

# An Phoblacht

## REPUBLICAN NEWS



Sraith Nua Imi 4 uimhir 14 Deardaoin Albain 8

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## REMEMBERING 1916

EACH Easter republicans throughout Ireland remember with pride Ireland's fallen dead, the thousands of men, women and youths who paid the supreme sacrifice of their lives in the struggle for Irish freedom and in asserting Irish resistance to hated British rule.

We particularly rededicate ourselves to the destruction of British rule in Ireland and pledge ourselves to the 1916 Proclamation and the Republic then declared in arms by Clarke, MacDiarmada, Pearse, Connolly, McDonagh, Ceannt and Plunkett.

And we repeat that there will be no lying down, no defeat this time and no going back. We will have our democratic, socialist republic for, "from the graves of patriot men and women spring living nations!"

**Honour Ireland's dead -  
wear an Easter lily**



### THE PROCLAMATION OF **POBLACHT NA H EIREANN.** THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF THE **IRISH REPUBLIC** TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

**IRISHMEN AND IRISHWOMEN:** In the name of God and of the dead generations from whom she receives her old tradition of nationhood, Ireland, through us, summons her children to her flag and strikes for her freedom.

Having organised and trained her manhood through her secret revolutionary organisation, the Irish Republican Brotherhood, and through her open military organisations, the Irish Volunteers and the Irish Citizen Army, having patiently perfected her discipline, having resolutely waited for the right moment to reveal itself, she now seizes that moment, and, supported by her exiled children in America and by gallant allies in Europe, but relying in the first on her own strength, she strikes in full confidence of victory.

We declare the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland, and to the unfettered control of Irish destinies, to be sovereign and indefeasible. The long usurpation of that right by a foreign people and government has not extinguished the right, nor can it ever be extinguished except by the destruction of the Irish people. In every generation the Irish people have asserted their right to national freedom and sovereignty: six times during the past three hundred years they have asserted it in arms. Standing on that fundamental right and again asserting it in arms in the face of the world, we hereby proclaim the Irish Republic as a Sovereign Independent State, and we pledge our lives and the lives of our comrades-in-arms to the cause of its freedom of its welfare, and of its exaltation among the nations.

The Irish Republic is entitled to, and hereby claims, the allegiance of every Irishman and Irishwoman. The Republic guarantees religious and civil liberty, equal rights and equal opportunities to all its citizens, and declares its resolve to pursue the happiness and prosperity of the whole nation and of all its parts, cherishing all the children of the nation equally, and oblivious of the differences carefully fostered by an alien government, which have divided a minority from the majority in the past.

Until our arms have brought the opportune moment for the establishment of a permanent National Government, representative of the whole people of Ireland and elected by the suffrages of all her men and women, the Provisional Government, hereby constituted, will administer the civil and military affairs of the Republic in trust for the people.

We place the cause of the Irish Republic under the protection of the Most High God, Whose blessing we invoke upon our arms, and we pray that no one who serves that cause will dishonour it by cowardice, inhumanity, or rapine. In this supreme hour the Irish nation must, by its valour and discipline and by the readiness of its children to sacrifice themselves for the common good, prove itself worthy of the august destiny to which it is called.

Signed on Behalf of the Provisional Government,

THOMAS J. CLARKE.

SEAN Mac DIARMADA. THOMAS MacDONAGH.

P. H. PEARSE.

EAMONN CEANNT.

JAMES CONNOLLY.

JOSEPH PLUNKETT.

# Sordid world of RUC and informers

BY PETER HAYES

THE RUC SUFFERED a major blow last week in their efforts to convict the large number of republicans currently remanded in custody awaiting trial on the evidence of paid RUC informers, when a Belfast judge acquitted an RUC Special Branch detective of twenty-three charges against him — the most serious being the murder of a fellow RUC officer at Cushendall, County Antrim, in 1977 — because the only evidence against him was the uncorroborated testimony of a paid informer.

Only on four counts for which there was independent corroboration (the armed robbery of the Northern bank at Cushendall, two related charges of hijacking and one related charge of possession of arms) was the Special Branch officer, 44-year-old sergeant Thomas Charles McCormick, convicted and sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment.

In a reserved judgement given in the Belfast crown court last Friday, April 2nd, Justice Murray described the case as 'extraordinary if not unique', and, referring to the sole prosecution witness against McCormick, 32-year-old Antony O'Doherty from Portlengone in County Antrim, a paid RUC informer and an alleged accomplice with McCormick, the judge continued: "O'Doherty has to be treated as an accomplice and it is dangerous to convict McCormick on all the offences on the evidence of O'Doherty alone."

He said that he had kept in mind the established rule of judicial practice that it was dangerous to convict solely on the evidence of such a person. Justice Murray went on to criticise the RUC's preparation of the case against McCormick, commenting on the RUC's almost fortnightly visits to the prosecution witness, O'Doherty, in jail (where he is serving an 18-year sentence for offences some of which McCormick was charged with). During these visits the RUC gave O'Doherty copies of the statements he had made in Castlereagh in 1980 which implicated McCormick, and this, said the judge, left the RUC open to the charge of having 'school'd' O'Doherty in his evidence beforehand to make him a more convincing witness.

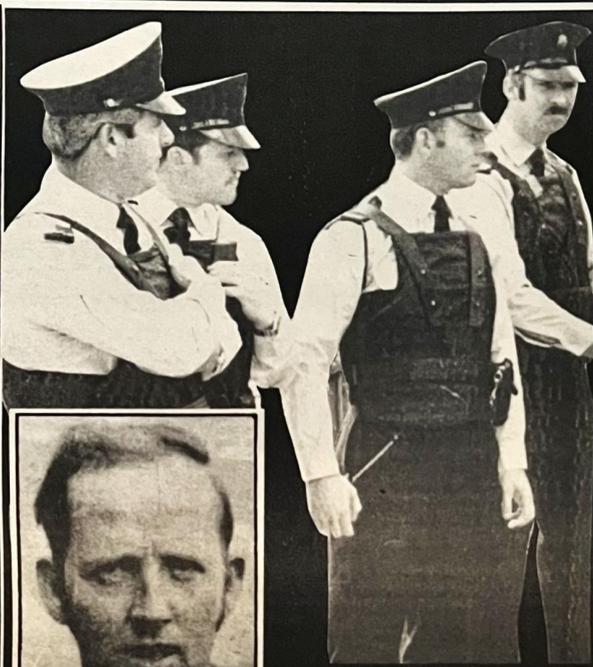
## EMBARRASSMENT

As well as serving to reinforce the well-established practice of not convicting on the uncorroborated evidence of alleged accomplices who have turned 'queen's evidence', the McCormick trial has proved a massive embarrassment to the RUC.

It revealed that not only were the RUC prepared, over a period of years, to issue O'Doherty (who worked for them as an informer from 1971) with an assortment of weapons, including a Sten gun, a .303 rifle and a .45 pistol, which he held 'illegally', but that they also allowed him to stage a series of mock 'attacks' on RUC and UDR patrols in order to provide a pretext for mass house-searches in the surrounding area. In one of these mock 'attacks' two UDR soldiers were injured in the ensuing panic.

And even though as early as September 1977 O'Doherty told RUC interrogators in Castlereagh that detective sergeant McCormick was involved in armed robberies and other offences for personal gain, McCormick was not questioned on the claims but continued to serve, at North Queen Street RUC barracks in Belfast, right up until August 1980.

The bizarre chain of events involving McCormick and his paid informant Antony O'Doherty began when the two casually met at the Roger Casement commemoration at Murlough Bay, County Antrim, in August 1969, where O'Doherty was selling the *United Irishman*, at that time the paper of the Republican Movement. McCormick,



● RUC Special Branch sergeant Charles McCormick (left). His acquittal on 23 counts last Friday has seriously undermined the RUC's use of paid informers to railroad republicans into jail

himself, was then a Special Branch officer attached to the RUC barracks in Ballymena.

Arrested in the informant swoops in August 1971, O'Doherty was interviewed by McCormick, and after agreeing to work for the RUC Special Branch was released the next morning. In January 1972 he was again arrested by McCormick, in connection with an armed robbery, and this time was interned for a total of about seven months on the prison ship Maidstone and in Long Kesh. While there he acted as an RUC informer.

On his release in late 1972, O'Doherty was met by McCormick and another RUC Special Branch officer and continued to work as an informer. The RUC told him to sever his connections with the Sticky Republican Clubs and to 'get in on the Provo scene' because they were 'really hotting it up' in the South Derry and Antrim areas.

## 'AGENT 294'

O'Doherty was recruited as RUC 'agent 294' and for some time was used by a number of RUC 'handlers' across South Derry and Antrim to glean information on republicans and operations. Detective sergeant McCormick became O'Doherty's main 'handler' and his personal standing in the RUC briefly soared as O'Doherty's information led to the uncovering of IRA arms dumps and landmines, and the pinpointing of IRA personnel in the area.

For their part, however, the IRA became quickly suspicious of O'Doherty, and their suspicions were confirmed when they captured an RUC Special Branchman, Ivan Johnston, in 1973, who named O'Doherty as an informer before he was executed.

From that time on, O'Doherty was forced to live more or less 'on the run' as two unsuccessful attempts were made by republicans to arrest him, in Monaghan in 1973 and in Swatragh, County Derry, in 1974. By all accounts, though, the IRA were able to 'leak' false information to

O'Doherty which led, in turn, to the RUC being led to dead-ends.

On a number of occasions the RUC staked out potential IRA targets on O'Doherty's advice, only for the target to be bombed days after the 'stake-out' had been lifted!

In tandem with the down-turn in O'Doherty's usefulness to the RUC as an informer, McCormick's own career and professional standing took a dive. O'Doherty was McCormick's only 'agent' and the two men had built up a personal interdependence.

It was at this stage that McCormick was alleged to have conceived the idea of a series of armed robberies of banks and post offices in the Cushendall area which he and O'Doherty would carry out. Not only would it ease McCormick's personal financial situation, which was precarious, and provide money for O'Doherty (who was now virtually 'living rough' in fields and out-houses), but it would give McCormick's superior officers the idea that there was intense republican activity in the area, and so boost his and O'Doherty's standing once more.

## BONUSES

At the same time, O'Doherty, though his role as an informer was diminished, continued on the RUC pay roll (£5 or £10 a week, plus bonuses) and was armed with a variety of captured IRA weapons for his protection from the IRA. O'Doherty also received arms and surveillance training in the Tyrone mountains from the SAS and British army intelligence officers.

In several officially-sanctioned operations, designed to give the Brits and RUC a pretext to mount widespread house-searches in a specific area to trap known republicans believed to be there, O'Doherty used his RUC-supplied weapons to attack RUC and UDR patrols. On one such operation in 1974 one UDR man was slightly wounded when another UDR soldier fired his rifle in panic, and another was injured when

a landrover ran over his foot!

In addition, McCormick and O'Doherty were alleged to have carried out several unauthorised shooting and bomb attacks on RUC barracks and on the homes of RUC men, using a Ballymena Special Branch van as the getaway vehicle. After these attacks O'Doherty would invariably claim to have 'intelligence' on who was behind them, which he passed on to the RUC through McCormick.

The focus of the pair's activities though was alleged to have been a series of armed robberies, including hold-ups at the Northern bank in Cushendall on three separate occasions. (It was for one of these Northern bank robberies, on November 25th 1974, that McCormick was last week sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment). During these robberies, McCormick was alleged to have used his position to ensure there was no Brit/RUC presence in the vicinity, and to have supplied the weapons. Generally, he would drive O'Doherty close to the scene of the robbery, and afterwards would drive him away, but on occasions he was alleged to have taken part in the actual hold-ups. McCormick's undoing was to be the killing of 49-year-old RUC sergeant Joseph Campbell on February 25th 1977, as he stood at the gate outside Cushendall barracks.

O'Doherty testified that McCormick had shot Campbell because Campbell had learned of McCormick's involvement with O'Doherty in armed robberies and needed to silence him. (McCormick himself was said to suspect Campbell of being an informer for the IRA, and in his defence during the trial claimed that O'Doherty was attempting to frame him on the orders of the IRA. Of the IRA, McCormick said: "They are light years ahead of us in intelligence and methods. There's no doubt about it.")

## KILLING

Days after the killing, McCormick was alleged to have made two booby-trap bombs and to have got O'Doherty to plant one of them under his own car and one at the home of another RUC man, in order to create sympathy for McCormick among his fellow officers.

The killing of sergeant Campbell soured the relationship between McCormick and O'Doherty, and shortly afterwards McCormick was transferred to Belfast. While in Castlereagh in September 1977, O'Doherty, himself suspected of robbery and extortion, said McCormick had been involved in robberies and in attacks on the RUC and UDR, but his claims were not investigated. In Castlereagh again in March 1978 O'Doherty retracted his statements, but in August 1980, having this time broken under interrogation and been charged on 46 counts, he again implicated McCormick and said that he had killed sergeant Campbell. McCormick was finally arrested, on full pay, on August 7th 1980.

McCormick's acquittal on 23 of the 27 charges against him, after a trial which lasted 17 days last month, is no indication at all of his non-involvement in those offences, but it is a fresh demonstration of the reluctance, even in the North's non-jury Diplock courts, to convict on the sole basis of the evidence of an alleged accomplice in the pay of, or induced by, the RUC.

The McCormick case dramatically undermines and exposes the RUC's current attempts to convict scores of republicans on precisely the same unsubstantiated evidence of paid informers, although given the political bias of Northern courts such convictions remain by no means unlikely.

But, at the very least, the McCormick/O'Doherty affair has highlighted the sordid world of the RUC and their informers, the willingness of RUC officers to break their own laws in the war against republicans, and the love of money — however dishonestly obtained — which motivates them both.

# WAR NEWS... WAR NEWS... WAR NEWS... WAR NEWS

## Undercover Brits executed

IN A COMPLETE somersault from his arrogant and mistimed statement of two weeks ago, RUC Chief Constable Jack Hermon issued a warning last Wednesday that the IRA are about to unleash a major escalation of their armed offensives.

This contrasts with his earlier statement that the IRA was 'reeling' from the blows dealt to it by informers.

The reason for the dilemma Hermon finds himself in, saying one thing then another, was underlined yet again this week by a series of six-county IRA operations which saw two undercover Brits executed in Derry, attacks on RUC and UDR men in Coalisland and Derry, and bombs going off in south Armagh.

### UNDERCOVER BRITS KILLED

In the most dramatic military operation of the week, an active service unit of the IRA's Derry Brigade executed two plainclothes, undercover British soldiers when it riddled with bullets the unmarked grey mini-van they were travelling in.

The 15-hour preparation for the ambush began when four Derry Volunteers occupied a second-floor flat at the junction of Creggan Road and Infirmiry Road at 9.30 p.m. on Wednesday, February 28th.

This junction, known locally as Creggan Cross, is the spot where two teenagers, Gary English and Jim Brown, died last Easter when they were deliberately mown down by a British army landrover.

The target of the IRA operation was an undercover patrol travelling through the Creggan in a grey van, registration number NIJ 9689, whose movements and likely route had been pinpointed by extensive IRA intelligence and surveillance. Subsequent British claims that the van contained a British army radio technician and an escort, returning from maintenance work at Rosemount Brit/RUC barracks, rather than undercover soldiers, were described as 'pathetic' by the IRA in Derry. Locals were later to observe that the dead Brits were armed with specially adapted handguns strapped to their legs.

The ambush took place at 11.45 a.m. on Thursday, fifteen hours after Volunteers had taken over the second-floor flat. As the van approached the junction three Volunteers, two of them armed with high-velocity automatic rifles and one, with a hand-gun, acting as back-up, stepped out in front of it and fired about thirty shots in quick succession. Both soldiers were hit in the chest, the driver dying instantly and his passenger minutes later. The ASU returned safely to base.

Although this operation, like all others, was motivated purely by the state of war that exists in the North, the execution of two undercover Brits provides a fitting revenge for the deaths of IRA Volunteers George McBrearty and Pop Maguire. They were gunned down last May 28th by an SAS squad when they went to question a man they believed to be an undercover Brit. On that occasion there was little outcry from Derry's Bishop Edward Daly.

### RAIL LINKS HIT (AGAIN)

The main Belfast-Dublin rail link was disrupted once again, this time for several days, when IRA Volunteers planted a 600 lbs. van bomb under the Red Bridge near Newry, County Down.



● The junction of Creggan Road and Infirmiry Road in Derry city, where two undercover Brits last Thursday met their death in a bullet-riddled unmarked van (inset right)

The bomb was planted around 11 a.m. on Thursday, April 1st, by Volunteers who then cleared the area of civilians.

The extensive damage caused when the bomb detonated half-an-hour later was, despite the date, no April Fool's joke.

### SOUTH ARMAGH BOOBY-TRAP

The IRA in south Armagh successfully planted and detonated a booby-trap bomb in the townland of Clonag, just outside Crossmaglen, on Friday morning, April 2nd, seriously injuring one member of a British army foot patrol passing by.

The bomb was concealed by rocks, and contrary to some press

reports, was situated fifteen yards away from the Derry-Dublin road, ruling out the risk of injury to civilians.

Following the explosion the Brits attempted to play down its impact by insisting that the injured soldier did not require hospital treatment.

### RUC MAN WOUNDED

IRA Volunteers shot and wounded an RUC man in the centre of Coalisland, County Tyrone, last Tuesday, April 6th, close to the local RUC barracks.

The 41-year-old RUC man, who is attached to Dungannon RUC barracks, was, in his civilian employment, delivering calogars to a local hardware store in Coalisland's Main Street when Volunteers launched

their attack around 9 a.m.

In a fusillade of shots fired through the windscreen of his delivery lorry the RUC Reservist was lucky only to be shot in the shoulder.

The Volunteers escaped successfully in a commandeered brown Ford Cortina towards nearby Dungannon.

### UDR MAN WOUNDED

Later the same day, in Derry city, a UDR soldier was extremely lucky to escape injury when IRA Volunteers ambushed him as he left his civilian work at a factory in the predominantly loyalist Waterside part of the city.

About twenty shots were fired and the vehicle was hit repeatedly

but the UDR man escaped unhurt.

The commandeered Volkswagen car used by the IRA in the attack was later found by the RUC in the nationalist Gomascale enclave in the Waterside.

### BRIT SHOTS BRIT

The latest British army fatality in the North is not a victim of the IRA but of a fellow British soldier. Twenty-year-old sapper Robert Adams is accused of shooting dead 22-year-old sapper Christopher Beattie inside Forkhill barracks in South Armagh last Tuesday, April 6th. Both were soldiers in the Royal Engineers regiment.

### DERRY RIOUS

The IRA's Derry Brigade, in claiming responsibility for a sniper attack on Tuesday, March 30th, and a hand grenade attack the following evening, which took place during sporadic rioting which continued for several days in the Bogside, Creggan, Shantallow and Top of the Hill districts, have pointed out to young people that while they welcome resistance to Brit patrols or raids, the burning of buses and private cars is anti-social and counter-productive if not directly related to the liberation struggle.

Derry Brigade have also pointed out that on two separate occasions recently, their Volunteers have had to abandon operations because of the proximity of civilians to enemy troops.

### WANTED: ONE SLR

A massive search of the New Lodge Road district of north Belfast last Sunday, April 4th, proved fruitless when the Brits failed to recover a high-velocity SLR rifle which a soldier had apparently put down in order to fire a plastic bullet during a minor riot. One eyewitness reported that a child had picked up the rifle and walked off with it.

Meanwhile, as the IRA add to their store of weapons, a red-faced and unarmed Brit is said to be wandering up and down the New Lodge Road, looking at children playing with toy guns with a suspicious eye.

## INFORMER EXECUTED

Almost seven weeks after the end of the two-week amnesty for informers, the Belfast Brigade of the IRA last Saturday reluctantly executed a paid RUC informer, 27-year-old Patrick Scott, from Ramoon Drive in Andersonstown.

In an interview earlier this week given to AP/RN the IRA pointed out that when the amnesty ended, on February 13th, they had publicly announced that they were aware of the identities of a number of informers who had not come forward. They had invited those people to come forward with the assurance of a fair hearing, but warned that they would be dealt with if they did not.

Patrick Scott was one of those who had been under IRA suspicion and surveillance for some time. When, even after the amnesty, he not only did not come forward but actively attempted to increase his usefulness as an informer by re-joining the IRA (of which he had been a member until last year), he was arrested by the IRA's security department on Thursday, April 1st, questioned, and after detailing his work for the RUC, executed.

The IRA have once again reiterated their warning to informers, some of whom they are aware of, to come forward voluntarily to them, with the probability of more lenient treatment if they do so.

According to the security department of the IRA, Patrick Scott was an IRA Volunteer who had taken part in a number of punishment shootings when he was arrested and taken to Castleareagh in February 1979.

On the second day of his interrogation Scott broke and agreed to work for the Special Branch. He was given a code-number, a code-name, 'March', and met his Special Branch 'handlers' once a fortnight at pre-arranged spots including Lisburn public baths, an M1 junction, and a car auction mart at Mallusk.

For a time he was paid £5 or £10 each meeting and gave information naming individuals who allegedly formed the staff of the Belfast Brigade's 1st Battalion [which covers the

Andersonstown area] and also naming local O/Cs. Further, he gave the names of republicans who had allegedly carried out a number of punishment shootings and gave away the locations of a .45 weapon and of a .32 automatic. (The latter was not seized because Scott was the only one aware of its location.)

Early in 1980 Scott, on the instructions of the RUC Special Branch, got himself transferred into an active service unit engaged in operations and gave names of those involved. The IRA became suspicious when various operations carried out by this ASU went wrong and when a number of arms dumps were located.

In 1981, after being arrested and questioned on two occasions by security personnel, Scott was dismissed from the IRA on the grounds that he was a security risk. The IRA emphasised that although they suspected at that stage that Scott was an informer, they had no concrete proof and so took no further action.

Scott went to live for a while in the Free State, but then returned to Belfast. For a while he kept to himself, but after being re-contacted by the RUC Special Branch he agreed to work for them once more and was given a fresh code-name, 'Whaler'. He then made repeated attempts to rejoin an active service unit of the IRA. Since his re-appearance in the North, Scott had been under constant surveillance by the IRA.

Had Scott succeeded in re-joining the IRA he might have caused serious danger to the Republican Movement and to its civilian supporters, as well as threatening the lives and liberty of Volunteers.

The IRA, according to its security department, is now more confident than ever that there are few if any informers within its ranks, and that whatever informers the RUC have managed to recruit are only on the loose periphery of republican circles. If people remain vigilant at all times about what they say, the risk from informers will diminish still further.

## Punishment shootings

The Belfast Brigade IRA carried out punishment shootings shortly after 11 p.m. last Saturday, April 3rd, on two 19-year-old men in the lower Ormeau Road area of the city.

The two men, who were not seriously hurt, were named as Seamus McCartan and Eddie Quinn. The IRA said they were shot for their involvement in criminal activities.

Also, on Tuesday night, April 6th, the IRA closed down a "pub shop" in the Glasney area of the Twinbrook estate in west Belfast. The IRA said that the owner had been involved in fencing stolen property.

## Wall murals

IN A statement issued through the Belfast Republican Press Centre last Tuesday 30th March, the IRA in Belfast said:

"The Belfast Brigade of the Irish Republican Army wishes to make quite clear its position on the current campaign in which the Youth Opportunities Programme schemes are involved, to remove wall graffiti in nationalist areas.

"While we fully support, for example in Divis Flats fairly recently, any genuine initiative to improve environmental surroundings in nationalist areas by the removal of unsightly slogan paintings, and indeed welcome such an initiative, this should not be taken to include the removal or defacement of either wall murals or of progressive political slogans.

"Such murals and political graffiti are not a defacement of the environment but a reflection of the national consciousness of nationalist youth in their own areas. They are there to stay.

"Should it come to our notice that the management of YOP schemes are encouraging or pressuring youths to remove political slogans or murals in the course of their clean-up campaign, under threat of fines or dismissal from the schemes, the IRA will take adequate action against those responsible."

## Derry Brigade reply to bishop

THE CATHOLIC BISHOP of Derry, Dr Edward Daly, who twice last week attacked the IRA, has been replied to in statements issued by the Derry Brigade IRA and through the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau in Dublin.

Bishop Daly was referring to recent attacks on the British army and the RUC in the city and in a letter read at all masses he called upon people to inform on IRA Volunteers. In reply the Derry Brigade, referring to the identity of Volunteers, said that the bishop had "considerable information about the Republican Movement in the city" and challenged him on whether he had ever given information to the RUC or would go into the witness stand and be responsible for sending someone to jail. Daly subsequently denied that he had any information about the IRA but said he would go into the witness stand.

The leadership of the IRA in a statement issued in Dublin said: "Bishop Daly while saying that he disagrees with the armed struggle of the IRA has called upon people to supply information to the British. Does this mean that he sees the British presence in Ireland and all its repercussions -- Bloody Sunday for example -- as being morally justified and legitimate?"

The bishop evaded this question on the immorality of British rule, or what people, disgusted with the violence of the RUC or UDR, should do with information on them?

The IRA also challenged the bishop on some of the possible repercussions from people passing on information to the British: innocent people going to jail, families left without a breadwinner, British army "stake-outs" in which in Derry has resulted in the murders of a number of people. And, of course, while the good bishop will never be in a position to see arms being shifted or explosives dumped he is encouraging perhaps glibly people to risk their lives since the IRA will execute traitors.

# Livingstone case adjourned

AS ANOTHER INQUEST into a murdered victim of the notorious plastic bullet was adjourned in Belfast there has been an insidious propaganda attempt to attribute last year's deaths and horrendous injuries to a 'design defect' in the baton gun.

A front page story in the North's Sunday News last week said: "Killer guns may have been unwittingly used by police and troops to control rioting mobs on the streets of Northern Ireland."

The story quoted medical experts as saying that the deaths by plastic bullets (there were seven during last year's hunger-strike) came not from the impact of the round but by a metal ring used to hold the round in the barrel of the gun. This ring, according to the story, was discharged with the bullets and caused the deaths or disfigurements. The Sunday News also suggested that the RUC had withdrawn the gun, well-tested by British forces more than familiar with its operational effects, remains one of the RUC's and British army's most important and intimidating repressive weapons against the nationalist population.

Meanwhile the inquest into the death of 14-year-old Julie Livingstone from the Lenadoon area of west Belfast opened and was adjourned in the coroner's court last Thursday, April 1st.

Julie Livingstone was struck in the head by a plastic bullet on May 12th last year as she and a friend fled for cover when plastic bullets

were fired at a group of women and children who were banging blinds in protest at the death of hunger-striker Francis Hughes who had died an hour earlier that same day.

Julie, always a very nervous child, was returning home with a schoolfriend and had just crossed the road at the junction of Stewartstown Road and Lenadoon Avenue when two army saracens sped out of Woodbourne barracks towards the handful of demonstrators. Both Julie and her friend ran to take cover behind a nearby hedge. A few seconds later she was discovered lying in a pool of blood having been struck by a plastic bullet. She died in hospital the following day, May 13th, from severe head injuries.

Eyewitnesses at the scene totally repudiate British army claims that heavy rioting was in progress at the time or that the saracens were attacked by petrol-bombs.

At the inquest on Thursday, however, Julie's family made a formal objection to the court because they had no legal representative present to examine crown witnesses -- including the Brit who killed Julie -- and the case was adjourned until the family could seek legal advice.



● Julie Livingstone -- a fatal victim of a British army plastic bullet

## Desecrated

THE NORFOLK DRIVE HOME of Mrs Mary McDermott, a member of the O'Carroll/Tierney Sinn Fein cumann, Andersonstown, was raided in the early hours of Thursday morning, April 1st.

For eight hours, from 6.30 a.m. to 2.30 p.m., scores of Brits, armed with pickaxes and shovels, and accompanied by alsatian sniffer dogs, combed every room of her home, pulling up floorboards, tearing out blocked-up chimneys, breaking bathroom tiles and scattering the contents of drawers and wardrobes around the floor.

Family photographs and confidential letters were photographed and no-one in the house was permitted, as is their right, to accompany the raiding party. Not satisfied with ransacking the interior of Mrs McDermott's home, several Brits went outside to the garden

and dug it up!

The raid coincides with the death six years ago of Mrs McDermott's son Sean who was shot dead while on active service by an RUC man as he tried to make good his escape during a successful IRA bombing mission which destroyed the Conway Hotel in Finaghy.

During the raid several remarks were made about Sean's death and when the tricolour which had draped his coffin was discovered they maliciously spat on it and cleaned their noses with it. They also threatened to take his beret and gloves which had been presented to Mrs McDermott after the funeral.



● Mrs McDermott with the tricolour the Brits spat on

# Faillí na rialtas sa Ghaeilge

Cháin Seán MacMathúna, Ard-Rúnaí Chonradh na Gaeilge an béalghrá a thugann rialtais agus pairthe polaitíochta don Ghaeilge. Ag lua tri phríomh-thoradh ar an bpolasáí sin, dúirt sé: "Tá maolú chomh mór sin tagtha le blianta anuas ar an mbunaidhm náisiúnta -- an Ghaeilge a athreimíú mar ghnáth-theanga labhartha mhuintir na hÉireann -- gur beag brí a bhíonn léi go minic sa chomhthéacs ina luaithe i."

Tá stadad bunreachtúil na Gaeilge mar an phríomhtheanga oifigiúil lagaithe as cuimse sa chaoi is go bhfuil gá le Bille Cearta don Ghaeilge chun bunreacht a bual na Gaeilge a aithint feasta. Tá cúl náireach tugtha don Ghaeilge ag na hinstitiúidí stáit sin -- ar nós na Roinne Oideachais agus RTE -- a bhfuil dailgas ar leith orthu chun feidhmiú go gníomhach ar a son.

### ATHRÚ

D'éiligh sé go ndéanfaí athrú ó bhonn ar staid na Gaeilge sa scoilleana le go mbeadh cumas labhartha agus scríofa sa Ghaeilge ag daitaí ar fhásgáil na scoile dóibh. Cháin sé easpa dáiríreachta na

Roinne Oideachais i dtaca le cur chun cinn na scoilleana lán Ghaeilge. Cé go bhfuil an Roinn in ainm is a bheith ar son na scoilleana sin dúirt sé nach ndéanann an Roinn dada chun tuismitheoirí a spreagadh len iad a bhunú agus go mbeainn an Roinn lánúsáid as maorlathas chun bac chur le hiarraicéit na dtuismitheoirí teacht ar chóiríocht bhuan do na scoilleana sin.

Dúirt Seán MacMathúna go raibh staid na Gaeilge ar teillifís RTE níos moosa ná mar a bhí sé nuair nach raibh ach bealach teillifíse amháin ag RTE. Dúirt sé nach raibh fíú na haidhmeanna teoranta a bhí curtha ag RTE

rompu féin comhlóna acu. Ní chloistear míog ná gíog as RTE anois faoin bpolasáí a bhíodh acu -- clár substaintiúil amháin do dhaoine fásta a chraoladh sa Ghaeilge gach oíche ar an teillifís. Dúirt sé go mba scannal é go raibh dhá bhliain iomlán imithe anois ó chraol RTE clár teillifíse ar bith as Gaeilge do pháistí.

Ag críochnú dó d'éiligh Seán MacMathúna ar an Rialtas, ar institiúidí poiblí agus ar pháirtithe polaitiúla dearbhú úr a thabhairt i leith na Gaeilge. "Tá tacaíocht leathan le fáil ón bpobal do pholaitiúlaíochta a léidreoch an Ghaeilge," ar sé, "is í an toil pholaitiúil chun feidhmiú go laidir ar a son atá in easnamh, i léith na huairé."

Tá Seán ina iarrthóir i dToghadas Ollscoil na hÉireann don 6ú Seanad. Tá sé ag seasamh ar bhonn na Gaeilge. Thug sé tacaíocht do na príosúnaigh sna Blocanna H.



● Seán MacMathúna

## WHITE PAPER ON 'DEVOLUTION' PUBLISHED AFTER LONG DELAY

# Attempt to regain lost ground

BY HILDA MacTHOMAS

ON THE DAY British warships were setting sail southbound for 'Las Malvinas' accompanied by the blood-and-gut tirades of swashbuckling Tory hardliners trying to recapture the long-dead spirit of a withered empire British direct-ruler Jim Prior chose to put his White Paper, 'Northern Ireland: A Framework for Devolution', to the British parliament. A wise move without a doubt as it seems that the integrationist lobby on the Tory backbench gave Prior a relatively easy ride instead of the promised 'line by line' rearguard fighting. The British Tories were busy that day, what with three resignations and marine commandos surrendering themselves to 'the Argentine fiend'...

The 18-page paper, which ranks among the most widely 'leaked' pieces of British governmental policy, is the result of six months of clever rumour-mongering and gossip-carrying by Prior and his team.

But all the rumours and counter-rumours also created an auction room atmosphere and encouraged the various politicians to adopt staunch postures and fight their little corner, come what may. Paisley started clamouring that nothing would do but a complete return to a Protestant parliament for the Protestant people, and backed his argument by thousands of men in military formation and paramilitary uniform, led by local clergymen in 'dog-collars', or businessmen in pin-striped suits.

The Official Unionists, their morale boosted by their electoral success in the South Belfast by-election, opted for a repeat of the act they had played with Atkins in 1980, and walked out on Jim Prior. The election of a traditional unionist to the South Belfast seat Orange Order leader, the Rev Martin Smyth had weakened the devolutionist lobby in the Official Unionist Party and strengthened Molyneux's hand.

As for the SDLP, torn between the perspective of salaried seats in an assembly, and the fear of being associated with yet another British failure, they decided to adopt a 'principled' posture, and running to Haughey for support, made a lot of noise about an 'Irish dimension', 'Anglo-Irish Council' and 'power-sharing'.

Prior's scheme had come to be known as 'rolling devolution' and was rumoured to have some kind of optional 'Irish dimension' to it. The paper was finally presented to the Overseas and Defence Committee, one of the most powerful committees in the Thatcher cabinet, on March 25th. Apparently, Prior was told at that meeting to 'pare back' some of the 'Irish dimension' by Margaret Thatcher, who probably wants more room for manoeuvre in her dealings with Free State Premier Charles Haughey. On April Fools' Day, Prior got final cabinet approval for his scheme, and went ahead with the publication of his White Paper in spite of threatening noises coming from the south Atlantic. In the event, the Falklands crisis probably rescued him from a potentially long argument with some of his integrationist colleagues.

Labour spokesman, the infamous Don Cannan, gave his guarded approval to the White Paper, showing that bi-partisanship was alive and well.

## PROPOSALS

The main points of the White Paper are as follows:

- the British government will call elections next autumn to a 78-seat assembly;
- the assembly will have powers of consultation and deliberation, and will be asked to report to the various departments of the British administration at Stormont on various proposals made by the latter;



● The British government's 'initiative' will inevitably go hand-in-hand with increased repression

— salaries will be paid to all members of the said assembly, and in particular to chairpersons and vice-chairpersons of committees elected by the assembly to report to the different departments;

— the assembly will confine itself to discussion of 'transferred' matters, that is agriculture, commerce, employment, education and social services, as opposed to 'excepted' matters, like British defence or foreign policy, or 'reserved' matters, like security in the six counties. Reserved matters could be opened to the assembly if it proved capable of reaching a 70% level of agreement on the way it wants power devolved to itself;

— upon obtaining the required level of agreement, or on the decision of the British administration, the assembly could obtain wider powers, and similarly those powers could be withdrawn from the assembly if consensus broke down — in other words, the 'rolling devolution' could roll back or forward, if the British government wished it to;

— the Irish dimension has been left for the Dublin and Westminster parliaments to decide, in particular the possibility of members of the assembly being allowed to sit on any future parliamentary tier of the Anglo-Irish Council; — finally, it is explicitly hoped that the assembly would evolve towards a system similar to that of the power-sharing assembly and executive of 1973-1974.

Several points emerge from the White Paper. First, the 70% 'weighted majority' means that agreement from both unionists and the SDLP are required for any move to take place. Alternatively, it means that any group with at least 30% of the seats could effectively prevent such moves. On the other hand, the British government reserves the right to waive the 70% requirement if the proposals

under discussion were 'acceptable to both communities'. Secondly, there is no time limit to the first stage of the assembly being just a 'talking shop', and this will undoubtedly enable Jim Prior to bide his time until the general election in Britain probably next year.

So, very little is new about the new British proposals. They are another contrived effort on the part of the Brits to 'defend the indefensible', as Sinn Féin president Ruairí Ó Bradaigh stated last Monday. The new scheme is just another move in the long waiting game of British occupation, another attempt to strike a propaganda blow against the Republican Movement, another way to inject a bit of life and some cash into the crumbling political parties who accept the *status quo*, reeling as they are after all those years of direct rule from London.

## ELECTIONS

The reactions from the various political parties was swift, predictable, and generally hostile. The unionists violently criticised the idea of enforced power-sharing under the guise of a weighted 70% majority. Paisley declared that he would take part in the electoral process in order to 'thwart and destroy' any idea of an Anglo-Irish Council leading to some form of Irish dimension. The Official Unionists equally stated that they would take part in any future elections, but demand an implementation of the 1975 Convention Report. Alliance spokesmen made their usual servile noises.

The SDLP was more ambiguous in its reaction. It is still difficult at present to predict what their decision will be regarding their participation in the new scheme. There is quite obviously some disagreement between those, like Seamus Mallon, who think that the SDLP should not get involved in any more British initiatives that did not guarantee power-sharing and the 'Irish dimension', and force the unionists to accept it. The Seamus Mallons of the SDLP are worried about the effect of their participation on their electorate, especially as their position as sole representatives of the nationalist community could be challenged by the Republican Movement. Other, more right-wing, or less far-seeing, members of the SDLP, adopt the attitude that "the SDLP are in the business of fighting elections," to quote Paddy O'Hanlon. The latter may also realise that the SDLP need elections, assemblies, talking shops, and manifestos, to keep any kind of media profile since they cannot rely on involvement in street politics, unlike Sinn Féin, or do not carry out armed operations, unlike the IRA.

It is quite obvious that the SDLP is leaning very heavily on Free State premier Charles Haughey for advice, succour, and comfort, in this hour of indecision, and SDLP and Free State government handouts appear to come from the same pen. However, when all is said and done, the SDLP will probably take part in the new scheme, if only for the cash injection that would result from a few salaries and the opportunity to engage in some party-building and self-promotion in the public eye.

Extreme loyalists are probably also divided about the new scheme. Much as they fear a repetition of the power-sharing executive of 1974, they are crying for an opportunity to re-enter the walls of the old Stormont Castle as elected representatives, in order to plot a return to the good old days of 'majority rule'. Some old political figures are even plotting their comeback, like Bill Craig for instance. Yes, heady days ahead...

Republicans can be in no doubt, however, that the Brits will accompany their political initiative with increased repression, and attempt to remove, by hook or by crook, any political activist opposed to British rule in Ireland who could pose any kind of threat to their manoeuvres.

## Electoral strategy

AT LAST Saturday's meeting of the ard comhairle a paper on organisation and the state of Sinn Féin was put forward by national organiser Paddy Bolger. The paper is to be studied before being discussed at a future meeting. The anti-nuclear movement and Free State 'neutrality' were also discussed and AP/RN was to be asked to give coverage to the campaign for nuclear disarmament.

The poor results of Sinn Féin candidates in the recent Shannon town commission elections were analysed. The three Sinn Féin candidates despite having more first preferences than four Fine Gael or two IRSP candidates, failed to receive transfers from the second, third and other preference votes, thus indicating a narrow base.

Cuminn were to be reminded that membership and affiliation fees should have been paid before January 31st last, under Rule 51 of the constitution. It was decided that a national conference on electoral strategy be held in Dublin on Sunday, May 2nd, and the ard comhairle discussed a number of proposals which will go to the conference for consideration.

## Belfast memorials

FOLLOWING inquiries to the National Graves Association, Belfast, from locals regarding their attitude to the erection of district memorials in Belfast the secretary of the association issued a statement saying:

"We do not encourage this practice because while we commend the people of the areas that wish to erect the memorials to the brave men and women who have died in the fight for an Irish republic we feel that every area will not be able to erect and maintain these memorials. And with the present amount of vandalism in some areas it would present a great burden to keep these memorials in a good state of repair.

"You may not be aware that the National Graves Association is struggling to find the money to complete a memorial in Milltown to honour all our fallen comrades in Belfast and if anyone feels that they could raise money we would ask them to channel it into a central fund which will help us erect and maintain a memorial worthy of all our fallen comrades from every district of Belfast."

## Memorial plinth

THIS YEAR'S Easter commemoration in Belfast will feature a special unveiling of a memorial tablet to the hunger-strikers Michael Gaughan, Frank Stagg, Bobby Sands, Francis Hughes, Raymond McCreech, Patsy O'Hara, Joe McDonnell, Martin Hurson, Kevin Lynch, Kieran Doherty, Thomas McElwee, and Micky Devine.

The plinth was donated by the Royal Victoria Hospital H-Block/Armagh committee and the unveiling will take place under the auspices of the National Graves Association.

## Fianna week

NA FIANNA Eireann have announced that they are to hold their national fund-raising week from the 9th to the 16th April. In a statement calling for support for the Fianna they say that "the future of Ireland lies in the hands of the youth of Ireland. Invest in the future of Ireland."

All donations, which will be acknowledged, should be sent to: Sean Ó'Riain, Na Fianna Eireann, 44 Parnell Square, Dublin 1.

## Dublin debate

DUBLIN Sinn Féin members are reminded that the debate organised by the location on the motion "That the 1974 Irish campaign is a waste of time" will take place in 5 Blessington Street on Tuesday, April 13th.

The debate will start at 7.30 p.m. and not 8.30 p.m. as previously advertised.



● Mario Onaindia (left) and Juan Maria Bandres (right) at the launching rally of Euskadiko Ezkerra.

## Basque congress

A NEW Basque socialist party, Euskadiko Ezkerra, has been formed by a combination of several left-wing parties in the region which is demanding independence from Spain.

More than thirteen hundred delegates attended a large congress at Lejona University, near Bilbao, on the weekend of March 19th, 20th and 21st, to launch the new organisation.

Among the parties dissolved to form the new group are EIA, which had close links with the Basque ETA guerrillas, ESEI and a major part of EPK, the Basque Communist Party. Euskadiko Ezkerra has also attracted many of the smaller socialist parties, several socialist youth groups and prominent individuals.

A central committee of 101 members was elected at the congress, and it, in turn, will elect a 30-strong executive. Two well-known visitors to Ireland, who have on occasion addressed the Sinn Fein and these, Juan Maria Bandres and Mario Onaindia, have been elected president and general secretary respectively of the new party.

Euskadiko Ezkerra already has many MPs and local councillors in its ranks, elected as representatives of the constituent parties, and with this new unity are expected to become the major force in Basque politics following the next elections there.

Representatives of socialist parties and revolutionary organisations from around the world attended the Bilbao congress, and Sinn Fein was represented by Richard Behal of the party's Foreign Affairs Bureau.

In a well-received message to the delegates Behal extended best wishes for the new party's success and stressed the common ties between the Irish and Basque peoples. He also thanked them for their support during the H-Block hunger-strike and asked that they join in a day of international solidarity with the Irish struggle on May 5th, the first anniversary of the death of Bobby Sands.



## Presentation

MRS ROSALEEN SANDS, mother of IRA hunger-striker Bobby Sands, being presented with a Belleek china harp by the Fermanagh and South Tyrone MP Owen Carron. The presentation took place at the Fermanagh Sinn Fein annual dinner at the Holyrood Hotel, Bundoran, County Donegal, where the attendance was addressed by Bobby Sands' sister Marcella, former H-Block blanketman Kieran Nugent and Sinn Fein president Ruairi O Bradaigh.

## Waterford Sinn Fein

AT a recent meeting of Waterford comhairle ceantair, Sinn Fein, the following officers were elected: chair: Gerry Rockett (Partick); vice-chair: Joe Cummings (Waterford); secretary: Donal Barry (Waterford); joint-treasurers: Carmel Hart (Ring) and Ella Walsh (Dungarvan); joint-organisers: Friel McMurcudha (Ring); Matty Power (Dungarvan); PRO: Noel Ryan (Waterford); education: John Condon (Ring); and delegates to Comhairle: Cuige Muman: John Condon and Matty Power.



● Armagh POWs exercise in the prison yard

# Armagh: 'typical jail-old, with iron doors and plenty of bars'—Owen Carron

*On Thursday, April 1st, Owen Carron, the MP for Fermanagh and South Tyrone, elected on a 'proxy political prisoner' candidate ticket during the H-Block hunger-strike last August, visited the republican POWs in Armagh jail.*

*His visit to the women's prison was, besides constituency work, sandwiched between two visits to the republican POWs in English jails, the second of which took place earlier this week. An Phoblacht/Republican News asked Owen Carron for his impressions of the Armagh visit.*

IT WAS with some trepidation that I approached my visit but as it transpired it was a most inspiring experience and the hours from ten in the morning till four in the afternoon just flew.

I was met at the gate at 10 o'clock by a prison officer with a lot of braid on his breast pocket and I was quite embarrassed that he stood and saluted. He asked me for my side-arm which I had forgotten in the rush to get out in the morning. A quick turn-out of my pockets and I was brought through a sort of courtyard to a little office where governor Scott, deputy-governor Chambers and a chief prison officer, Miss Carter, exchanged formal greetings and explained about the prison. They stated this was an 'official visit' and that all three would accompany me.

### 'A' WING

Anyhow, I was the first up to 'A' wing where 22 girls are on protest. This was the first time I was inside a jail on the wings (except for Erie County penitentiary). It was a typical jail — old — with iron doors and plenty of bars and iron mesh. Up the stairs I went and the first girls I saw were four on orderly duty doing the cleaning, etcetera. Very soon I ran into the first sign of pettiness and bureaucracy. One of the girls showed me into her cell and called for her companion but the governor, deputy-governor and chief prison officer Miss Carter, piled into the cell also and stated that as this was an official visit they would observe in each cell. I, and the girls, objected as this was hampering any kind of private conversation. The girls complained to Scott that Frank Maguire was allowed to talk to them in groups in the yard. Scott didn't want to discuss it. He said, the rules were there. I said that if he couldn't afford me proper visiting facilities I would have to terminate the visit and I demanded to see Mairead Farrell, the O/C.

I was taken to Mairead's cell and she told him it was this type of pettiness and vindictiveness that

was the cause of the continuation of the situation in 'A' wing whereby she and her comrades are on a no-work protest. The administration requires them to work in the laundry or sewing shop and our girls, as republican prisoners, refuse to do prison work. They are not allowed full-time education. There are no political books (only novels) in the library and if the girls cut out any political material out of newspapers it is seized in the weekly cell searches. Last week a picture of Che Guevara was taken from Mairead's cell in one such search. Such is the pettiness of the Screws.

### RELAXATION

After talking to Mairead I felt it would not be fair to terminate the visit as the girls had been expecting my arrival the previous week. I talked to Mairead for some time and then decided to make my way around the other cells. Out in the corridor I spoke to the four girls doing 'orderly' and it was only at this point that I noticed a relaxation on the part of my three guards, who seemed, in the laughter and banter of the girls, to be more at ease. The girls said I looked the same as on the TV! Some of the things they said I'll not print. They



● MAIREAD FARRELL  
O/C republican POWs, Armagh

wanted to know why I didn't come in before I was married!

Across to the other side of the wing and I was shown into cell after cell. One of the girls, Lynn, was out — gone down for a visit with her boyfriend. She had just had her hair done by her friend and was looking pretty (as did all the girls by the way!). Some cells were empty as a few girls chose to be locked up together for companionship. One of the girls on her own was Ellen McGuigan, a friend of Bobby Sands. She told me she used to write to him.

In the next cell were two girls, one of whom I had met at the very beginning of the visit. They offered to make me tea, which they gave me in one of the largest mugs I have ever seen. One girl was from Derry, the other from Belfast. The laughter was so raucous that governor Scott was 'doing his nut' in the corridor and eventually interrupted me to tell me again that this wasn't a private visit and that I'd have to move on and see the rest of the prison. By this time it was 12 o'clock and it was the girls' dinner-time.

### LAUGHTER

In the next cell all 22 girls congregated and there I was with never-as-many females surrounding me in my life before. All the remaining girls were introduced to me and I can assure you there was some noise and laughter. Scott and his cronies couldn't even get a look into the cell as all the girls crowded in. I took this opportunity of getting a good chat with Mairead, of listening to the problems that they are faced with and trying to explain the situation on the outside. The spirits of the girls on protest were very high. I would say much better than in the other wings. Eventually with only about five minutes of dinner-time left I decided to move on and let the girls get their food. I said goodbye to them and was escorted downstairs and on to 'B' wing.

In 'B' wing there are about five republican prisoners. I saw all of them in the common room. Those names I remember are Lorraine Halpenny, sentenced to life, a girl called McIlvenna, and Josie Dowds from Clones, a wee girl from my own part of the world imprisoned for something she knew nothing about, a victim of RUC false statements in Gough barracks. Josie has her 9-month-old baby, Kevin, with her and all five girls take a great interest in him.

### REMAND

I then went upstairs to see the

girls on remand. There were only two republicans on remand when I visited. One was Catherine Moore from Derry, who has been on remand for four months. I had a long chat with Catherine and she impressed me as a very determined girl. Catherine used to be on the other side of the corridor and she could shout across to the girls in 'A' wing but the ever-watchful Screws found out and in order to isolate her moved her across to a cell on the opposite side of the corridor. However, she had company last Thursday. In the next cell was Michele Dorian, from Twinbrook, a member of the IRSP and a victim of the tout Grimley and super-tout Goodman.

Michele is charged with imprisoning Grimley against his will. Her husband, brother-in-law, Henry Kirkpatrick, and Sean Flynn, IRSP councillor, are in Crumlin Road jail on related charges. Michele hopes to go for bail soon. I also saw two non-political prisoners, Bernie O'Donnell and a Hamilton girl from Dunganon.

### SPECIAL CATEGORY

By this time it was well into the afternoon and I had to visit the special category block. Here are imprisoned Chris Sheerin from Derry's Bogside and Pauline Deering from Belfast. Chris has been in prison for over seven years and by all appearances incarceration has taken its toll on her health. But she talked a lot. Pauline Deering had lots to say and had set views about the Movement's role in politics and elections. I gave them my own views and what I believed was an accurate assessment of the situation.

The special category block is a new building very like the H-Blocks in 'architecture'. Conditions appeared to be tolerable but I'm sure isolation is the big problem. I was happy to spend a good while talking and listening to Pauline and Chris. However, time was rolling towards 3.45 and reluctantly I said goodbye to the two girls. They said that they hoped to see me back next year. I can only hope that at least they will be free next year.

As I was leaving Armagh prison, and in the days since, I can only wonder at the courage and determination of those girls and think of what Bobby Sands wrote in his hunger-strike: "Every time I feel down I think of Armagh... and when one thinks of Armagh we have no right to be afraid or to be tired. All I can say is they're great girls. God bless them and speed on the day of victory and freedom."

# Battles continue on pay

BY DAMIEN O'ROURKE

THE spate of strikes in the pursuit of pay increase claims, following the collapse of centralised pay deal talks last year, looks set to continue well into 1982. And as one pay dispute is settled another looms on the horizon.

But in spite of militancy among trade unionists, claims in general are averaging out at around 10% or 12% for this year, only half of predicted inflation rates, and thus a severe cut in real wages and in living standards.

The Dublin supermarket strike which ended on Tuesday night this week, April 6th, was an example of poorly-paid workers settling for what a slight majority of the 2,300 striking sales assistants considered the best they could get in the circumstances.

The eventual increase accepted, £21 a week in three phases over fifteen months, merely brings the starting wage of the assistants to £66 per week by next February. Shop assistants have traditionally been exploited on the grounds that they only work for 'pin-money' anyway, and supermarket bosses concentrate on recruiting school-leavers and housewives to perpetuate this myth.

## UNDERPAID

In reality shop assistants work long, arduous hours, and with late-night and Saturday shopping, unsocial hours are obligatory. Their latest pay increase, at the cost of a 9-day strike leaves them still among the most underpaid workers.

Meanwhile, the strike by over 1,000 PMPA employees, throughout the twenty-six counties, appears to be settling in for a long struggle. The workers were formerly members of the Irish Union of Distributive Workers and Clerks, but, by agreement, last January transferred to the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union.

The current strike concerns both negotiations on union recognition and on a pay claim of 30% for the year, to which management has so far responded with a 10% offer over 15 months.

A pay claim by 22 transport

workers at the Cadbury factory in Coolock, Dublin, for a 25% increase, has met with the response from Cadbury's management of laying off 1,300 workers at the factory — which may well be in the company's interest with Easter egg production now complete and an obvious low-level of production required.

Again a union recognition issue is involved in the dispute, with AGEMOU insisting that it should represent the transport drivers in the months that they work in the production department.

## REJECTED

A dispute at the Albright and Wilson factory in Dublin over a pay claim is now in its second week. One hundred and ten members of the MPGWU, on Tuesday, April 6th, rejected proposals for a return to work in spite of a recommendation from union officials. Ninety other workers at the plant have been off since the strike began on March 26th.

The strike by CIE train drivers belonging to the National Busworkers' Union at Connolly Station is not in connection with a pay claim, but illustrates the continuing obstructive nature of CIE management in all its trade union dealings.

The dispute concerns the transfer of three trainee drivers from Connolly Station to the Inchicore works without consultation with the NBU. The NBU, which represents a minority of train drivers, most of whom are in the ITGWU, see the moves as an attempt to undermine its position. The right of train drivers to join the NBU was only won after a High Court battle in 1980.

What the train driver picketers lack in numbers they have made up for in militancy and have so far caused disruption to Dublin suburban and some provincial services, as well as affecting postal deliveries



● Gardai move in on NBU strikers at Dublin docks



● PMPA workers — all set for a long struggle

for a period.

## CLASH

On Tuesday, April 6th, picketers clashed with gardai at the Alexandra Road depot in Dublin's docks when they attempted to prevent a train carrying acrylonitrile chemical, for the Asahi plant in County Mayo, from leaving the depot.

As regards future pay disputes, 70 fire officers in all counties except Dublin, in the Free State, are to strike from next Tuesday in furtherance of their claim. And members of the National Union of Journalists Dublin newspaper branch this week rejected a proposed pay increase of 16% which had been offered by management in response to a 25% demand from the journalists.



● The pay deal narrowly accepted by Dublin supermarket assistants still leaves them lagging behind inflation rates and will lead to a drop in real living standards

# Mail train appeal refused

BY DAMIEN O'ROURKE

THE Court of Appeal in Dublin has turned down the appeal of Wicklow IRSP member Edward 'Nicky' Kelly against the 12-year prison sentence imposed on him by the Free State Special Court for the Sallins mail train robbery in March 1976. The court decision was announced on Friday last, April 2nd.

Kelly, was sentenced with two other IRSP members, Osgur Breathnach and Bernard McNally, in December 1978. But four days previously he had jumped bail and gone to the United States.

In May 1980, after serving 17 months in Portlaoise, Breathnach and McNally were released by the Court of Appeal on the grounds that statements, obtained from them during illegal custody, were not given voluntarily. Breathnach has since filed a suit against the state, the attorney-general and several named gardai for damages for assault, battery, false imprisonment and intimidation, and McNally is understood to be preparing a similar case.

## RESPONSIBILITY

Just before the May 1980 appeal, the IRA issued a statement in Dublin claiming responsibility for the £250,000 Sallins haul and saying that they had taken "this unusual step to formalise what has been common knowledge throughout the whole country for years — that the IRA carried out this operation

and that Osgur Breathnach, Brian McNally and Nicky Kelly are completely innocent victims."

After Breathnach and McNally's convictions were quashed, Kelly voluntarily returned from the US and surrendered to gardai at Shannon Airport. The Special Court ordered that he should serve the 12-year sentence it had imposed.

Five months later, in November 1980, the Court of Appeal refused Kelly an extension of time in which to bring an appeal, but on appeal to the Supreme Court it was decided that in view of the circumstances the Court of Appeal should hear his complaints that the statements used to convict him were not given voluntarily.

In February this year, with Kelly having spent 20 months in Portlaoise, the appeal was eventually heard. In his appeal Kelly claimed that he was not legally in custody. He also claimed he had been tortured in Fitzwilliam Street garda barracks before making the incriminating statements but the gardai at the barracks had not been allowed to be

called to the Special Court as witnesses to his screams.

The Special Court had also held that Kelly's bruises and other injuries were either self-inflicted or inflicted by persons unknown, but not by the Special Branch interrogators.

## COVER-UP

However, although Kelly's case approximates so closely to that of Breathnach and McNally, and despite all the evidence, he has not been similarly released.

In political terms, the release of Kelly would publicly underline the blatant fact that the Free State garda 'Heavy Gang', operating during the Coalition's period in government and condemned by Amnesty International, chose the wrong organisation as responsible for the train robbery and beat confessions out of some of that organisation's members. Then, when it was obvious to all that the three were innocent victims, the courts and the government covered up the major scandal by continuing the prosecution and convicting them on clearly false evidence.

The release of two out of three hopes to continue the fiction that the responsibility for the Sallins job was correctly placed, but two of the culprits escaped 'justice' on a technicality. It thus hopes to avoid the embarrassing calls which

would follow for a public inquiry into a case which has attracted widespread attention, both in Ireland and internationally.

## RELEASED

Two other less publicised victims of that garda 'Heavy Gang' were somewhat luckier than Kelly when, on Tuesday last week, March 30th, the same Court of Appeal released them from Portlaoise prison where they were serving a total of 13 years' imprisonment.

Donal Wills, aged 33, of Tipperary town, and Richard McCormack, aged 29, from Killoss, County Tipperary, were sentenced to 9 and 5 years respectively by the Special Court in July 1979. They were charged with conspiracy to commit a punishment shooting in County Tipperary in January 1977, when they had been arrested in a car on the Cahir-Cashel Road, under the Emergency Powers Act of 1976 which was then in force.

In December last year three other Tipperary men, Tim Henchy, Denis Connors, and Denis Guerin, who were convicted along with Wills and McCormack, were also released.

All five men, at the end of their first period in custody, were taken outside Cahir garda barracks and re-arrested illegally. They also claimed that incriminating statements made by them were obtained by brutality.



● NICKY KELLY

# Roll of Honour

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NEW

July 21st 73

Vol. Alphinson Cunningham

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- Sean O'Connell, Parkhurst Prison, Oct. 1st 77



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I gcuimhne dhil orthu siúd a fuair bás ar son saoirse na hÉireann

1916 EASTER 1982

# Seven days, seven

I KNEW the story of the 1916 Easter week rising at a very early age. Long before I came to the use of reason at seven years of age I could name, off by heart, the seven men who signed the Proclamation.

My key to the memory of the names was two Ps, three Cs and two Macs - Pearse, Plunkett; Clarke, Connolly, Ceannt; MacDonagh and MacDermott. But I also had other daily reminders.

My favourite shop was Clarke's on Bulfin Road. My aunt that lived on the Sugar Loaf mountain was Jinny Connolly and Plunkett's of Islandbridge was the place where we got the free lumps of ice on our way to the Phoenix Park. Pierce Redmond's grocery shop on Emmet Road always reminded me of Padraig Pearse and Redmond's Hill. Ceannt's name was easy as I had to pass Ceannt's Fort on Mount Brown Hill on my way to school in Basin Lane convent.

The two Macs were the easiest to remember. In my childhood the word 'Mack' was a very common one; anyone whose name was not known was called 'Mack': "Hey Mack, what time is it?"

My next memory test came in remembering other words and names connected with the Rising, or 'the Rebellion' as my mother called it. Grace Gifford, who married Joe Plunkett in Kilmainham jail a few hours before his execution by a British firing squad. The Countess, whose name we did not even try to pronounce - 'Market Vitz', or something like that. But we did not need the surname, the word 'Countess' held us in a magic spell.

John MacBride's name was easy to remember as it was on a sheet of music with a photograph of him and two green, white and orange flags at each side. Underneath were the words of the song 'Wrap the green flag round me, boys'.

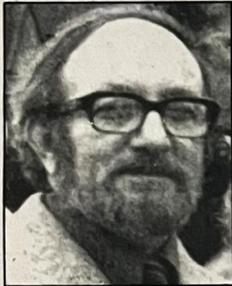
On one occasion I wrapped the bed-sheet round me and looked at myself in the wardrobe mirror, trying to imagine how MacBride would look wrapped in a green flag. I remember that I was not impressed and thought that MacBride was a Roman, like the ones we used to see at the four-penny rush in the local flea-house that the owners called a picture palace.

My first tour of the 1916 Easter Week garrisons was in 1937 at the age of nine years. The twenty-first anniversary of the Rising was held in great style. Flags and bunting decorated the city, the buildings were all floodlit and Kilmainham jail was open to the public.

My ma and my aunts took me on a private tour. I kicked up like hell about the long walks and got a few clouts for running up and down the hillgraves in Arbour Hill. The place I liked best was Redmond's Hill. Maybe it was because Cobbolo's ice-cream shop was around the corner in Cuffe Street. Ice-cream in those days came out of a bucket and the big thick wafer was dripping with red raspberry juice that was only beautiful. I was nearly killed for letting the juice roll down on to my white Sunday shirt and was only saved by the College of Surgeons and the story of the Countess and Michael Mallin.

The ma brought us over to the green railings to show us the spot where Philip Clarke of the Citizen Army gave her his brand new bike to bring home to his wife in Cork Street. When my mother got back to the Green with a parcel for Philip from his wife, poor Philip was dead and Mallin and the Countess had taken over the College of Surgeons. The ma spent the rest of the week running messages for the men in Jacob's factory under MacDonagh and

## THREE SHOUTS ON A HILL



by Eamonn MacThomais

SEVEN DAYS, SEVEN MEN, SEVEN HILLS is the ninth article in the occasional series 'Three Shouts on a Hill' by historian and broadcaster Eamonn MacThomais, in each of which he recalls personal and historical memories associated with a different hill and then gives three 'shouts' on any subjects of his choice.

In this special Easter Week article he extends the confines of his series to include seven hills in Dublin, which are closely linked to the 1916 Easter Rising.

MacBride.

As the years rolled by, and I grew to manhood, I became the friend of many men and women who took part in the Easter week rising and the fight for Irish freedom. Around many firesides in Dublin I got their story - first hand from the men and women involved.

Their story began on Easter Sunday, April 23rd 1916.

The Military Council met at Liberty Hall at 9 a.m. and issued fresh orders that the Rising would begin at twelve noon on Easter Monday. At twelve noon on Sunday the Proclamation was agreed on and it was printed in Liberty Hall. My friend Helena Maloney was one of the first people to read it to those gathered around.

News was already to hand about the scuttling of 'The Aud' arms-ship off Daut's Rock, County Cork, by order of her captain, Karl Spinder, the arrest of Roger Casement at McKenna's Fort by the RIC and MacNeill's countermand orders that the Volunteers were not to parade. Sunday, the first day, was one of messages, by bike, by tram, by train, by motor car and by foot.

On the second day, Easter Monday, April 24th 1916, there was only partial mobilisation in Dublin because of MacNeill's countermand. Only for the message brigade no-one would have turned up, but despite the small numbers it was decided to go ahead.

At eleven-thirty in Liberty Hall, the Citizen Army bugler sounded the fall-in for the army of the Irish Republic. At twelve noon the main body marched out of Liberty Hall, headed by Commandant-General Pearse and Commandant-General Connolly, and occupied the General Post Office in Sackville Street. From the steps of the doorway, Pearse read the Proclamation of the Irish Republic to onlooking citizens:

"In the name of God and of the dead generations from which she receives her old tradition of nationhood...."

## Cork Hill

A small party of Citizen Army men and women, led by Captain Sean Connolly -



● P.H. Pearse ● Thomas MacDonagh ● Joseph Plunkett ● Eamonn Ceannt ● Thomas J. Clarke

one of my mother's best friends - attacked Dublin Castle, firing the first shots of the Rising. They took over City Hall and the buildings opposite in Parliament Street. During the early part of the fighting Captain Sean Connolly was hit by a hail of machine gun bullets and died in the arms of Helen Maloney. Dr Kathleen Lynn attended to the other wounded.

After fierce fighting, the attacking party withdrew. In the attack on Dublin Castle, Charles D'Arcy, aged fifteen years, Lieutenant Sean O'Reilly, George Geoghan and Louis Byrne also gave their lives for Ireland.

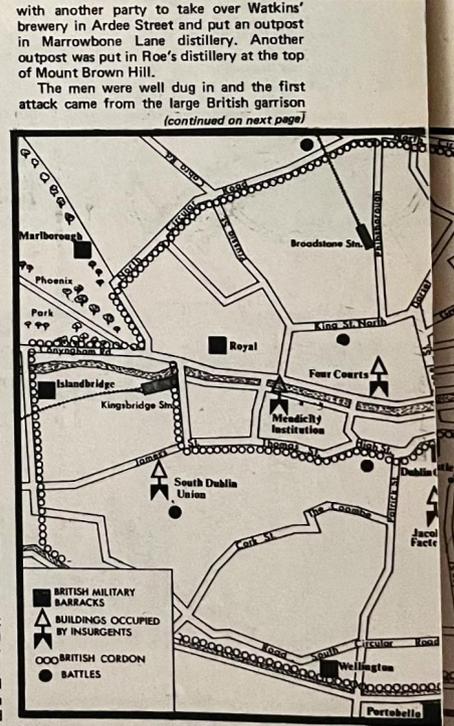
Only a handful of men and women, yet they did what Silken Thomas failed to do with his army of six hundred men. They could well have taken the Castle, that Easter Monday morning, as it was only guarded by ten men, but the plan was merely to keep it at bay and that they did with courage and bravery which won the admiration, not only of the republican forces, but also of the Castle masters as well.

The next time you pass down Cork Hill, look at the Upper Castle Gate and remember with pride the names and deeds of the gallant men and women who fought there in 1916.

## Mount Brown Hill

The Fourth Battalion, under the command of Eamonn Ceannt and Cathal Brugha, met at Emerald Square, Cork Street. Only one-third of the unit turned up due to MacNeill's countermand. The first party of twelve cyclists followed by thirty men on foot went along the banks of the Grand Canal and entered the South Dublin Union grounds by the Rialto gates at the top of Watery Lane.

Brugha left with the second party and made his way, via James Street, to the main entrance of the Union. Con Colbert followed



(continued on next page)

# men, seven hills

● Connolly lying wounded inside the burning GPO



Nurse Keogh was killed on the steps of one of the buildings as she was going to assist a wounded British Tommy.

When the surrender came Ceannt did not want to join in. Only after long talks with MacDonagh and MacBride did he agree to march out under the white flag. Brugha was taken to the Castle hospital and was sent home to die; but Cathal Brugha did not die in Easter Week nor in the weeks or years that immediately followed. He was cut down by Free State guns in 1922, the words 'no surrender' on his lips.

Sir Francis Vane, the head of the British forces, could not believe that Ceannt and Brugha had held the Union with less than fifty men, and thought that there were at least a thousand men.

Ceannt was very disappointed with the surrender and left his dying letter written in his cell in Kilmainham jail as a guide to future revolutionaries: "Never treat with the English enemy. Fight on till the end."

## Redmond's Hill

The Second Battalion under Thomas MacDonagh took over Jacob's biscuit factory and sent a party of Volunteers to assist Commandant Mallin and the Countess in the Stephen's Green area. Jacob's high building gave MacDonagh's men a few easy shots into St. Patrick's Park where the British were parading into the grounds of Dublin Castle. John MacBride, who was passing by at the time decided to join in the fight and was appointed second-in-command.

Jacobs proved to be a very good garrison, with an ample food supply of biscuits, cakes and flour. The British did not attack as the Volunteers had the advantage of height. The week was spent sending help to Mallin in the Green, which took the brunt of the fighting.

The British took over the Shelbourne Hotel and mounted machine guns on the roof, picking off many Citizen Army men in the open Green park. Lack of numbers, again due to MacNeill, made it impossible to man the hotel and Mallin and the Countess were forced to take over the College of Surgeons, where they held out bravely until the surrender order came at the end of the week.

The British wanted to execute the Countess, but because of the fuss they themselves were kicking up over the German execution of the English spy, Nurse Cavell, feared world opinion.

## Misery Hill

If you walk down Macken Street, named after Peadar Macken, who was accidentally shot in Boland's Mill in 1916, you will come to a street named Misery Hill. It gets its name from the lepers of old who came here to die. Many republicans were executed in the same place in 1798 and 1803.

The area around here was under the command of Eamon de Valera and the Third Battalion. Boland's Mill was the main headquarters, with outposts at Mount Street Bridge, Westland Row railway station, Misery Hill, and the train line out as far as Blackrock.

The Battle of Mount Street Bridge, which was held by thirteen men against thousands of Sherwood Foresters, must rank as the finest battle in the annals of world history. Clanwilliam House, under the command of George Reynolds held seven men; the schools held two men; the parochial hall held two men; and No. 25, Northumberland Road held two men.

The British reinforcements, coming from England, landed at Dun Laoghaire (Kings-town) and some of them thought they were in France. They marched on Dublin and when they got to the cross-roads at Ballsbridge they rested. Then they made their mistake: instead of taking Pembroke Road they took Northumberland Road.

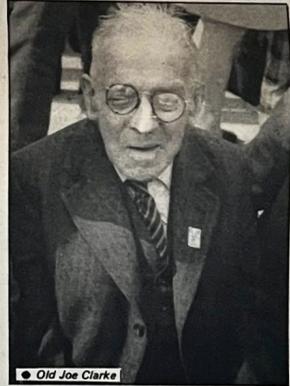
Lieutenant Michael Malone and Volunteer

Grace were waiting in No. 25 and as the troops came into range several volleys rang out and several British soldiers fell dead. The battle here went on for thirty minutes until Malone was killed in action while he allowed Grace to escape out a back window. The British lost over one hundred men at this point in the battle.

They regrouped and marched on and soon came under the fire of the remaining eleven Volunteers. Joe Clarke, who was in the parochial hall, told me that the British were so close that at one stage he stuck his revolver out the window to fire and hit a British soldier on the head with his gun. The British fell back and heavy mortars were fired at Clanwilliam House. The house was soon ablaze but the Volunteers kept their positions at the windows with Reynolds shouting: "They shall not pass! They shall not pass!"

A short while later Reynolds gave the order to evacuate, but he himself stayed on, muttering to himself: "They shall not pass." Four Volunteers escaped, Willie Ronan, Jimmy Doyle, James Walsh and Thomas Walsh. On their way out, they saw the dead bodies of their comrades, Richard Murphy and Patrick Doyle. George Reynolds died later that evening as the house was engulfed in flames.

Joe Clarke was arrested. He was placed against a door and a British soldier prepared



● Old Joe Clarke

to execute him. Luckily for Joe the bullet missed, going into the door just above his head. Joe lived on to the age of ninety-four and when he died he was the oldest revolutionary in the world; the greatest Fenian of all time in Ireland. It was indeed an honour to have been his friend and comrade in later life.

## St. Thomas's Hill

A few men were playing football near the Magazine Fort on St. Thomas's Hill in the Phoenix Park, when the ball went over the wire fence. "Would you mind getting us the ball?" said one man to the sentry. As the sentry turned, the men ran in and soon the fort was in the hands of the Volunteers. The plan was to take as much ammunition and guns as possible and blow up the powder store.

The job was soon done but instead of blowing up the fort they set it on fire. The haul was taken to the Four Courts, to Ned Daly and the First Battalion.

## Constitution Hill

Ned Daly and his men had met in Blackhall Street. His task was to set up headquarters in Church Street with outposts in North King Street, the Mendicity Institution and Constitution Hill.

The First Battalion wrote a glorious chapter in the story of Easter Week. Sean Houston's post at the Mendicity Institution was only supposed to hold out for two hours, yet they held out for three days

against terrible odds. All the outposts fought bravely, but special mention must be made of Reilly's Fort, the raid on Linenhall barracks and the men in the North Dublin Union.

When Pearse, Connolly, Plunkett, Clarke and MacDermott were burned out of the GPO, it was to Daly and the men of the First Battalion that they were making their way when they got caught in Moore Street.

When the butcher Maxwell came over as general in charge of all British troops, he gave the order for wholesale slaughter to be carried out in the North King Street area. The troops entered North King Street from the Bolton Street end and raided house after house, and when they could not find any Volunteers, took out their spite on the local innocent people. Daly and his men had withdrawn to the Four Courts, but under "Butcher" Maxwell's orders, the North King Street massacre took place.

Michael Noonan and George Ennis were murdered at No. 174; Thomas Hickey, his son Christopher, and Peter Connolly at No. 170; Michael Hughes and John Walsh at No. 172; Patrick Bealen and James Healy at No. 177; Peter Lawless, James MacCartney, James Finnegan and Patrick Hoey at No. 27; and John Belmes murdered in nearby Coleraine Street. These names and their stories are forgotten by Ireland. We can well imagine their last moments.

J.J. Reynolds, a brother of George Reynolds of Clanwilliam House, wrote a small book entitled 'A Fragment of 1916 History'. In it he gives the story of how the Irish fought and how the British fought in Easter Week.

The British buried their victims in the cellars of the houses. Whenever I walk down North King Street, I can feel the gloomy air around the places where the British did their dirty work in Dublin.

## Richmond Hill

Across the road from Richmond Hill is the main entrance to the Old Richmond barracks. Today it is St. Michael's Estate and St. Michael's CBS school. In 1916 this was the scene of all the court-martials, the picking out of prisoners, the jumping off ground for the firing squad, the quicklime grave, and the concentration camps of England and Wales.

This is where I went to school as a child and I used to play in the yard where the prisoners walked. Once a month I was paraded in the big gym with the whole school and the names of the bold boys were read out from a black diary. My name was always in the top ten. We got our medicine in front of the whole school — six bliffs on each hand.

In the same big gym the Specials came from Dublin Castle with little black notebooks and in the names of the first fourteen were my two Ps, my three Cs and my two Macs; with Colbert, Heuston, Mallin, Willie Pearse, O'Hanrahan, Daly and MacBride; and Sir Roger hanged in England; Thomas Kent shot in Cork; Monaghan, Sheehan and Keating drowned at Ballykissane pier; and The O'Rahilly and Shortis shot dead in Moor Lane.

My first shout, on Redmond's Hill, is a shout of thanks to the men and women of 1916. Not forgetting the men and women of Wexford, Louth and Meath and the other men who came from other counties and overseas.

My second shout, on Cork Hill, is a special shout of thanks to Pearse and Connolly for leaving such a crystal clear message, a gospel of freedom, republicanism, socialism and separatism.

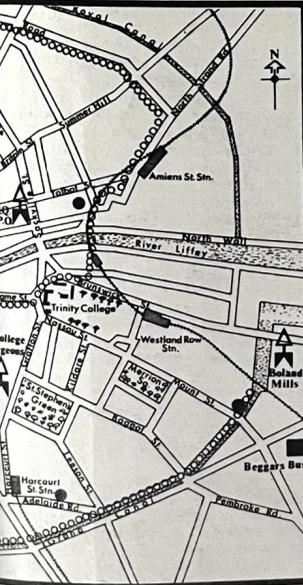
My third shout, on Misery Hill, is a shout of thanks to old Joe Clarke, a shout of thanks to Nurse O'Farrell and Julia Grennan, a shout of thanks to Helena Maloney and Dr Kathleen Lynn, a shout of thanks to Brian O'Higgins, the Count Plunkett and a host of others in my mind and prayers for a heritage and tradition unparalleled anywhere else in the world.



● Sean MacDiarmada ● James Connolly

(continued from previous page)

who were stationed in Richmond barracks. The British took over the Guinness brewery in James Street as headquarters and sent about one thousand soldiers to surround and attack the Union. After the week's battle several British soldiers lay dead and Cathal Brugha had twenty-five bullet wounds.



1916 EASTER 1982

# Aisling an Phiarsaigh

## —aisling na hÉireann

LE COLLA Ó MUIRÍ

"Is ainm álainn Gaelach sin 'Aisling'," arsa mise leis an ghirseach bheag a bhí ar mo ghlúin. "Ciallaíonn sé 'dream' nó 'vision'." Ag an bhomaite sin tháinig Padraig MacPiarais isteach i m'aighe, agus an aisling a raibh aige maidir leis an tír seo, í a bheith saor agus Gaelach. Caithfear an aisling sin a chur i gcrích go fóill; tá mo chara beag ag fás i gceantar a d'fhulaing a lán faoi ansmacht na Sasanach, ach fiú san ainm baiste sin 'Aisling' tá dóchas ann, tá dóchas ag a tuismitheoirí aisti.

Tá eagla ar naimhde an phobail roimh an dóchas sin, agus mar sin de cothaítear an bharúil atá ag daoine áirithe nach raibh ins an Phiarsach ach aislingeach nach mbaineann leis an saol seo. Bhí níos mó ná aislingeach i gceist, amh, bhí ana-chuid oibre i gceist chomh maith. Chan é amháin gur thug Padraig MacPiarais a shaol ar son na hÉireann, ach chaith sé a shaol ar son na hÉireann. B'fhile é; ba mhúinteoir é; ba scoláire é; b'fhear dlí é; b'oideachasóir é agus ba phoblachtach é.

Is cuimhin liom ag meabhrú ar mhana a chonaic mé ar phostear; "Is méanar dóibh a bhfuil aislingí acu agus a dhéanann an obair chun iad a chur i gcrích." Sampla is ea é Scoil Eanna den dóigh ad'éirigh leis an Phiarsach aislingí a chur i gcrích. Dúradh leis nach bfeadfadh sé a leithéid de scoil a bhunú agus a gcuirfeadh oideachas Gaelach ar na daltaí: chreid Padraig MacPiarais a mhalaírt agus bhunúigh sé scoil a chuir idir oideachas intleachtach agus corp-oideachas ar na daltaí.

Rud mór eile a d'éirigh leis a dhéanamh ná cuidiú le nualitíocht na Gaeilge a chothú. Bhain sé úsáid as 'caint na ndaoine' ina chuid scríbhinní, cé go raibh daoine ann a chreid gurbh fhearr Gaeilge chlasaiceach a úsáid sa nualitíocht. Mar is eol dúinn, is é an Piarasach a chuaigh i bhfeidhm ar na scríbhneoirí a tháinig ina dhiaidh.

**AONTAS**

Ba dhuine craifeach é, Padraig MacPiarais. Tá an t-Athair Ó Maolfinnabhaill ag



maíomh do Chaitlicigh na tíre gur feachtas neamh-Chrístúil atá ar siúl ag Oglagh na hÉireann. Ach bhí an Chríostaíocht iontach tábhachtach don Phiarsach, agus ní dhearna sé rud ar bith riamh ar mhaithe leis féin. Dúirt Desmond Ryan, a bhí ina dhalta i Scoil Eanna, maidir leis an Phiarsach "To know him was to love him." ("The Man called Pearse, Collected Works"). Ach thuig an Piarasach nach dtagann saoirse gan troid, agus ní féidir a rá nach raibh i gceist ach a ré féin, mar dúirt sé "Ireland unfree shall never be at peace." Cáineadh é lena linn féin ag údarás na hEaglaise mar a cháintear trodairí saoirse sa lá atá inniú ann.

Ach cé go raibh tionchar an Chaitlicheachais go mór le sonrú ann, ní raibh seice-teachas ar bith ann. Ghlac sé go fonnmhar le príonsabal polaitiúla Tone, fear a rinne iarracht spiorad náisiúnta a chothú in Éirinn a dhéanfadh aontas idir Caitlicigh agus Protastúin. Ba chosúil é ar an ábhar sin le hAnraí Joy MacReachtain, fear a raibh an Preispitéireachas go smíor ann, ach a ghlac leis na príonsabail polaitiúla céanna.

**GNÍOMHACH**

Sa bhliain 1891 chuaigh Padraig Mac Piarais go dtí Scoil na mBraithre, Sráth an Iarthair. D'fhan sé ansin go dtí

1896, an bhliain a ghnóthaigh sé an dara háit in Éirinn don Ghaeilge sa Grád Sinsearach. Chuir an Piarasach tús lena chúrsa ollscoile sa bhliain 1898. Faoin am seo bhí sé gníomhach cheana i gConradh na Gaeilge. Maise, sa bhliain sin toghadh é mar bhall de Choiste Gnó an Chonartha. Ghnóthaigh sé ceim B.A. agus céim B.L. sa bhliain 1901. Níor chleacht sé gairm an dlíodóra ach aon uair amháin, áfach, mar chuir an truailliú a bhí sa chóras dlí as dó. Sa bhliain 1903 ceapadh Padraig Mac Piarais mar eagarthóir ar *An Claidheamh Soluis*, nuachtán dátheangach Conradh na Gaeilge. Bhain sé sár-úsáid as na heagarfhoical chun cúrsaí cultúir agus cúrsaí oideachais a phlé. Thugadh sé léachtaí fosta le linn dó a bheith ag obair ar son an Conartha.

In *An Claidheamh Soluis* dhearbhaigh an Piarasach tuairimí suimiúla ar chúrsaí litríochta. Nuair a thosaigh scríbhneoirí Gaeilge ag baint úsáid as ghnéithe liteartha a bhí le sqnrú i nualitíocht na hEorpa, bhí daoine ann a thug 'truailliú' ar an nós sin. Ach rinne an Piarasach idirdhealú

idir bealoideas, rud a bhí in Éirinn leis na cianta, agus litríocht — rud a bhí de dhíth ag an am sin. Thaispeáin Padraig MacPiarais nach raibh sé dall ar suáilcír liteartha ón iasacht nuair a scríobh sé, "Men so far apart in point of nationality... as Camille Lemonier in Belgium and Maxim Gorky in Russia are Typical of the short story writers of today."

**SAOTHAR**

Ar ndóigh bhí an Piarasach féin i mbun saothar liteartha a scríobh. Scríobh sé dánta, scéalta agus drámaí. Sa dhán 'A Éin Bhig' léirítear an grá a raibh ag an Phiarsach d'ainmhithe. Tá crúáil le hainmhithe sa domhan agus san Éire Nua ní dhéanfar dearmad go bhfuil cearta ag ainmhithe chomh maith. Tchímid i ndánta an Phiarsaigh an cion a raibh aige ar pháistí. In 'Níor Cruinníodh Liomsa Óir' insíonn sé dúinn gurb fhearr leis a ainm a bheith i gcoirí linbh ná ór a chruinniú.

Sa Dhrama 'An Rí' deireann an t-Abb. "Ní cheannaitéar an tsaoirse ach le mórluach." Sin rud a thuig Padraig MacPiarais. Sin rud a thugimid uile.

Bhí gearr ar leith ag an Phiarsach ar mhuintir Gaeltacht Connachta. Tá a chuid gearrscéalta bunaithe ar shaol na Gaeltachta. In 'An Bhean Chaoichte' tá léirgeas ar an bhrón a tháinig (is a thagann) as ansmacht na nGall. Deireann athair Chóilín "Cé a mharraigh do sheanathair féin? Cé a bhain an fhuil dhearg as gaullí? mo sheannhatharsa le liasc? Cé a dhéanfadh é ach na Gaill?" An féidir an ceart a bhaint amach sna cúirteanna? "Ní raibh aon bhí inár bhfianaise in aghaidh fianaise na bpiléar." Nach minic sin á rá sna dá stát in Éirinn le deichniú anuas? Caithfimid cuimhniú ar an Phiarsach mar oideachasóir. Chaith sé an chuid a ba mhó dá shaol ag iarraidh an dúchas a chur in iúl dúinn. Tá saoirse polaitíochta de dhíth chun féiniúlacht an phobail a chosaint, sin an chúis a throid an Piarasach ar son saoirse. Chan é saoirse náisiúnta amháin a bhí i gceist aige ach oiread, mar "Pearse... believed the axe should be laid to the root of social iniquity." ("The Man Called Pearse" le Desmond Ryan).

Ní cheannaitéar an tsaoirse ach le mórluach. I dtrátha na Casca, 1916, thug Padraig Mac Piarais a shaol ar son saoirse. Ní foláir an obair a dhéanamh chun an aisling ba mhó da raibh aige a chur i gcrích.

## Burke's at the back

BY KEVIN BURKE

PRACTISING hypocrisy can make you an easy target for ridicule, and the Irish bishops are no exception.

Among the United States election observation team in El Salvador is an arch-conservative Catholic priest by the name of Rev Ted Hesburgh. He was asked, in the aftermath of that country's mock elections, if he agreed with the critical line taken by the Irish bishops towards the Salvadorean regime because of its record on human rights.

"The bishops in Ireland", he replied, "have every right to say what they want but instead of speaking about the Salvadorean regime, I wish they would talk about the one in Northern Ireland."

★★★

A particularly hypocritical Irish bishop is the one in Derry, Bishop Edward Daly. Last Sunday he was calling on his flock to cooperate fully with the corrupt, biased repressive and illegal 'law and order' system in the North by informing on IRA Volunteers.

Strangely, however, he does not appear ready to abide by that legal system himself. In a statement on Monday he said:

"A clergyman or a doctor in the course of his work is entrusted with confidential privileged information which he may not convey to anyone; information which he receives in the course of his calling."

He went on to say that if he got any information 'as a private citizen', however, he would immediately tout to the British army or RUC.

But the British courts do not recognise that a Catholic priest, or even a bishop, has any right to claim privilege and refuse to give evidence or information he has learned confidentially 'in the course of his calling', even if learned in the confessional.

It has always been held in British law that to recognise the secrecy of the confessional as privileged information would be discriminatory against other religions, and, on occasion, priests have been found in contempt of court for refusing to answer questions in the witness box.

The bishop is also wrong when he claims the same privilege for a doctor. The British courts do not recognise any privilege for communications between a doctor and his patient either. The only person who can claim privilege in these types of circumstances is a lawyer, who can legally refuse to disclose in court any communications between himself and his client.

Anyone else, bishop, priest, doctor or journalist, must break the law if he or she wishes to conscientiously refuse to disclose what they consider to be 'privileged' information.

So Bishop Daly apparently thinks he can choose which laws he himself obeys, whilst he tells his flock to obey the legal system they so obviously abhor.

On the other hand, of course, there is plenty of evidence that Catholic priests have often had no qualms whatsoever about revealing confessional secrets to the authorities. Prison chaplains have always been known for this particularly foul practice. And many will remember the controversy in 1970 when it was disclosed that Catholic chaplains in the British army were reporting confessional secrets to their superior officers.

★★★

The military appeals courts in Turkey, a country currently suffering under a particularly repressive military regime, would not be an obvious choice for quoting as a good example to the supposed democratic systems.

But even the Turkish judges can be embarrassed, and last week the military court in Ankara declared that "confessions alone can no longer constitute a basis for sentencing."

"Confessions," the court said, "are against human nature. To confess, a person must be either insane, or not lucid, or under the influence of alcohol or subjected to mistreatment or torture."

Such weak-minded liberalism has not, of course, been allowed to infiltrate into the British or Free State courts as yet.

★★★

Sir Stuart Pringle, some of you will remember, is the Commandant-General of the Royal Marines whom the IRA narrowly failed to get rid of once and for all last October, when a bomb blew up in his car outside his South London home.

Last week, the general returned to work and had a defiant 'carrying on as normal'

# Episcopal hypocrisy



● A topical wall slogan in Belfast's Lenadoon Avenue

message for the following morning's papers.

Pringle, who had his right leg amputated after the explosion, told newsmen: "I'm not going to be pushed around by the IRA. And, let's face it, there's nowhere to run."

★★★

On Thursday, last week, April 1st, the Leinster House parliament adjourned for its four-week Easter holiday and will reconvene on April 28th.

Exhausted deputies are very much in need of this long rest. So far this year they have had to work a total of ten days!

The Free State parliament sat on two days in January, not at all in February, seven days in March, and on the first day in April. And for 90% of the time that it is in session only three or four deputies are actually in the chamber.

They day they chose to go on holiday yet again, April 1st, is traditionally April Fools' Day. But who are the fools?

Obviously not the politicians.

★★★

Ian Paisley has once again been refused a visa to visit the USA by the US State Department. He was apparently intending to visit the Bob Jones University in South Carolina, the establishment from which he got the meaningless 'Doctor' label of which he is so proud.

The fundamentalist Christian bigot, Bob Jones himself, is not too pleased with the visa refusal and has urged the students at the university, which incidentally includes one of Paisley's daughters, to pray that the Lord will 'smite' the United States Secretary of State, Alexander Haig, and 'destroy him utterly'.

★★★

More 'bad apples' in court this week include a UDR soldier, Brian Roberts of Formby Avenue, Belfast, who is charged with the murder of 19-year-old Catholic Liam Canning of Glengormley on the anniversary of internment, August 9th, last year.

Roberts, who was living in Alliance Avenue at the time, fired shots from the window of his home at Liam Canning and another youth who were walking past.

Before appearing in court, Roberts had resigned from the UDR and so becomes an 'ex-UDR man' in the press reports.

Also in court during the week were three British soldiers based at Ballykinlar camp. They were charged with causing grievous bodily harm to an out-of-uniform RUC man whom they attacked with broken bottles during a drunken interlude in the seaside town of Bangor.

★★★

As usual the above offenders will get off lightly, because of the pressures and strain of operating in the North.

One British soldier who benefited greatly from this extra 'perk' which goes with the job, was finally put away for life in Dublin last week.

Richard O'Hara, who was found guilty of the murder of Belfast teenager Deborah Robinson, had, whilst serving in the British army, attempted to strangle an English girl near his barracks in Winchester, assaulted another 15-year-old girl in England, attacked a 19-year-old girl in Newry, and killed a 9-year-old girl in the North of England.

On each occasion a British army officer spoke up in his favour in court and he was released onto the streets again.

★★★

Warders at Long Kesh and Magilligan prison camps received a bonus payment of £1,200 in their wage packets last weekend in a secret deal on travel expenses which totalled £2 million. Another £2 million bonus will be paid to them over the next three years as part of an agreement by which Long Kesh and Magilligan are reclassified from temporary prisons, for travelling to which expenses can be claimed, to permanent prisons, to which no such expenses are attached.

An attempt was made to conceal the payments from warders at Crumlin Road and Armagh prisons who did not share in the bonanza, but celebrating warders last weekend soon spilt the beans.

★★★

Money for warders seems to be no problem. A warder at Long Kesh, Harold McMullan, has just been awarded £25,000 against the Northern Ireland Office for tripping in a pot-hole at the prison camp whilst patrolling the perimeter fence! McMullan received a broken leg and twisted knee, and up to the court case for the damages walked with a limp. The reason for the subsidence near the fence was not disclosed.

★★★

Downtown Radio presenter Candy Devine fell into glorious confusion on her regular 'Sunday Requests' programme last Sunday, when she read out a request for a song by the ballad group 'The Freeman', who specialise in rebellious material.

The particular record was, we were told, not available at Downtown, but instead Candy offered a track from their latest album. Almost a verse of the rousing 'On the One Road' was then heard, but when it got to Northmen and Southmen 'singing a Soldier's Song' a loud screeching of needle across record was heard, and an obviously panicky Candy Devine announced that unfortunately time did not permit a full playing of the record.

The next request was quickly announced and, of course, played in full.

## WHAT'S ON

### SOCIAL & BUFFET

Featuring 'Anagh'  
9 p.m. Sunday 11th April  
West Country Inn  
ENNIS  
Co. Clare  
Admission: £3.50  
Late bar, all welcome  
Organised by Sinn Fein

### DANCE & SOCIAL

9 p.m. Sunday 11th April  
Kinawley Hall  
KINAWLEY  
Co. Fermanagh  
Admission: £2  
Organised by Sinn Fein

### TOOME FAIR

Entertainment for all the family,  
stalls, amusements, sports, etc.  
Monday 12th April  
TOOME  
Organised by Toome and  
District POF

### BALLAD SESSION

Featuring 'Latch'  
Monday 12th April  
Wagon Wheel Lounge  
Trinity Street  
DROGHEDA  
Co. Louth  
Admission: £1  
Organised by Sinn Fein

### SOCIAL

Featuring the O'Hagan family  
Monday 12th April  
Kells Room (Donnelly lounge)  
DUNGANNON  
Co. Tyrone  
Easter raffle draw will take  
place at this function  
Organised by Sinn Fein

### CEILI

Featuring Ceoil Shaskeen  
Thursday 15th April  
Community Centre  
BALLINAMORE  
Co. Leitrim  
Organised by Sinn Fein

### IRISH NIGHT

SOCIAL  
Ceili by Tony and Friends  
8.30 p.m. - 11.30 p.m. Friday 16th April  
Dew Drop Inn  
CAVAN TOWN  
Co. Cavan

### CONCERT

Featuring 'The Dublin City Ramblers'  
9 p.m. - 11 p.m. Friday 16th April  
Blue Lagoon  
SLIGO TOWN  
Co. Sligo

### BALLAD SESSION

Friday 16th April  
Wagon Wheel Lounge  
Trinity Street  
DROGHEDA  
Co. Louth  
Admission: £1  
Organised by Sinn Fein

### REPUBLICAN RE-UNION

Featuring 'Blue Lagoon'  
Friday 16th April  
DRUMCONRATH  
East Meath  
Speaker: Owen Carron

### JOE CLARKE

6th ANNIV. COMMEMORATION  
After 10.45 a.m. Mass  
Sunday 18th April  
Oliver Plunkett church  
Followed by march to Glasnevin  
FINGLAS SOUTH  
(40c bus from Parnell Street)

### FILM SHOW

Featuring 'Mise Eire', 'Saoirse',  
and 'A Nation Once Again'  
7.30 p.m. Wednesday 21st April  
Room 2043 Arts Block  
TRINITY COLLEGE  
Dublin

### H-BLOCK SOCIAL

Featuring 'Phoenix'  
Friday 30th April  
Russell Arms Hotel  
NAVAN  
Co. Meath  
(Supper and bar extension)  
Taffle: £4

### 12-HOUR COMMEMORATION

HUNGER-STRIKE  
Saturday 1st May  
Town Hall  
NAAS  
Co. Kildare  
Organised by Naas H-Block  
Action Group

### CEILI

Featuring Leitrim Ceili Band  
Sunday 9th May  
Creevelea Hall  
DRUMKERRAN  
Co. Leitrim

ARMSTRONG, William. (Wormwood Scrubs). Easter greetings to our friend, We hope and pray for your return to the return of all our prisoners as a prelude to freedom. From Maureen and Leo Wilson and family.

BENNETT, Jim. (Albany). Easter greetings to you, and best wishes from all the Bennett family, Belfast.

BENNETT, Jim. (Albany). Easter greetings to you and all your comrades in the prisons in England. Hope to see you soon. All our love and best wishes. From your brother John, sister-in-law Ann and family.

BRADLEY, Seamus. (H-Block). Hope you have a good Easter. We are getting too fat with all those Easter eggs. From Eddie.

BUTLER, Eddie. (Lilcester). Easter greetings, Eddie, and all the best on your birthday. Cheers! From Raymond (Albany), Mary, and Patrick.

BYRNE, Jim. (Magilligan). Easter greetings to our good friend and member Jim Byrne, incarcerated in Magilligan for supporting the political struggle. Hope to see you soon. From the members of the Tom/Williams/Thomas Harle Sinn Fein cumann, Lurgan.

CAMPBELL, 'Flair' ROONEY, Gerald; Kevin; WHELAN, Joe. (Portlaoise). Easter greetings to Flair, Gerry, Kevin and Joe. Best wishes. From Dickie, Lily and family. UTP.

CAMPBELL, Kevin. (Portlaoise). Easter greetings to my husband Kevin. Thinking of you and all your comrades. From your loving wife Bernadette and children Anthony, John, Brid and Kevin.

CLARKE, Anthony. (Isle of Wight). Happy Easter, my dear brother. My comrades are always in our thoughts and prayers. All our love from Manus, Marie, and all the boys.

CLARKE, Anthony. (Isle of Wight). Happy Easter, Tony. God speed your return to freedom. Love from Theresa and Alan.

CLARKE, Anthony. (Isle of Wight). Happy Easter, Tony. We will have one or two for you, God bless. All our love from Joe and Andy. UTP.

CLARKE, Anthony. (Isle of Wight). Happy Easter, Tony, and to your friend Dermot. We hope you will have a very good Easter. All our love from Liam, Belle, Gerald, and all the boys.

CLARKE, Joseph. (H-Block). Happy Easter, Joseph. Thinking of you and God. Best wishes. Love from Liam, Belle and family.

COREY, Joseph. (H-Block). Happy Easter to you, Martin and Joseph. Hoping you and all your comrades will soon be free. From your loving mother, sister, brother and all the boys.

COUGHLAN, Martin. (Wormwood Scrubs). Easter greetings and best wishes, Martin. From your loving mother, sister, brothers, and all your relations in Dublin.



# Easter message from na Fianna Fireann

NA FIANNA EIREANN remembers with pride this Easter, its martyred dead and, standing shoulder to shoulder with all those who struggle for Irish freedom, na Fianna Fireann pays homage to those who have laid down their lives for our cause, especially those who have died since our 1981 Easter address.

We extend revolutionary greetings to our comrades Finian imprisoned in juvenile detention centres, prison camps and remand centres throughout the country. To them, their families, and their friends, we say: Our cause has made tremendous strides forward. The British presence in this country today faces a fierce and unrelenting enemy — the disciplined and militant youth of Ireland.

That is why they murder and mutilate children with plastic bullets. That is why they harass and jail teenagers. That is why they let our people die on hunger strike and shoot others down on the streets.

Let the Free Staters and the Brits take notice: No matter how much they watch us, follow us, and attempt to intimidate us, no matter how many informers they blackmail, compromise or pay with their '30 pieces of silver' to betray us — they cannot and they will not keep us, the resurgent youth, down forever!

McGARRY, Jack. (H-Block). Happy birthday to the greatest brother in the world. We are always thinking of you. Take care. From all your devoted fans in Armagh Jail, Padraic and Brendan will have a drink for you in the bar. xxx

McGARRY, Jack. (H-Block). Happy birthday to you, Jack. We are proud of you and think you are the greatest but less of the April fool joke! All our love to you, big brother Jack on the so-called Free State in Britain. To each and every one of us, the Provost's half don't show much wit. The great 2000 must be working. (Hal Hal). Who loves ya? Bye! The Twins Theresa and Patricia. xxx

McGARRY, Patricia. (Armagh). Easter greetings to you and all your comrades. Even the longest night must end. From Maureen and Leo Wilson and family.

McGRANDLES, Paddy. (H-Block). Revolutionary greetings for Easter, Paddy. From Geraldine and Ursula in the 'Big Smoke'.

McGROGAN, Kevin. (Portlaoise). Easter greetings, Kevin. From John, Maria, and Roy.

McGUIGAN, Ellen. (Armagh). Easter greetings to our niece and cousin, Ellen. Wishing you and your comrades a happy Easter. From your uncle Oliver and loving cousins. Also from your happy George and family, Birmingham.

IRISH NORTHERN AID, MID-MANHATTAN UNIT, NEW YORK, send solidarity greetings this Easter to Irish republican prisoners in the occupied north of Ireland, the so-called Free State in Britain. To each and every one of you, we send our admiration and love. We care and you are not forgotten. UTP.

THE JENKINSON/MORAN SINN FEIN CUMANN, DUN LOAGHAIRE, send Easter greetings to Vincent Connolly (Parkhurst), John O'Shea (Portlaoise) and all republican POWs everywhere.

THE CHARLES MCCANN/PHILIP GRANT SINN FEIN CUMANN, TOOME, send Easter greetings to Jim McEroy, Laurence MacKeown, Patrick McCoy, Kevin and all Irish republican POWs in jails in Ireland and England. God speed your return to freedom. We salute you.

THE TERENCE MACSWINEY SINN FEIN CUMANN, WEST LONDON, send Easter greetings to all republican POWs in British and Free State jails. UTP.

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We thank and gratitude go to the Republican Prisoners' Welfare Committee, Green Cross, P.D.F., An Cumann Cabhrach, all groups and associations, and all our friends and supporters who have given so generously of their time and money. We are confident in the leadership of the Republican Movement and our dedication and commitment to the war.

GAVIN, Jimmy. (Portlaoise). Easter greetings to my dear brother, Jimmy. You are always in our thoughts, xxx. UTP. From Theresa, Sean, Hedy Joy, Saoirse, and all your friends in England.

GIBNEY, Jim. (H-Block). Easter greetings to you at Easter and greetings also to all your comrades. From Maura, Aic and family.

GIBNEY, Jim. (H-Block). Greetings to you at Easter time, Jim. See you soon. From Dan, Deborah and kids.

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We extend revolutionary greetings to our comrades Finian imprisoned in juvenile detention centres, prison camps and remand centres throughout the country. To them, their families, and their friends, we say: Our cause has made tremendous strides forward. The British presence in this country today faces a fierce and unrelenting enemy — the disciplined and militant youth of Ireland.

That is why they murder and mutilate children with plastic bullets. That is why they harass and jail teenagers. That is why they let our people die on hunger strike and shoot others down on the streets.

Let the Free Staters and the Brits take notice: No matter how much they watch us, follow us, and attempt to intimidate us, no matter how many informers they blackmail, compromise or pay with their '30 pieces of silver' to betray us — they cannot and they will not keep us, the resurgent youth, down forever!

McGARRY, Jack. (H-Block). Happy birthday to the greatest brother in the world. We are always thinking of you. Take care. From all your devoted fans in Armagh Jail, Padraic and Brendan will have a drink for you in the bar. xxx

McGARRY, Jack. (H-Block). Happy birthday to you, Jack. We are proud of you and think you are the greatest but less of the April fool joke! All our love to you, big brother Jack on the so-called Free State in Britain. To each and every one of us, the Provost's half don't show much wit. The great 2000 must be working. (Hal Hal). Who loves ya? Bye! The Twins Theresa and Patricia. xxx

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McGARRY, Jack. (H-Block). Happy

(continued from previous page)

In freedom. From dad and all the family. MILNE, Ian. (H4-Block). Greetings on your birthday... O'CONNELL, Lynn. (Armagh). Happy birthday Lynn. From all the gang in Derry.

O'BRIAN, Feldhilmán. (Blóc H). Beannacht na Cáca dúid. O dalaí, maí, Dara agus an clann. Sealdalach ab é. O'HAGAN, Flonntán. (Blóc H). Beannacht na Cáca dúid. O dalaí, maí, Dara agus an clann. Sealdalach ab é.

WILSON, Padraic. (H4-Block). Easter greetings to our son and brother, Padraic. Looking forward to having you home shortly. From mum, dad, brothers and sister.

WILSON, Padraic. (H4-Block). Easter greetings to you and all our POWs everywhere. May you all be free men and free women soon. From Jim Connolly and Sean Hughes, Boston, USA.

WILSON, Padraic. (H4-Block). Easter greetings to you and all our POWs everywhere. May you all be free soon in a free Ireland. From Jim Connolly and Ernie Blanchard and family, Hempstead, USA.

EASTER GREETINGS to all Irish republican POWs in English jails. We think of you especially at this Easter time. Also we remember with pride those gallant men and women who have given their lives in the cause of Irish freedom.

EASTER GREETINGS to Peter Bateson (Cage 10), Jack Hone (H1), Raymond McCarty and Ian Milne (H4). Sean Laverly, Kevin McEneaney, Kevin O'Neill (H5), Fintan Scullin and Dessie Armstrong (H7). This is just in case you did not get our cards. From Joan and Pauline, UTP.

EASTER GREETINGS to all the families of our fallen comrades. We share the common loss with Gaeils as true as these. Ireland, one day, shall be free. "Ten years fall shining brightly, affecting love and pain, an ache it lingers always, knowing we'll not meet again. A sense of pride it warms me, for in your life in me, your struggle, my struggle, peace with justice is our goal." Fuair síad bás ar son a muintir. O Gheaird Mac Donnall, H5-Cás Fháid.

EASTER GREETINGS to all republican POWs in English and Irish jails. From 'Egor' and all the Carson family. EASTER GREETINGS to Jimmy Kelly, Joe Larkin, Kevin McCroghan and John O'Shea (Portlaoise). From Jimmy and Sally.

EASTER GREETINGS to Willie Taylor, Gerry Lavelly, Jimmie and Paula Bow (Portlaoise). Lynn, Sadie, Bernie and Loraine (Armagh). Eamon McCormick (Dumblinn Road) and to the POWs in Long Kesh camp. We send our love. As long as grass grows or water runs, men and women will be ready to dare and give their lives in the cause of Irish freedom. From Ann, and Johnny Johnstone and family, Cressgar, Derry.

POWTOWN GREEN CROSS COMMITTEE send Easter greetings to republican POWs and especially those from the Portlaoise area. THE SINN FEIN POW DEPT., DUBLIN, send Easter greetings to all republican comrades in England. You may be imprisoned but special greetings to those incarcerated. THE BRYAN SMYTH SINN FEIN CUMANN, CRAIGAVON, and best wishes and THE TROOPS OUT MOVEMENT, LEEDS, ENGLAND, send Easter greetings to all republican POWs in English and Irish jails, especially to those from the Galgavon area.

Particular freedom to those who were in the H-Blocks. "Don't be too disappointed, Nora. We shall rise again. He did not want me to drop out of the fight. He knew it would go on after he was gone. And then I had to go out. Those were the very last words that he said to me before I was taken away - "We shall rise again." (Nora Connolly) THE TONY WILLIAMS/THOMAS HARTE SINN FEIN CUMANN, LURGAN, who those struggling for Irish freedom "Of course, I can be murdered, but I remain free - I am a political prisoner of war." (Bobby Sands) THE SINN FEIN WOMEN'S DEPT., send revolutionary greetings for Easter to comrades in Armagh jail.

EASTER GREETINGS to all Irish republican POWs in jails in Ireland and England. Greetings also to all those generous people from all over the world who gave so unselfishly their time and energy over the year and especially during the summer period. Your support will guarantee us a better future. From the Sinn Féin Women's Dept. From the McAtre family, Dublin.

EASTER GREETINGS to all our republican POWs in English and Irish jails, especially to those from the Free State. From Marty, Dublin. EASTER GREETINGS to Tony Ronnie, Jimmy, James, Stephen and Noel (Albany) and to all POWs in English and Irish jails. They may imprison your body but they cannot take your spirit. From Raymond, Maire, and Patrick.

EASTER GREETINGS to Willie Taylor, Jim Monaghan, Gerry Meehan, Mickey Hogan, Sowe, Liam McEhinney and all the lads in Portlaoise. From Monica. EASTER GREETINGS to all Tyrone POWs in English and Irish jails, especially to James Hanna (H-Block). From Eileen and Eamon.

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# EASTER COMMEMORATIONS

ALL NATIONALIST cultural and sporting groups, and trade unions, are invited to take part in the Easter commemoration ceremonies which are organised by the National Graves Association but no banners are to be carried on the parades.

People who wish to take photographs of the parades and ceremonies must first obtain permission from the organisers; and, in Belfast, press cards are available from the Republican Press Centre at 51/53 Falls Road.

- CO. ANTRIM: After 11 a.m. Mass, Cargin cemetery
- CO. ARMAGH: 11.30 a.m. Moy Road/Bamrook Hill, Armagh
- CO. DUBLIN: 10 a.m. Ferial Crossroads, Ballymacnab
- CO. LIMERICK: 1 p.m. Bedford Row, Limerick city
- CO. LOUTH: After 11 a.m. Mass, West St., Drogheda
- CO. MAYO: 3 p.m. Swinford Road, Kiltimagh
- MONAGHAN TOWN: 2.30 p.m. O'Hanlon Memorial, Clones Road
- CO. OFFALY: 2.45 p.m. The Square, Clara
- CO. SLIGO: 12 noon Ballysadare
- CO. TIPPERARY: 3 p.m. Coolibawn Cross, Fethard
- CO. WATERFORD: 3 p.m. The Monument, Hollyford
- CO. WEXFORD: 11.45 a.m. Coalbrook, Carrigrohane
- CO. WICK: 12 noon Clonoe cemetery
- CO. WILTSHIRE: 11.45 a.m. Coalbrook, Carrigrohane
- CO. YORKSHIRE: 12 noon Greenacres cemetery

## Sympathy

GREENE, SHANAHAN. The Dublin Committee of An Cumann Cabhrach extend their sincere sympathy to Mrs Brigid Greene on the death of her brother Thomas Shanahan.

SHANAHAN. The members of An Cumann Cabhrach, Walkinstown, Dublin, extend their sincere sympathy to Mrs Silly and family on the death of her brother Thomas Shanahan, RIP.

## Birthday memories

SURGENOR. In memory of Joseph Surgenor, who died on his 70th birthday which occurred on April 10th, RIP. Mary, Queen of Ireland, pray for him. "No farewell and goodnight, but to say goodbye, you were gone before I reached you, and only God knows why." Always remembered by his loving mother and sisters Suzanne and Marie. From Jim and SURGENOR. In memory of Joe whose

Green on their recent sad bereavement, and to Mrs Silly on the death of her brother Thomas Shanahan. SHANAHAN. The members of An Cumann Cabhrach, Walkinstown, Dublin, extend their sincere sympathy to Mrs Silly and family on the death of her brother Thomas Shanahan, RIP. thirtieth birthday would have occurred on April 10th. I was born in the town of Ireland, pray for him. "Mine is just a simple prayer, God bless and keep you in his care. Always in the memory of my sister Geraldine, brother-in-law Seamus, brother-in-law, and niece Claudine Anne. SURGENOR. In memory of Joseph Surgenor, who died on his 70th birthday which occurred on April 10th, RIP. Mary, Queen of Ireland, pray for him. "Will those who think of him today, a little prayer to Jesus say? Always remembered by his sister Eileen, Jimmy and family, Twinbrook, Belfast.

## Death of Pat Bohan

THE funeral of Pat Bohan of Kilbegan, County Westmeath, took place from his local parish church on Thursday, 1st April, and attracted one of the largest attendances ever seen in the area.

His thirtieth birthday would have accompanied to the cemetery by a republican guard of honour. The graveside ceremonies were presided over by Tom Fox and the oration was given by veteran Belfast republican Charlie McGlade. Pat Bohan joined the IRA in 1917

and his column in 1922 was responsible for the first burning of an RIC barracks in the midlands at Clara, County Offaly. Before the end of the same year, he had taken part in three ambushes on British forces, at Cloneylinny, Durrrow and Newtown. He was also a dispatch rider with the IRA's North Offaly Brigade. Pat Bohan, who died at the age of eighty-two, remained loyal to republican principles throughout his life. Go ndána Dia trócaire ar a enam.

## Death of James Conroy

THE death has taken place of James Conroy of Clonliffe, County Offaly. He was buried after Mass at Clonliffe parish church on Friday, 2nd April.

James Conroy, a life-long republican, joined the IRA in 1919 and was very active in the Black and Tan War and the Civil War which followed. His home at Clonliffe has been raised as often in

recent years as it was in those early days, an indication of his continued involvement in the republican struggle. The proceedings at his graveside were chaired by his cousin, Captain Peter Doolin who joined the IRA with James Conroy sixty-three years ago. Charlie McGlade gave the oration. Ar Déas Dú go raibh a enam.

## Dublin republican

THE Dublin Republican, the Sinn Féin news-sheet specifically catering for the Dublin area, has recently been re-launched.

The latest edition contains articles on employment, the welfare system discrimination, Council and Corporation Inefficiency, the Dublin Trades Council, and other topics. Copies are available from Sinn Féin, 5 Blessington Street, Dublin, or from sellers of An Phoblacht/Republican News.

## Draw notices

An Cumann Cabhrach, Dublin March results: £100: No. 246; £50: 376; £25: 161; £10: 98 and 190; £5: 3, 123, 274, 347, 358 and 368.

Derry PDF Lottery £200: No. 91, Brian and Gary £50: 63, Anne Duffy; 1047, J. McCloskey £25: 351, "Locked-up"; 600, Malachy; 756, B. Donaghy; 922, Noreen Donaghy; 954, Lily McCafferty; 1181, James; 1201, 22, Josephine; 180, Kay McNamee; 441, Eamon Collins; 671, Mrs McCint; 688, Eileen Collins; 700, James; 756, M. McLaughlin; 897, A. McCafferty; 932, Ann & Grainne; 1049, Tony Hassani; 1132, Patrick Doherty; 1181, 1182, 1183, 1184, 1185, Cecilia O'Doherty; 241, Margurite; 280, Eileen McCormack; 379, Sean Whelan; 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, Mrs J. Whelan; 786, Damien Barr; 820, A. Doherty; 1107, Cathy Doherty; 1128, Doy. From the Dublin City Council. Co. Monaghan H-Block 400 Club £100: Ann Fitzpatrick, Annyvale; £50: Eileen Moore, Clonsilla; and £50: Brendan Kelly, Clonsilla.

COULD all commemoration committees, in conjunction with the Republican Movement locally, please send photographs of the ceremonies, to 44 Parnell Square, Dublin (tel. 747611), or 51/53 Falls Road, Belfast (tel. 46841).

# RECONQUEST OF FALKLAND ISLANDS SHAKES IMPERIALIST ALLIES

# British humiliation

JUST A WEEK ago, on Friday 2nd April, the military dictatorship in Argentina sanctioned the invasion of Las Malvinas, the name by which all Argentinians refer to the Falkland Islands. To most Irish people the reaction of the British government and media, with a few rare exceptions, has provoked feelings of disgust at the hypocrisy and chauvinism of the British towards the issue of the so-called self-determination of the Falklanders.

The flagging morale of British troops in the North has been given a boost by the belligerence and bellicosity of their political leaders back home, a jingoistic militancy particularly heralded by the Labour Party and its 'socialist' leader, Michael Foot. A Belfast youth, accosted by excited British soldiers last week declaring that 'all hell would break loose' when they 'got to the Falklands', reminded them that they 'couldn't even get up Crocus Street' (a reference to the recent ambush in which three Brits were killed), and had his front teeth knocked out for his observation. Graffiti referring to Argentina has been daubed on walls throughout the North, more as an expression of anti-British rather than pro-Argentinian feeling.

It is estimated that it will cost the British government £50 million just to get their naval fleet to the Falklands (before a shot has even been fired) but the cost of fishing the sailors out of any future debacle has not been assessed, nor the political cost which could see the fall of the Tory government and a general election.

The spectacle of Britain 'going to war' and the 'blood-curdling' speeches of British politicians are of some amusement to the oppressed nationalist people who hope that the royal fleet and Prince Andrew aboard the 'Invincible' aircraft carrier become a permanent feature of the south Atlantic sea-bed.

Kevin Burke and Ciaran Dowd examine some of the issues and ramifications behind the Argentinian conquest and the British response:

BY KEVIN BURKE AND CIARAN DOWD

BRITANNIA it appears does not after all rule the waves. Or at least, we have to wait a fortnight or so, and eight thousand miles, to see if its hastily assembled fleet of half-sold, half-condemned naval vessels and commandeered passenger liners (still the third largest navy in the world) can recreate one of the British people's fondest myths.

Meanwhile, shaken and humiliated British politicians of all parties, egged on by media and opinion polls, willsway between jingoistic threats of war (up to and including nuclear attacks on the Argentinian capital of Buenos Aires) and more humble action, mainly involving wide-scale abstinence from corned-beef.

And in the background, lies the worst possibility of all for the chauvinistic British — that their football teams may have to pull out of next June's World Cup in Spain in

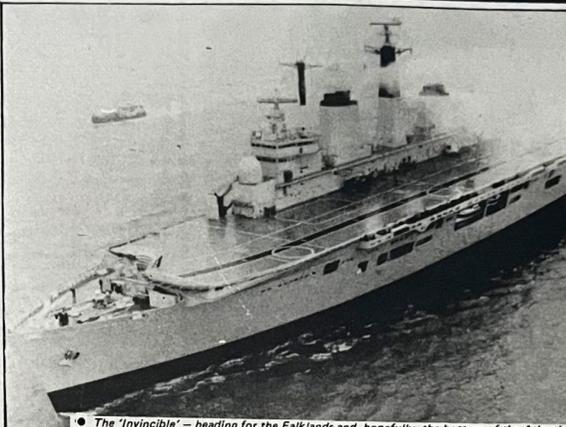
"We are all Falklanders now" — editorial in *The Times*

order to avoid the possibility of meeting Argentina in the semi-finals.

A more serious look at the crisis, however, does raise several issues with possible effects outside of domestic British problems, beginning perhaps with the history of the long dispute between Britain and Argentina over the Falkland Islands, or the Malvinas, as the Argentinians call them.

Argentina was a colony of Spain until 1810 when it became independent after a fierce struggle. Britain, however, with its powerful navy and domination of trade took over as the dominant imperialist power in the area. To guard its trade routes round Cape Horn it sent HMS 'Clio' in 1833 to evict the Argentinian governor from the Falkland/Malvinas islands and installed British settlers there.

"Massive majority for blood" — Simon Hoggart, *Observer*



The 'Invincible' — heading for the Falklands and, hopefully, the bottom of the Atlantic

## Disgraced British ministers linked with the North

BOTH SENIOR British Foreign Ministers who have resigned their positions following the seizure of the Falkland Islands have the strongest possible connection with the British occupation of the six counties.

Humphrey Atkins, who resigned as deputy Foreign Minister — the most senior foreign affairs post in the British parliament — already had a place in the history books as British direct-ruler in the North from May 1979 to September 1981.

During that period he was very much a puppet of Margaret Thatcher but nevertheless responsible for the escalation of the H-Block/Armagh prison crisis leading to the two hunger-strikes and the deaths of the ten hunger-strikers. He also continued the death and repression policy in the streets and his period as direct-ruler will also be remembered for the plastic bullet murders of innocent civilians by the British army and RUC.

The man who led Humphrey Atkins into the wilderness, British Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington, has equally strong connections with British oppression in the North. He was Defence Secretary in the British Conservative government which came to power in June 1970 and remained at that post until its fall in February 1974.

As minister in charge of the British army he presided over all that army's atrocities in those years including Bloody Sunday and the introduction of internment. Each one he defended with sneering arrogance towards the Irish nationalist people.

The new British Foreign Secretary, Francis Pym, is also linked with the North in Irish minds, being British direct-ruler there from November 1973 to February 1974. The shortness of his regime, however, has left no lasting impressions of any importance.



Carrington



Atkins

the hands of such a dictator. But, there are in fact almost twenty thousand British nationals already living, apparently contentedly, on the Argentinian mainland.

And the other solution has been suggested of offering the Falkland Islanders a new start in either Britain or New Zealand. Although this echoes a British Foreign Office leak last month as a possible solution for disaffected Northern loyalists in the event of a united Ireland, for the Falklanders it appears a more realistic idea.

Like most colonialists, the Falklanders, who are mostly of Scottish, English and Welsh descent, have a rather pathetic love and respect for the imperial homeland which is returned with indifferent treatment from Britain.

The system under which the Falkland sheep-farmers live is practically feudal. The islands are in fact owned by the Derbyshire-based Charrington Coalite and Chemical Company who run the place as a 'company island'. The farmers are not freeholders, but tenants of the Falkland Islands Company, a subsidiary of Charrington's, so that their homes are effectively 'tied cottages'.

When they are too old to work the islands have to leave their homes and the islands and move elsewhere, usually to New Zealand or back to Britain.

In the light of this, Britain's bleatings about the 'self-determination of the Falkland Islanders' rings very hollow indeed.

For Britain the islands have become more of an embarrassment than a valuable possession. Any oil deposits which may or may not be under the seas around the islands could not realistically be exploited from eight thousand miles away, particularly with inevitable Argentinian opposition. And Britain has mainly held on as a typically pig-headed example of its reluctance to do anything which it imagines might deflate its self-important image in world affairs.

But in terms of these world politics the reconquest of the Falklands/Malvinas does have some significance. For Britain it exposes the illogicality of its billion pound nuclear missile programme at the expense of what are called 'conventional weapons', although no-one outside of Britain would like to see that country regain an ability to meddle widely in world affairs.

For the United States too the crisis creates a very delicate problem indeed, concerning as it does its two major strategic interests at present — its interference in Central America and its nuclear dispersal in Europe. It is with some dismay that the United States now views its closest allies in both of these areas squaring up for war.

"Blood may have to be spilled, but there is no alternative to a showdown" — Belfast Telegraph editorial (April 5th) on the Falklands

"Murder is murder, irrespective of the background of the victim or the motive of the killer... Those who engage in violence do nothing to hasten the day of peace in this country" — Belfast Telegraph editorial (April 5th) on the North

Argentina, with its large armed forces, has always been the prime candidate to lead an American-backed intervention into Central America in an 'anti-communist' crusade. A humiliation for its military rulers could spur an upsurge of internal unrest in Argentina which would tie down its armed forces indefinitely.

On the other hand, in Margaret Thatcher, the United States has the main proponent of the extension of its nuclear bases in Europe. Even if she survived, as British premier, a further debacle when the fleet arrives in the south Atlantic, her task of convincing the British parliament or public that the billion pound Trident missiles are more important than traditional modes of war would appear to be an impossible one.

So, in the final analysis, it is almost more of an American problem than a British or Argentinian one and it is most likely in that political arena that any solution will emerge.

Meanwhile, in Ireland, we can gain comfort from the humiliation of British imperialism and perhaps gain too an Irish opportunity from Britain's difficulty.



"As for Argentina, it must not be allowed to get away with aggression and banditry" — editorial in *The Irish Times*

in the country far more forcibly in recent months than at any time since the military crack-down in 1976.

Under General Leopoldo Fortunato Galtieri, who as president heads Argentina's ruling military triumvirate, between 20-30,000 political prisoners have 'disappeared', an easy measure of the sufferings of the Argentinian people, and an indication too of just how long the current euphoria in that country is likely to last.

On the face of it, it might be argued that the 1,800 settlers on the Falklands/Malvinas must be delivered at any cost from