

# An Phoblacht

## REPUBLICAN NEWS



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# RESISTANCE ON ALL FRONTS!

NOT SINCE the papal visit to Ireland did so many hundreds of thousands of people spill out on to the streets. But the homage paid by the PAYE workers in the twenty-six counties last Tuesday was to the power of street protest — extra-parliamentary protest which must have sent shudders of discomfort through Leinster House politicians.

Driven to the streets by the inequity of the tax system were not just low-paid working-class people but white-collar and blue-collar workers complaining about their disproportionate burden of tax whilst the self-employed and farmers 'get off lightly'.

Of course, one major problem about the protests is the polarisation it has caused between urban

people and rural people and the unfair indiscriminate identification of all farmers as the 'enemy'.

A degree of such polarisation was a problem which also emerged at last week-end's Sinn Féin Ard Fheis when the question of land ownership was discussed.

Republicans, especially, should be sensitive to the fact that socialist principles when applied to land have potential for distortion by our enemies.

Republicans are in total solidarity with the small farmers, the majority of whose social and economic conditions are on a par with, if not below, that of the low-paid urban worker.

But Republicans are against the big land-owners, the speculators and the profiteers who exploit their farm labourers and the consumers, and are for breaking up the big lands, for creating new holdings and keeping families on the land.

In the North it is foreign occupation, and military repression, by the British which correctly receives maximum attention from Republican political activists, in the fight for a thirty-two-county Socialist Republic.

But in the South, Republican criteria, action and solidarity should be on the side of oppressed people be it on issues of bad housing, unemployment, PAYE, drainage or the price of feed or machinery which small farmers cannot afford.

Republicans must direct their attention very firmly towards the fight for the rights both of workday and small farmers in their everyday struggles.

## ANOTHER PRISONER DIES

English prison conditions have claimed the life of another Irish political prisoner — the fifth in the last six years.

Fifty-four-year-old Belfast man Patrick Joseph 'Giuseppe' Conlon, from Albert Street in the Lower Falls, died in Hammersmith hospital, West London on Wednesday evening after recently being transferred there from Wormwood Scrubs prison, also in West London. He reportedly died of 'respiratory failure'. The previous Irish political prisoners to die in England since 1974 were Michael Gaughan, Proinsias Stagg, Noel Jenkinson and Sean O'Connell.

Giuseppe Conlon had been in jail in England for the past five years, and his condition of tuberculosis has been worsened by years in deplorable jail conditions with accompanying medical neglect.

He was sentenced in March 1975 to twelve years for possession of explosives after a three-month show trial at the Old Bailey held during a particularly vicious wave of anti-Irish hysteria. He had been arrested in November 1974 after being in England for only a few hours, whilst he was on his way to visit his son Gerard who had been arrested in Belfast and brought to London a few days previously.

At no time during Giuseppe Conlon's trial did police produce evidence (not even a 'confession') apart from dubious forensic reports of swab tests of Conlon's hands which allegedly showed he handled explosives. He firmly protested his innocence until his dying day.

Despite his serious medical condition Giuseppe Conlon always insisted that he wanted to be released as an 'innocent man' not on 'humanitarian grounds'.



More than 400,000 workers marched in Dublin last Tuesday. See 'Haughey cannot ignore marchers' page 2.

8th Annual Commemoration  
**BLOODY SUNDAY**  
**DERRY**  
**SUNDAY 27th JANUARY**  
Assemble: 2.30 p.m. Creggan Shops  
**MARCH AND RALLY**  
Prominent Republican Speakers

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# HAUGHEY CANNOT IGNORE MARCHERS

Tuesday's monster PAYE demonstrations in Dublin where over four hundred thousand marched, and in thirty-six other centres throughout the Free State, where an estimated three hundred and fifty thousand marched, obviously cannot be ignored by the Haughey administration in its run up to the February budget. This week's work stoppages and demonstrations were even more impressive than those seen last March.

Dublin's massive turnout was naturally dominated by the big trade unions from all sectors of the economy, white collar as well as blue collar. The Irish Transport and General Workers Union had 40,000 members on the march, the Amalgamated Transport and the Federated Workers unions also had large contingents. But many other organisations had their banners there, including tenants associations, housing action committees, unemployed associations and political organisations, including Sinn Féin whose contingent was led by Ruairi O Bradagh.

The march stretched from Parnell Square to Leinster House (where Mai Cliftord president of the Dublin Council of Trade Unions handed in a letter to Fianna Fail's Finance Minister Michael O'Kennedy) and back to the G.P.O., where speeches of various degrees of militancy were delivered by leaders of the Dublin Council of Trade Unions and the Irish Congress of Trade Unions.

Around the twenty-six counties there were equally impressive displays: 75,000 marched in Cork; 30,000 in Limerick; 15,000 each in Kilkenny and Waterford.

Marches in smaller towns, to which workers often had to travel for up to fifty miles, were just as successful. 6,000 marched in Tralee, 5,000 in Thurles, 7,000 in Letterkenny, 9,000 in Carlow, 6,000 in Drogheda, 5,000 in Castlebar, 3,000 in Athy, 8,000 in Tullamore, and so on, the widespread anger was displayed.

Haughey's reaction can only be guessed at, but it will predictably be aimed at defusing the current militancy of the PAYE sector



In Dublin more than four hundred thousand workers went on token strike and marched against the unfair taxation system.

rather than offering a radical new approach to taxation which would end the built-in injustices of the present system. In this it already appears that he will be aided by the ICTU (reluctant sponsors of this week's demonstrations) whose leaders made their usual low-key addresses of rallies around the country.

Ruaidhri Roberts, ICTU general secretary, speaking in Dublin was already confident that "we will move forward in this year's Budget in a substantial and significant way towards the attainment of equity in tax, in accordance with the National Understanding."

"We are only demanding equity. We have accepted that the previously published government proposals on farmer taxation for the current year represent an adequate move in that direction....."

Hardly fighting words and far from a demand that taxation should be used as a ruthless weapon to redistribute wealth from the 'haves' to the 'have-nots'.

Marching feet are no more pleasing to the ears of today's trade union leaders than they are to employers or Fianna Fail Ministers, all of whom prefer the cosy shadow boxing in cigar-smoke filled rooms from which have emerged the disastrous pay-deals of the last ten years.

In fact Haughey has some considerable room to manoeuvre on the trade union demands.

The concession of index-linked PAYE would cost nothing at all for twelve months.

To put all farmers taxation on 'accounts basis' would not give

the farmers lobby any credible ammunition.

Equality of taxation for women is inevitable anyway, it exists in almost all other European countries, and could be conceded.

The proposed tax on Social Welfare benefits was not one of Haughey's ideas, it looks nasty, and could be dropped without loss of revenue in present terms.

At the same time some return of capital taxation as long as it is very cosmetic may be accepted by his own business supporters as a necessary sop to the workers.

A switch from direct to indirect taxation could be cushioned by relying on inevitable inflation to boost revenue from it, and by the same token concessions in PAYE could look good in Feb-

ruary but be recouped very quickly from wage increases. Public spending cuts also give more room.

Such meaningless concessions granted in an atmosphere of 'economic crisis' and 'belt-tightening' could well have the effect of sinking PAYE marches into the dim past.

A lot will depend on how many of those marching were wondering what a strange method this was of conducting a 'democracy', and whether consciousness is being awakened as to an alternative system where the people could decide on taxation and other issues in their own institutions rather than marching through cold streets with petitions to be handed in to the great halls of government.

## RTE BAN RENEWED

BY KEVIN BURKE

LAST WEEKEND saw the renewal by Fianna Fail's Minister for Posts and Telegraphs, Albert Reynolds, of the ban which keeps republican spokespersons off radio and television.

The statutory order, which has been regularly renewed since it was first made by Conor Cruise O'Brien in October 1976, is under section 31 of the Broadcasting Authority Act, 1960.

The section, which gives the Free State minister absolute power over what goes out on RTE, states:

"The Minister may direct the (RTE) Authority in writing to refrain from broadcasting any particular matter or matter of any particular class, and the Authority shall comply with the direction."

In fact, the first instruction under the section came in 1971 from Fianna Fail's Gerry Collins, then at Posts and Telegraphs, when he issued a vague instruction to the RTE Authority not to broadcast "matter that could be calculated to promote the aims and activities of any organisation which engages in, promotes, encourages or advocates the attaining of any particular objective by violent means."

So vague was this that it was said at the time that it could be interpreted to ban recruiting advertisements for the Free State army.

In 1972, however, Collins decided that a report, by RTE's Kevin O'Kelly, of an interview with Sean MacStiofain, contravened his directive and dismissed the Authority forthwith. The new Authority drew up guidelines which were an effective ban on republicans.

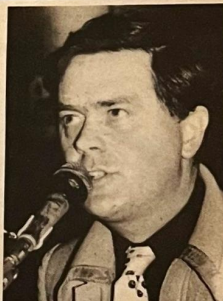
Not satisfied with this, Conor Cruise O'Brien, four years later, on one of the rare occasions when he did act in the capacity of Coalition Minister for Posts and Telegraphs (rather than self-appointed spokesman on 'Northern Ireland') made an explicit statutory order which directed RTE not to broadcast "Interviews or report of interviews" with the IRA or 'Provisional' (sic) Sinn Féin, and this order has been renewed by the Fianna Fail government consistently since coming to office. In 1971, Cruise O'Brien, who was then posing as a 'liberal'

had described the Collins directive as 'sinister', 'ambiguous' and 'far-reaching'.

In recent months there have been renewed protests about the ban both in the press and by several local councils where Fianna Fail, Fine Gael and Labour members have supported Sinn Féin resolutions calling for an end to this censorship.

At the last meeting of Longford County Council a similar motion was passed with support from all the Fianna Fail councillors apart from one councillor, Albert Reynolds himself, who absented himself from the afternoon session when the motion came up, leaving his party colleagues to join in a unanimous call for him to repeal the ban.

Last Friday's 'Frontline' programme highlighted the ridiculous position by showing silent film of County Galway Council's chairman, Frank Glynn, discussing local problems with constituents. And, as Glynn pointed out at last week-end's Sinn Féin Ard Fheis, whilst Fine Gael's Paddy Cooney (who has been rejected by voters both at the last Free State general election and at the EEC election) could appear on the same programme and describe Glynn and his fellow Sinn Féin councillors as "spokesmen for an armed conspiracy of murderers, bank-robbers and knee-cappers," the Sinn Féin councillors (who had



FRANK GLYNN - Sinn Féin chairman of Galway county council - censured by Fianna Fail

been elected by voters, and two of whom had further been elected council chairmen) had no right of reply.

Conspicuously missing from those who have objected to this blatant political censorship, are the RTE journalists, themselves who have often compounded the ban by allowing monstrous allegations and gross misrepresentations of the Republican Movement to go completely unchallenged on their programmes. It is time they made their position clear.



ALBERT REYNOLDS - Fianna Fail Minister, who renewed the RTE ban on Sinn Féin spokespersons





The funeral of Vol. Dee Delaney in Belfast last Wednesday. His tragic death and that of two civilians the previous Thursday over-shadowed the week's War News.

# OVER-SHADOWED

THE WEEK'S WAR NEWS was over-shadowed by the tragic deaths, a week last Thursday, of an IRA Belfast Brigade Volunteer and two civilians killed in a premature bomb explosion on a train at Dunmurry.

At the weekend a Magilligan prison camp warder was shot dead near Derry city and a spate of commercial bombing operations were successfully carried out in various parts of the six-counties.

## WEDNESDAY 16th JANUARY

**Newry**  
Fourteen high-velocity shots were fired at a British army foot-patrol in the centre of Newry during the evening. The ambush, at Merchants' Quay, was mounted by two IRA Volunteers in a car. Enemy fire was returned, but the Volunteers returned safely to base.

**Strabane**  
A bomb attack was launched by the IRA during the late evening, on the commercial target of Stewart's supermarket in Abercorn Square, Strabane. Unfortunately a nearby civilian, a seventy-four-year-old man, was blown off his feet by the blast and injured, despite a telephone warning fifteen minutes before the explosion.

## THURSDAY 17th JANUARY

**Belfast**  
An IRA Volunteer and two civilians were tragically killed, and several others badly injured when a bomb prematurely exploded, starting a fierce fire, on a commuter train just outside Belfast in the early evening. The accidental explosion occurred just before 6 p.m. at the Black's Road Bridge, Dunmurry, on the 4.55 p.m. train from Ballymena to Belfast, causing severe damage to the train.

The IRA's Belfast Brigade subsequently stated:

"We have now established that one of the three people killed on board the train was one of our Volunteers, twenty-six-year-old Kevin 'Dee' Delaney from Springhill. He was on active service at the time of his death.

"We always take the most stringent precautions to ensure the safety of all civilians in the vicinity of a military or commercial bombing operation. The bombing mission was not an exception to this principle.

"Unfortunately the unexpected is not something we can predict or prevent and in the war situation this country is in, the consequences of the unexpected are often grave and distressing as Thursday night's accident shows."

The IRA also stated that their 'sorrow at losing a young married man, Kevin (Dee) Delaney' was 'heightened by the additional deaths' of two civilians, and they

offered to all the bereaved families their 'deepest and heart-felt sympathy'.

**Dungannon**  
A store in Monaghmore Street in Dungannon, County Tyrone, was destroyed after three armed IRA Volunteers planted several bombs.

The Volunteers walked into Auto Supplies at 5.45 p.m., planted the bombs and gave a warning which enabled the area to be cleared of civilians.

The first bomb went off half-an-hour afterwards, followed by a second five minutes later. The second bomb started a fire which destroyed the premises — by the time the third bomb exploded the premises were reduced to a charred shell.

## Belleek

A hotel in Belleek, County Fermanagh, which was successfully destroyed by the IRA in a bomb attack last June, was again extensively damaged in another bombing mission.

## WAR NEWS

All the operations referred to here were claimed in supplied statements by the Irish Republican Army.

Shortly after 6 p.m. four armed IRA Volunteers walked into the Carlton Hotel and planted a bomb in the newly-furnished lounge. They warned staff and customers to leave the building and then left.

Half-an-hour later the bomb exploded, starting a fire which caused serious damage to the building, which had only been re-opened a few weeks ago. There were no civilian casualties and the Volunteers returned safely to base.

It was the second successful bombing operation in Belleek in three days. On Tuesday two banks were damaged by bombs.

## Maghera

Later in the evening in Maghera, County Derry, two bombs were planted at the front of a store in Hill Street. The bombs exploded

at 9.20 p.m. causing some damage to the store. There were no civilian casualties following an adequate telephone warning.

## FRIDAY 18th JANUARY

### Derry

During the evening the IRA's Derry Brigade ambushed a prison warder who was returning from duty at Magilligan prison camp. Having left the prison camp at 5 p.m., the warder was driving his car along the Limavady dual-carriageway when he was ambushed by IRA Volunteers who raked his car with gunfire.

The ambush point was at Stradeagh, two miles from Derry and the warder died in a hail of bullets. His car went out of control, hit a bridge and crashed down into a field where the wreckage was not found by the RUC until day-break, next morning.

The dead warder was the eighteenth to be executed because of Britain's horrific H-Blocks and the IRA later pointed out that this attack once more demonstrates that they are intent on making prison warders 'accountable for their barbaric activities' against Republican prisoners.

## SATURDAY 19th JANUARY

### Newry

The Newry and Mourne District Council Offices at Monaghan Row, Newry, were the target for an IRA bomb attack during the evening. Volunteers placed a bomb on the window sill and the bomb later exploded causing some damage to the offices. A telephone warning ensured that there were no civilian casualties and the Volunteers returned safely to base.

## SUNDAY 20th JANUARY

### Stewartstown

The IRA successfully bombed a commercial target in Stewartstown, County Tyrone, during the evening. Four armed Volunteers entered a restaurant, the Angler's Rest, and planted two bombs whilst clearing the building of civilians. A short time later the first bomb exploded. As flames from the ensuing fire engulfed the building, firemen watched helplessly for three hours until the second bomb exploded. By then the building was destroyed.

## ARMED AND DANGEROUS

THREE BRITISH SOLDIERS, two Green Howards and one Royal Engineer, in military custody for previously being absent without leave, broke out of Aldergrove barracks early on Saturday morning. They made their escape in a land-rover armed with a rifle, driving out of the base as it off on patrol. For thirty-three hours the Brits zig-zagged around County Down in hijacked cars and held several families hostage for several hours.

The RUC described them as 'armed and dangerous' and warned that if they were 'seen by the public' they should not be approached. This description and advice is of course, not only applicable to fifteen thousand other Brit gun-men, but to the RUC themselves!

When the three Brits were eventually re-captured they were taken to Castle-Reagh RUC barracks for interrogation ('poetic justice'), before being returned to military custody. This demoralising episode for the British army is still further evidence of their low morale.

## Going round in circles

BRITISH POLICY in Ireland traditionally goes round in circles and Atkins' current Stormont conference is in line with this long-established tradition. Not only will the conference achieve nothing for the Brits in the long-term but to add to Atkins' specially obtained circular table, a circular agenda has been introduced. The idea behind the circular agenda is that given the critical divergence between the SDLP and Paisley on a number of key questions, points on the agenda can be touched on and left if not resolved. The conference can thus touch on a whole range of questions, leave them unresolved and later return to them.

There has been a noticeable 'self-imposed' clamp-down on participants' statements after each of the three sessions earlier this week — a clamp-down in order to avoid exposing the conference's contradictions especially through embarrassing media questions.

The conference can be expected to totter on perhaps until Easter, as the SDLP, who were threatening to withdraw, appear to have agreed to raise at Atkins second farcical 'side-show' conference those questions — Executive power-sharing and the 'Irish dimension' — which Paisley has ruled out of the first 'main' conference.

## Orange segments

THE FORMATION of another unionist political party in the North — the 'Ulster Progressive Unionist Party' (UPUP) by Westminster MP, Independent Unionist, James Kilfedder — has brought the number of unionist parties in the North to six, emphasising the fragmentation of the Orange monolith following a decade of war of national liberation.

Going roughly from 'right' to 'far right' the range of parties now is: Anne Dickson's Unionist Party of Northern Ireland (UPNI); James Molynaux's (or should it be Enoch Powell's) Official Unionist Party (OUP) which includes William Craig's Vanguard faction; Jim Kilfedder's Ulster Progressive Unionist Party (UPUP); Ian Paisley's Democratic Unionist Party (DUP); Ernest Baird's United Ulster Unionist Party (UUUP); and Hugh Smyth's Progressive Unionist Party (PUP).

PUP was apparently very annoyed that Kilfedder had chosen the similar name UPUP. Last weekend a joint meeting was held to discuss a possible merger but following the meeting any possibility of a coalition or merger was ruled out. Kilfedder's claim that his new party is on the 'up and up' is unlikely to come to fruition. Similarly to the other Orange parties it is likely to be squeezed out by 'king' Paisley.

## Strabane death threats

IN ADDITION to a step-up in routine Brit harassment of house raids and P-checking youths in the street, Brit harassment in Strabane, County Tyrone appears to have taken an even more sinister turn. Several members of the Mollloy-Devlin Sinn Féin cumann have received death threats through the post, following constant harassment by Brits (of the 1st Staffordshire Regiment), especially when publicly selling An Phoblacht/Republican News.

## Benn chimes up

WESTMINSTER POLITICIAN Tony Benn, who may well be the next British Labour Prime Minister, said — on an RTE radio interview on 'Viewpoint' last week, that partition was 'wrong' and that it is about time that the British people became prepared to discuss the North of Ireland on a more open basis.

Benn said: "Actually what is needed now in Britain is a real debate about the situation in Northern Ireland and I think that if we achieve little more than to prevent the issue from being kept under the carpet and bringing it out — because it is the single biggest domestic issue in the United Kingdom given the magnitude of what is happening — if it is brought out and discussed I think this may of itself be helpful because violence is a resort of those who see no prospect of change by peaceful means."

Benn, who was an unobjectionable member of the Labour cabinet during Mason's tyrannical term as Northern direct-ruler, normally keeps quiet on Ireland. However, some English political observers have suggested that he is a potential premier who might try to sweep into power on a populist platform which could include 'bring our boys home' from Ireland.

## Hands off sellers!

A SUCCESSFUL open-air rally was organised by 'Hands Off Ireland' in the centre of the English city of Bristol on Saturday 12th January to protest at the arrest on charges of obstruction, the week before, of three sellers of their magazine. The meeting, attended by up to 70 people was held in exactly the same spot that the three street sellers had been arrested, and numerous copies of the magazine were sold.

## Amnesty alarm again

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL has criticised the British administration in Zimbabwe for paying 'insufficient attention' to human rights questions since the country's return to 'direct rule' a month ago.

A report submitted to Governor Soames, by two Amnesty representatives who visited Zimbabwe last week, says that official concern for the victims of violations of human rights seems to be out-weighted by political considerations. A familiar picture!

Asas where Amnesty believe there is 'cause for considerable concern' include the continued detention of some political prisoners and the fact that people are still detained for up to thirty days under the emergency powers regulations; the linking of release programmes to the progress of the truce; the refusal to grant access to the huge number of detainees still being held under martial law regulations, even to the International Committee of the Red Cross; the predominant role given to the Rhodesian administration in reviewing detainees' release appeals; and the lack of positive action by Soames on the question of torture.



## Derry man victimised yet again

THE PERSISTENT victimisation of twenty-four-year-old Derry man, Hugh Brady, continued last week, when on 18th January he was remanded to Crumlin Road jail on a flimsy holding charge of 'false imprisonment'. This is Brady's fifth period of imprisonment without a single conviction, in fact he has never made a statement to his RUC interrogators.

Hugh Brady first experienced British justice at the age of seventeen when he was interned from September 1973 to April 1974, he was reinterned in November 1974 and not released until the last day of internment in December 1975.

In February 1977 Brady was among five Derry men arrested and taken to Castlereagh for seven days. Indisputable medical evidence upheld their own accounts of torture. Amnesty International took up Hugh Brady's case and this contributed to their verdict of routine torture by RUC against political suspects. Despite third degree burns to his right hand after the RUC held it on a boiling radiator Hugh made no statement and charges against him were dropped.

In February 1978 he was arrested again, this time for carrying a can of petrol (he drives a car). He was released on August 15th 1978.

In December 1978 he was arrested again and sent to Castlereagh for seven days. Despite complaints by Amnesty International he was denied a solicitor but was eventually released after a writ of Habeas Corpus had been obtained.

After numerous death threats from the RUC and British army, a serious attempt on his life was made on April 18th 1979 when RUC constable Gregory Leitch of Strand Road RUC barracks fired a shot through the top bedroom window of the Brady home narrowly missing a four-year-old child sleeping there. Leitch was subsequently charged with illegally discharging a fire-arm and being drunk in charge of a weapon. He was fined and given a short suspended sentence.

Such is an all too typical account of life in the six counties under British rule.

## Garda rejects

'TELL US SOMETHING NEW' may have been the first reaction of many on reading the attack by Jack Marrinan, general secretary of the Garda Representative Body, on some of his fellow members.

Writing in the editorial of the monthly publication 'Garda Review', Marrinan said:

"We are getting some sorry base characters, rejects from organisations whose standards have been lifted higher in keeping with the rising educational profile of the community."

"We are getting young men whose personal lives are in such a mess that a well-paid and secure place in the police is seen as a refuge from their problems."

"We are getting — frankly — young men who will not be had anywhere else."

But Marrinan was not referring to members of the notorious 'Heavy Gang', who under the Coalition government were indicted for brutality by Amnesty International. Nor was he referring to members of the Technical Bureau's 'Fingerprint Department', who were found to have falsified evidence in connection with the assassination of British ambassador (and spy-master) Ewart Biggs, as well as in other cases where convictions had been obtained.

On the contrary, Marrinan has always defended those particular members of the force. And in fact most of the worst offenders have been promoted, under Fianna Fail, to more senior positions both in the same departments or to some other area where their particular talents are of value — such as the 'special task force' currently operating on the border.

The targets of Marrinan's outburst are apparently the more recent recruits to the force. Already one hundred of these 'drop-outs' — junior gardai in a north Dublin district — have signed a petition demanding his resignation.

Coming so soon after the Scully kidnapping fiasco and rumours that lucrative overtime is to be the victim of Haughey's promised public-spending cuts, this latest headline catcher will not do much for sagging garda morale.

# RUC RAIDS AND ARRESTS IN TYRONE

BY PETER HAYES

THE NATIONALIST PEOPLE of County Tyrone have been subject to such a widespread campaign of house searches and arrests, by the Brits and RUC over recent weeks that it has been described by South Tyrone Comhairle Ceannair of Sinn Féin, as being equal in intensity to that during the months following Operation Motorman, in 1972.

About fifty people from Carrickmore, Eglis, Dungannon, Omagh, Fintona, and Tallyreagh, have been arrested in dawn swoops, and held at the infamous Gough RUC barracks in Armagh.

Despite this widespread intimidation the RUC had no success in charging anyone with recent attacks on British forces. However they have successfully inflamed even more nationalist resentment against them.

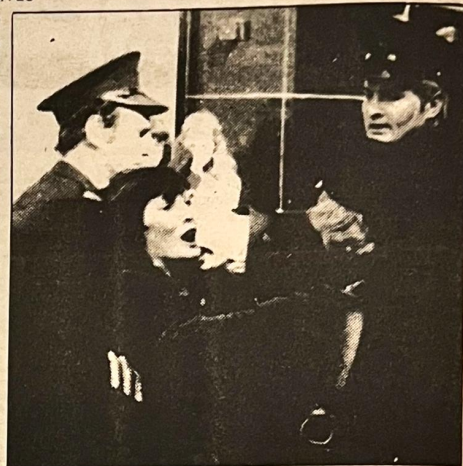
Frustrated at their inability to get information about Republican activities in Tyrone the RUC attempted to recruit as touts at least three of those arrested: leading Sinn Féin activist Jim McGivern (held for three days from Tuesday 15th January), Frank Quinn (held for seven days from Thursday 10th January), and Gerard Carty (held for three days from Wednesday 2nd January).

Jim McGivern joined the Republican Movement in 1966. He has been arrested nearly forty times since 1972, and was in gaol for six months last year on a trumped-up bombing charge, which was later dropped.

Given his continued Republican commitment the RUC's attempts to recruit him show up their desperation for information and the extent to which they are a rejected force operating in isolation from the nationalist people.

In all three cases the RUC offered large sums of money for information leading to the discovery of weapons or explosives. They also offered McGivern, who has a small business, to quietly push more business his way if he would work for them.

They told him, if he had any information, to meet them on Monday last at nine o'clock



in the morning outside the Modern Tool Company in Lisburn.

Both Quinn and Carty were also given detailed instructions where to meet plain-clothes RUC men to pass on any information.

Obviously, none of the men turned up at the meeting

places and all have given statements to the Association for Legal Justice about the RUC's behaviour.

Tyrone Sinn Féin have urged anyone else pressurised by the RUC to tout for them to publicise their predicament and thus avoid getting trapped into trouble.

# GARDA RAIDS AND ARRESTS IN CAVAN AND MONAGHAN

BY DAMIEN O'ROURKE

REPORTS of cross-border collaboration between the British and Free State regimes continue to come in from republicans in border counties. Intensive raids and arrests by the garda special task force were carried out in Cavan last weekend.



In one case simultaneous raids were carried out north and south of the border on the Cavan home of Brian McKeown and his parents' home in Dungannon, County Tyrone. McKeown, a former political prisoner and now a Sinn Féin activist was forced to remain in one room of the house whilst Gardai ransacked the premises.

The home of Cavan's Sinn Féin county councillor, Charlie Boylan was also raided and private documents relating to his constituents were carefully scrutinised and may have been copied. The home of Brid Donoghue, sister of the late Frank Stagg, was also a target and she was threatened with arrest and abusive language was used against her.

The previous week it had been Monaghan's turn for major harassment when a massive exercise was carried out by the task force. In one

instance on Saturday 12th January the Rossmore housing estate in Monaghan town was sealed off by gardai brandishing automatic weapons. Twenty houses in the estate were searched and the tenants subjected to abuse.

Almost one hundred and fifty houses in North Monaghan were raided over the weekend and ten men were arrested and held for forty-eight hours including another Sinn Féin councillor Jim Lynagh of Monaghan U.D.C.

On Monday 14th January twenty-two-year-old Paddy O'Hare was arrested in Monaghan and his was to be the most gruelling experience. Over the forty-eight hours he was held in the town's garda barracks he was never allowed more than two hours sleep, being subjected to almost continuous interrogation. At one stage a revolver was pushed down his throat by a detective who threatened to pull the trigger.

At four o'clock on Wednesday morning he was taken from his cell to the interrogation room after having just gone through an interrogation session two hours earlier.

In an obvious last attempt to force him to co-operate before his release gardai handcuffed him and told him that they were taking him across the border to hand him over to the R.U.C.

Disorientated by lack of sleep O'Hare panicked and began to struggle violently, receiving injuries from the handcuffs to his wrist which later needed five stitches. Breaking free he flung himself at the third storey window, receiving further cuts from the broken glass. Only a metal grille on the window saved him from what could have been fatal injury.

On his release from custody he spent three days in St Davinnet's Mental Hospital.

Raids in Monaghan resumed on Thursday 17th January in Castleblayney where doors were broken down and ornaments smashed during the ransacking of more homes. The John Green Sinn Féin cumann in the town have issued a statement warning republicans in border areas to expect this type of intimidatory treatment to continue as a result of Haughey's intensified collaboration with the British.



# Volunteer Dee Delaney Laid to rest

The Belfast Brigade IRA volunteer tragically killed a week ago as a result of a premature explosion while on active service was buried on Wednesday in the Republican plot in Milltown cemetery. Kevin 'Dee' Delaney although only twenty-six years-old was a veteran of the republican struggle both in the military and political fields.

His death evoked a hysterical reaction from the Catholic church which barred his remains from three chapels in West Belfast claiming that Dee Delaney had acted outside the law of god. A pre-judgement which incensed his family and people throughout West Belfast.

Not surprisingly his burial also provoked a predictable reaction from the British government. Their 'normalisation' policy was put into cold storage for a day while hundreds of British soldiers erected a ring of steel blocking off the area. Glen, Whitecross, Andersonstown, Monagh and Springfield Roads.

From before nine o'clock in the morning traffic queues built up for hundreds of yards while British manning vehicle checkpoints meticulously searched every vehicle and occupant. It was at one of these checkpoints that Gerry Adams, vice-president of Sinn Féin, was arrested and held while on his way to the funeral. He was later released after the funeral had ended.

Four helicopters with sophisticated camera equipment and microphones hovered over the heads of the mourners gathered outside the family home.

But despite one of the biggest military shows of strength for sometime by the British, the IRA successfully paid their last respects to one of their most active Volunteers. A three-man firing party fired three volleys of shots over the tricolour-draped coffin shortly after it left the family home and disappeared quickly into the vast crowd of mourners.

An advance guard of honour led the cortege followed immediately behind by the coffin which also had a guard of honour made up of representatives from na Fianna Éireann and Cumann na mBan.

While the huge crowd of mourners made their way down the Whitecross Road to the Falls Road another large crowd of people from the St James' area moved up to the entrance of the Brit fort on the Whitecross Road and blocked the entrance in case the Brits tried to either block or attack the funeral.

But the Brits only reaction at this stage was to film the funeral procession using a camera perched high on an aerial overlooking the Whitecross Road, reminiscent of Orwell's 1984 prediction.

After the funeral ceremony had taken place a huge force of Brits and RUC erected two road blocks on either side of the cemetery gates at which they held all mourners and searched cars. The dead Volunteer's wife Edie and his two sisters were arrested for a short period of time but were later released. Small skirmishes broke out between the Brit forces and the mourners as they pushed past the armed thugs blocking their path.

At the graveside the following oration was given by a comrade of Dee's:

Táimid anseo inniu chun ar comradán an tOglach, Comrad Ó Dubhshláine a chur sa chroí. Tháinig naí sa troid de bharr tionaisc agus cúis bróin dunn ar ad a bhás. Ghortaí Comráin beagán leath a shaoil ag obair ar son Poblaíocht Shóisialach a bhunú sa tír seo. Inispiúir ab ea é da chomradaithe agus maraítha a chumhainn go dtéar n-aintinn.

We are gathered here today to pay tribute to Volunteer Kevin Delaney, better known to his friends as Dee who died last Thursday as a result of a tragic accident while on active service.

Dee had just recently been married; he has left behind him a young wife and baby son, Edie Delaney and Sean Paul have lost a most kind and loving husband and father.

Connolly, Pearse, and Mellows. He learned to speak the Gaelic language fluently and took time to appreciate the culture of our native music.

But it was his concern for the war effort continuing on the outside and the effects of the truce situation early in 1975 that brought Dee to the realisation that fighting Brits and having revolutionary republican ideals were not in themselves enough, to smash the British presence and create the socialist republic.

Dee firmly believed that simultaneous with the war effort, the republican ideals that he had studied, must be put into practice: that republican political activists had to move among our supporters and all those opposed to British rule and the partition of our country, to organise them and educate them in socialist alternatives. At this time Dee was nearing the end of his sentence in goal and in the following months he spent his time involved in several projects with fellow prisoners which he thought would help the movement on the outside formulate a policy which could bring about the kind of political education needed to get political activists involved in social problems.

In 1977, five years after his arrest, an articulate and committed republican dedicated to the overthrow of British imperialism Dee Delaney walked free from Long Kesh. He considered what field he would work in and decided that he would use the political awareness he acquired in prison to involve himself in building a political base in areas from where he had previously operated.

But to those who knew Dee it was easy to see that it wouldn't be long before he was back in the thick of it and soon he was again actively engaged in the armed struggle against the Brit. During this time the only time Dee was ever unhappy was when he was not getting enough to do or when he had been refused permission to carry out a certain operation.

And so that is the personal history of the man whose remains we are laying to rest here today. To his wife, Dee was a kind and loving husband. To us he was a dedicated republican freedom fighter.

But what did Dee think of himself? I know for a start that if he was listening now he would be scoffing and calling me a spoofer for using such phrases as 'revolutionary freedom fighter' and 'dedicated articulate republican' to describe him. Because if you had asked Dee why he suffered the past twelve years of his life, suffering the trials republicans face - forced on the run, imprisoned, constantly risking his life, never having a steady job, or income - he would have replied that it was simply because he hated the Brits.

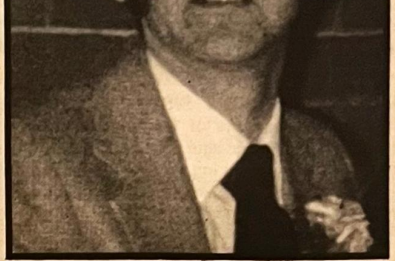
'Oh Yeah' he might have added, that he was a socialist and liked the idea of a workers republic. But he would explain that that was no fine quality but simply a natural consequence of being a working-class bloke and identifying the republic as envisaged by Connolly and Mellows as being the only solution to Ireland's social and economic problems.

For me his description of how he saw himself is not true. Yes Dee was only a working class bloke. He enjoyed a pint and a 'wireless' with his mates in the bar, a game of soccer, listening to his favourite pop music or even a night out at a disco doing his peculiar variation of punk rockers dances. But he was also as I have described him, an articulate and dedicated republican.

The man with the gold-rimmed spectacles, fuzzy hair and half-grown beard who we all knew as Dee carried as much courage, strength and idealism in that slight frame of his as any of our idolised republican heroes.

And anyway even if Dee disagreed with the choice of words I use to describe him I could prove him wrong. In his father's house there hangs a large wooden plaque he made while in goal. On it there are written three quotations which he spent three days choosing before having them painted on. I remember these quotes well because it was me who painted them on.

And I remember the reason why it took him so long to choose them, for Dee had developed a habit of saving up quotes which he liked and in the end had so many that it took him this length of time to choose which were his favourites. I would like to read



THE LATE VOL. KEVIN 'DEE' DELANEY

them to you now along with his most favourite quote of all by James Connolly. From them, you can decide yourselves how the man thought, for the sentiments expressed in them are the ideals he felt in his heart. The first quote by Connolly reflects Dee's attitude towards freedom:

*"If you remove the English flag tomorrow and hoist the green flag over Dublin castle, unless you set about the organisation of the socialist republic your efforts would be in vain."* The second quote reflects Dee's attitude towards the struggle in life:

*"A revolution is not a dinner party, or writing an essay or painting a picture or doing embroidery. It cannot be so refined or leisurely or genteel, so temporarily kind, courteous, restrained and magnanimous. A revolution is an insurrection, an act of violence by which one class overthrows another."* The final quote reflects his attitude towards the struggle in death:

*"Wherever death surprises us it is welcomed provided this our battle cry reaches some receptive ear that another hand stretches out to take up weapons, that other men step forward to intone our funeral dirge with the staccato chant of machine guns and new cries of war and victory."*

I would just like to say a few words about the last two days. There was no moral justification for the way the priests in this diocese treated the remains of our dead comrade. It seems that they have bowed to pressure from such loyalists as William Beattie and Robert Bradford who have in the past called for the Catholic Church to excommunicate republicans and who have complained of dead republicans getting funeral rites at all.

Well, it took no courage to pick on a dead man and to bar his remains from entering the church. This action bears all the hallmarks of the politics of Bishop Philbin who has consistently ignored the real suffering of the nationalist people under British rule.

We know that the church sides with the British while at the same time states that politics should be kept out of religion. If a soldier killed on active service cannot have his flag-draped coffin into the church then fair enough. If the last rites are to be denied all those engaged in war we cannot complain though we may not agree.

But what we can complain about is the duplicity and stark hypocrisy of the church. Just two weeks ago a young man, a Catholic member of the UDR, who happened to have different convictions to Dee, was buried from a Catholic church in Downpatrick, in this very diocese, with full military honours and with the Union Jack draped over his coffin.

Perhaps Fr. Toner, the bishop's secretary, can square this in his own conscience but to us and to many ordinary people it just does not make sense and smacks of double standards.

Finally, on behalf of the Republican Movement, and of Dee's many comrades in the goals, I extend our most sincere and heartfelt sympathy to Edie Delaney, her son Sean Paul, Dee's mother Maria, father Dai, brothers and sisters and family circle; also to the families and friends of the two civilians who died as a result of last Thursday's tragic accident. We extend our most heartfelt sympathy.

If Dee had had any control over the circumstances of what happened last Thursday he would certainly never have allowed it to happen.

Agus sa deireadh, faigimid slán ar an tOglach Dee Ó Dubhshláine. Slán Dee. I mbeo leáirne na Gaeil go raibh do anam uasal.



ABOVE: Funeral cortege party and firing of the salute over Volunteer Delaney's coffin, at Ballymurphy  
BELOW: Funeral cortege on the Whitecross Road.



## COLD-STONE HEARTS

HOW many people will now believe that the Catholic Church is an independent observer to the war being waged against the Irish people by the British forces of occupation.

Their decision last Wednesday to close chapel doors on the remains of Volunteer Kevin Delaney was a clear expression of intent. They are unfortunately on the same side of those who oppress the Irish people.

No amount of playing with words by Bishop Philbin can exonerate him from this disgraceful decision. He is the man responsible for all decisions taken in his diocese. As for Canon Murphy, the people of West Belfast are not surprised by his action.

For years he has nurtured a hatred of republicans and his action in barring the remains from Corpus Christi and St John's is typical.

For Fr McKinley the parish priest of St Peter's in the Lower Falls to trot behind Murphy in his anti-republican crusade by also refusing the coffin into his chapel only deepens the distress caused by the family of Kevin Delaney. Shocked beyond belief is how the Delaney family feel at this indefensible unchristian act.

Charity is a virtue which the Catholic Church lays great stress on when teaching its members the basic lesson of Christianity. Last Wednesday this virtue was one in name only as the remains of the stone-cold hearts of Bishop Philbin and Frs. Murphy and McKinley.



# BLOODY SUNDAY

## Recollections

**MICHAEL McDAID'S SISTER, Margaret Harken of Ardnamoy Park, Shantallow, was one of the few who did not go to the march that fateful day eight years ago. As she was ill she stayed in her mother-in-law's house in Creggan looking after her youngest children.**

She was in the kitchen preparing tea when she first heard of trouble:

"Over the radio it said there had been bother, that live rounds were fired, but it never entered my head that anyone would be dead. Absolutely everyone went on that march, the old, the young, the middle aged, the revolutionaries and the very religious. I went back home to Shantallow and was sitting yarning with the woman next door when my husband came down and said, 'Mickey's missing'.

"The next thing I remember was coming round — I must have fainted. But then afterwards the TV news came on, and I saw Mickey on it, and that contented me. John said he'd go up and tell my mother Mickey was alright. He was away for an hour-and-a-half. Somehow, when I heard the car return, I sensed something was terribly wrong.

"My brother John identified Mickey at the morgue. His body was lying on the ground in the morgue and John walked right past him at first. There weren't enough stretchers in Altnagelvin to cope with all the dead that day."

Asked about eyewitness reports that Mickey was arrested and shot afterwards, rather than shot while fleeing like the rest, she states emphatically:

"Mickey was definitely alive when he was taken."

John Begley, a Strabane man, testified to seeing him arrested: "Three boys were walking with their hands on their heads, obviously having been arrested by the paras. These three were put into the Saracen and at this time were obviously alive. Michael McDaid was one of these. James Harkin of Foyle Road saw the same thing at this time. Later I heard Michael McDaid had been shot."

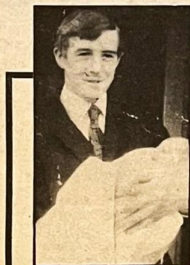
Thomas Clarke of Creggan describes running across the waste ground from Chamberlain Street towards the high flats at Rossville Street: "We saw a few boys getting marched into the back of a Saracen. One of them was Michael McDaid. I read then in the paper that he was shot dead."

The paras even looted the bodies of the dead. Edward Nash relates how his brother William had been wearing a distinctive engraved graduation ring from America, and a cross and chain. A few days after the funerals, he went down to the RUC barracks to claim William's personal property.

They offered him only a comb and a ten-pence piece. (He had £3.50 in his pocket when he went

out.) Nothing more has ever been returned.

The people of Derry provided a courageous contrast to the sordid operation of British rule in Ireland that day. For some, their last generous gestures met a fatal response from the British.



**MICHAEL McDAID**  
— Holding his god-child Kathy four months before Brit paras killed him on Bloody Sunday

Mickey Kelly was shot dead going to the aid of another victim. Mr. Breslin recalls: "I saw a man getting shot. A young lad by the name of Mickey Kelly went out with his arms up, telling the soldiers he was going to pull the man in. When he went out, they shot him — shot him in the back."

Matthew Connolly describes seeing a young fellow of 16 or 17 shot in front of him: "At that time the fellow was not dead. As we went forward to help him, automatic fire riddled the rubble. The fellow was screaming. We retreated behind a wall. About a minute later John Young crawled with his head down towards the shot boy. He got to within a yard of him when a single shot hit him. He was dead. Another youth tried to move towards the two bodies but he too only got out into the open when he was shot himself."

Geraldine Richmond describes her experience: "There was a man lying at Fahan Street steps. I could hear him squealing but nobody could get to him because of the shooting. Mr. McGuigan said he was going to try and reach him because he didn't want him to die alone. He took two steps forward and was shot in the head. He seemed to have been shot from the walls."

Patrick McKeever of Creggan recalls the same incident, and remembers Barney McGuigan waving a white hanky as he went out in aid of the shot man.

Noel McLoone, then a 19 years old Order of Malta ambulanceman states: "We saw two men lying across the street. We tried to get out but there was too much

shooting. Barney McGuigan wanted to try. He raised his hands in the air and shouted 'Don't shoot, don't shoot'. Seconds later he was shot in the head and landed in my lap — at the alleyway of Rossville Street flats. I could do nothing but weep and called the soldier everything in my head."

Try as the Widery Tribunal did, it failed utterly to convince anybody there was gunfire by anyone but British soldiers. Frank Dunne, now headmaster of Carnhill High School, testified that he saw soldiers fire and hit a tall fair-haired young man, and he was certain there was no firing at the Brits .... neither were there any nail bombs.

Widery could not hide everything. Kevin McElhinney, shot while running towards the flats, was hit by a bullet which in the delicate language of Widery, was 'damaged' — otherwise known as a 'dum-dum'. (Widery Report p.18) James Chapman, an Englishman living in Derry 36 years, a civil servant and ex-regular British army, lived at a house in Glenfada Park. His sitting room directly overlooked the Rossville Street barricade.

He describes how the main crowd of marchers passed peacefully down Rossville Street before the Brit vehicles appeared. Then the crowd began to run and fifty to one-hundred Brits leapt from their vehicles and immediately opened fire into the crowd trying to escape over the barricade: "I watched them shooting indiscriminately into a fleeing crowd of several thousand people."

Bertie Barrett, whose home in Chamberlain Street filled with terrified people that day, describes what he remembers of the march:

"I was marching at Ritchie's factory in William Street when John Johnston was shot. He later died. This was fifteen minutes before any other shooting took place. No one had any idea where the shots came from. Some thought it might have been loyalist paramilitaries firing from the top of the bakery."

"When the rest of the shooting started, I was standing near my house on waste ground."

"The atmosphere was electric. Women were screaming and men shouting. Everyone was dazed and confused. I saw three men carry young Duddy, obviously dead, down the middle of Chamberlain Street. Fr. Daly was there. I saw Barney McGuigan minutes after he was shot. He had just stepped out from the corner, with his hands up, to ask them to stop shooting — and was shot out of hand. He died instantly."

**EIGHT YEARS AGO on Sunday 30th January 1972, British paratroopers deliberately cut down with gun-fire, peaceful civil rights marchers in the city of Derry. Thirteen died on that day, a fourteenth died later from injuries he received.**

Subsequently the notorious Widery Tribunal made its unique contribution to the English language, adding a new verb to the dictionary: 'to Widery', that is, to cover-up, distort or white-wash. Eight years have passed since, in which British policy has continued in all its ruthlessness — H-blocks and asSAssinations — though taking greater care to shield itself from international attention.



THE FOURTEEN VICTIMS MURDERED IN COL



JOHN JOHNSON



BERNARD MCGUIGAN



WILLIAM MCKINNEY



JIM WRAY



KEVIN McELHINNEY



MICHAEL McDAID



HUGH GILMOUR



MICHAEL KELLY





BEATHA AGUS SLÁINTE; Agus céad fáilte ag an 75ú Ard-Fheis de Shinn Féin.

We have just completed an extended year of activity since our last Ard-Fheis — a year no less remarkable and eventful than any of the last ten historic years; and a year in which the British army of occupation in Ireland admitted in a secret intelligence assessment — captured by Irish freedom fighters and published by *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, that the war of national liberation of the Irish people could never be defeated by them.

This is something Irish Republicans have known all along, but it is good to know that the British have at least confessed it to each other.

Just as Sinn Féin were alone in commemorating the Diamond Jubilee of 1916, so also were they the only body to celebrate the 60th anniversary of the first meeting of the All-Ireland Dail. Our oft-repeated claim to be the sole and direct lineal successors to these two great events in our history was not contested from any quarter....

The local council elections in the 26 Counties last June saw some of this mass support translated into mass participation in the struggle with an increased number of seats won by Sinn Féin, especially at County Council level....

With the number of our local council seats now increased to 30 and holding this year the chairmanship of Galway Co. Council and Clones Urban Council — with the prospects of the chair in other councils in the future — we still find these elected representatives and all Sinn Féin spokespersons banned from the State-monopoly radio and television — RTE....

Also during the past year Sinn Féin continued its opposition to full EEC membership with a boycott of the EEC elections. These were held on the same day as the local elections in the 26-Counties in which we were very active participants, thus making our tasks contradictory and ensuring a limited response only....

Far from being 'narrow nationalist' and isolationist, we have in the words of the 1916 Proclamation support not only from our 'exiled children in America' but also from 'gallant allies in Europe' some of whom are represented once more at this Ard-Fheis by fraternal delegations and to whom we extend a sincere 'cead míle fáilte'....

We rejoice then, with the people of Iran on the overthrow of the tyrannical regime of the Shah; with the Sandinista Front of Nicaragua on the successful outcome of their war of liberation against the oppressive Somoza dictatorship; we send good wishes to the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe now struggling against the all too familiar combination of British imperialism, settler colonialism and native neo-colonialism and collaboration.

We note in passing that the British government, hypocrites as ever, have no hesitation when it is in their interests to do so, in sitting down and negotiating for over three months with the Patriotic Front, even while the war of liberation continues....

## 'The only difference between the current phase of the age old Irish republican struggle and any other former generation is that it has gone on longer, has achieved more, and is nearer ultimate success than anything in the past'

In particular we send greetings to our Basque, Breton, Corsican and Catalan comrades, to name but some of those struggling for liberation against colonialism within Europe....

Sinn Féin is gratified at the establishment of the broad-based National 'Smash H-Block' Committee on the simple platform of the five demands made by the prisoners themselves for the restoration of prisoner-of-war status. We urge our members to redouble their efforts with the assistance of non-members on this great issue of human rights.

To our prisoners in England and Ireland, and especially to those on protest, some of whom spent their fourth Christmas in the H-Blocks, naked and in solitary confinement, we say: we salute you....

For the record once more, we reject patch-up solutions of an independent six-county State or a federation or confederation of the six-county and 26-county states which would simply shore up the present political establishments and vested interests and prolong strife and instability.

Sinn Féin wants a completely New Ireland, not the old one made in England, by the Government of Ireland Act of 1920, in two parts which it is now proposed to stitch together loosely and pretend that this product is Irish freedom. Anything less than the New Ireland is absolutely unworthy of the sacrifices made by this and preceding generations....

In Ireland, North and South, the economic crisis deepens. Unemployment in the 26-counties has in recent years reached levels unparalleled since the hungry '30s and early '40s. We are told that the unemployment in the six-counties will reach 80,000 by the end of 1980.

Western capitalism has fed on an unjust international economic order which exploited the Third World. Now, as a result of dearer raw materials from a resurgent Third World, it is unable, within the capitalist system, to solve the unemployment crisis....

The alternative is clear: the third way outlined in Eire Nua. The Irish people must take control of their wealth and natural resources and develop them in the interests of our own people....

Le linn na bliana seo caite rinneadh breith Phódraig Mhic Phiarais a chomórán agus ghlac Ghuaisceacht na Poblachta páirt san obair in-mholta sin. Thug an comórán deis dúinn athmhachnamh a dhéanamh ar éacht Mhic Phiarais, ar uaisleacht



RUARI O BRADAIGH

## PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS OF RUARI O BRADAIGH

agus ar úire a aislinge, agus ar thábhacht a theagaisc dúinn i gcónaí.

Tá tábhacht ar leith ag baint leis an bPiarasach i súile lucht na Poblachta ar ndóighe, toisc gurb é a roghnadh le bheith ina Chéad Uachtarán ar an bPoblacht agus ar Rialtas Seailach a fógraíodh um Cháis 1916.

Ach tá tábhacht leis an bhfeis freisin mar gurb é is fearr a thuig b'fhéidir an dualgas a bhí orainn maidir le slánú na Gaeilge agus na Gaeltachta — slánú anam na hÉireann mar a déarfadh sé féin. Is fíor gur thuig daoine eile roimhe agus ó shin an tábacht a bhain leis an oidhreacht chultúrtha agus leis an neamhspleáchas intinne a leanfadh ó chothú na Gaeilge agus gach gné den saocht Ghaelach.

Ach ba é Pádraig Mac Piarais an duine is fearr a thuig, lena linn féin ar aon nós, an géar-riachtanas a bhain le forbairt na Gaeilge mar rud beo i measc an phobail agus a thuig go raibh gá le réabhlóid i gcúrsaí litríochta agus intleachtúla chun sin a thabhairt i gcrích.

B'fhéidir nach bhfuil éinne againn sásta leis an méid a tharla ó shin i leith sna cúrsaí seo ach oiread le cúrsaí eile, cé go bhfuil comharthaí fáis agus dul chun cinn áirithe ann, ainneoin na n-ainneoin. Léiríonn an machnamh a rinne muid ar shaol an Phiarasigh i gcaitheamh na bliana áfach cé chomh hainnis is a bhí cúrsaí ag tús an chéid seo, céin chaoi a bhfuil sruth na staire ag rith inár bhfabhar ar bhealaí ó shin, agus ar ndóighe cad é go díreach is gá a dhéanamh chun clár oideachais Mhic Phiarais a chur i gcrích....

We have seen, and quite rightly so, some condemnation in recent weeks of the Soviet invasion of her less powerful non-aligned neighbour Afghanistan. Nobody seriously believes the Moscow line that the Soviet troops and tanks have been sent in 'to help'. Armies of occupation are always 'sent in to help' — or to 'keep the natives from each other's throats'.

Sinn Féin condemns with all the strength and sincerity at its disposal this latest violation of the national sovereignty of a small nation by a super-power, just as we have joined with the Soviets in condemning American activities in Vietnam and other South-East Asian countries a decade ago, and just as we deplore today Western imperialistic interference in Iran and other Middle Eastern countries, not to mention Latin America....

It has been suggested that those who re-organised the Republican Movement at the time the present phase of the struggle began in 1969-'70 must now be disappointed and that the Irish Republican Leadership today is quite different from that which took up the challenge in 1969....

A time there was when Dr. Daly and other Church leaders used to suggest that the Republican struggle of the 1960s and 1970s was quite new and totally different from what our fathers sought to achieve in 1916 and the Black-and-Tan war. Of course we knew that if you went back to that time you would read accounts of statements to the effect that the struggle of the Black-and-Tan generation was also totally different from something further back and could not be justified. Now it seems the effects of 1969 are to be

painted in a different colour though most of you remember them and most of you took part in them.

It is particularly ironic to hear suggestions about a totally new type of Republican Movement as we enter the 1980s, which is alien to what went before, etc., if only because those who suggest these things must know that a real attempt to take over the Irish national struggle was made in the late 1960s — and was flatly rejected by the members of this Ard-Fheis.

Sinn Féin is constituted in its present form, and we have arrived at our present political programme precisely because we refused in 1969 and 1970 to be dictated to by outside manipulators or to be railroaded into policies and courses of action which are alien to the traditional Irish Republican faith. The success of this Movement since then is proof that we were right.

The only difference between the current phase of the age-old Irish Republican struggle and any other former generation is that it has gone on longer, has achieved more and is nearer ultimate success than anything in the past.

That is why all the forces at the disposal of imperialism, moral, military, propagandistic, diplomatic and political, have been organised as never before in a futile attempt to break us. That is why so many lies have been told about us, while the open expression of our viewpoint has been put down with a unique ruthlessness. Every trick in the bag has been pulled out and every possible meaning and ridiculous suggestion has been made — even the one that there has been a fundamental change since 1969.

But the only thing that has really changed is that we are winning and that the game is up for British interests in Ireland. There is no going back this time, to Stormont, Sunningdale or any other half measure. Britain must declare publicly what she already admits privately: that her days in Ireland are numbered, that she is going to get out.

And we all have to get down to the urgent and difficult task of building a totally New Ireland as soon as the obvious is accepted. Sinn Féin has an important role to play in these developments. Its task as the political vehicle of Irish Republican opinion is becoming increasingly complex and difficult. But we have no intention of giving up now. Too much has been sacrificed by too many under vastly more difficult circumstances in the past.



# A RADICAL UPDATE OF EIRE NUA

**SINN FEIN ARD FHEIS  
SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT**

REPORT BY SEAMUS BOYLE

THE SEVENTY-FIFTH Sinn Fein Ard Fheis, held in Dublin last weekend, passed off extremely successfully.

The several hundred delegates and observers applied themselves in serious fashion to a much-needed up-date of Eire Nua, Sinn Fein's social and economic programme; and after many hours of thorough debate an up-dated version of that programme's introduction was accepted as a policy document of basic Republican objectives and principles.

The Ard Fheis also endorsed the need to build a diversified struggle on many fronts in pursuance of these objectives and therefore supported the proposal to build an economic resistance campaign. And the incoming Ard Comhairle was instructed to prepare a policy programme for consideration by the next Ard Fheis, which is expected to be later this year.

On the Saturday morning of the Ard Fheis after initial formalities and the acceptance of a few minor constitutional changes, the first major session of discussion got properly underway with a debate on 'Policy — Governmental Structures'.

The main resolution, proposed and seconded by Daithí Ó Conaill and Richard Behal on behalf of the Ard Comhairle, was that "the present Eire Nua policy and governmental structures be retained, promoted and publicised during the coming year as the policy of Sinn Fein with any amendments as may be passed by this Ard Fheis."

Although this motion was decisively passed, a Belfast delegate did point out during the discussion that there are those who think that federalism could be described as 'a sop to loyalism' and that

originally, it was perhaps over-hastily adopted to fill a gap when there was a lack of policy.

## DOCUMENT

Most of the rest of Saturday was taken up with a discussion centering around a proposal to accept the draft paper 'Eire Nua — The Social Dimension' as a document of basic Republican objectives and principles. This was proposed and seconded by Ruairí Ó Bradaigh and Gerry Adams on behalf of the Ard Comhairle.

Ruairí Ó Bradaigh explained that entering a new decade Sinn Fein needed a new document, and he urged delegates to support this one. As the document states itself, he said, the whole thrust of it is that its proposals are 'unashamedly democratic and socialist in character' and 'We are uncompromising in smashing the power of the multi-nationals, landlords and ranchers and in utilising and developing the national resources of our country for the benefit of the whole nation of the island and not for any minority, foreign or domestic.'

In seconding the proposal Gerry Adams stated:

"The document is in the radical spirit of republicanism... I believe very firmly that republicanism is a radical philosophy... One of the things that makes us different from pseudo-Republicans such as Flanna Fail or the Republican Clubs is that we are in the radical tradition. The organisations from where we derive our heritage are radical."

Adams concluded: "The document is not enough to overcome the massive inequality that exists where a minority are very rich and the vast majority very poor... but at the least the document 'opens the door' to radical measures."

A number of amendments to the document were proposed from the floor.

Jim Reilly (Luton) proposed that in the reference to 'social justice based on Christian principles' the word 'socialist' should replace 'Christian'. A lively discussion ensued before the amendment was defeated.

Those against argued that 'Christian principles' are what the Irish people stand for, and the movement should not run ahead

of its grass-roots. Those favouring the change pointed out that the separation of church from state is a Republican principle and in line with that, the movement should not dub itself as exclusively 'Christian'.

## CRUCIAL

A crucial amendment was proposed by P.J. Kearney (Connacht), that four points (6,7,8 and 9) dealing with land and private property be deleted. He stressed that many people are worried about the family ownership of land.

In opposing the amendment Deasún Breatnach (Dun Laoghaire) quoted Fintán Lalor on 'land' in favour of the document, which Breatnach described as 'a step forward'.

A keen debate ensued. There was genuine concern, but also confusion, in the minds of a few delegates that the document is an attack on small farmers — yet the opposite is the actual case: it deliberately seeks to protect small farmers.

John Joe McGirl (Leitrim) pointed out: "Ten years ago I parted ways with people whose policies I disagreed with. My politics have not changed and I support points 6,7,8 and 9. Our aim is to have policies capable of stemming the flight from the land."

Caoimhín MacCathmhaoil (Connacht) made the point that the document does not attack the

family farm and Gerry Adams pointed out that as Republicans, 'we are for small farmers' and 'against big ranchers'.

George Stagg (Meath) stressed that he opposed the document, which he saw as possibly being the 'thin end of the wedge' in a 'trend to left-wing socialism' which would 'alienate us from the people'.

Anthony O'Malley Daly (Ballyshannon) endorsed this view.

The amendment however, was overwhelmingly defeated.

## PASSED

Following lunch a number of relatively minor amendments were discussed, and a couple incorporated into the draft document. After further discussion the following motion was overwhelmingly passed:

"(a) That An Ard Fheis accept the draft policy paper from An Ard Comhairle as a policy document of basic Republican objectives and principles.

"(b) That this Ard Fheis accepts the need to up-date the various sections in the form of interim policy documents such as 'The Quality of Life', 'National Offshore' etc. based on the policy points submitted in the Ard Comhairle paper and authorises the incoming Ard Comhairle to draft such documents as the need arises to be presented to the following Ard Fheis.

"(c) That the incoming Ard Comhairle be instructed by An Ard Fheis to prepare a policy programme for consideration by the next Ard Fheis, to be circulated three months prior to the Ard Fheis."

## REPORTS

A day of serious debate — participated in, and followed by, the delegates with keen interest — was completed with a series of reports.

A financial report was given by Tony Ruane, joint treasurer, a National Finance Committee report by its chairman George Lynch, and a Republican Commemoration Committee report by Lita Campbell.

An *Phoblacht/Republican News* editor Danny Morrison gave a report on the fusion of the two papers one year ago, and its subsequent development. A Belfast delegate resolutely defended the name 'Republican News' as a symbol of resistance, when a proposal, which was subsequently defeated, was raised from the floor to remove the 'Republican News' heading from the paper.

## ELECTORAL

Sunday's first session was on 'Electoral Policy'.

A proposal that Sinn Fein policy with regard to local elections be 'uniform throughout the thirty-two counties', that is, that Sinn

Fein participate in the North as well as the South was referred to the Ard Comhairle for consideration, but no motion was expressed.

Two further resolutions were brought to the rostrum, one for 'green light' for emotional speeches.

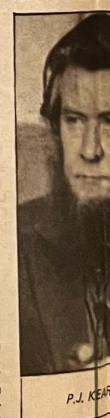
P.J. Kearney (St. James) said that "Sinn Fein at the next general election should win 26-counties, with their seats when elected recognition of leins for tactical reasons."

Ruairí Ó Bradaigh and both strove to put the motion in the leadership. House) and that the members should not be complicit in elections as being aligned with the people, the motion was almost unanimously rejected.

James McGinnis proposed that "to prevent the participation of Irish collaborators in elections, either in the Assembly, we should them on an abstinent



Foreign observers at the Ard Fheis being introduced by Richard Behal (Foreign Affairs Bureau).



P.J. KEARNEY





Serious debate was participated in, and followed by, the delegates with keen interest over two days last weekend in Dublin.

ate in local elections as well as the South, to the incoming Ard after some serious... but with reservation expressed by several... resolutions then... of speakers rush... strum, and gave 'the... for a series of... eshes.

ney (Silgo) proposed... Fein should contest... eral election in the... with a view to taking... hen elected, not as... of Leinster House, but... asons."

Bradraigh and George... strongly objected... motion, and to the... nation, which they... ing Republican prin... despite a powerful... by P.J. Kearney, that... uld have 'more faith... ship' (which would... rrupted by Leinster... that the people take... ions and 'we should... ourselves with the... motion was defeated... ually.

Given (Dungannon)... at "in order to... participation of native... ators in forthcoming... er Parliamentary or... ve should contest... stentationist basis".



KEARNEY

Mary McDermott (Belfast) pointed out that based on Sinn Fein's experiences in the six-counties last year in the Westminster and EEC elections (which Sinn Fein respectively, ignored and actively boycotted), that Sinn Fein should stand 'abstentionist' candidates to give the nationalist people an alternative, and to stop collaborators from getting into office.

Another Belfast delegate replied that Republican policy must be based on a rejection of British imperialism, not of Gerry Fitt.

The motion, amended to 'consider contesting them' (Parliamentary or Assembly elections) on an abstentionist basis, was only narrowly defeated.

#### SILENCE

With the conclusion of that section Tom Marry spoke on behalf of An Cumann Cabhrach, and appealed for more financial assistance from Sinn Fein to the central fund for prisoners' dependants.

One minute's silence was then observed in memory of IRA Volunteer Kevin Delaney (Ballymurphy) and two civilians, tragically killed in a premature bomb explosion on a train in Belfast three days previously.

The conference now moved away from internal debate more towards a public platform for the movement with the admittance of the press and TV cameras.

#### FOREIGN

Richard Behal (Foreign Affairs Bureau) presented foreign observers from OUT (Portugal), EIA (Basque country), TOM (Britain, Women and Ireland (London), 'Pablo' (France), Kommunistischer Bund (Germany), PTE (Spain), VS (Denmark), LCR (France), Comitato Irlanda Milano (Italy), Comite Irlanda (France), Comite Irland (Brittany) and Irlanda Libre (France).

Short speeches in solidarity with the Irish national liberation struggle were delivered by a leader of the Basque national liberation movement EIA and by revolutionary General 'Otelio' Saraiva de Carvalho, who in the words of Richard Behal 'represents the struggling people of Portugal and of the former Portuguese colonies'.

Otelio said what a 'deep honour' it was for him to be



OTELO

present at the conference and stated, "This the most important struggle in Europe... belongs to all the people in the world as the struggle in Portugal did."

Messages of support were also received from SWAPO (Namibia), FSLN (Nicaragua), EPLF (Eritrea), FRETELIN (East Timor), Partido Socialista (Chile), FNC (Catalonia) PSU (France), PLS (Belgium), SOAK-CTS (Luxembourg), Democracia Proletaria (Italy), Arbeid (Flanders), Cornish Nationalist Party, Scottish Republican Socialist Clubs, Anti-Militarist Alliance (Isle of Man), Ireland Komitee (Holland), Irlands Komiteen (Norway), Irlanda Libre (Belgium), 'Hands off Ireland' (Britain), and Ireland Solidarity Committee (Switzerland).

#### O BRADAIGH

Having received a standing ovation Ruairi O Bradaigh then delivered his presidential address (a major part of which is re-printed on page (II) of this supplement), with his usual professional competence.

After lunch it unfortunately became apparent that whole sections of the Clar would have to be scrapped, with no motions being taken on General, Internal, Organisation, Culture and Education, Foreign Affairs or Miscellaneous. A frustrating situation, but the 'Economic Resistance' section of the document 'Eire Nua — the Social Dimension' (a section which is an up-dating of the second chapter of 'Eire Nua') had to be discussed, and so the chair quickly

moved the conference on.

Ruairi O Bradaigh proposed acceptance of the up-dated 'economic resistance campaign' which he explained had many parts unchanged. O Bradaigh stressed the need for 'political mass organisation to back up military struggle' and spelt out in accordance with the document the various middle and working class elements and organisations who would make up the back-bone of such a campaign.

He said that "we have to bring these people with us, as the leadership of revolutionary forces", and that in contrast, "we would find that those on the side of British occupation would be on the side of economic exploitation".

Gerry Adams, seconding the campaign's adoption, said: "The



RITA O'HARE

British have realised that there can be no military victory, it is time that Republicans also realised that there can be no military victory."

He said: "We have to link up with other people and show our struggle is their struggle, their struggle is our struggle.... We have to do the work in the '80s, that we have neglected in the '70s."

In the discussion from the floor, Michael Flanagan (Dublin) stressed the need to build a well-oiled political machine to complement the military struggle and Eddie Fullerton (Buncrana) said through such a programme Sinn Fein could give a revolutionary lead to the people.

The Economic Resistance Campaign was accepted almost unanimously.

A common sentiment from delegates, with respect to various supplementary resolutions on social and economic questions, which were passed unanimously, was that similar resolutions had been passed before, so 'what about the action?' this time.

#### WOMEN

A resolution was unanimously passed directing the Ard Comhairle to formulate a policy document on women's rights for discussion at the next Ard Fheis. Powerful speeches were delivered by Rita O'Hare (Dun Laoghaire), Cora Marshall (Dublin) and Marie Moore (Belfast).

Rita O'Hare, in a very well-received speech, warned that women in the movement are 'no longer going to take the situation as it is'; Cora Marshall read a statement from the Co-ordinating Committee on Women's Affairs, and Marie Moore spoke out about the degrading treatment of women in Armagh prison.

It was noticeable, as if to reinforce the points made by the women, that only a couple of men spoke on this subject, at the end of a long queue of women — in sharp contrast to the rest of the conference, male-dominated except for the menial tasks.

#### PRISONERS

A comprehensive POW Department report was delivered by Tom Hartley, who quoted a veteran Republican who considers that "the blanket-men of Long Kesh have managed after eight hundred years of the Irish people struggling

to gain their freedom, to introduce a new dimension of courage to that struggle."

Gerry Brannigan (H-Block Information Centre) read a statement from the blanket-men, thanking Sinn Fein members for their consistent support and strongly urging, from a 'position of total dependence', support for the broad-based National H-Block Committee.

In one of the most heated debates of the weekend doubts were vociferously expressed by two Belfast delegates about the efficacy of, or need for, the National H-Block Committee (particularly as it had filed with the RUC for the Belfast New Year's Day march).

George Lynch, a member of the Southern-based sub-committee of the Committee, pointed out that there is a role for Sinn Fein (holding pickets, vigils and meetings, leafletting and lobbying), a vacuum need not exist, and Sinn Fein should be mobilising for the Committee's programme of marches.

Liam Haddock (Lurgan) criticised the lack of active support from Sinn Fein within the Relatives Action Committees, whilst Liam Cotter (Kerry) made a very popular speech calling for militant and frequent lobbying of Fianna Fail TDs to speak out on the H-blocks.

Martha McClelland (Derry), a member of the National H-Block Committee, in one of the best argued contributions of the weekend, stressed that the existence of the Committee is no excuse for



MARTHA MCCLELLAND

Sinn Fein not getting on with H-block work. And in a sombre summing-up Tom Hartley stressed the need to broaden support for the blanket-men in order to stop dead bodies coming out of Long Kesh.

A frequent theme of the debate was that the political status struggle will be won, but at what terrible cost to the men involved?

#### FINAL

In the final section on Publicity, the director of publicity Sean O Bradaigh introduced his report. He was backed up by Frank Glynn (Chairman of Galway County Council) who vigorously condemned section 31 of the Broadcasting Act which bars Sinn Fein from RTE.

Jimmy Drumm (Belfast) inspired the biggest laugh of the weekend when he said, referring to media distortion, doubtless the media will be reporting on 'hawks' and 'doves' at the conference, "Well I've been called a 'god-father' but that's wrong, I've never stood for a child in my life."

By special request from the Sean Tracy cumann, Dublin, just before the conference ended, one motion on 'Youth' was taken, and passed, that "an all-Ireland youth conference be held for the youth in Sinn Fein within the forth coming year".



**SINN FEIN  
ARD FHEIS  
SPECIAL  
SUPPLEMENT**

# EIRE NUA—

## The social dimension

**'Democratic and socialist proposals in the tradition of the visionaries of 1916'**

AN up-dated version of the introduction to Eire Nua (the social and economic programme of Sinn Féin) was accepted at last weekend's Ard Fheis as a policy document of basic Republican objectives and principles. After a brief pre-ambule the document spells out the basic principles which are the foundation stones of the Republican Movement, as enunciated by Padraic Pearse on the Irish Nation and Freedom, and a quote from Connolly re-affirms the Movement's intention to replace capitalism with socialism. Developments which invoked the necessity for the policy updating are pointed to and the objective of de-centralised government is re-affirmed.

The bulk of the document is then as follows:-

The philosophy of Irish Republicanism, since founded by Wolfe Tone, has pin-pointed the breaking of the British connection as the major objective; the first step in physically separating the dominated Ireland from the imperialist occupation and from which could then come the unity of the people and economic, cultural and social freedom.

So after British withdrawal political control in the new Ireland without control of the wealth, economy and resources of the country is clearly insufficient. Republicans are intent on restoring the ownership of Ireland to the people of Ireland.

For too long the wealth of Ireland, Irish labour and the means of production have been exploited in the interests of foreign capitalists and their allies, native capitalists. The rightful owners of Irish wealth have suffered as a consequence.

The social and economic programme envisaged by Sinn Féin entails the placing of the Irish wealth in the hands of the people, to be exploited and developed by them in the interests of all the people. In the words of the Democratic Programme of Dail Eireann, 1919, which quoted Padraic Pearse: "We declare that the nation's sovereignty extends not only to all men and women of the nation, but to all its material possessions; the nation's soil and all its resources, all the wealth and all the wealth-producing processes within the nation and with Pearse we re-affirm that all rights to private property must be subordinate to the public right and welfare."

In summary, Sinn Féin seeks to establish a system in which exploitation of man by man will not feature and which will be truly democratic right down through society.

"We declare that we desire our country to be ruled in accordance with the principles of Liberty, Equality and Justice for all, which alone can secure permanence of government in the willing adhesion of the people." (Democratic Programme of Dail Eireann, 1919).

To ensure ownership by the people the following basic principles apply:

1 The wealth of Ireland belongs to the people and is theirs to be exploited and developed in their interests.

2 To ensure justice for all, the means of production, distribution and exchange must be controlled by the people and administered democratically.

3 The State will have complete control over the import and export of capital.

4 Finance, insurance and all key industries must be brought under public control. The principle agent of major development in industry, agriculture and fisheries must be the democratic institutions of the people.

5 All mineral resources belong as of right to the entire people (nation). The extraction and processing of such resources shall be nationalised or taken into community control.

A national exploration programme to monitor continuously in a co-ordinated and planned way the extent and potential of our natural mineral and energy resources would be established.

6 Land is a natural resource to which there is no absolute title by any individual or group of individuals short of the entire nation. It must be utilised and controlled in the interests of the nation in the form of family or co-operative custodial ownership.

An upper limit will be placed on the amount of land any one individual may own. Limits on ownership should relate to the productive capacity rather than acreage. Large ranches and estates will be taken over and leased to groups of families to run on co-operative lines. Only resident citizens of the Republic will be allowed to own, purchase or lease land within Ireland. Building land will not be the means of enrichment of private individuals. It will instead be the subject of compulsory purchase by the State or the local authority concerned, at a price related to its agricultural value. The land will then be transferred by the State to the individual or body developing it. The owner will be compensated or given an option on an equivalent holding elsewhere. Ground Rent will be abolished.

7 No person should have the means economically to exploit his fellow man. Therefore there is the need to differentiate between two types of ownership.

(a) Sinn Féin upholds the basic right of people to ownership of personal non-productive property such as houses, clothes, food etc. We accept the right to ownership of small businesses.

(b) We deny the right to personal ownership of productive property such as a large farm or a large factory. This type of ownership involves the exploitation of other people's labour for personal gain and is alien to Republican principles. This type of enterprise should be co-operatively owned.

(c) Public ownership or control shall be interpreted as control by the people at the lowest possible unit of government consistent with their requirements.

8 Other sectors will be controlled by workers, farmers and fishermen owning an economic unit of the means of production and by

their control of distribution and exchange. These enterprises will be co-operative in nature, based on the principles of industrial democracy and the Comhar na gComharán philosophy which is founded on the right of worker-ownership and is native Irish as well as being co-operative or distributist in character. Each individual worker will own an economic unit of the means of production in the form of farm, workshop, business or share in a factory or other co-operative. Credit Unions will play an important role in this type of development.

9 Private enterprise will have no place in key industries and State incentives will favour co-operative projects as the most socially desirable. Only resident citizens shall be allowed to have a controlling interest in an Irish industry.

Small local businesses will be permissible provided no exploitation occurs. There would be an upper limit to the size of any private enterprise. Anything above this limit will come under community or co-operative ownership. Where private enterprise is permitted there shall be workers' participation.

10 Every person shall have free access to all educational facilities according to his or her natural ability. This right extends to free medical and social welfare facilities.

11 Every family has the right to ownership and security of housing.

12 Security against arbitrary arrest or detention will be guaranteed.

13 All citizens irrespective of sex, age, or religious convictions shall have equal rights.

14 The Irish language and Irish culture will have an important part in the national effort and their strengthening will have special attention. Sinn Féin will strive for a situation where the Irish language will become the everyday language of the people.

15 An independent stand will be taken in foreign policy. The independent Irish Republic will be neutral in all power-bloc conflicts. Power blocs such as NATO and the EEC, on the one hand and COMECON and the Warsaw Pact on the other will be avoided. Trade will be expanded with the smaller and neutral nations of Europe and with the countries of the Third World in Asia, Africa and Latin America. We have more in common with the developing countries of the world (where two-thirds of the world's population live) than we have with the rich club of former colonial powers in the EEC, and so we would hope to associate ourselves by membership of the non-aligned group of nations.

The above proposals are unashamedly democratic and socialist in character. Some people may claim that the proposals are too visionary. It is visionary to propose means whereby Ireland may support an expanding population in increasing prosperity, cherishing all her children equally, then we are in the tradition of the visionaries of 1916.

## THE INCOMING ARD COMHAIRLE

### Officers



Ruairi O Bradaigh — President



Sean O Bradaigh — Publicity



Daithi O Conaill — Vice-President



Gerry Adams — Vice-President



Joe Cahill — General Secretary



Walter Lynch — General Secretary



Charlie McGlade — Treasurer



Tony Ruane — Treasurer

### Members



Danny Morrison (Belfast)



Tom Hartley (Belfast)



John Joe McGriff (Leitrim)



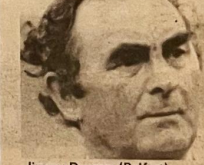
George Stagg (Meath)



Richard Behal (Kerry)



Joe O'Neill (Bundoran)



Jimmy Drumm (Belfast)



Marie Moore (Belfast)



# BLOODY SUNDAY—DERRY

Two articles are printed here:-  
Some tragic 'Recollections' by relatives and eye-witnesses — no attempt has been made to provide a comprehensive or chronological account of what happened on that terrible day as that has been done many times before: for example, the special eight-page commemorative supplement to Republican News, January 28th, 1978.

And 'A Bereaved Father's View' by Jim Wray — this article is based on an interview given to AP/RN by Jim Wray, whose like-named twenty-three-year-old son was slain in cold-blood on Bloody Sunday.



BLOOD BY BRITISH PARA-TROOPERS



JOHN YOUNG

PATRICK DOHERTY

GERALD MCKINNEY



JACK DUDDY

GERALD DONAGHEY

WILLIAM NASH



## A bereaved father's view

BY JIM WRAY

AS A RELATIVE, I'm pleased that people have not forgotten those who died on Bloody Sunday. But I feel strongly that we should not simply be at the march this coming Sunday to commemorate the dead, but to re-dedicate ourselves to the principles for which these people died: an end to oppression by a foreign government.

What happened on Bloody Sunday eight years ago was deliberate and cold-blooded murder. Two people were shot fifteen minutes before anyone else, at the top of William Street. One was John Johnston, a man not even going on the march, just walking down from his home. The Brits waited for fifteen minutes and when there was no return fire, went ahead with the rest of their plan, simple murder of unarmed marchers...

Bloody Sunday was not an over-reaction on the part of the British army; it was a political exercise planned at the highest level in Whitehall. The British had no answer to thousands of people appearing on the streets seeking justice, so they had to frighten them off the streets. And in a sense, it was a victory for the British. For a time afterwards civil rights went underground.

The Widgery Tribunal and its findings were disgusting. There should have been an international tribunal: here were fourteen people of one nationality murdered on the streets of their own city by soldiers of another nationality.

I went up to Coleraine prior to the tribunal and told Widgery himself that he was not a fit man to try the British army. This was a serious charge — murder — and he himself was an ex-Brigadier of the same army.

They couldn't have picked a weaker defence team for the

relatives. Also, the terms of reference for the tribunal were from the firing of the first shot to the end of the shooting — a total of about forty minutes, excluding all else, the planning, background, etc.

Yet the Queen's Counsel for the British army was permitted to delve into young Nash's background, even attempting to prove he had been an unruly schoolboy.

A further sordid detail was a fiddled death certificate. Some time later we were posted Jim's death certificate, but we refused it for it listed 'gunshot wounds to the chest' as the cause of death. Yet he was shot five times, three times in the back!

Clearly this was an attempt to cover their tracks for the future. We sent the certificate back, but they returned it to us by registered mail.

I'll never forget the words of the Coroner, Major Hubert O'Neill, a mild man and former British army: 'This was murder. The streets of our city ran red with the blood of young men.'

This was not an act against individuals, this was an attack on an entire marching people. Those who died on Bloody Sunday were an illustration of Britain's shameful means of rule here. It was collective murder.

It hurts me to say this, but people allowed Bloody Sunday to become a victory for the British army: it did put the people off the streets. I don't condemn anyone who feels fear. Fear is normal. Courage is overcoming fear to do what you judge right.

Everyone can feel fear, but everyone has a responsibility not to spread fear. Everyone can do something, whether writing letters abroad and to influential people, encouraging those already involved or going on marches. Above all, one can refuse to remain silent in the face of injustice and evil.

Not enough people allow themselves to become involved. The struggle for basic rights and human liberty has been placed on the shoulder of a few organisations who have kept this struggle going for the past decade. This simply isn't good enough. Everyone must take a part.

People marched ten years ago for their basic human rights and against injustice. Today, it is more necessary to march in the street than it was ten years ago; repression of all sorts — arrests, harassment, torture, political imprisonment — has increased ten-fold since then.

Even in the face of this greater oppression, I'm still optimistic. There are those who refuse to be intimidated. You have only to think of those in the H-Blocks, and those who carry on the military struggle.

Being the father of one of the victims of Bloody Sunday, I'm always thankful for those who attend the commemoration. But it must be emphasised that those who died that day were only a minority of those destroyed by British rule here. A very brutal assault on human dignity happens every day in this city, each time a house is raided....







# A CHARMING LADY, AN APPALLING MAGAZINE, AND A SNOWBALL

**MORNIN' ALL.** Quite a busy week really. First of all I had to travel to Dublin to co-ordinate the hunt for the kidnappers of the Scully family. Gerry Collins, the Justice Minister had called me in so that my expertise in these matters could be put to great use.

Everything went splendidly and the Gardaí got great publicity, made over thirty arrests and seemed well on the way to wrapping the whole case up. After receiving their profuse thanks, I hopped into my private helicopter and winged my way back to Belfast, taking care to fly particularly high over Crossmaglen.

Imagine my chagrin however on picking up the papers the next day only to discover that the Gardaí had blown it all. They had lost the ransom money, had arrested the wrong people and had been forced to let them all go.

Well, I for one, am not prepared to carry the can for the bogtrotters. It's the last time I'll venture down there I can assure you. Pity, though, I must admit that the teshuck (which is what they call the Prime Minister) was most hospitable.

## LADY

A charming lady, Terry Keane, who, I gather, is a very good personal friend of Mr. Haughey, was detailed to entertain me and acquitted herself most ably in the role. She told me that she is married to Judge Ronan Keane who has a reputation for handing out

swinging sentences on dissidents, strikers, journalists, shoplifting housewives, and, in fact, just about anyone who isn't a property speculator. He seems a good egg, and is certainly most understanding about his wife's social friendships.

## MAGAZINE

Anyway, back in Belfast and who should come to see me but David Rodgers.

Davy, as you all no doubt are aware, is the Editor of *'Police Beat'*, the official magazine of the Royal Ulster Constabulary Police Federation of Northern Ireland. He gave me a copy and asked for my candid opinion of it. I have rarely been so embarrassed!

Quite frankly, it is appalling. To start with the title.

Hopeless!

We all know police beat people up, but do we admit it? We do not! Then the advertisements. The first one is for some wretched book by a Ben Forde, a CID detective, called *'Hope in Bomb City'* which purports to 'tell the true story of how God is working through our troubles and the bomb squad.'

Then follows an article on the Christian Police Association, (I swear it!) who are pictured stand-

ing with Cliff Richard, who had just come out of some closet or other and attended the Christian Holiday Crusade at Filly. Too sickmaking, my dears!

Worse was to come. There was an obsequious little poem to 'Sir' Ken Newman. It included verses like: *'Firm but fair to all concerned, considerate to his men, loyal to his Queen and country, a great man was 'Sir Ken'.*

And *'But should he ever here return, visit again our shore, a warm welcome here awaits him, from Ulster people once more.'*

Then a roundup of RUC Sport, including a picture of a group of them guzzling free beer in Bermuda where, and I quote *'they were wine and dined and treated like royalty by the Governor of Bermuda and millionaires who laid on the red carpet treatment'*.

This is the RUC Rugby team, who, by their own accounts did nothing but scrounge drink and boast about how many people they had beaten up in Castlereagh, which is, to say the least, very indiscreet.

I toned my remarks down as much as I could, but I still saw that he was somewhat abashed as he backed out of my office cowering. I assigned the magazine to the most appropriate little room in the house and got back to my desk. The work was piling up.

## SNOWBALL

What to do, for example, about Captain Andrew Michael Snowball?



**By Maurice**

The bold Captain, as you no doubt are all aware had just been charged with withholding information about two murders committed by Sgt Stanley Hattaway, Sgt John Byrne and former private Fletcher Chestnutt, all of the Argyle and Sutherland Fusiliers in Fermanagh back in October 1972.

Is Snowball only the tip of the iceberg, I ask myself. Are we in a 'cat out of the bag situation'?

You may scoff, but it is policy decisions like this that take up so much of my time. Finally I decided to see what old Newman had to say on the subject. As you know, he and I had our differences, so much so, in fact, that I had to give him the boot, but I had in front of me a copy of his speech to the Guild of British Newspaper Editors. Here are some of the things that he had to say.

*'I must make it clear I do not believe in censorship. I believe in a free Press and in a strong healthy provincial press. A well conducted police should have nothing to fear from the press and the public.'*

I'm sorry, I thought my old eyes were starting to play tricks on me.

Why I can recall his efforts to help the circulation of this very paper by arresting all the staff so that he and his men could have a little journalistic chat with them. Since then circulation has soared.

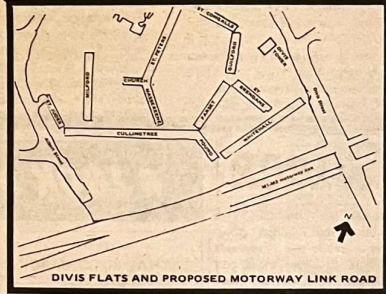
Now that he's gone, I've almost started to miss him.

And I do so miss the companionship of Terry Keane, with whom, I may as well confess, I was just a bit smitten. Ah well, it looks like a boring old time for your old bachelor chum.

Maurice the Mole.



The Whitehall block — one of only two Divis blocks to be demolished in the latest Brit plan



DIVIS FLATS AND PROPOSED MOTORWAY LINK ROAD

# Divis residents angry

BY SEAN DELANEY

THE RESIDENTS of Divis flats in West Belfast have, not surprisingly, responded angrily to last week's Housing Executive proposals (approved by the British government) to only partially demolish the complex and to waste £5 million on a major face-lift exercise.

The Divis complex consists of twelve deck-access blocks, six storeys high, the twenty-storey Divis tower block and two more recent medium-rise blocks.

Plans announced by Brit Environment Minister Philip Goodhart would mean the demolition of only two blocks, Whitehall and Farset, which house only 500 of the 3,000 residents, and an average of £8,750 to be spent on cosmetic repairs on each flat in the remaining ten deck-access blocks. Whitehall would be demolished first with its residents being re-housed in 115 new terraced houses.

But not only do these plans go nowhere near the residents' demand for a total demolition of Divis flats, they have also been advanced amid a web of characteristic lies and preconditions.

The entire scheme hinges on the completion of a multi-million M1 — M2 link road, passing only a few yards from the new houses. And only after this road was built — no sooner than 1982 — would the Divis 'rehabilitation' scheme gradually begin.

Furthermore, in a typical 'divide and conquer' attempt to cause dissension within Divis, Goodhart has threatened that continuing the campaign to totally demolish the flats could prevent any rehousing of residents.

Exactly what opposition this sickening Brit hypocrisy faces was spelt out at a several-hundred strong meeting last Sunday, organised by the Divis Demolition Commi-

tee. The meeting overwhelmingly agreed to prevent the demolition of Whitehall and Farset blocks and the building of a link road until a commitment is given to demolish the entire complex. The cosmetic patch-up of the other flats will not be allowed either, as it can only delay the inevitable demolition of the complex. Already, last Friday, residents successfully prevented the carrying out of major alterations.

No doubt Divis residents will now be accused by the Brits of living in deliberately self-inflicted housing misery! Now where have we heard something like that before?



# APOCALYPSE NOW!

FILM REVIEW BY BRENDAN MCCABE

**A YOUNG VIETNAMESE GIRL** rushes up to an American helicopter which has landed after taking part in a raid on her village, massacring most of the inhabitants. She throws a grenade into it and blows it up. Two American soldiers fall from the wreck their bodies blazing.

Watch carefully for this scene in 'Apocalypse Now' for if you are a freedom-lover it is the only part of the film that you will appreciate, since the rest of it shows scenes of imperialist violence — such as happy-go-lucky Americans merrily machine-gunning 'gooks' from the safety of overflying helicopters.

'Apocalypse Now' directed by Francis Coppola (director of the 'God-father' films), took over three years and thirty million dollars to complete, and has been hailed as a 'controversial' film. In fact it is a much more honest, and explicit, film than its predecessor 'The Deer Hunter' in its portrayal of American barbarity in Vietnam and about a million light years away from the ridiculous 'Green Berets'.

One of the most interesting aspects of the film is its exposure of the mentality of the American soldiers. Far from being presented as a dedicated believer of the American way of life fighting against the evils of communism — the average GI appears as just an ordinary guy having a bit of fun out in Asia (at the expense of the natives).

## MISSION

The story is a fairly simple one and really only serves to string together other aspects of the film — like its supposedly moral and philosophical message.

Captain Willard (played by Michael Sheen) is a Special Forces officer who is sent up the Mekong river on a secret mission to assassinate a renegade American Officer, Colonel Kurtz (Marlon Brando), who is doing his own thing up in Cambodia with a motley collection of ex-GIs, Vietnamese and local tribesmen under his command.

The pretext for the assassination

is that Colonel Kurtz has gone mad and has committed atrocities. But when the hero, Captain Willard reaches Vietnam to begin his mission, he discovers that there is enough lunacy and murder going on by the regular American forces and begins to suspect that there are political reasons behind the assassination plot, (simply that Kurtz is out of the control of the American army) rather than the unlikely moral ones.

This could have been an interesting theme for the film, but it was never really developed.

## JOURNEY

'Apocalypse Now' is meant to be a modern version of Joseph Conrad's novel 'Heart of Darkness' in which the narrator embarks on a horrific journey up the river Congo to encounter, at the heart of the 'dark' continent, the ghastly Mr. Kurtz, a model colonialist who has succumbed to the lure of the 'primitive' and sunk into obscene rites, lordling it over mesmerised natives.

The film is really in two parts neither of which compliment each other. Firstly Captain Willard's arrival in Vietnam and his voyage up the Mekong river. This part is very real — an unmistakable portrayal of imperialism in action.

The second part is his experiences after he meets Colonel Kurtz and contains the pretentious philosophical aspect, as well as a subtle propaganda message.

Even before Captain Willard meets the mad 'Colonel' the way that certain scenes are treated betrays the imperialist and racist mentality behind the film.

For instance, while the Vietnamese villagers are gunned down like so many rats, whenever an American gets killed it is treated in the typical Hollywood slobbering sentimental style, contradicting the

supposedly cynical approach of the film towards war and death — cynicism reserved only for the deaths of the Vietnamese.

One of the most extraordinary scenes is when American helicopters play Wagner music over Hi-Fi systems while shooting up a village. If this was done to highlight the callousness of the Americans it didn't work. Many people in the audience thought it was supposed to be a funny bit and laughed at the appropriate moments when the 'gooks' were blown to smithereens at the crash of cymbals.

## MESSAGE

There has been a lot of rubbish talked about the 'philosophical and metaphysical' aspects of the film, while ignoring its political message.

The reviewer in 'Hibernia' (Conor Sweeney in the January 3rd issue) even suggested that the hero's voyage up the Mekong river was a voyage of self-discovery and that Kurtz was his alter-ego.

It is true that a more suitable

ending than the one released, given the build-up through the film, is a previous version where instead of Willard going back to America after he has killed Kurtz, he takes over in line with the fertility myth of an old, sick and impotent king being sacrificed by the young king who supplants him. (In fact it may well have been political pressure which forced director Coppola to have the American 'hero' win through rather than become totally corrupted.)

Coppola claims that the film is all about morality. If there is a moral message then it is on such an abstract plain that it completely escapes me.

The basic morality that it is wrong to kill innocent people does not come over at all. If you see the film and find that the philosophical aspect escapes you as well, it could be that it does not have any to offer.

## RATIONAL

However the political message is a little easier to grasp. The whole

tone of the film, littered with dead bodies of 'gooks' suggests that what happened in Vietnam was owing to some irrational peculiar American personality disorder — rather than the rational and profitable business of imperialism. . .

## BLOW

And the final propaganda blow comes in the last stages of the film.

Kurtz, sounding more and more like John Wayne, reveals that the reason for his bloodthirsty insanity is because he witnessed an atrocity by the Viet Cong and that it was this that deranged his mind! Heaven forbid that brutality is part and parcel of imperialism!

However despite its weaknesses it's a film worth seeing. The acting is very good apart from Marlon Brando as Kurtz, who is his usual self-indulgent almost incoherent self. And if viewers can see through the subtle propaganda structure of the film — and resist the charm of the American soldiers — it should strengthen any anti-imperialist sentiment they have.



The pretext for the assassination is that Colonel Kurtz has gone mad and has committed atrocities. But when the hero, Captain Willard (played by Michael Sheen, pictured here) reaches Vietnam to begin his mission, he discovers that there is enough lunacy and murder going on by the regular American forces.

## Wicca

WICCA is published by a Dublin-based feminist group who link the women's struggle to wider social and political issues, moving away from the generally middle class orientation of the women's movement in the previous decade.

The latest issue deals with the working conditions of nurses, the suppression of women in Iran as well as having an article supporting the women on protest in Amhail.

Wicca states bluntly that the reason for the degradation of the women through denial of political status is because 'Britain found it easier to justify their presence in Ireland by portraying opposition to it as mindless criminal violence'.

Wicca points out that part of the degradation that the prisoners suffer is because 'Sanitary towels are given out on the same day every month - too bad if your period comes early'.

On an article on depression suffered by women Wicca states that this is often a result of 'a society that insists that women's

## A LOOK AT THE LEFT PRESS

BY CATHAL MCCORMACK

primary function is to look after men and children, but refuses to recognise the value and the worth of what they are doing."

The article says with justification that before the women's movement "women were not allowed to publicly question the traditional values" (of womanhood).

The most interesting article in the magazine is about William Thompson, the 19th century socialist and forerunner of James Connolly who realised that the women's struggle was part of the struggle for socialism.

It ends with a quote from Thompson: "As your bondage has chained down man to the ignorance and vices of despotism, so will your liberation reward him with knowledge, with freedom and happiness."

Published by the Communist Party of Ireland

## UNITY

Unity is the fortnightly Northern journal of the Communist Party of Ireland.

The editorial is devoted to the steel strike in Britain. While the steel strike does of course deserve support from Irish trade unionists, to give it such prominence in an Irish socialist paper is odd — especially since there is little that Irish trade unionists can directly do to help these particular strikers.

In fact the reader could be forgiven for believing that there was nothing really important or interesting going on in the six-counties. For practically the whole paper is devoted to international affairs or British oriented industrial news. The Tory economic policies which affect the British workers primarily are attacked, while the policies directed exclusively at the Irish are ignored.

It is possible to read better coverage of Irish affairs in some of the English socialist papers!

## IRISH SOCIALIST

Strangely enough the Irish Socialist also produced by the Communist Party but in the South always carries at least two major articles about the national question. The reason why *Unity* is so much weaker is of course because of the sectarian set up in the six-counties, which unfortunately penetrates the minds of some would-be socialists.

In an article about Charles Haughey they hit the nail on the head by stating that the collaboration of the Free State with the Brits 'reflected the fears of the Irish bourgeoisie concerning a change of social structure, which would obviously be brought about by unity'.

However their analysis is not always sound particularly when they try to explain away the Republican Movement, or the reasons for their own insignificance.

The editorial is a review of the last decade, and is partly an apology for the CP's miserable association with the Sticks.

They say that by the early 1970s, 'The Provisionals arose responding to British violence, but by their actions slowly let Britain off the international hook, and their military campaign sabotaged the democratic struggle led by the NICRA'.

The article goes on, 'Elitist politicians emerged to insist...that politics be confined to the polite negotiations of parliamentary arenas'.

What the article does not state is that these 'Elitist politicians' (Hume, Curry, Fitt, etc) came directly from the ranks of NICRA and that 'polite negotiations' were the only possible end result of the civil rights campaign if the IRA had not brought that campaign to the new level of national liberation.

## COMMENT

Comment the fortnightly paper of the British and Irish Communist organisation has a full page article criticising the new Gaeltacht Authority — Udras na Gaeltachta.

While legitimate criticism may

be levelled at this body *Comment* criticises the idea of the Gaeltacht areas having any separate identity, questioning the wisdom of preserving the Irish language.

In fact most of the 'agro' in the article is directed at the native Irish speaking community. They are referred to as 'the local lunatic gaelgair fringe' and 'the most reactionary and backward elements in Southern society'.

This is logical, but ironic, criticism from the B & I CO given that they support the British occupation in the North, and believe the loyalists to be the most progressive force in Northern society.

The article concludes with a last burst of racist hysteria (with the usual 'socialist' coating) by saying that the establishment of the Udras na Gaeltachta 'is a sop to the lunatic petty bourgeois fringe who would have us all back in the pre-famine cabbage patch'.

Those who ask why should the Irish language be preserved, really mean instead why should it not be destroyed, thus finishing off the work of British imperialism. However judging by the sneering insults directed against the rural Irish in the article, the pro-imperialism of the B & I CO is compounded with the worst type of city snobbery.





Ar nGaeltae - Lenár linn?

# Dhá litir

le Seosamh Mac Mathuna

Foilsíodh dhá litir san Irish Press an tseachtain seo chaite a leiríonn an drochstaide sna Gaeltachtaí faoi láthair. Tá na Gaeltachtaí ag meath in aghaidh an lae agus tá soléiríú le fáil sna litreacha ar na cúiseanna le seo.

Deineann Maoltheachlainn Ó Caoilín na cúiseanna a chiorú agus deirneann sé:

Bheadh sé fíordheachair anois teacht ar cheantar "fíor-Ghaeltachta ina bhfuil fíú amháin deich faoin gcéad de na páistí óga á dtógáil le Gaeilge.

Tig linn a rá go malartafon pobal iomlán a dteanga, ní de bharroclach a bheith ar na daoine féin, ná ar an dteanga mar theanga, ach de bharbóir a chuireann fórsaí eacne-maíochta/polaiteilíochtaí ar lucht labhartha teanga amháin agus an tacaíocht a thugann na fórsaí sin don teanga eile.

## BRÚ

Baineann an brú seo le beagnach gach teagmháil a bhíonn ag an nGaeilgeoir leis na hinstiúidí atá timpeall air - oideachas, an stachtóras, ospidéal, go minic an eaglais, agus níos tabhachtáil ná aon cheann eile b'fhéidir, Radio Telefís Éireann.

Tá athrú tobann tarlaite i ráta an meatha. Dá bhrí sin tá athrú tobann tarlaite i n-eirne na bhfórsaí atá i gcoinne na Gaeilge. Níor thagadh leathadh na teilifíse sa Ghaeltacht go dtí deich mbliain ó shin. Anois tá teilifíseán ag chluite teaghlach agus ní gá dhom a rá cén staid atá ag an nGaeilge ar an deilifíse.

Le linn na deich mbliain seo caite freisin a thagadh linnó lucht Béarla ar bhonn forleathan sa Ghaeltacht agus leathadh na tionscaláiríochta. Le deich mbliain anuas freisin a tugadh faoi deara an cúlú sa éadán ó chuspóir na hathbhéochana atá ar bun ag lucht polaiteilíochta. Chuir gníomhaíocht

Náisiúnta an Chnoic, Leitir Mealláin. Mura n-iarraídh tú ní bhfaigheadh tú a deirneann an seanfhocal, Ní cheal iarradh, faraoir a fhágnann an scoll thuas luaithe sa droch-staid ina bhfuil sí. Ní gá a mheabhóir, is dóighe, an bac a chuireann drochstaide na scoile ar fhorbairt shóisialta an pháiste gan trácht ar an gcontúirt dá sláinte.

## MÉAR FHADA

Ceann dená chéad rudaí a rinne Coiste Baineistíochta na Scoile, nuair a bunaíodh é i 1975 ná deontas a iarradh chun leithris 7h, a chur ar fáil. Ba é an freagra ná iarracht an scoil a chomhannasadh le scoil eile sa gceantar. Níor ghlac na tuismitheoirí leis sin. Bhí leithscéal ag an Roinn ansin nach raibh deontas ar fáil do scoileanna beaga. Athraíodh an rial sin i 1977 ach bhí ar na scoileanna beaga sin pian a chur ar fáil le thein sula gceodfaí an deontas (méar fhada arís).

Fuair an Coiste pian deanta agus cuireadh isteach ar an deontas. D'iarr an Roinn ar Bhord na nOibreacha Poiblí pian eile a réiteach. Tá seo deanta agus dath liath ag teacht ar an bpaléar faoi seo.

Droch-leithris thrime taobh amuigh, atá céad bliain as dáta agus ochtó bliain in úsáid agus ag titim as a chéile atá "freastal" ar an scoll.

Is cosúil nach bhfuil faoin Roinn cur ar chumas páistí pharóiste Léir-Ghaeltachta an Chnoic, Leitir Mealláin a nglaoine nárís a theastar ar bhealach níos fearaí do na hochtáidí sa fichiú aois ná do shaoil na cloiche mar atá faoi láthair. Nach mór an muga moga airgead cánaigh stáit a bheith i chaitheamh ar dhinnéir, cóisirí, oscarlú oifigiúla, agus fuíochtaí oifigiúla sa gceantar Gaeilteach cána. An suim leat? 1979 Bliain Idirnáisiúnta an Linbh déir tú!

SMYTH, Kieran ("Zack"). (H4-Block). Best wishes on your 20th birthday. Kieran, God bless and guide you. All the best from the McDowell family and your comrades Mario (H3) and Peter (H4).

SMYTH, Kieran, (Zack)(H4-Block). Best wishes, Zack on your 20th birthday. From your friend and comrade Rosemary, Armagh gaoi.

WARD, Michael, (H5-Block). Happy birthday. Always thinking of you. Love from mum and dad.

WARD, Michael, (H5-Block). Happy birthday. It is not those who can inflict the most but those who can endure the most who triumph. From Terry.

WARD, Michael, (H5-Block). They took you to a prison cell, cold and damp inside, they handed you a blanket which you wear with endless pride. Happy birthday from your loving sisters, Eileen, Margaret and Bernice.

WARD, Michael, (H5-Block). Happy birthday. You are not alone in H-Block, no matter what they say. So wrap the blanket round you boy, victory is on the way. From Madeline and Lollie.

## MEMORIAM

KELLY, John, (5th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer John Kelly, "D" Coy, 2nd Battalion, Oglash na hEiranne. Killed while on active service on 21st January 1975. Mary Queen of Ireland pray for him. Always remembered by the Lower Falls Commemoration committee.

MCNULTY, Peter, (8th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Peter McNulty, Killed while on active service on 26th January 1972. Go raibí an Dia trocraire ar an anam. Always remembered by the McNulty/Cannon cumann, Raheny, Dublin.

## Sympathy

DELANEY, Kevin (Dee). THE BELFAST BRIGADE OF THE IRA, Na Fianna Eireann and Cumann na mBan extend their deepest sympathy to the wife and family of Volunteer Kevin (Dee) Delaney, "B" coy, 2nd Battalion, Oglash na hEiranne.

DELANEY, Kevin. Deepest sympathy to the family of Kevin, who was killed in action. St. Patrick of Ireland pray for him. R.I.P. Always remembered by Mr. and Mrs. Menna and family, Mr. and Mrs. Magee and family, Mr. and Mrs. Walshe and family, comrade Martin and family, and Eugene Murphy.

DELANEY, Kevin. Deepest sympathy is extended to the wife and family of Kevin Delaney, killed in action. Ar chéad de go raibí an anam naofa. From Fitzle.

DELANEY, Kevin. Deepest sympathy to the family of Kevin, who was killed in action. R.I.P. Mary Queen of Ireland pray for him. Always remembered by his friends Eugene Sloan, Mr. and Mrs. Patrick and family, the Stone family and Liam (Long Kesh).

DELANEY, Kevin (Dee). It is with deep regret we learn of the death of our dear friend, Dee. We offer our deepest sympathy to his wife Eileen and son Sean Paul. Also to the Delaney family. From his friends Tommy and Rory Tracey, Strong and children, Stephanie, Rory and Tracey.

DELANEY, Kevin (Dee). Killed while on active service duty. To his wife, son and family circle we extend our most sincere and heartfelt sympathy. From Cleary, Paddy Molloy, Seanna Walsh, Tomboy, Coudrey, Tommy, Bobby Sands, Sean Coleman, Gerard Brophy, Dikeal, Norman, Brendan Hughes, Tedd, Praline, Bic McFarlane, Joe Barnes, Gerard Burns and all his many other comrades on the blanket. Ní dhánfaimid dearmad out, Dee.

HEMPENSTALL. The Mayo Chamberlaine cantain express deepest sympathy with the Hempenstall family, Claremorris, on the recent bereavement of their mother Catherine.

## Solidarity Greetings

CALLAGHAN, Rosemary. (Armagh gaoi). Congratulations, Rosemary on completing your 2nd year on the protest in Armagh gaoi. "There are none braver than those who suffer in the cause of freedom." We are thinking of you always. From your mummy, Malachy and Jackie.

CALLAGHAN, Rosemary. (B wing Armagh). Congratulations Rosemary on completing your second year on the protest. We are always in our thoughts. Love from Brieg, Huggy and Tara.

CALLAGHAN, Rosemary. (B wing Armagh). Solidarity greetings Rosemary on completing your second year on the protest. Spirit is an inspiration to us all. From the Martin-Tracy cumann, Short Strand.

CALLAGHAN, Rosemary. (B wing Armagh). Congratulations on completing two years on protest. Keep your spirit up. From Christy, Eleanor and Christofor Oa.

CALLAGHAN, Rosemary. (Armagh gaoi). We are proud of you Rosemary on completing your 2nd year on the protest. "The unselfish courage of you and your brave comrades is an example to the world. The strength and determination of Irish womenhood to destroy, injustice and oppression." We are with you always. From Joe, Jacqueline and Fergal.

CALLAGHAN, Rosemary. (Armagh gaoi). Congratulations on completing two years on the protest. You may lose your privileges, but not your principles. Thinking of you always. From your comrades, Marian, Sinead and also grannys, granda and all the family.

CALLAGHAN, Rosemary. (Armagh gaoi). Congratulations Rosemary on completing two years on the protest for bless you and your brave comrades. From your sister, Geraldine, Raymond (H3) and Claran.

CALLAGHAN, Rosemary. (Armagh gaoi). Solidarity Rosemary on completing two years on the protest. From your friend and comrade Zack (H4).

CRANE, Teddy, (H5-Block). Congratulations, Teddy on completing two years on the blanket. We are proud of you. Good luck to you and your comrades. From mum, dad, brothers and sisters.

## GET WELL SOON

MAGUIRE, Thomas. Get well soon Tommy. From Mr. and Mrs. Mackill, grannys and Polly, Mr. and Mrs. Lylie and Ann Straney.

MAGUIRE, Thomas. Get well soon daddy. From Thomas, John and Kevin.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

McCOOL. The wife, sons and daughters of the late Joseph McCoil, Derry, wish to express their thanks to all who sympathized with them in their recent loss and such a devoted husband and father. Patrician appreciation goes to the Republican Movement for its arrangement of the funeral, and all who called to the house, sent mass cards and offered consolation in many ways.

## DEARBHU URRAMIE

### TESTIMONIAL BANQUET

for

Councillor Paddy Ruane

(Ball de Chomhairle Chontae na Gaillimhe 1955)

To celebrate 25 years of dedicated public service to the people of Galway and of Ireland.

Ostan Flannery's Motor Hotel

GALWAY

Sunday 24th February

Capt. Rodney's Glory

Aoi - chairtoire

Ruairi O Bradagh, Uachtarán, Sinn Féin

Cathairleach:

Councillor Frank Glynn,

Chairman, Galway Co. Council.

Dinner 8.30 p.m.

Bar extension

Organized by Galway Comhairle

Captain, Sinn Féin.

## BIRTHDAY GREETINGS

CONEY, Joey. Happy 24th birthday Joey. From mum, dad, Sean, Peggy, Mary and Bernie. We are all behind you.

CONEY, Joey. The Sean Harkin cumann, the Loup sends greetings to Joey Coney on his 24th birthday. Also greetings to your comrades, Mickey and Francie and all the men on the blanket.

MGLINCHEY, Paul Martin (H5-Block). Happy 22nd birthday Paul, from all your nephews and nieces with lots of love.

MGLINCHEY, Paul Martin (H5-Block). Happy 22nd birthday Paul from all your family. Not a day goes by without a thought of you.

MGLINCHEY, Paul Martin (H5-Block). Happy 22nd birthday greetings to your brothers Sean and Michael, Long Kesh, and Dominic, Portlaoise. Ireland unfree shall never be at peace.

SMYTH, Kieran, (H4-Block). Best wishes for your 20th birthday son. You are never more than a thought away. God bless. From your loving mother and Sean.

SMYTH, Kieran, (H4-Block). All the best for your 20th birthday Kieran. Victory to the blanket men. From your brothers, Raymond, Dena, Sean and Liam.

SMYTH, Kieran, (Zack)(H4-Block). Birthday greetings to you, Kieran on your 20th birthday. Victory to the blanket men. From your sister and brother-in-law, Deborah and Danny also nieces Cara and Danielle.

SMYTH, Kieran, (H4-Block). Birthday greetings to our dear grandson. You are always in our thoughts and prayers. From your loving grannys and granda.



## IRISH VOICES FROM ENGLISH JAILS

REVIEW BY BERNARD O'BRIEN

THE PRISONERS AID COMMITTEE in London have just produced an excellent 170-page book entitled 'Irish Voices in English Jails' which is a compilation of the writings of about twenty Irish political prisoners in England.

The bulk of the book encapsulates the writings of political prisoners captured during the present war of national liberation, notably the Price sisters, Frank Stagg and Noel Jenkinson. It does contain however, Sean MacStiofain and Conor Mac Nessa, imprisoned in England during the forties.

At a time when the H-Block issue has justifiably eclipsed the broader prison struggle the book is a graphic reminder of the conditions in which Republican political prisoners in England are forced to exist.

In particular the description of the 213-day hunger strike in 1974 by the Price sisters, Hugh Feehney and Gerry Kelly is particularly disturbing, bringing back memories of the open air rallies of 1974 which Sinn Féin organised in Belfast when people from the crowd agreed to participate in simulated forced feedings. Many observers in the crowd were physically sick at the ensuing scenes.

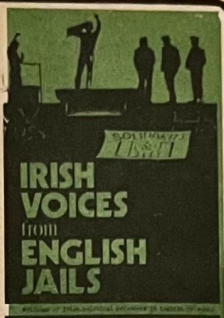
"Yesterday I got a real fright, the tube seemed to block my windpipe and I couldn't breathe and with this wooden thing in my mouth I couldn't speak, I

panicked and pulled the tube up myself somehow, I was assured that although the tube can block the top of the windpipe it can't actually go down it because the tube is too big, well it's big and I know all about it!" — Dolours Price to her family December 6th, 1973.

"Yesterday I was sick again during it i.e. while the tube was still down, but the doctor doing it wouldn't take his hand away from my mouth and I thought I was going to choke on my own vomit" — Marian Price to her family January 3rd, 1974.

The book also reflects the political commitment of the prisoners despite their isolation from their homes and from the war. The crystallisation of such a commitment is captured in the writings of the four Irish political prisoners who have died in English jails: Michael Gaughan, who died June 3rd, 1974 after a hunger strike of 66 days; Proinsias Stagg, who died February 12th, 1976 after his 3rd hunger strike in two years; Noel Jenkinson, who died mysteriously in his prison cell in Parkhurst on October 9th, 1976; and Sean O'Connell, who died on October 1st, 1977 from cancer one day after being freed 'on licence'.

Other prisoners, whose writings briefly appear in the book, include, Ronnie McCartney (Belfast), Phil Sheridan



(Dublin) and Ray McLaughlin (Co. Donegal).

The book is well produced and well illustrated with pictures of the prisoners and of the ominous English prisons including the 'special control units' at Wormwood Scrubs. It manages to generate through the writings of the prisoners a fresh reminder that the Irish prisoners in England should always hold a special place in our thoughts. It is an excellent reminder of our forgetfulness an excellent aid to our own political commitment.

The book can be obtained from the Prisoners Aid Committee, Box 9, 2a St. Pauls Road, London. Price £1.50 plus post. (Airmail £2.50).



## Fund raising in San Francisco

Fund-raising events in San Francisco for the Republican Prisoners Dependents Fund during December surpassed expectations.

The Cathal Brugha Slough of Na Fianna Eireann held a pot luck dinner for the prisoners and their families while the Irish Northern Aid Committee promoted their eighth annual sale of Christmas trees. The dinner was held at the Most Holy Redeemer Church with entertainment by 'The Boys of the Old Brigade' and members of 'The Sunshine Ceili Band'. The associate members of Na Fianna took an active part in organising and producing the event.

The scouts were happy to be able to present the proceeds of \$250 to The Irish Northern Aid Committee at Noraid's Christmas Tree Lot. Dan McCormick, president of the local chapter accepted the cheque and thanked the Fianna (pictured here).

The Christmas Tree Lot, one of the most successful in recent years, required daily work on the part of Noraid volunteers for a full month during the busy holiday season. Members felt that the success of the tree lot illustrated the upsurge of support for INAC in the San Francisco area.

## BRINGING IT ALL BACK HOME

LONDON PHOTO-EXHIBITION, REVIEW BY HELEN STEVENS

A major exhibition of photographs of life in the occupied six-counties opened in London last week. It provides an excellent introduction for British people to the present situation.

The exhibition is produced by the Half Moon Photography Workshop, which also produces the magazine 'Camerawork'. They say that the way photos of the six-counties have been

used in the British press 'distorts our understanding of events' and that they have put together the exhibition 'in an attempt to de-mystify the issues that affect the six-counties, and provide a context within which they can be understood'.

The exhibition starts with a straightforward illustrated history of British rule in Ireland. Then there are sections on housing conditions and unemployment, with explanatory texts accompanying the photos. And there are panels showing British soldiers in operation: these illustrate their role as an army of occupation — and also their sexist mentality, for their bed areas are plastered with pin-ups.

Attention is also drawn to their declining morale.

Another section shows protesters from Women Against Imperialism under attack outside Armagh Jail, and a section on the H-Blocks includes an aerial photo and photos taken inside by blanket-men.

Other exhibits include colour photos of wall-paintings and of Republican posters.

While Republicans will disagree with one or two points (such as the claim that Protestants are increasingly being treated the same as Catholics by the Brits and the RUC), overall this exhibition is a very positive development and well worth a visit.

It should be recommended to British people who say they 'don't understand what is going on'.

It is on show at the Cockpit Gallery in Princeton Street, until February 7th, and then moves to Action Space at 16 Chancery Street, until March 1st. It will later be going to Nottingham.

People interested in hiring the exhibition should contact the Half Moon Photography Workshop on 01-680-8798.



BRINGING IT ALL BACK HOME

An exhibition about Northern Ireland

February 2nd - February 7th 1980, Cockpit Gallery, Princeton Street, London WC2N 2PR. Tel: 01-680-8798. March 1st - March 1st 1980, Action Space, 16 Chancery Street, London WC2A 1PL. Tel: 01-680-8798.

## Sponsored swim

£1,000 has been raised for An Cumann Cabrach by members of the Robert Emmet Sinn Féin Cumann in Inchicore, Dublin, who organise the annual Christmas sponsored swim in the Grand Canal.

Announcing the reaching of their target this week, the organisers of the Frank Carroll Memorial Swim extended their thanks to those who sponsored the swimmers and especially to those who braved the icy waters.



### GARTREE PRISON PICKET

Support the POWs!

Sunday 17th February

1.30 p.m. — 3.30 p.m.

Transport leaves Hall of Memory, Birmingham at 11.30 a.m.

Organised by Birmingham Sinn Féin

### TRALEE SOCIAL

Saturday 2nd February

Hotel Manhattan

There will also be a 31 card drive here on March 16th

Organised by

Trá Lé Sinn Féin Comhairle Ceantair



## Badges

**SMASH THE H-BLOCKS** (black, white and green);  
**FREE SPEECH ON IRELAND** (black, white and red);  
**WARNING: HM GOVERNMENT CAN SERIOUSLY DAMAGE YOUR HEALTH** (black, white and red);  
**END BRITISH TORTURE IN IRELAND** (black, white and red);  
**IRELAND — ENGLAND'S VIETNAM** (green, red, black and white);  
**Cost:** 20p each plus 10p p and p; 10 for £1.30 plus 20p p and p;  
**Available by post from Information on Ireland, 1 North End Road, London.**

## Bloody Sunday

### DERRY OVERNIGHT ACCOMMODATION

THOSE ATTENDING the annual Bloody Sunday commemoration in Derry on Sunday 27th January, who require overnight accommodation, please contact, in advance, the Secretary, Derry Sinn Féin, c/o 224 Lecky Road, Brandywell, Derry. Telephone C7749.

### BLOODY SUNDAY BUSES FROM BELFAST

Buses leave Dunville Park at 12 noon Sunday January 27th. Tickets £2 from Art Shop, 85b Falls Road or Belfast Sinn Féin

### BLOODY SUNDAY COMMEMORATION MARCH

BIRMINGHAM  
 Sunday 27th January  
 Assemble 2 p.m.  
 Sparkhill Park, Stratford Road  
 Organised by Sinn Féin

### BLOODY SUNDAY BUS FROM DUBLIN

Buses leave Dublin  
 Saturday January 26th  
 For details contact Sinn Féin, 5 Blessington Street, Dublin. Phone 308783.  
 Limited number of tickets available.