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ESTABLISHED 1791

SUNDAY 28 NOVEMBER 1993

No. 10546 90p

EXCLUSIVE: Whitehall uses 'hero' go-betweens to set up contacts with men of violence

Major's secret links with IRA leadership revealed

Peace feelers out since 1989

Anthony Bevins, Eamonn Mallie and Mary Holland

A SECRET communication chain has been running between the Government and the IRA with the Prime Minister's approval, an authoritative British source has told *The Observer*.

The contacts have been in place for many months. Effectively confirming that the Northern Ireland Office said in a statement to *The Observer* last night: 'The IRA have not delivered the ending of violence envisaged in their original approach.'

'They have continued to inflict untold misery and grief upon the public. It is for them to explain this. There can be no excuse for such terrorism. Their duty is to end it at once.'

The communication link was said by the source to be a message-delivery service run by unofficial intermediaries; deniable 'heroes' who began operating after British Ministers' public overtures — going back as far as 1989 — scored a positive reaction with the IRA.

The process, so secret that it was not even disclosed by John Major to Albert Reynolds, the Irish Prime Minister, was described as an essential response to the terrorists' 'peace feelers'.

The go-betweens included clergymen, professionals and businessmen. *The Observer* source said that messengers often put their own lives at risk. Although the source emphatically denied direct government involvement, Sinn Fein chief of staff Martin McGuinness and others have said that a civil servant was used.

In a separate development, Mr McGuinness tells BBC TV's *On the Record* today: 'John Major knows who the contact is.' He claimed meetings had sometimes taken place daily, and were continuing.

According to *The Observer's* information, the chain of contacts eventually led to a key meeting with Mr McGuinness just after the Warrington bombing on 20 March, when both sides exchanged formal 'position' papers.

According to Dublin sources, a further meeting was planned, at which each side would be represented by four 'negotiators'. It was to take place outside Ireland — possibly abroad. Britain was said to have pressed hard for it to take place at Easter, but said that it would be conditional on a two-week ceasefire by the IRA.

The long-delayed official admission of contacts, sanctioned by Sir Patrick Mayhew, Northern Ireland Secretary, will put peace on a knife-edge in the run-up to Friday's Anglo-Irish summit in Dublin.

The Observer's British source said that recent months had brought Ulster closer to a settled peace than for decades past.

But that will not diminish the outrage of hyper-sensitive Unionists and the Conservative Right. The Prime Minister is bound to be severely embarrassed by *The Observer's* disclosure, given the sheer force of his Commons statement that face-to-face talks with the IRA 'would turn my stomach'.

Nevertheless, with peace as the potential prize, Ministers are prepared to ride out the inevitable political storm.

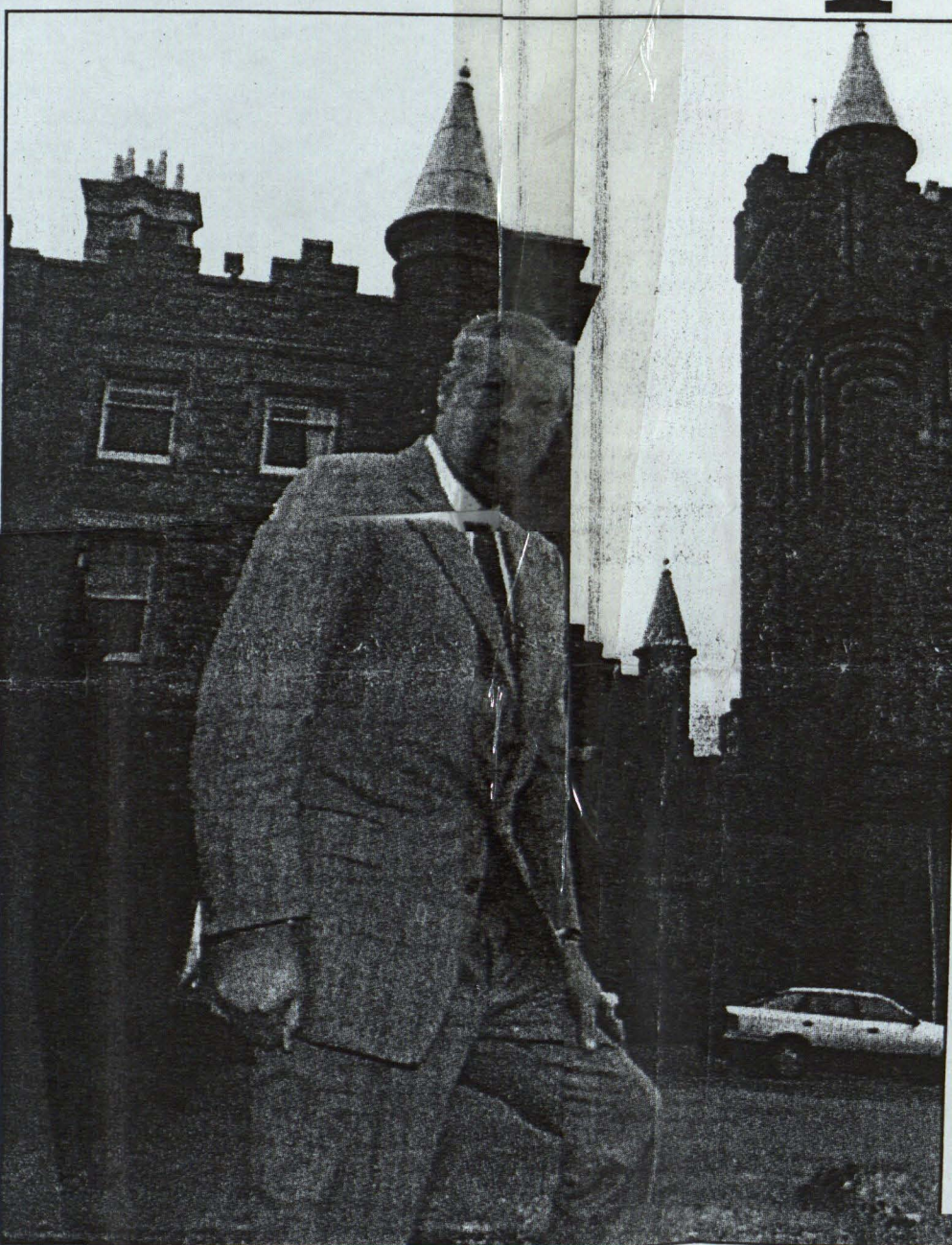
It is also possible that a delicate political calculation has been made — that the official avowal of the IRA link will do more than anything else to establish Mr Major's sincerity in 'going for peace' with the IRA.

Certainly, the bitterness of that pill for the Unionist side could be sweetened by a Commons announcement this week that their long-standing demand for a Northern Ireland Select Committee is to be granted.

That could provide the Unionists with the incentive to continue their parallel talks with Michael Ancram, the Ulster Minister of State, on a devolution of political power to Northern Ireland.

It was stressed by *The Observer's* British source that the Government had not budged from its long-standing position; that Sinn Fein could not participate in that political process until the IRA had ended its campaign of violence and demonstrated that it was genuine.

Stating that no direct talks or negotiations had been held involving Ministers or civil servants, the source stressed that the chain of contacts had been used



Open door: Northern Ireland Secretary Sir Patrick Mayhew, who sanctioned admission of contacts with the IRA, outside Stormont yesterday afternoon. Photograph by Paul Faith.

to communicate messages, questions and clarifications on the position of each side.

One of the key triggers of the whole process had been the statement in 1990 by Peter Brooke, then Secretary of State, that 'in Northern Ireland, it is not the aspiration to a sovereign, united Ireland against which we set our face, but its violent expression... the British Government

has no selfish strategic or economic interest in Northern Ireland.'

The source insisted that, for its part, the Government message had been constant: 'What you see is what you get.' What Ministers had said in public was what they meant for private consumption, too — including the constitutional guarantee of Northern Ireland's status within the UK.

However, the delicacy of the Government balancing act was pointed out by James Molyneux, leader of the nine-strong Ulster Unionist contingent in the Commons, who told *The Observer* last Thursday that he could not believe Ministers had sanctioned communications with the IRA. Shown *prima facie* evidence, Mr Molyneux initially preferred to suspect a conspiracy between civil servants who had kept Ministers in the dark. Asked whether there could have been political complicity, he said: 'Not at a ministerial level.'

But in confirming the IRA link, *The Observer's* British source said there had been no freelance or pirate operation — it had been carried out under political direction and authority. That could only have been done with Mr Major's blessing. Path to peace, page 3
Leading article, page 26

Fury at Unionist deal forecast

THE CREATION of a Select Committee on Northern Ireland is to be proposed in a Commons report this week.

The proposal will provoke a strong backlash from the Labour Party, the Irish Government and the constitutional nationalist party in Ulster, the Social Democratic and Labour Party.

Eddie McGrady, the SDLP whip in the Commons, told *The Observer* that he was writing to Sir Peter Emery, the Conservative chairman of the

Commons Procedure Committee, to protest. 'It's a totally retrograde step at a very sensitive time when the Prime Minister is talking about having inter-party talks,' he said. It would be seen as part of the 'pay-off' for Ulster Unionist support and therefore cast doubt on Government impartiality.

Kevin McNamara, Labour's frontbench spokesman, said: 'It would be wrong before the Anglo-Irish summit to concede part of the case to one side, against the wishes of the other.'

Meeting held two days after Warrington bombs

Mary Holland
Dublin

A MEETING between Sinn Fein and a contact they believed to be a British civil servant was held in Londonderry two days after the Warrington bombing last March, according to a senior Republican

source. Attended by Martin McGuinness, number two to Sinn Fein president Gerry Adams, the meeting consisted of the two sides exchanging key 'position papers'.

Sinn Fein's paper laid out classic Republican demands, including British recognition of Irish right to self-determination. On the British side, 'the bottom line' was a demand for the cessation of violence; an interest in setting up more formal negotiations, possibly as soon as Easter, was also expressed. It was proposed such talks should involve four delegates from each side and be outside Ireland. Three venues were suggested — one on the mainland and two abroad.

It was made clear the talks

would have to be accompanied by a two-week IRA ceasefire and the British, keen to proceed quickly, pushed for an Easter deadline.

Contacts with Sinn Fein, instigated by the Government and using intermediaries, had been going on for more than a year. In some instances, they involved business and professional people.

Over a dozen documents were passed from the Government to Sinn Fein and the Londonderry meeting was the outcome of these exchanges. The intermediaries were always well briefed with notes authorised by the Northern Ireland Office, the source said.

The meeting was set to take place on 22 March — two days after the Warrington bombing — and there was concern on the

Republican side that it might be cancelled because of public outrage over the bombs which killed two children and injured 56 other people.

It went ahead but was then nearly cancelled by the Republicans when only one person turned up on the British side.

Sinn Fein became angry and suspicious that the meeting was not being treated seriously. They were persuaded that it was important, partly by the briefing note obtained by *The Observer*, showing the contact was fully backed by the Secretary of State.

The British side made clear that any declaration of intent to withdraw from Northern Ireland would probably be impossible but if they could have a face-to-

face meeting over a period of four or five days, they believed they would be able to convince the IRA and Sinn Fein that such a declaration was 'not necessary'.

But it seemed the British side began to get cold feet. The possibility of a Government defeat over Maastricht and the importance of securing Unionist support, increased Loyalist violence in Northern Ireland and increased IRA mainland bombing meant 'the trail went cold'.

John Hume, leader of the Social Democratic and Labour party, confirmed to *The Observer* yesterday that he had been informed of the contacts in May. He subsequently met John Major to discuss his own talks with Gerry Adams.

Briefly

Aids fear over dentist's death

Health authorities set up a telephone helpline for thousands of anxious patients after claims that Vikram Advani, an NHS dentist with two London practices had died of Aids (Report, page 2).

Talks impasse

Negotiations between Britain and China on Hong Kong's political future have failed, analysts in the colony said, despite Britain's wish to continue talking (Deng's disciples, page 27).

Britons freed

The Foreign Office was trying to ascertain the whereabouts of 11 British trade unionists reported arrested and later released in south-east Turkey. The group was investigating alleged human rights violations.

Arafat deadlock

PLO leader Yasser Arafat said negotiations with Israel had reached deadlock after Israel insisted on redeploying, instead of withdrawing, troops from the occupied Gaza Strip and the West Bank town of Jericho.

England win

England out-kicked the All Blacks to win 15-9 in a try-less rugby battle at Twickenham — repeating the scoreline of their last victory over the New Zealanders at the same ground 10 years ago (Reports, comments, pictures, Sport, pages 1, 10, 11).

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ISSN 0029-7712



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INDEPENDENT

ON SUNDAY

POL35/328(2)

No 201 28 November 1993

Published in London £1 (Ir Rep £1.10)



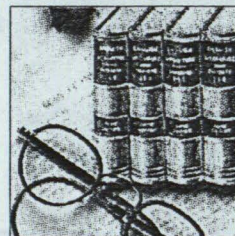
Dictator's daughter
Fiammetta Rocco on
Alessandra Mussolini

Sunday Review



How basic is basic?
Back to the past with
Mr Major's family

Page 17



Christmas reading
A 16-page critical guide
to the best books

Sunday Review



Hearts in darkness
Gitta Sereny on the
children who kill

Page 21

■ 'Do-gooder' was link between British intelligence and terrorists ■ Disclosure of secret contacts gives lie to Major's denials

Unionists halted talks with IRA

SECRET contacts between the British Government and the IRA's Army Council were stopped after pressure earlier this year from the Ulster Unionists.

In an embarrassing blow for the Government, British and Unionist sources yesterday confirmed that a go-between was used by British intelligence to make contact with IRA chiefs of staff.

The intermediary — described by one source yesterday as "a do-gooder" such as a churchman rather than a politi-

cian or civil servant — sought to bridge some of the differences between the two sides, raising questions with government representatives and relaying answers.

The disclosure comes as Martin McGuinness, a Sinn Fein leader, claimed that contact between the Government and his party is continuing — sometimes on a daily basis.

Two unionist sources said that the contacts came to an end when James Molyneaux, leader of the Ulster Unionist Party, raised the matter with

the Government in the summer. The nine Ulster Unionists knew about the talks before they backed Mr Major in a crucial Commons division over the Maastricht treaty.

The disclosure will embarrass the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, Sir Patrick Mayhew, who have denied direct negotiations with the IRA or its political wing, Sinn Fein.

John Taylor, Ulster Unionist MP for Strangford, said: "Mr Molyneaux and myself got wind of it prior to the local government

elections in Northern Ireland.

"This information will be an embarrassment to Sir Patrick Mayhew. Every time he has spoken he has been playing with words. It discredits the standing of the Government."

The news may complicate preparations for the Anglo-Irish summit. Tensions over the agenda are believed to be the cause of Downing Street's refusal to confirm the date of the meeting pencilled in for Friday.

By Stephen Castle Political Editor

Mr McGuinness will claim today that he has been engaged in a dialogue with the Government. In an interview to be shown on BBC Television's *On the Record*, he says: "The British Government have their accommodation with the Unionists and the dialogue ended then, but the contact has continued." Asked whether it was weekly, he replies: "Yes — sometimes on a daily basis".

Mr McGuinness recounts

contacts going back to October 1990. This includes a meeting in a residential area of Northern Ireland "between a representative of the Foreign Office and myself. It was a discussion; it was a meeting at their request which I agreed to do after consultation with my colleagues."

He adds: "John Major knows who the contact is. Patrick Mayhew knows who the contact is. Douglas Hurd knows who the contact is."

The SDLP leader John Hume yesterday told Mr Major that it "should not be too diffi-

cult" for the Government to bring about an end to violence in Northern Ireland. Mr Hume told his party's annual conference in Cookstown, Co Tyrone, that he was convinced the IRA and Sinn Fein were serious about bringing about a lasting peace.

In a reference to proposals he formulated with the Sinn Fein president, Gerry Adams, he said: "The key to opening the doors, the key of peace, now exists. John Major is in possession of that key. It will require no great effort from him to turn

that key and open the door to our new future." Mr Hume attacked Unionist politicians who criticised him for talking to Mr Adams.

The Democratic Unionist leader, Ian Paisley, told his party's annual conference that Mr Major and the Government should "have the guts and the resolution to stand up to the Irish authorities". While the Dublin government was fighting desperately to save its constitutional claim to Northern Ireland "there will be no solid basis for peace."

Prince's secret bid

SUNDAY LIFE 28/11/93

POL35/328(3)

Government forced to admit secret contact with terrorists

'IRA WANTED TO END TERROR'

THE IRA made an amazing appeal for help from the British Government to end their 25-year terror campaign in Ulster, it was revealed last night.

In a surprise statement, the Northern Ireland Office admitted that the Provo leadership approached them nine months ago.

The terrorists told the government "the conflict was over" but said they needed advice on how to bring it to a close.

Furious

The disclosure comes in the wake of repeated Government denials that it has been engaged in secret contacts with the IRA.

The fresh revelations sparked a furious political storm on both sides of the Irish Sea.

By STEPHANIE BELL

The DUP called for Sir Patrick Mayhew to resign after "repeatedly lying to both the public and parliament".

And Opposition MPs are expected tomorrow to challenge both the Prime Minister and the Northern Ireland Secretary of State over their repeated denials that any contacts have taken place with Sinn Fein.

The government was forced to issue a statement last night after The Observer newspaper acquired details of a memo which formed the centepiece of the reply to the Provos.

Continued on P2

SUNDAY LIFE 28/11/93

size that this process is fraught with difficulties for the British Government, as must be obvious.

"They are nevertheless prepared to tackle these and accept the risks that they entail.

What NIO said

THE Northern Ireland Office statement read:

"The public should not be misled by this published text.

No-one has been authorised to conduct talks or negotiations on behalf of the Government with the Provisionals, Sinn Fein or any other organisation perpetrating or supporting violence for political ends.

"At the end of February this year a message was passed on to the Government from the IRA leadership.

"It was to the effect that the conflict was over but they needed our advice as to the means of bringing it to a close.

"The Government obviously had to take that message seriously, though we recognised that actions not words would be the real test.

"The Government had already made it publicly clear what had to be done by those who used or threatened violence for political ends.

"If they wanted to enter into talks or negotiations with the Government, there first had to be a genuine ending of violence.

"The Government accordingly responded to the IRA's request for advice.

"The response reinforced and spelt out in a private message what

because they were totally untrue." POL 35/328 (4)

"In fact all but the first sentence of the first paragraph is his own wording. In other words it is not negotiable."

the Government had consistently said publicly.

"There had first of all to be a genuine end to violence. It also repeated the constitutional guarantee.

"The text now published contains the wording of instructions given by the Government for the transmission of that response."

(This is believed to refer to the publication of a leaked document on the Government's response to the IRA's overtures published in the Observer today).

"As the text makes clear, the response provided the advice that had been requested.

"It continues to reflect the Government's policy, which has again recently been made clear by the Prime Minister and by the Secretary of State.

"The IRA have not delivered the ending of violence envisaged in their original approach.

"They have continued to inflict untold misery and grief upon the public.

"It is for them to explain this. There can be no excuse for such terrorism. Their duty is to end it at once."

Ireland and he must go," he said.

Answer

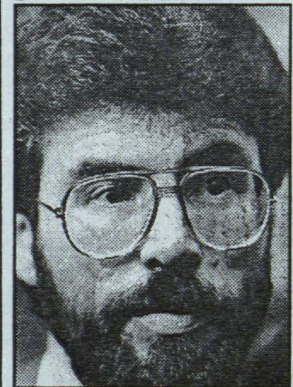
Mr Robinson said last night's NIO statement exposed "the tip of a deceitful iceberg".

"People had been asking why more vigorous action had not been taken against the IRA and now they have their answer," he said.

Party colleague and official spokesman for the DUP Sammy Wil-



John Major: Facing challenge



Gerry Adams: 'It's a lie'



John Alderdice: 'Deliberate leaks'

son backed the call, saying: "If Patrick Mayhew has any honour he will resign."

Mr Wilson added: "It must be the most bare-faced example

comment last night, but party colleague John Taylor said the NIO statement confirmed what his party already knew.

"Mr Molyneux received confirmation that the government was talking to the IRA as early as May of this year.

"I, myself have known about it since June. Over the last few months I have been advising my party colleagues not

comment last night, but party colleague John Taylor said the NIO statement confirmed what his party already knew.

"The Alliance party leader Dr John Alderdice said it was clear that the IRA had been trying to entice the British government into negotiations "using the promise of peace".

"They had failed and the terrorist campaign had continued.

"Next they turned to Mr Hume who was more obliging", he said.

because they were totally untrue." POL 35/328 (4)

frightened that the negotiations between the British and Irish prime ministers would succeed in bringing about a peaceful solution in Northern Ireland.

Speaking on behalf of the SDLP, Mr Denis Haughey said he was "not surprised" by reports of contacts.

"The situation can only be resolved by dialogue.

'The IRA asked for our advice on bringing the conflict to an end'

From P1

The disclosure shows that the document was written by the Northern Ireland Secretary, Sir Patrick Mayhew, himself.

And Sinn Fein are also publicly claiming that they have been engaged in "high level" talks with the British government for the past four years.

Referring directly to the Observer document, the NIO still insisted last night: "No-one has been authorised to conduct talks or negotiations on behalf of the government with the provisionals, Sinn Fein or any

other organisation perpetrating or supporting violence for political ends."

But the government revealed: "At the end of February this year a message was passed on to the government from the IRA leadership.

"It was to the effect that the conflict was over but they needed our advice as to the means of bringing it to a close.

"The government obviously had to take that message seriously though we recognised that actions not words would be the real test."

The statement admits that the government responded to the IRA's request for advice and "spelt out in a private message what the government had consistently said publicly. There had at first to be a genuine end to violence."

Gerry Adams described the government statement as "a lie" and an attempt to distract from the facts.

The Sinn Fein leader said of Sir Patrick Mayhew and John Major that: "In their desperation to protect their positions they are squandering an opportunity for peace."

THE SUNDAY TIMES

POL35/328(5)

No 8,832

28 NOVEMBER 1993

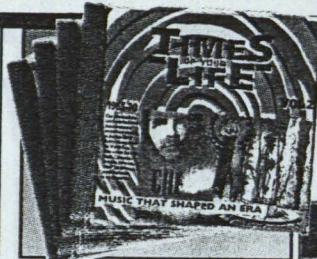
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Government admits contacts with IRA for past year

THE Northern Ireland Office last night revealed it has established a means for "passing messages" between the British government and the IRA. The admission came as senior politicians on both sides of Ulster's sectarian divide claimed there had been secret meetings between the government and terrorists.

A government spokesman said its link with the IRA did "not constitute negotiations. It has not involved ministers, or civil servants".

But sources in the Northern Ireland Office confirmed that intermediaries have been used over the past year or so to pass messages setting out the government's position to the IRA and its political wing, Sinn Fein. These middlemen, thought to be Catholic businessmen in the province, relayed the IRA/Sinn Fein response back to the government.

The revelation comes after repeated official denials that the government had held talks

with those committed to violence — leaders of Sinn Fein claimed there had been lengthy negotiations. John Major said in the House of Commons on November 1 that he would "not talk to people who murder indiscriminately". It would "turn my stomach — we will not do it".

John Taylor, the Ulster Unionist MP for Strangford, said: "These contacts are most unwelcome. However, both Mr Molyneux [his party's leader] and myself knew in ad-

vance of our understanding with the government [for Unionists to support the government in parliament] that there was contact between republican terrorists and the government."

Yesterday, Martin McGuinness, a leading IRA/Sinn Fein activist, said contacts

were continuing with the British government with the full knowledge of the prime minister. He claimed they went back to 1990 when, during Margaret Thatcher's premiership, a three-hour meeting with a Foreign Office official was held in a "quiet residential area" in the province.

by Liam Clarke and Mark Skipworth

In an interview for BBC1's On The Record, to be broadcast today, McGuinness says that since then there has been "fairly intense contact between the British government representatives and ourselves... John Major knows who the contact is". He added that they were continuing on a weekly and sometimes daily basis.

A Northern Ireland Office spokesman last night refused to say whether government officials had met McGuinness.

"We have made clear time and again that there can be no talks or negotiations with those who use or threaten or support violence for political ends," he said.

There were reports last night that the "messages" passed between the government and the terrorists were an attempt to establish the terms that would allow the IRA to call a permanent ceasefire.

This "peace process" is reported to have started in its

present form last spring and was instigated by the IRA. It has continued in talks between John Hume, the leader of the mainly Catholic Social Democratic and Labour party (SDLP), and Gerry Adams, president of Sinn Fein.

The confirmation of government-IRA contacts come amid growing speculation throughout Ireland that the IRA is on the brink of a ceasefire. A Catholic Belfast

Continued on page 2

Clarke to offer tax breather

CONTINUED FROM P.1

The compensation scheme was not settled until Friday after Major intervened to resolve the dispute between Clarke and Lilley. The package is expected to be approved by the cabinet on Tuesday morning.

The compensation will be added to income support payments from April, when Vat takes effect at 8%. Clarke will argue that other people on benefits, including pensioners not receiving income support, will be compensated next year when the percentage rise in the retail prices index caused

by the fuel tax will be automatically added to their state benefits.

Ministers are worried that the limited compensation package may emerge as the most controversial element of the budget.

Yesterday, rebel Tory MPs claimed that at least nine Tories were ready to vote for a more generous Vat relief scheme during the passage of the finance bill which implements the budget — enough on paper to overturn the government's majority of 17 if the rebels stand firm.

William Powell, Tory MP for Corby, said no scheme could compensate for the unfairness of the fuel tax. Pressing ahead with it was "like the charge of the Light Brigade — it is magnificent but it is suicide".

Ulster

Continued from page 1

newspaper predicted an announcement would be made this weekend; the speculation was dismissed by Sinn Fein sources yesterday.

The government's admission is likely to provoke a fierce reaction among Unionists.

In an exclusive interview with The Sunday Times, Albert Reynolds, the taoiseach, revealed that no date for a summit with Major had yet been set but declared that a breakthrough was needed before the end of this year.

Reynolds revealed that the Irish government had not asked Major to commit Britain to a date for withdrawal from the province, adding that Dublin's formal proposals do not even include an agreement in principle for British withdrawal as part of any peace initiative.

Peter Robinson, deputy leader of the Democratic Unionist party (DUP), said yesterday, before reports of government-IRA links became public, that he believed there were documents that would confirm such links.

At his party's annual conference Robinson also announced plans for a Save Ulster campaign to oppose any involvement by the Dublin government in the running of Northern Ireland. The Rev Ian Paisley, the DUP leader, added: "Instead of peace breaking out, there is preparation for war."

Additional reporting: John Burns

Lee Rainford

LAST week's story on accidental deaths among cancer patients carried a picture incorrectly captioned, "Victim: Lee Rainford". The picture was not Mr Rainford and we apologise for any distress caused.

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