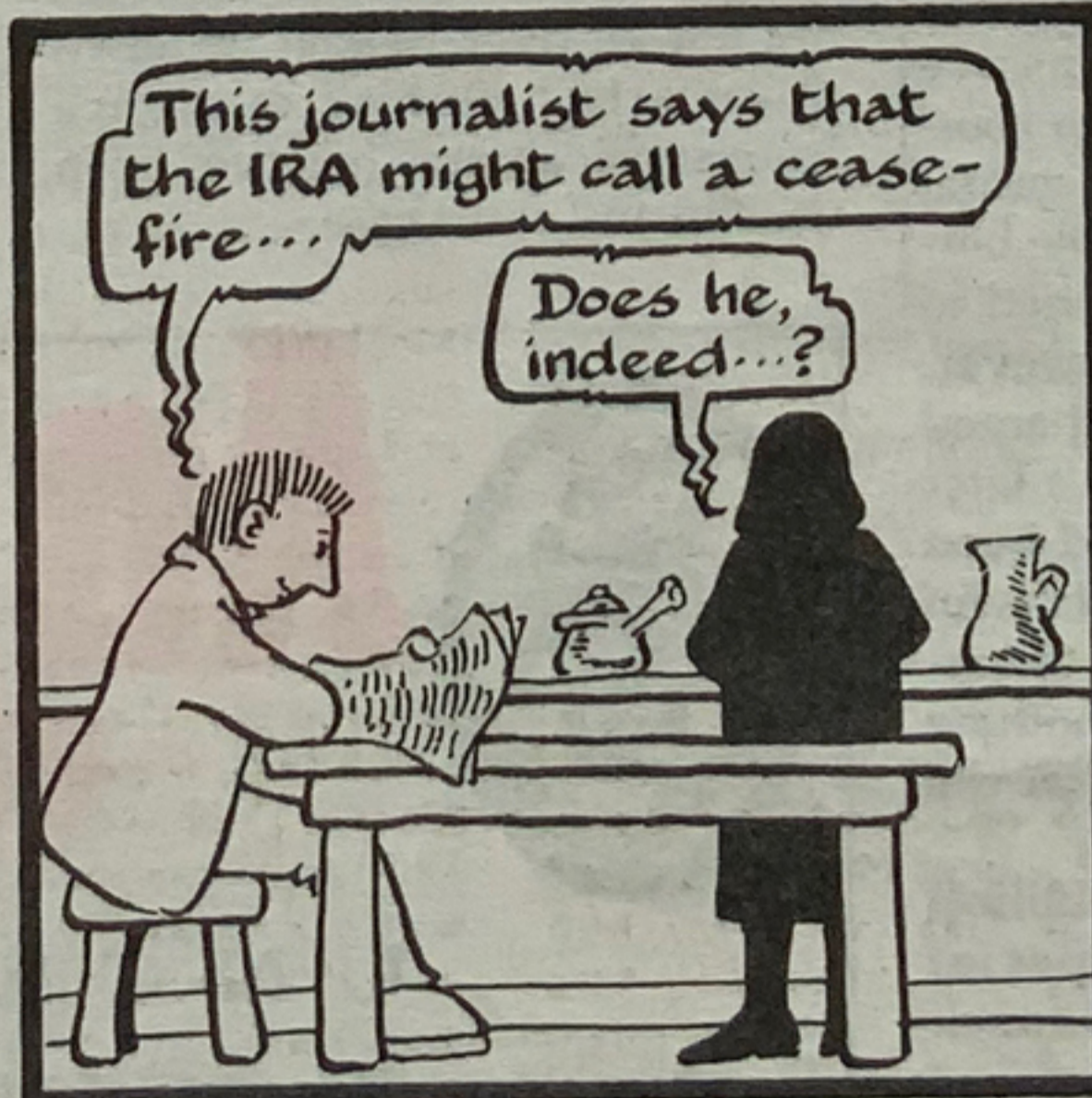
Even politically-educated British people probably know more about French, German or nowadays Italian politics than they do about Irish. How many of us could name the leader of Ireland's main opposition party — or perhaps even the party itself? Next time we start berating Ireland over this, that or the other failing over its counterterrorist policy, just pause to reflect that this is a very nearby country of which most of us know far too little to pass intelligent comment. — Guardian editorial, Monday, 8 August.

What you've got to remember, is that you're not dealing with ordinary people. — British soldier who beat up nationalists in the Six Counties in A Soldier's Tale, shown as part of the BBC's 25 Bloody Years series.

A lot of young people now think the troops came to the North to put the boot into the IRA. They don't realise it was to keep the loyalists off the backs of the Catholic community. At the moment, the British are engaged in the biggest build-up of troops since the Gulf War — there's three soldiers for every civilian in Crossmaglen. Now if that's a symbol of peace what hope have we? All they're doing is guaranteeing a fresh batch of IRA Volunteers, sure as night follows day. The actions of the security forces are the biggest recruiting sergeant for the IRA, not the speeches of the so-called 'fellow travellers' and certainly not concerts in the National Concert Hall. — Artist and prominent member of Time for Peace — Time to Go, Robert Ballagh, in a Sunday Tribune interview, 7 August.

I don't know if the sea change in our attitude towards the tricolour since the World Cup means anything other than we want to embrace success, no matter how naff it might be, but it is remarkable. At that time, when I went looking for 150 tricolours, the flag manufacturers notified the Special Branch. They thought it could only be the Provos who'd want them. It's hilarious really. — Robert Ballagh.

I was a member of the engineers' union myself and I think they have a right to do this if they think it's correct. — A 75-year-old Dundalk man at Dublin Airport during the TEAM workers' demonstration on Tuesday, 9 August.



News

Collusion fact file launched in Belfast

In a week which has seen the murder of Kathleen O'Hagan, a pregnant mother of five children, by loyalist death squads in County Tyrone, West Belfast Sinn Féin and the party's Foreign Affairs Department have produced an information fact file, documenting evidence of collusion between British crown forces and the death squads.

Councillors Alex Maskey and Marie Moore launched the fact file at a press conference held in Conway Mill, Belfast, on Wednesday, 10 August. Five thousand copies of the booklet will be distributed internationally to human rights groups, governments, lawyers, academics and the media.

Alex Maskey made the point that, while the booklet can only touch the surface of this serious issue, it is designed to raise awareness internationally of the extent of collusion in Ireland.

He said that recent events surrounding the Mallon and O'Hagan murders, and the numbers of people who have this week been informed that their details are in

the hands of loyalists, have brought the issue of collusion once again to the forefront:

"The British state is guilty of collusion with loyalist death squads in the North of Ireland. It is guilty because it consciously manages and oversees a structure of complicity. It is guilty because its agents have been directly involved in the arming and planning of death-squad activity.

"Since the Nelson shipment of South African weapons in 1988, loyalists have killed almost 250 people."

The two councillors demanded to know why confidential information was so freely available to loyalists. "Why is a file

being kept in the first place?" asked Maskey.

He stated that nationalists had a right to be informed of the nature of the information which had been passed to the death squads.

Only this week, the RUC had stated that the files of people in Andersonstown whose details had been given to loyalists, contained old information. Maskey said that this was a patent lie. Some of the information was clearly proven to be up-to-date by the fact that the addresses of those who had recently moved home had been visited by the RUC, to tell them that they were in danger of attack.

Maskey also demanded to know "how many files have gone missing since the Stevens Inquiry in 1990"?

Other information was being withheld, Maskey said. When loyalist weapons were recovered, the forensic history of the weapons is not released to the public, as it is with those of republicans. Maskey stated that people had a right to know just how many nationalists have been killed by the weapons brought into Ireland by British intelligence and their agent Nelson.

"The actions of the death

squads cannot be divorced from the weapons they received from South Africa with the knowledge of British intelligence and the

intelligence information which is passed to death squads.

"Collusion in all its forms must be tackled at the highest political level and those responsible for over 200 deaths of Catholics in six years and over 1,000 in 25 years, be held accountable for their policies and actions."



Dublin arrests — propaganda stunt

■ BY ART Mac EOIN

THE garda Special Branch and the Dublin *Evening Herald* launched another anti-IRA black propaganda exercise this week. A number of people, including several republicans, were arrested in dawn raids in the Dublin area on Tuesday, 9 August. They were held in separate garda barracks around the city. Stephen Rae writing in the *Herald* on Tuesday claimed that the arrests were "a coordinated plan to strike at the heart of the Provos' fundraising activities" and that it was a "major anti-racketeering operation". However, none of the republicans arrested was at any stage questioned about any illegal activities and all were released without charge.

One man, who does not want to be named and who has contacted his solicitor to seek advice on taking legal action over the incident, was arrested from his home on "suspicion of being a member of the IRA". Sinn Féin election material and personal belongings such as a pocket diary were confiscated from his house. While in custody in Dún Laoghaire garda barracks, the gardai made no attempt to question him regarding illegal activities. At one stage, two Special Branch detectives who were supposedly there to question the man in an interrogation room actually fell asleep in front of him!

Other detectives mentioned the brutal killing of Kathleen O'Hagan and asked the man how he would feel if the UVF were to kill his wife. They also said he would not be so brave if the UVF came down after him. At one stage, a visitor to the man gave him a copy of the *Evening Herald* in which Stephen Rae's fanciful report appeared, and one garda commented wryly: "Well now you know what all this is about." He was released without any interrogation and without charge later that evening.

Stephen Rae has engaged in previous black propaganda smears against republicans and liberally quotes un-named garda 'sources' to back up claims that the IRA is involved in "racketeering" and "video piracy" in the Dublin area. None of these outlandish

claims has ever been substantiated and republicans have never been questioned about any such activity.

The last time the gardai engaged in such an overtly political PR exercise was when it launched the so-called Operation Madronna last April. That was also described as a "massive swoop on the IRA" and as a coordinated effort between the gardai and RUC on both sides of the border. During it, journalists tried to link the IRA to drugs. However, no republicans were ever charged with anything illegal and it later transpired that drugs had been found on known criminals who were arrested during the operation, which had absolutely nothing to do with a swoop against the IRA.

It is believed that for political reasons, the garda Special Branch are using journalists such as Stephen Rae, Tom Brady of the *Irish Independent* and others to disseminate misinformation that will back up an image of close cooperation between the gardai and the RUC's so-called anti-racketeering squad in the North and to paint the IRA as a criminal organisation. The gardai are well aware that the allegations against republicans cannot be substantiated and no member of the force is prepared to go on record to back up claims of racketeering scams.

'Security expert' says Mallon murder definitely on tape

A 'security and surveillance specialist' last week claimed that the British army surveillance cameras overlooking the scene of the loyalist murder of Rose Anne Mallon, would definitely have recorded the people who carried out the murder.

Rose Anne Mallon was shot dead as she watched TV in her sister-in-law's home near Dungannon on 8 May.

The surveillance specialist was speaking to a Belfast paper on Friday, 6 August.

He claimed that there are dozens of surveillance cameras hidden all over Belfast in flash-point areas. But no evidence from such cameras has ever been used in any court case.

He examined photographs of the cameras found overlooking the Mallon murder and said:


"This was first-generation equipment, which costs around £100,000, and is capable of a video link-up."

He also claimed that a video tape would exist of the area monitored by the camera and "it would defeat the purpose of installing the cameras and receivers if there wasn't one".

The expert also believes that more than one camera would have been trained on the murder scene. "There were probably at least three others," he asserted.

Relatives of the murdered woman believe that other cameras were removed from the scene when the crown forces sealed off the area after the discovery of the first camera.

Such transmitter and receiver systems can be 'necklaced' together to enable pictures to be received over a greater distance. The system would probably be monitored by a team of at least two people, stated the security expert.



An Phoblacht

REPUBLICAN NEWS

11/8/94

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