

An Phoblacht REPUBLICAN NEWS



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ANNUAL WOLFE TONE COMMEMORATION BODENSTOWN

Sunday 20th June
Assemble 2.30pm
SALLINS
Co. Kildare
Guest speaker: Owen Carron



NOT UN!

Lessons from the Lebanon

ANYONE who thinks that the United Nations have anything to offer Ireland or have a role to play in an interim transition to a united Ireland had better think again. For the UN, to all intents and purposes a supposedly alternative forum for resolving territorial disputes other than through military aggression, is anything but that.

The introduction of UN forces to Ireland has been mooted from time to time, mostly by bankrupt Free State or nationalist politicians in dereliction of their duty to face up to the bold, decisive steps needed to achieve Irish independence, namely, an armed revolutionary struggle backed up by international propaganda explaining the justness of our cause. That task has fallen to and has not been shirked — as has been proved yet again in recent days — by the Irish Republican Army.



● UN forces can frustrate the hopes and aspirations of small nations

ignored by the country singled out or are vetoed by one of the big powers (Russia with regard to Afghanistan for example, and the US repeatedly on motions isolating Israel).

However, the UN can frustrate the hopes and aspirations of small nations and any of the countries which have experienced UN intervention in this last 20 years have had their problems postponed and unresolved, not settled.

United Nations forces in the Belgian Congo in 1960 were responsible for the overthrow of the progressive regime of Patrice Lumumba; their presence in Cyprus did nothing to resolve the divisions there; their feigned inability and reluctance to exercise their own mandate in Namibia against the South African occupation forces suits the purpose of Western imperialism which would like to see the downfall of the Angolan government and which South Africa is trying to destabilise; and now we have witnessed, on the one hand, the complete inability of the United Nations soldiers in the Lebanon (UNIFIL) to protect that country's citizens from Zionist murder while, on the other hand, UNIFIL has consistently shot and killed or arrested and disarmed Palestinian guerrillas making their way back into their own occupied land.

PARTITION

For these reasons, thoughts of a UN intervention in the North as a replacement for the Brits are a

INTERVENE

It was after the Battle of the Bogside and the Belfast pogroms of August 1969 that the then Free State government's foreign affairs minister, Patrick Hillery, called upon the UN to intervene, the Brits at that stage vetoing intervention by falsely declaring the conflict in the North as an 'internal United Kingdom matter'. However, it may not always be the case that the Brits will exclude UN involvement from their options and such involvement — if the attempts at UN 'peace-keeping' throughout the world are examined — would almost certainly be to the detriment of Irish unity and the Irish Republican Movement.

Despite increased representation from the emerging nations of the Third World over the last 25 years



● Mrs Rita McDonnell examines a door frame ripped off by crown forces during a raid last Tuesday

Homes wrecked

BRIT and RUC repression of nationalists in the Twinbrook area of Belfast continued again this week when two houses were raided on Tuesday evening, June 15th, causing considerable damage to property and the occupants abused.

At around 5 pm six jeeps full of Brits and RUC personnel arrived in Aspen Walk and went on a rampage of destruction in the McDonnell home, ripping tiles off the roof, damaging doors and ceilings, tearing the bannister from the wall and ripping off wallpaper. When Mrs Rita McDonnell protested to an RUC man she was bluntly told, "You're new here, we have to do it to all new residents."

At the height of the destruction the Brits hammered their way through the attic wall into the house next door belonging to the O'Connell family. Mr O'Connell and his son, who went up to investigate the hammering, had bricks thrown at them by the Brits who called them 'Fenian bastards'. A 'claims form' was refused Mr O'Connell by an RUC man who described the incident as an 'accident'. When they eventually pulled out three hours later the two homes were left in a chaotic condition, one of the RUC men shouting "Don't worry, we'll be back," a statement regrettably all too true to many nationalist families.

fatal error of judgement and would be to perpetuate partition for another 20 years or more. While the Brits occupy the North their presence is seen to be colonial, whereas (and it may well suit the Brits in the future) the introduction of UN forces would confuse the situation, make it politically difficult for resistance to be waged against a multi-racial army and would almost certainly indefinitely postpone a resolution of Ireland's sovereign right to national independence.

Republicans, long before the problem arrives, need to be clear about this matter, for this is one of the lessons that the Lebanese and Palestinian people bitterly experienced this week.

PICKET

in support of

GERRY TUITE

Monday 21st June
10.30 am
Special Court
Bolton Street end
DUBLIN

TRAVELLERS AND LOCAL RESIDENTS AT LOGGERHEADS AS COUNCIL SITS BACK

Andersonstown tension

BY MAEVE ARMSTRONG

THE DELIBERATE negligence and discrimination of Belfast City Council in their attitude towards travelling people triggered off community tension between travellers encamped on the Glen Road in Andersonstown and local residents on Tuesday, June 8th.

For a number of years now an average of 30 travelling families, totalling around 300 people, have existed in what only can be described as unsanitary and unhealthy conditions with no toilet or washing facilities and a scarcity of fresh water. The result has been the steady accumulation of rubbish, old cars and scrap. The deterioration of the site has become inevitable as the council blatantly refuses to collect rubbish, clean up the site, provide proper sanitation, or — what would seem to be the obvious solution — relocate the travellers on a permanent site, with facilities, in a non-residential area.

In spite of the fact that many local residents are genuinely sympathetic to their plight, nevertheless, with no resolution of the overcrowding and with intolerable mountains of rubbish and refuse building up, tension between residents and the travellers had been increasing which presented the real possibility of a physical confrontation.

At this stage (several weeks ago) local republicans were asked by residents and travellers to intervene and resolve the issue. A number of meetings were held but the situation was further aggravated

on Tuesday, June 8th, when about a dozen families tried to move on to the Glen Road site having been forcibly evicted by the RUC from a non-residential site on the Boucher Road industrial zone.

Glen Road residents, alarmed at what they viewed as yet more travellers moving on to an already overcrowded site, blocked the road. It was at this stage that Sinn Fein urgently set about the task of locating an alternative site acceptable to the travellers. Several possibilities were investigated and eventually after negotiations with the owner, land was obtained on the Colinglen Road. However, on Friday night, June 11th, a gang of men armed with pick-axe handles arrived on the new camp site and threatened to 'burn out' the families, many of whom were afraid to stay and so slept along the roadside. They were also unwilling to break faith with the agreement they gave to residents on the Glen Road, by moving back to the old site.

Joe Austin, chairperson of Belfast Sinn Fein, who had been actively involved in the negotiations, called on the city council to implement the legitimate demands of the travelling people, saying: "The



● This young boy on the Glen Road site knows nothing of the disagreements between the travelling community to which his parents belong and the settled community across the road

long-term solution lies in the hands of Belfast City Council. The travellers have a genuine grievance which must be resolved and we demand that immediate steps be taken by

the council to provide a serviceable area with proper sanitation and water facilities for the travellers.

"In the interim Sinn Fein will do its utmost to resolve the problem at

the Glen Road site but in the long-term only local councils throughout the North facing honestly up to their responsibilities can effectively resolve this terrible social problem."

BELFAST FAMILY INTIMIDATED AND THEN SUBJECTED TO OFFICIAL BLACKMAIL

DRIVEN FROM HOSTEL

BY MAEVE ARMSTRONG

THE BUREAUCRACY and red tape of the Northern Ireland Housing Executive and the Eastern Health and Social Services Board has left Mrs Elizabeth Bradley and her four children, aged from 4 to 13, homeless for a second night in succession after they fled on Tuesday, June 15th, from Ashmore Street Hostel (on the Protestant side of Belfast's 'peace line') because of sustained loyalist threats and intimidation.

Ashmore Street Hostel is mixed and can accommodate on average around 10 families, the majority of which are Catholic, who may remain there for anything up to 6 months, in some cases without being housed, although the few Protestant families are re-allocated much sooner.

During this interim period before families are re-allocated they are placed under the responsibility of the Shankill Road Housing Executive Branch instead of their own (in Mrs Bradley's case, west Belfast). They also have to draw their benefit from the Shankill Road post office, therefore being placed in the vulnerable situation of being identified and selected for loyalist intimidation. Mrs Bradley's children had been threatened on numerous occasions, 13-year-old Jacqueline being struck by a brick in May. Mrs Bradley herself was also warned by people in nearby



● Ashmore Street Hostel, situated on the Protestant side of Belfast's 'peace line'

she could take no more and sought refuge in Horn Drive Community Centre in Lenadoon.

Families living in Ashmore Street Hostel are referred there by the social services until they can be re-allocated to alternative housing by the Housing Executive. But the catch lies in the Housing Executive's interpretation of what is, or is not, a high priority case. In Mrs Bradley's case, when she left her Tullymore home 6 weeks ago (for health reasons) she should have automatically been prioritised as 'A1-status' under the Housing Executive's selection scheme because a) she was homeless, and b) she was in an 'emergency situation'.

However, the Housing Executive placed her in 'Category-B' because, being allocated by the social services to Ashmore Street Hostel, they subsequently classified her as 'having a roof over her head'.

On Tuesday afternoon accompanied by several welfare workers from the Horn Drive Community Centre, Mrs Bradley staged a sit-in in the Housing Executive offices. They eventually got speaking to a Housing Executive official called 'Mr Cameron', who assured her she would be placed under 'A1-status' and made an appointment for her on Wednesday. That morning, however, Mrs Bradley's appointment was cancelled without any explanation.

Another catch for those requiring 'A1-status' is that a social worker's report must be submitted to the Housing Executive to support the person's case, a requirement which too often falls by the wayside and therefore creates further delays in housing allocation. Only after tremendous pressure from welfare workers was Mrs Bradley's report produced.

Another Catholic family from Ashmore Hostel, Mrs Phyllis Rules and her two children, also left on Tuesday. But Mrs Rules was told by the warden in the hostel that if she didn't return she would lose the points she already had and would therefore have to begin the process again. Although untrue, this threat is nevertheless used as an effective form of blackmail to keep distressed families 'in line'. Mrs Rules, like Mrs Bradley, is determined to hold out until she is placed under 'A1-status' and re-housed, not simply moved from one hostel to another or from one bed and breakfast to another.

In a statement Belfast Sinn Fein spokesperson, Richard McAuley, called on the Housing Executive and social services to take prompt action saying, "they have both adopted an inflexible and insensitive attitude to Mrs Bradley's plight. Although such intimidation would normally rate an emergency 'A1' classification, in this instance both have dragged their feet abominably. It is obvious that Ashmore Street Hostel presents particular problems for Catholic families and what is needed is the establishment in west Belfast of a hostel for homeless families."



● Mrs Elizabeth Bradley along with two of her four children, 13-year-old Jacqueline (left) and 4-year-old Lisa, in Horn Drive Community Centre

housed, "Bradley, there is a bullet marked for you." It was at this stage on Tuesday that she decided

...War News...War News...War News... War News...

IRA ATTACKS

AFTER a recent apparent short lull in the level of IRA military activity, this week has seen the IRA bounce back with a major series of successful attacks which have taken the lives of one RUC man and one UDR soldier, caused commercial damage in Belfast city centre, and tied down enemy personnel yet again for hundreds of wasted man-hours.

Hours when otherwise they might have been able to go about their normal business of brutalising and repressing the nationalist people.

BELFAST BOMB ATTACKS

The IRA in Belfast carried out a successful co-ordinated series of bomb attacks through the city last Thursday, June 10th, causing serious damage to a city centre restaurant and two buses and tying down British army and RUC personnel for several hours.

During one of these attacks a civilian bus driver was regrettably injured, suffering body burns from an incendiary device, although his condition in hospital was described as 'satisfactory'. His injuries, however, though an unfortunate consequence of this IRA operation, were directly attributable to the negligence of the RUC and the incompetence of one city centre security employee.

The first of the explosions took place at the Piccolo restaurant in Wellington Street where an incendiary device had been planted and a warning phoned. The area was cleared and there were no casualties when the bomb detonated, causing fire damage to the restaurant.

Across the city in west Belfast, three IRA Volunteers commandeered a Citybus in the Ladybrook estate, placing it with a bomb on board under the M1 bridge at Finaghy Road North. The motorway had to be closed for a time and severe damage was caused to overhead telephone cables connecting Belfast and Lisburn when the bomb detonated.

Again in the city centre, part of a main shopping thoroughfare in Royal Avenue had to be cleared for over three hours during the afternoon while British army bomb disposal men struggled to defuse a bomb placed in a waste bin outside a jeweller's shop. A warning had been phoned about the bomb and there was no risk to civilians.

The only civilian injury incurred during the day's series of IRA operations came when an incendiary bomb on board a Citybus travelling down the Shankill Road towards the city centre det-

onated, injuring the driver of the bus.

The circumstances leading to this injury are as follows. IRA Volunteers planted the bomb on a bus route between the loyalist Silverstream district and the city centre. The bomb was placed on the upper deck of the bus at the rear, and immediately afterwards a bomb warning was phoned. This warning, at 1.03 pm, gave the registration number and fleet number of the bus, the route it was operating on, and the fact that it was then approaching the city centre security gates and would detonate in 45 minutes.

Incredibly, at the security gates, when a security employee boarded the bus and located the bomb, he 'mistook' it for an item of lost property and handed it to the bus driver who placed it behind his seat. This, of course, was a ludicrous thing to do, for a searcher trained to regard any unclaimed article as 'suspicious'.

What the RUC did to



● The devastated Citybus on Finaghy Road North, Belfast, last Thursday

find the bus over the next 40 minutes is anybody's guess, but it continued unhindered on its scheduled route to Silverstream, and it was only on its return trip to the city centre along the Shankill Road, as the bus reached the Bellevue Street junction, that the bomb detonated, injuring the driver and shocking several passengers on board. Undoubtedly, the calmness of the driver, in nonetheless keeping the bus under control and bringing it to a halt, prevented the risk of further civilian casualties.

The responsibility for these, however, as with the driver's injuries, would have rested firmly with the RUC.

RUC MAN KILLED

The RUC in Derry are no doubt feeling less than well-disposed to the British army



● The scene following last Friday's skilful booby-trap which killed an RUC man in Derry

after being called in by them to investigate a 'stolen' horde of electrical goods in a Shantallow garage. A television set among the goods had been skilfully booby-trapped by Volunteers of the Derry Brigade IRA and detonated when it was moved, killing one RUC man outright and injuring two others.

The explosion, which demolished the garage, came around 8 am last Friday, June 11th, several hours after British troops had commenced an intensive search of garages and sheds in the Carranbane Walk area of the Shantallow estate. During this operation, after kicking in the door of one garage, they found a number of electrical goods, including the television, and thinking they were stolen called in the RUC.

The RUC man who died instantly as he moved the television set was a 24-year-old man from Portstewart who joined the RUC in 1977 and was a detective constable based at Strand Road barracks in Derry.

Seriously injured was a 21-year-old RUC man who underwent emergency surgery soon after in Altnagelvin hospital in Derry, but who remained in a critical condition. A third RUC man was also injured, though not critically.

In a subsequent supplied statement claiming responsibility for the ambush, Derry Brigade emphasised that they had kept the garage under continual surveillance and ensured that there was no danger to civilians in the area.

Commenting also on the not surprisingly well-publicised condemnation of the attack by one local man, who also criticised the unsympathetic response of local youths to the injured RUC men, Derry Brigade pointed out that this individual was a known sympathiser of the Sticks and did not represent the hostility felt by most people in the area to the RUC.

In a further IRA attack the next day, Saturday, June 12th, Derry Volunteers planted a bomb in the early morning on the first floor of the Provident insurance building in Strand Road. It detonated at 2.30 am causing fire damage to the premises.

BOMB DEFUSED

A sophisticated 350 lbs IRA bomb, planted in the Clonag townland of Crossmaglen, was eventually made safe last Saturday, June 12th, after a British army bomb disposal team carried out a series of controlled explosions on it.

The bomb, concealed in a wall running close to the main Dublin-Derry Road, was discovered only after a major Brit ground and aerial search of the surrounding area during the day. Huge numbers of British troops were kept occupied in the search after being flown into the area by helicopter.

Had the bomb been detonated, it would almost certainly have claimed the lives of several British soldiers.

UDR SOLDIER SHOT DEAD

Tyrone Brigade IRA success-

fully ambushed and shot dead a 39-year-old UDR soldier in the centre of the west Tyrone town of Strabane last Tuesday, June 15th. He was the second member of the crown forces to be killed by the IRA in the space of five days.

The attack took place shortly after 1 pm in the town's Lower Main Street as the soldier walked to his parked car. As he opened the car door an IRA active service unit drove up alongside and opened fire. Four shots were fired, and the soldier, who lived at Artigarvan just outside Strabane and who joined the UDR 4½ years ago, died almost instantly.

Within minutes of the ambush Brits and RUC sealed off the area and intensified vehicle checks at the Tyrone/Donagall border crossing half a mile away, but the IRA Volunteers nonetheless returned safely to base.

SHOOTING ATTACK

A Volunteer in an IRA active service unit fired a single shot at a two-jeep Brit mobile patrol in west Belfast last Friday night, June 11th, which may have resulted in a British army casualty.

The planned ambush took place at around 7 pm as the Brit patrol reached the junction of Shaws Road and the top of Andersonstown Road. In an intensive follow-up operation, which the republican personnel safely eluded, some of the Brits told local people that one of their men had been hit, though the IRA has made no comment on this admission.



Clondalkin struggle

The workers' action group at the closed-down Clondalkin Paper Mills in south County Dublin have accused the Fianna Fail government of having abandoned its repeated commitment to re-open the factory where 458 workers were laid off four months ago.

In both the February general election and the recent Dublin West by-election Fianna Fail gave pledges of a renewal of production at Clondalkin, and the reopening is also part of the 'Gregory deal' by which the Independent Inner city deputy agreed to put Fianna Fail into office.

Last week the action group was informed that the Free State Department of Industry would possibly take over the mills, although only temporarily, but that only one machine would be put into production, providing a mere 60 jobs.

A written commitment given by the Fianna Fail minister responsible, Albert Reynolds, to the Irish Congress of Trade Unions to re-open the mill by June 9th, has now been replaced with a vague date, perhaps September.

The department are claiming that a survey it had commissioned showed that 'the weak state of the Irish paper market' makes a large-scale operation at Clondalkin unviable. In answer, the action group say that their own internal enquiries in the Dublin area have produced an enthusiastic response from potential customers. Indeed, the public service itself is by far the largest paper user in the twenty-six counties.

The Clondalkin Paper Mills workers have expressed their determination to continue their battle to retain the only paper-making mill in Ireland. A statement from the branch secretary of the FWUI at the factory, issued this week, ends with the words: "The mill will re-open, because we have the will power to see that it opens."

Belleek workers wait

The fate of 210 pottery workers' jobs in Belleek, County Fermanagh, rests on a commitment given by British industry and commerce minister in the North, Adam Butler, which he gave to Owen Carron, MP for the area, when he and a delegation of workers met Butler in Belfast on Monday, June 14th.

Butler indicated that there would be "considerable financial aid available" to the plant, an amount speculated at being around the £1 million mark.

Following Monday's meeting (immediately after which the RUC stopped and questioned the departing delegation) Owen Carron called on the management at Belleek pottery to present the workers with a re-start date as soon as possible, adding: "Many families may face hardship if this issue is not resolved in the immediate future."

Remember Soweto!

THE Foreign Affairs Bureau of Sinn Féin issued a statement last Wednesday, June 16th, to coincide with the sixth anniversary of the Soweto uprising in South Africa. The statement said that Sinn Féin salutes "the memory of those, our brothers and sisters, murdered by the racist South African regime in Soweto on June 16th, 1976."

"The brutal massacre of black school students, and the eventual murder of over 600 people in the ensuing period, proved to the world that the South African regime's strategy to maintain their racist power is a strategy of genocide."

"Even now the regime is bent on provoking more bloody confrontation, by the arrest of 250 people at a memorial service in Soweto for the former union leader Joseph Mavi, tragically killed in a car bomb explosion."

"The Irish people, who have suffered generations of repression as a direct result of British colonialism stand in unity with their African comrades in their determination to overthrow the apartheid regime," the statement concluded.

ISRAEL'S REAL INTENTIONS EMERGE Battle for the Lebanon

BY SEAN HALPENNY

IN THE first 10 days of the Israeli invasion into Lebanon, aimed at the elimination of the Palestinian people, 10,000 people have been killed and over 600,000 people have been forced to flee their homes, which in thousands of cases were already refugee camps.

Since the beginning of the Israeli offensive their real intentions have clearly emerged, sweeping aside the pretext in the early days that there was a limited objective in the invasion: to push the Palestinian forces in southern Lebanon back 25 miles to create a massive buffer zone on the northern Israeli border.

Within a week the Zionist advance was within five miles of Beirut and had begun an encircling movement to entrap the Palestinian forces.

The Syrian action against the Israelis, confined to air strikes and the use of its artillery batteries in Lebanon (and not involving to any major extent the 30,000 Syrian troops in Lebanon), paused, for as yet unknown period, on Saturday, June 12th, in response to the Israelis' conditional ceasefire.

Since then Israeli attention has been focused exclusively on the destruction of the Palestinian presence in the country with the eventual objective of a puppet-government controlling Lebanon on its behalf.

Early this week, the Israelis entered the Christian sector of east Beirut and moved into positions around the Palestinian stronghold in the west of the city. Both the Israelis and their right-wing Christian Lebanese allies have since kept up a

barrage of attacks against fierce Palestinian resistance.

Large-scale battles have also been reported around Sidon in southern Lebanon and at Schweifat, one mile south of Beirut airport.

BACKING

The backing of the United States for Israel — to the tune of \$3 billion annually and with a special \$1.7 billion military aid package recently — has put the conflict into the area of a possible world holocaust with the Russian government showing increasing impatience and warning that it would support the Arab world 'not in words but in deeds'.

The inability of the United Nations forces in the Lebanon to play any effective role against the Israeli attacks reveals them, including the 720 Free State soldiers involved, as having been merely policemen for the Israelis (by killing Palestinians moving through their lines into occupied Palestine), and ultimately the United States, in the Middle East since they arrived there in 1978.

The emptiness of United Nations resolutions and the absence of the United outcry and sanctions which marked the Argentinian entry into the Falklands/Malvinas tells its own story too.

Ironically, for the Jewish sense



● An Israeli column moves along the coast towards Beirut leaving a trail of death and destruction in its wake

of history, the pretext for the invasion in the shooting of Israeli ambassador Argov in London has a precursor just 40 years ago when 3,000 Polish Jews were murdered by the Nazis in revenge for the shooting dead of a general by the Polish underground.

The morals of genocidal regimes certainly cross the boundaries of race, creed and colour, as does the resistance of oppressed peoples. George Habash, leader of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, evoking memories of Nazi Germany's invasion of Russia and the resistance by its people, declared: "We will turn west Beirut into a new Stalingrad."



VIOLENCE TRIUMPHANT IN FALKLANDS/MALVINAS

Learning the lessons

BY KEVIN BURKE

BRITISH jingoism achieved its V-F on Tuesday this week — victory in the Falklands day — re-establishing its colonial rule over its distant piece of empire with blood-engorged euphoria surrounding a jubilant British premier Margaret Thatcher.

The cost of regaining possession of the Falklands/Malvinas islands and their 1,800 colonial settlers — ignoring any further costs in retaining possession in the years ahead — has only begun to be quantified. But each settler has been matched by at least one corpse on the British or Argentinian side, by two injured, and by five or six immediate relatives suffering bereavement.

This satisfaction of Thatcher's intransigent pride in human misery is matched, in early estimates, by a staggering £2 million per Falklander, as the cost of operations by both sides so far — a measure of what the British war has not been about.

The Falklanders can now be returned to the economic bondage of the Falkland Islands Company, can have their civilian governor restored to rule them, can welcome a new military governor as well, can share their island indefinitely with an armed garrison which will outnumber them by at least two to one, and will remain, as before, without any rights to British citizenship.

Before the year is out they may even be allowed to elect a new parish council. This is democracy restored.

FUTURE

A variety of options have been suggested for the future of the islands, including self-government or the establishment of a United



● The Argentinian governor of the Malvinas, Menendez, is reported to be seeking asylum, but who does he fear the wrath of the most — the junta or the people?

Nations protectorate. But the eventual inability of artificially-created states to survive is an historical inevitability which leaves Britain faced with the crippling burden of lengthy military occupation or the equally embarrassing choice of, at some future date, allowing the Malvinas to become Argentinian.

Officially the Argentinian junta are still

'carrying on the fight', but in reality appear to be facing the last days of their spell in power.

The Argentinian army, long the major, and brutal, power in Argentinian politics has lost its authority in the taunts and jeers of thousands of people on the streets of Buenos Aires as the news of defeat on Tuesday night became known, in scenes which suddenly switched back to pre-Malvinas days as tear-gas and batons appeared once again.

The weakness of the army commanders — compared witheringly in Argentina with the outstanding heroism of air force pilots — has revealed them as unable to find the courage to face any threat greater than that presented by the thousands of unarmed fellow citizens they have slaughtered in recent years.

Many of the senior army officers may well welcome the announcement by Thatcher that she is holding them as hostages until the final and total surrender of Argentina. Indeed, General Mario Menendez, the Argentinian military governor of the Malvinas is already reported to have sought from the British a transfer to any other country than his native one.

THIRD WORLD

Also learning a lesson from the Malvinas disaster are the other Third World countries, particularly in Latin America. Events have shown clearly that the benefits paraded by right-wing autocratic rulers of pandering to the Western nations, the United States in particular, are always going to be secondary to the interests of the white, Anglo-Saxon wealthy powers.

Those powers themselves are equally aware of this 'side-effect' and 'magnanimity in victory' will be the order of the day if those defeated will show suitable humility.

A new chapter in cynical world politics opens.

JOHN CARROLL, aged 30 years, from Birr, County Offaly, was released from Portlaoise prison last month having completed 6 years as a republican prisoner.

Shortly after his release he spoke to Maire de Barra of *An Phoblacht/Republican News* about conditions within the jail and the discontent of the republican prisoners there with a number of outstanding grievances, in particular, the visiting conditions, continuing strip-searches and restricted educational and recreational facilities.



● JOHN CARROLL

Q. Over the years many concessions have been won by the republican prisoners in Portlaoise, are there any outstanding difficulties?

A. The men inside are getting increasingly discontented with the visiting situation. While there are no difficulties in getting visits, the conditions suffered by both prisoners and relatives are absolutely atrocious.

The relatives, having passed through five gates, which are locked after them, are searched and brought into a visiting box which is a pre-fab hut. There they are separated from the prisoner by two wire grilles about 6 inches apart and a sheet of perspex. A Screw sits within earshot and listens to every word.

The grilles have a dazzling effect making normal conversation very difficult, but the major complaint is the fact that there is no physical contact whatsoever between prisoners and relatives, which is very frustrating, particularly for those with young families. A sort of strangeness grows between the men and their families.

The authorities say that this is because of the security risk but this is pure nonsense. Visits are so closely supervised that nothing could possibly escape them. They use 'security' as an excuse for everything.

Q. Is strip-searching still going on?

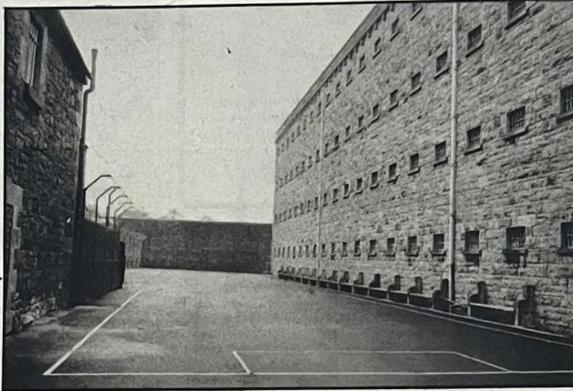
A. Five or six men are picked four mornings of every week. Up to five Screws go into a cell and strip-search one prisoner. At the least sign of resistance the prisoner is beaten to the floor and forcibly stripped.

On one occasion a prisoner was set upon and beaten with a baton by the chief Screw.

Resistance can also lead to solitary confinement. This means the prisoner is sent to one of the five punishment cells, which are

Discontent in Portlaoise

BY MAIRE DE BARRA



● In Portlaoise the ridiculous situation occurs where 20-30 non-republicans are granted the use of the largest exercise area whilst the 120 republican prisoners are restricted to the smaller yard double-height so you cannot see through the windows.

No letters and no visits can be received and nothing can be bought from the tuck shop. Exercise is only allowed for half-hour periods and only at times when the others are locked up. There's complete isolation for the full month.

Q. Recreation is an essential part of any prisoner's life. How adequate are the facilities at present?

A. There are 120 republican prisoners at the

moment and they cannot all exercise together at any time. The yard is quite small - 85 prisoners are allowed to exercise at the one time but it's so cramped it's like a crowd coming out of a hurling match.

There is another bigger yard which is used by the 25 to 30 non-republican prisoners but this has not been available.

Q. What educational facilities are available in the jail?

A. There have been a lot of improvements in this area but there is still much to be desired.

The only exams the men can take are Inter and Leaving cert and 'O' and 'A' Levels. No correspondence courses are permitted for higher courses and no lecturers are allowed in.

The reason given is 'security', but it's really because they couldn't be bothered censoring all the stuff.

Q. What is the attitude towards the Irish language.

A. On the part of the prison authorities it's one of indifference.

We recently set up a Gaeltacht wing in the prison which meant a complete change-over of cells. Irish has made great progress in the jail over the last few years and between 50 and 60 are now attending classes.

On the Gaeltacht landing, which contains 20 men, only Irish is spoken. During association any language may be spoken. No pressure is applied to anyone and this is probably one of the reasons why it has made such great headway.

When I went in I hadn't a word of Irish and now I speak it fairly fluently.

Q. How is health affected by present prison conditions?

A. There are men inside who are not by any means young. One or two have had severe heart-attacks quite recently. These men should not be in jail at all. It's seriously affecting their health.

The prison doctor can be seen without any bother. His standard cure for everything is Roche 5 (valium). But if injuries or illness occur during recreation or at night it can be hours before they are attended to.

Q. Some people might be of the opinion that if warders are treated well they will treat the prisoners well. What is your experience of this?

A. The republican prisoners do not communicate with the Screws in that way, the O/C makes all representations on their behalf.

The Screw who is acting good guy today will come along tomorrow and beat you senseless.

Q. What is the prisoners' morale like at present?

A. The war keeps the men going and they feel very much a part of it. During the hunger-strike it was frustrating to think that there was so little we could do, but now there is great unity amongst the men and morale is high.

For my own part, I can only say that prison life has made me a more politicised and a more determined republican. I know we are right and some day we will win.

FIRST SHOTS IN GALWAY EAST BY-ELECTION

Cutting the turf industry

BY DERMOT WHELAN

A PROJECTED multi-million pound peat briquette factory at Derryfadde, near Ballyforan, County Roscommon, may now turn out to be a much more modest affair than was originally expected by the people of south Roscommon and east Galway.

This follows a recent review by Bord na Mona of its bog development plans as a result of the Dublin government's failure to supply them with adequate capital investment funds this year.

The new factory, as originally mooted in 1979, was to have been built in two phases with a capital injection of £36.8 million in all. Productive capacity was to reach 280,000 tonnes of turf per annum and up to 200 people were to be employed.

Under the revised plans, however, the capital injection will be £20 million, capacity 140,000 tonnes per year and only 110 new jobs will be created.

Bord na Mona's decision has produced considerable anger in the area.

A meeting of Roscommon County Council three weeks ago sent a strongly-worded resolution to Albert Reynolds, Fianna Fail's Minister for Industry and Energy, calling on him to provide the capital allocation needed to begin work on the new plant. And 60 of the 166 workers at the existing Derryfadde plant met on May 31st to set up an action committee to campaign on the issue.

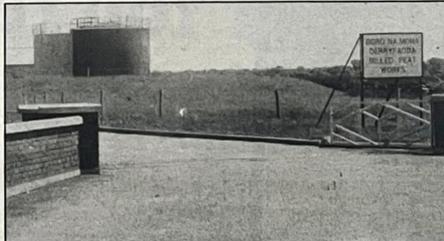
The 10-man committee, which represents all the unions on the existing plant, has so far met both the management and the directors of Bord na

Mona. A meeting has been arranged for next Monday, June 21st, in Ballyroan, to lobby local politicians from Roscommon and Galway. The sudden death of Fianna Fail's East Galway deputy, John Callanan and the impending by-election now throws the issue into the area of election promises, for what that is worth.

The action committee points out that successive governments have already failed to deliver on hard promises made in relation to the new factory and they are looking initially for answers to how the capital allocation will be provided, whether IDA grant assistance will be available and also what the position will be of the present workforce, which is 20% down on last year and has seen seasonal work and overtime disappear.

Pat Barrett, a spokesperson for the committee, says that, despite the current fears, he is optimistic that their campaign would be successful. He believes that the credibility of all local politicians is very much at stake, and widely seen to be so.

Also at stake is the much-vaunted 'priority' the Fianna Fail government is supposedly giving to dealing with unemployment. Although the semi-jaded Bord na Mona was specifically set up for the purpose, a plentiful natural



● The Derryfadde peat works may take on a new importance in the run-up to the impending by-election but the local people will require more than empty promises



resource like turf remains underdeveloped and what could be a thriving and expanding industry is denied necessary finance.

Meanwhile, in keeping with EEC regulations, German briquettes are actually being imported into the twenty-six counties.



Waterford closure

WATERFORD generally is one of the hardest hit areas for unemployment at the moment. Last year's increase of 26% in jobless figures for the south-east region were the highest in the twenty-six counties.

Adding to the misery is the closure, announced for July 30th, of the Quigley Magnesite plant at Dunganran, County Waterford, with the loss of 140 more jobs. A plant belonging to the same company at Bennettsbridge, County Kilkenny, employing 17 people closed last Friday, June 11th.

Quigley Magnesite is a division of the US-based Pfizer Chemicals and opened in 1970. Raw magnesite, obtained at Bennettsbridge, was transported by a special CIE-built rail-link to Dunganran where it was refined and passed on to Cork for further processing and export.

Pfizer say that increased fuel costs have made the project too expensive and have refused so far to substitute any other of their chemical processing interests at the plant or to make the site available to the IDA in the hope of attracting alternative industry.

West Waterford has suffered several such blows since the closure of Cappoquin Bacon two years ago with the loss of about 200 jobs, followed by substantial reductions at Tinsley's cement works in Lismore and at Dunganran Leathers.

The drug epidemic

ONLY in very recent months have officials in Free State government departments, the Eastern Health Board and the garda begun to admit that a severe problem exists in the spread of drug addiction, particularly in Dublin.

The use of heroin - the killer drug which is the most addictive and dangerous of those available - has been reaching epidemic proportions with users even among pre-teenagers.

AP/IRN reporter Siobhan O'Malley has

been examining this relatively new phenomenon among Irish youth and reports on the ease with which drugs are available, the dangers involved, the lack of a realistic official response and the inadequacy of treatment for addicts.

BY SIOBHAN O'MALLEY

IN a south Dublin suburb of small cramped corporation houses a young housewife runs an unusual credit service, marking down the details of the purchases she is owed for in a child's exercise book as though for tea-bags or sugar.

Her customers are, in fact, young drug addicts who are 'laid on' with £10 'bags' of heroin to be paid for at the end of the week. Some of her more-established callers, whose tolerance and addiction has increased, have to find as much as £80 per day to support their habit.

If any creditor defaults, the heavies are called in and very few of the young people who are 'laid on' have dared to chance not paying up. Since most of them are not working the cash is generally raised by theft.

This young housewife is one of five known drug-pushers in that particular area and one of scores at work in Dublin. They each are supplying scores of customers in what, only in very recent months, has become publicly acknowledged as a problem of crisis proportions in Dublin and spreading

quickly throughout the twenty-six counties in both urban and rural areas.

AVAILABLE

The drugs involved range from the 'soft' stuff, like marijuana, through cough bottles, glues, polishes and barbiturates, to the more dangerous pain-killers such as palfium and diconal and on to the hard drugs like cocaine and the certain killer, heroin. Of all the drugs, heroin is the most highly addictive, most physically damaging and now most easily

available narcotic drug in Dublin.

Its users are getting younger with even 12-year-olds known to be addicted and, in many areas, most young people coming into contact in some way with the drug in their early teens - at the very least knowing where it is available.

Although the abuse of drugs is not peculiar to one class alone, nevertheless the majority of heroin users - just as the majority of glue-sniffers and pill-poppers - are young, working-class, unemployed males. The most common reasons given for starting on drugs are: 'nothing to do'; 'no job or hope of getting one'; 'no future'; 'it makes you forget'; 'for a while everything seems great'.

The 'soft' drug marijuana, also



known as cannabis, hash, dope or smoke, is undoubtedly the most popular. Its advocates claim it is not physically addictive and not as damaging as tobacco or alcohol - there is medical evidence to disagree with these claims.

HEROIN

But the most dangerous thing about hash is that the supplier will almost always be also trading in heroin and cocaine and because they are easier to transport, and yield much bigger profits, they will do anything to induce the young buyer to go on to the hard drugs instead, even giving 'free samples' to begin with, to create the need for it.

Nobody will disagree that not only is heroin highly addictive but it is also a killer. A derivative of the opium poppy plant it is not used for medical purposes in Ireland and is imported secretly to be sold on the street. Its street value is about £140 per gram.

Most usually heroin, which comes in powdered form, is injected, although it can be sniffed or taken orally. 'Skin-popping' involves injecting the drug under the skin but not into a vein. The full effect, however, is got by direct injection straight into a vein. Not only does this speed up the effects, it also speeds up the body's tolerance to the drug so that larger and larger doses are required to obtain the same result.

HEPATITIS

Apart from the damage done to the body by the drug itself, there are side-effect dangers such as hepatitis or abscesses on the skin or bones resulting from dirty and unsterilised needles. There is also the common risk of impurities or poison being mixed with the heroin powder - two young people have died in Dublin after injecting strychnine which they had bought in a pub as heroin.

But the dangers of heroin do not stop there. In December 1981, a doctor from the Coombe Maternity Hospital, addressing the Junior Irish Paediatric Association, told of 17 babies born in Dublin to addicted mothers, whose average age was 20 years. Six of the babies had to be treated for withdrawal symptoms.

A report from the Eastern Health Board cites drug addiction as an increasing factor in the battering and neglect of young children. In one case, where a 13-month-old boy was killed by his father, the father admitted in court that his addiction to heroin and morphine was a definite con-

tributory factor. The families of drug addicts are also victims, suffering from the cost of covering up for and for the user, and often time unwritten pressure.

WOMEN And when the police find out about drug addiction it is often in the form of 'shooting up' in public places or on the streets for kicks, it is a no preserve of 'junkies' number of 'laid on' growing - women living in poor housing, social people under tranquilisers, anti-depressants, sleeping tablets.

There is a disquiet circles about the overuse of drugs by doctors. Cork, for example, 20,000 tablets of pain-killer palfium



● Heroin smoking: the heroin is burnt in tin foil and the smoke inhaled - often through a rolled pound note

'You're talking crap, but it sounds great'

JOHN is 19 and lives in a working-class area of Dublin. His story is not of the shock/horror variety but illustrates rather the everyday casual approach to drugs among young people.

Clearly the inherent problems of adolescence, as well as social and economic factors, contribute to the drug problem, but there is also a very considerable degree of personal choice in becoming involved.

John is only unusual in that he is one of the small percentage of drug addicts who manage to get off heroin on their own.

"I used to smoke a lot of hash (marijuana) and my mate started to deal in draw (marijuana) because he wasn't working. I was working then. The people who supplied him with the draw were pushing smack (heroin) and cocaine as well. That's how it started.

"My mate began sniffing heroin and I tried it, just to see what it's like. We'd sniff about twice a week say, then we

started skin-popping (injecting, but not into a vein). It got that I couldn't get up for work, I lost interest though I loved my job before. I just stopped going. We were making £40 to £50 each night just driving the draw around so I didn't worry about money.

"I didn't start injecting for a while, long after all my mates were doing it, but they kept saying 'come on, try it', so I did. "When you get the hit you think you are somebody, you have great conversations, you sort out the world. You're really talking crap, but it sounds great.

"I wouldn't have started injecting only I was fed up after I stopped working and my girl left me - that had a lot to do with it. I never thought I'd get addicted, none of us did. Or maybe we didn't care.

"I got a few scares. Two of my mates got really sick; one of them got hepatitis from a dirty needle and he was in hospital for weeks. They told him his liver was damaged, that he'd be dead in a year if he didn't stop.

"He was injecting again two days after he got out. He never wanted it at first, the rest of us pushed it on him. He always waited for somebody to tell him what to do, now it's the smack telling him. He had to have three or four hits a day.

"After he got sick we started cleaning the works (syringe) as well as we could, and not passing the needle around. But that wore off and we went back to all using the same one after a while. I've seen 'em cleaning them by spitting in them.

"At first I only had a hit at the weekend, but then by Monday I couldn't sleep, I'd be in a cold sweat. I could get through sometimes and I'd say 'I'm not touchin' it', but I'd go out, meet my mates and they'd have some and I'd take a share.

"We'd been friends for years, since we were kids we'd gone about together. Now everything was just to get gear. Did nothing else but talk about smack, enough money for it, shoot it up, couldn't let your mates in your house anymore, we'd rob anybody.

emic



months.
Official action to stop the importation and distribution of drugs has, at best, been patchy.
For about 15 years, long before Ireland was a good sales area, the country has been used as a clearing house for drugs on their way to England and the rest of Europe. Factories manufacturing narcotics and remote farms growing large crops of marijuana are not unknown.
Garda action has been fairly low against the suppliers and pushers, increasing somewhat in more recent months as public concern becomes louder. In September 1981, £4.4 millions worth of cannabis was seized in one swoop by gardai at Dublin docks. In February this year £300,000 worth of heroin was netted in a raid in Ballymun. Several other hauls, mostly of cannabis, have been made by gardai more recently.

LAY-OFF

On the other hand, however, very few people have actually been charged in connection with these seizures. Most of the few who have appeared in court have been allowed out when the case against them strangely collapses.

The names of Dublin's main drug importers and pushers are widely-known, comprising in fact one well-established criminal family. But they have friends in very high places. During the period of the last Coalition government a very senior politician complained to the gardai of their 'harassment' of this particular family and urged them to lay-off. The gardai laid off.

WOMEN

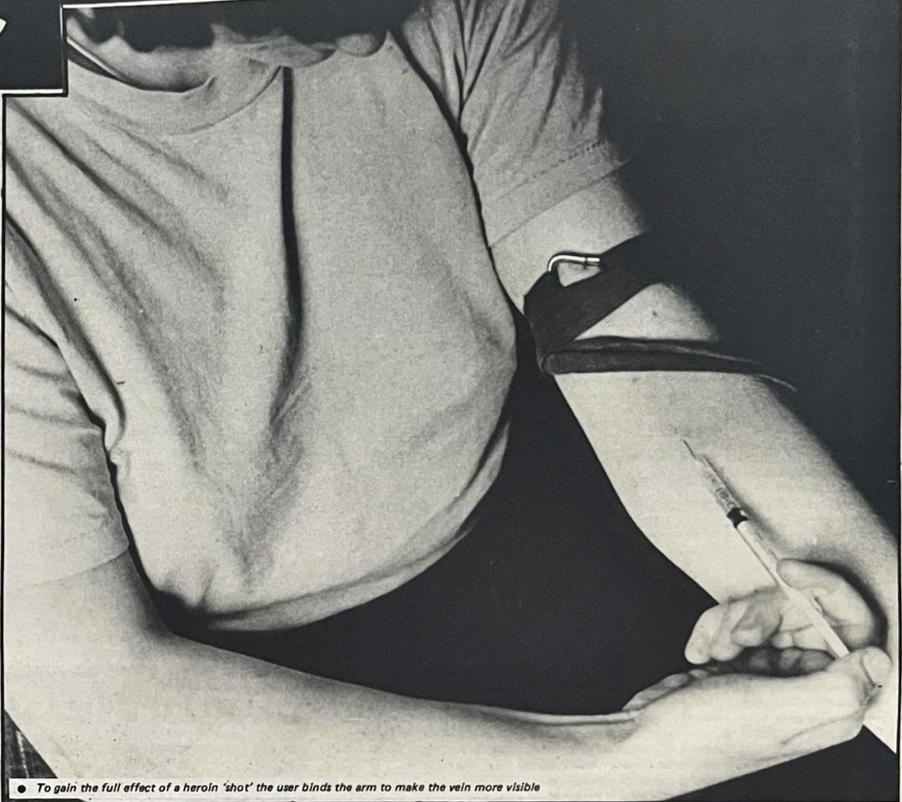
At the popular view of the world is of down-and-out in public lavatories, poor stars looking for a fix is not really the 'junkies' only. The legal addicts' is also women under stress and housing and professional pressure on anti-depressants and...

disquiet in medical the over-prescribing doctors. One addict in hospital, was prescribed the powerful alfium in only 20



● Heroin sniffing

"Then another mate who'd been taking loads of pills, pethidine and pep pills, all sorts of stuff, took a fit. It had affected his brain. He put himself away voluntarily in a mental hospital, he got such a fright."
"I really wanted to stop by now. My girl said she'd come back if I did and I was lucky and got the offer of another job."
"So I did stop. It wasn't as bad as I thought. I got the shakes a bit and cramps, but I stayed away from all my old mates and I've stayed off it now for four months and I'll not go back."
"I reckon a big reason for so many kids getting strung out is they have no jobs, they've nothing else to do. At first a fix could last all day and they forget things as so crap. You go home and the ma is going on about not working and bringing no money in, but it doesn't annoy you the way it usually does."
"It changes things, or you think it does. You forget it will be worse tomorrow, trying to get money together for another hit."



● To gain the full effect of a heroin 'shot' the user blinds the arm to make the vein more visible

Not much help

Jervis Street Drug Advisory and Treatment Centre

THE ONLY centre for the physical treatment of drug addiction in the twenty-six counties is the Jervis Street Drug Advisory and Treatment Centre in Dublin.

It is staffed by a handful of doctors, three social workers, a couple of nurses, one psychologist and a receptionist, all working in a prefabricated hut attached to Jervis Street Hospital.

Getting off heroin is a painful experience. Drug users, by introducing a synthetic opiate into their system, destroy the ability of the body to produce natural painkillers. When an addict goes off drugs the body needs time to switch back to producing its own painkillers. It is this that causes withdrawal symptoms.

Heroin withdrawal symptoms include the most intense craving for the drug, deep anxiety at being without it, coldness, shivering, shaking, running eyes and nose, rapid breathing, pains in the limbs, vomiting, abdominal cramps and insomnia.

At Jervis Street they use methadone — a synthetic opiate containing physoptone — to treat heroin withdrawal symptoms. But methadone is also addictive, and, according to some doctors, harder to get off. Methadone withdrawal symptoms are not so severe but are said to be more prolonged.
When the patient is 'drug free'



● Getting off heroin is painful enough but the Jervis Street Centre (above) and the lack of comprehensive facilities do little to make the ordeal any easier

Jervis Street refer him to one of the therapeutic treatment centres. There are very few of these, including some private clinics and a semi-private one in Dublin's Rutland Street. The largest, and best known, is the Coolmine Therapeutic Community in Clonsilla, County Dublin.

There are 32 residents here at present and it is the residents who decide who will be accepted and runs the community. Coolmine stresses that the people there are not patients, as in an institution, but members of a self-help community.

Because Coolmine is the only available centre, outside of those financially out of reach of the

majority, most of the residents are working class from areas like Ballymun, Rathfarnham, Donore and the inner city.

James Comberton of Coolmine's management committee says that the regime there is strict. The addict must take responsibility for his own life. The two rules of Coolmine are 'no drugs' and 'no violence'.

Comberton rejects the view that the addict's problem is solely physiological to be treated solely by pharmacology. At Coolmine they contend that addiction is psychological and cannot be treated by substituting other drugs.

To be accepted at Coolmine the addict must sincerely want to

get off drugs. Once inside, letters, phone-calls and visits are banned for two months to give the new resident a chance to totally concentrate on his/her own problems.

The treatment lasts a year and a success rate of 40% is claimed.

There is a parents' association attached to the Coolmine centre and courses are run to help parents to recognise addiction and support the treatment. A series of 'parents against drugs' groups are now being set up throughout Dublin.

James Comberton is also hoping to start a day centre for the 12 to 17 years age group as no-one under 18 is accepted at Coolmine. Under 18s, he says, are generally not mature enough to benefit from the type of treatment there, yet it is this age group which is increasingly in need.

At present then there is not much help available for those who want to come off drugs and without a major programme of education on drugs in schools and in homes, and new treatment centres, day centres and recovery centres, the existing drug epidemic can only continue to grow in spite of the new awareness that a major problem now exists.

In addition there are the real preventative measures which are also lacking — stopping the importation and distribution of the drugs and wiping out the social and economic conditions which are the breeding ground of an endless supply of customers.

Mála poist...Mála poist.

ALL letters should be addressed to: The Editor, An Phoblacht/Republican News, 51/53 Falls Road, Belfast, or 44 Parnell Square, Dublin 1. Preferably they should be type-written in double spacing with wide margins and on one side of paper only.



Papal visit

Dear Editor,

Pope John Paul II has not and will not strengthen the anti-war movement in England as Kevin Burke would have us believe in AP/RN, June 3rd. On the contrary, his visit takes people's minds off any action against the war. He calls for people to pray for peace. I can just see an article in *Socialist Worker*: 'Pope strengthens the British withdrawal movement by calling on Irish revolutionaries to pray'.

This may come as a shock to people in Ireland but most working-class people in England don't go to church, don't care for religion and if anything are atheists or agnostic. The people who do go to church are to a very large extent Tories, not socialists, and I for one would not trust any socialist who went to church regularly.

C.D. Rumbold,
English socialist.

British left

Dear Editor,

Is Helen Stevens real or just your way of inciting correspondence? I've lived in London for almost a year now. I've lived in Belfast most of my life and may I say, like a lot of Belfast people who have to leave their homeland for London in order to make a living, I joined the Socialist Workers' Party (SWP). We all left it.

Now, they asked me to leave, after a particular public meeting. It was entitled, 'The role of the revolutionary party in a revolutionary situation'. It was typical of the Brit left. They could talk about the Falklands, the Third World, etc., but as soon as I mentioned Ireland there was a general air of embarrassment. As a republican I pointed out that the stance of the SWP as regards the revolutionary forces in Ireland, namely the Provos, was a classic cop-out.

I pointed out that their 'unconditional but critical' support of the Provos, was actually a direct quote from Trotsky, regarding the Stalinist invasion of Finland. They told me they were not interested in the origins of their policy and asked me to leave.

Now that is the stance of the Brit left, they don't really

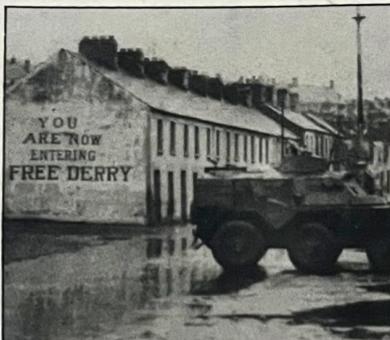
ENVIRONMENTAL STRUGGLE

A Chara,
I couldn't agree more with the front page article 'Build and Consolidate' (AP/RN, June 3rd) particularly the point made that to wage the struggle only on one front is to, by default, assist in the eventual defeat of the struggle.

I have, on several occasions over the years, pointed out the crucial importance of what we might call the 'environmental or planning' struggle: nor am I referring to some woolly-minded, 'liberal' concepts of environmental 'concern'. I am talking about the fact that at root, there is a precious little difference (if any) between the struggle for national territory against an alien oppressor, and a community struggle for its own neighbourhood against speculative oppressors.

The point can be illustrated in many ways. In my own experience, the many community struggles in which I have been involved over the past 15 years, I have seen (quite fundamentally) as 'liberation' struggles: by the same token, as an architect and planner, the six-county situation can be usefully viewed as a 'planning' conflict. All struggles for 'territory' (over which most wars have been fought in the history of mankind) involve, somewhere along the line, one party with power saying, 'that's a good bit of land, we can exploit that — we'll take it...'

It matters not a jot whether



• The only real community action in these islands in the past decade was Free Derry... There were no Operation Motormans elsewhere!

it be a landlord of the past, like Lord Brougham who evicted starving Irish tenants off their land because "it is the landlord's inalienable right to do as he wishes with his land otherwise no money will be invested in property," or the GLC politicians and landlords in London who 'threw' the Cockneys (who, interestingly enough, had been on their land for 700 years!) off their territory for precisely the same reasons. The weapons are slightly (only slightly) less overt now; Brougham just threw them off — the present politicians use modern 'weapons' such as compulsory purchase orders, slum clearance procedures and comprehensive development acts. The results are the

same — territory (which means home and culture to some) is the issue; the powerful wage war on the powerless. In the environmental field there is little difference between the jackboot and the tee-square!

There are countless examples to verify the point I'm making; I remain disillusioned with the Republican Movement on this issue — it has seemed that you have not wished to enquire into it. The establishment will, in my experience, trade anything in the end — except power! Territory, perhaps more than anything else we can think of, represents power. As a community activist of long-standing I wrote many years ago that the only real community act-

ion which occurred in these islands in the past decade (a decade which, in the 'UK', at least, saw virtually every neighbourhood in the country with its 'community group') was Free Derry. It is of great significance that all the others were at first diluted by liberal reforms and were subsequently bought off — only one received different treatment. There were no Operation Motormans elsewhere.

My disillusionment with the Movement (which saddens me immensely) grows deeper as you appear to be ignoring the plight of Toraih Island, which, as I pointed out in a letter you saw fit not to publish, represents a cultural tragedy of enormous proportions. It was from first-hand experience that I wrote to you about Toraih and the Gaeltacht in general.

Your front page article states (rightly so) that, "we cannot afford to become lethargic. We must recognise the successes and failures of the struggle against our own input into it."

In real creative terms it would appear that you have put virtually nothing into the 'environmental' (communities, planning, etc., etc.) issues and certainly not enough into the cultural (the language, etc.) struggle.

Brian Anson, architect,
England.

Editor's note: We hope to publish the letter on Toraih Island in the not-too-distant future.

want to know, just as last summer they condemned the riots on English streets.

The Republican Movement has never condemned the English working class. Republicans have an international outlook, they know that their friends and allies are the oppressed of the world — the Palestinians, Iranian women, blacks, peasants in the Third World, the international working class, children and old people. What all of us don't need, is the middle-class, pseudo-revolutionary left of England to tell us how to behave!

Let them keep and share the prejudices they have in common with their own ruling class, because really Helen Stevens and her ilk have more in common with the oppressor than they have with the oppressed.

Sean McCabe,
1st year student,
Polytechnic of
Central London.

The language

A Chara,

It is very difficult to explain the importance of the Irish language to those people who have little or no com-

mand of it because of the essence of language, which is emotional rather than rational.

One can illustrate this essence by giving examples from average life and which, perhaps, may parallel experiences of those dubious of the key position of the Irish language in the continued existence of the Irish nation.

Very often one who has learned to speak a language grammatically at school and who has maintained that accuracy in certain circles will relapse into incorrect grammar, or pure dialect, in order to feel at home among relations or friends, or within certain groups.

The person acting in this manner 'feels' that it would be 'wrong' to use standard speech in such circumstances. This would be stilted, unnatural, snobbish, uppish, patronising — there are many words to explain this feeling of acting in an alien way, foreign to the group.

We are close in such circumstances to the feelings which do not alone with dialects and sub-cultures, but also which are shared by languages.

Thus we can begin to understand, perhaps, why all the Castilian Spanish-speaking states, including the mother country (and over a wide political spectrum), have backed Argentina over the Malvinas/Falklands and



• The H-Block Gaeltacht started by Bobby Sands created a sense of cultural identity, of solidarity and security

why all the English-speaking countries (except Ireland?) have backed Britain on this issue. Language unifies: the US is Britain's main ally because both speak English and have much the same thing (WASP) values.

Frequently, when Irish people are outside this country, particularly when on the European continent, they speak what Irish they have learned at school in public places so as to make clear their nationality and lest they be taken for English or American. They want to strengthen their own feeling of security and group identity. The feeling of being taken for English (especially as the English are so unpopular in many places abroad) would be unpleasant.

When Bobby Sands started the H-Block Gaeltacht, and when it was so eagerly accepted by his comrades, many issues were involved. But among them was cultural identity, a feeling of solidarity and security amidst terrible insecurity, some spiritual protection in a very alien and hostile atmosphere.

When people are bilingual, equally at home in two languages, they are in fact living between two cultures. Bilingualism, when widespread, is a half-way house, a pause on the way to one language, except on the fringes of two or more cultures.

The bilingualism of 18th and 19th century Ireland was such a pause. The bilingualism pushed by the Free State authorities over the past 20 years has been a bogus bilingualism except for the Gaeltacht people and, among them, it has been a pause on the way to one-language culture, English consumerism, for reasons of economic determinism. The Free State has been using economics to kill Irish in the interests of cultural integration of these islands, as classified openly by Conor Cruise O'Brien on the television issue (his stand on the RTE second channel).

One could write far more on language but perhaps these points will help to clarify the minds of Irish people caught by the emotional net of English 'speaking' of the

key position of the Irish language in the reconquest of Ireland.

The cultural policy of Sinn Fein is now in print and should be under discussion at cumann and at other levels. Has the discussion begun, the debate started?

Deasun Breatnach,
Dun Laoghaire.

Youth groups

A Chara,

I would like to reply to some of the points raised in a letter to AP/RN last week by the Connolly Youth Movement with regard to an article on socialist youth organisations (May 13th).

First of all, there were no 'misrepresentations' in the article. The statements made were all based on the information to hand. Before the article was printed, we contacted the CYM in Dublin to try and get the most up-to-date information possible.

Secondly, the CYM letter apologises for its own secrecy with regard to the size of its membership by saying "that it was significant that na Fianna Eireann's figures were not released."

Na Fianna Eireann, as is well-known, is an illegal organisation in the six counties, and is barely tolerated by the state forces in the twenty-six counties; so there is good reason (unlike the CYM) why we should not divulge the size of our membership. However, we can refer you, without comment, to W.D. Flacke's 'Dictionary of Northern Ireland Politics' where under the heading 'Fianna Eireann', he approximates our membership in Belfast alone in the early '70s, as several hundreds; or to the *Irish Independent* which figured, last summer, we had 1,500 members nationally.

Finally, on the question of branches, the CYM corrects the AP/RN article by saying that as well as their branches in Dublin, Belfast, and Sligo, they have one in Cork, and one in Lisburn (and groups in a number of smaller centres). Big deal!

Sean O Riain,
PRO, Na Fianna Eireann,
44 Parnell Square,
Dublin.

Correction

A Chara,

In an article, 'Belfast Graves', published in AP/RN on June 10th, I named Dick McKee as having been executed by the Free State government with Liam Mellows, Rory O'Connor and Joe McKelvey.

Dick McKee was, of course, killed in Dublin Castle and it was Dick Barret who was executed in Mountjoy in December 1922. The mistake was mine, a Freudian slip. Tá bron orm.

Gerry Adams,
Belfast.

Two of a kind

Burke's at the back
BY KEVIN BURKE

FRANCIS McCARRON, chairperson of Monaghan's town council received fulsome praise last week from across the border.

His admirer was a Paisleyite councillor in Portadown, Wolsley Smith, who expressed his delight at the Monaghan authorities' continued refusal to accept the renaming of the housing estate at Mullaghmat as Kieran Doherty Park.

The DUP councillors are campaigning to have the signs at Hurson Park and Devine Park in Portadown removed in the same way that Monaghan officials, under Garda escort, removed the first Kieran Doherty Park sign. (Only to see it replaced with many more.)

Paisleyite anger is particularly fired by the fact that even official mail is now addressed to Hurson Park and Devine Park, just as is the case in relation to Hurson Crescent and McCreech Gardens in Lurgan.

Wolsley Smith pointed out that, in the Monaghan situation, mail addressed to Kieran Doherty Park is not being delivered, on the orders of the Free State Department of Posts and Telegraphs, "even though Doherty was elected to the Dublin parliament in the Cavan/Monaghan constituency shortly before his death."

More than 200 letters, including registered mail, have now been lying undelivered in Monaghan post office. Ultimately responsible for the ban on delivery is Free State Minister for Posts and Telegraphs John Wilson, Fianna Fail's poll-topping deputy in Cavan/Monaghan.

In the June general election of last year Kieran Doherty almost piped Wilson for the top place and deprived Fianna Fail of a vital seat in what that party thought was solid territory. Wilson, a man of massive personal vanity, had his pride severely hurt on that occasion.

It would appear he is carrying his personal spite against the late hunger-striker beyond the grave.

★★★

If ever the subject of politics and sport was to be an issue I would have thought the current World Cup in Spain was the moment for it.

After all, only a couple of years ago the people who favour rugby teams travelling to South Africa missed out the Olympic Games because Russian troops were in Afghanistan (and still are, of course).

So, with a line-up that includes Russia, England, Argentina, Northern Ireland, El Salvador, Chile and Poland, it would seem reasonable to assume that at least 7 reasons existed for boycotts and the like, but nothing approaching it has happened.

Instead we have had to be content with the minor ironies of the situation such as the tricolour appearing at official venues and on all official programmes as the flag of the Northern Ireland team.

Or the announcement from the England captain that he did not believe politics should enter sport and in the next breath pledging the profits of his team's World Cup record to the Task Force relatives.

Or the British display of ultimate wrath in not televising the opening Belgium versus Argentina match.

Or the British newspaper reports on that match, with the Belgians 'sinking the Argies', scoring 'a killer goal' and making 'break-away raids'.

So militaristic and political have the sports journalists become, in fact, that this style carried over into the following day's Brazil versus Russia match with 'volleys of shots' and 'launchpads to success' before 'Brazil beat the iron curtain'.

If you think the Brits are being insufferable about their victory in the Falklands



● One of the latest pieces of graffiti to appear in Belfast — an appeal to British soldiers to 'go home' on a Shaw's Road gable, Andersonstown

Malvinas, what on earth is it going to be like if they fluke a win in the World Cup?

★★★

It's hard to believe but for a few days last week, whilst the British were slaughtering hundreds of Argentinians and the Israelis murdering thousands of Palestinians, a man called Jagat Narain, an Indian claiming to be a senior lecturer in law at Belfast's Queen's University, was picketing the Sinn Fein head office in Dublin, calling on the IRA to surrender or something.

You just can't win, can you?

★★★

Stewards marshalling traffic and large crowds outside Belfast's Clonard Monastery, for novena services recently held there, found themselves at the receiving end of intense harassment from British soldiers.

Their blue and white armbands not only denote colours associated with the Blessed Virgin but also, as the profane Brits pointed out, the Argentinian flag!

★★★

Whatever about electoral improvements, it would seem that the claim by the Sticky Workers' Party to be the successors of Wolfe Tone are not taken seriously by many.

Counting a children's band, a few big lads with drums and about 30 gardai, the Sticks almost got 100 people to Bordenstown last Sunday to hear an oration by party president MacGiolla.

Originally the non-event had been fixed for this Sunday but was quickly moved forward when it was found that it clashed with the republican commemoration there.

★★★

A County Down garage owner, Frank Gardiner of Magherlin, was awarded undisclosed damages against the RUC by the Belfast High Court on Wednesday last week.

RUC man William Campbell had repeatedly assaulted Gardiner in August 1978, hitting him on the head with a baton, knocking him to the ground and striking him several times again.

Gardiner suffered a fractured skull, extensive bruising to his head, and lacerations which required 19 stitches.

★★★

Almost a barrelful of 'bad apples' appeared in court in Banbridge, County Down, on Thursday and Saturday last week.

Twenty British soldiers, all members of the 2nd Light Infantry Brigade, were charged with burglary and theft from a garage, school

and factory in Crossmaglen.

★★★

Every week Fermanagh's *Impartial Reporter* carries a small advert reading "Insurance: special rates for police. Contact J.R. Fallis, 6 Queen Street, Enniskillen."

In a recent court case in the same town J.R. Fallis himself got off scot-free on a charge of assault on three of Owen Carron's election workers in August last year.

The assault involved firing a repeater shotgun at the three, who included a 12-year-old boy and Carron's brother, John, as they were putting up election posters near his home.

Ignoring forensic evidence, the court accepted Fallis's sworn testimony that he had not fired a shotgun but in fact had only waved the pipe of a vacuum cleaner at them.

Anyone interested in having their vacuum cleaner converted into a shotgun or vice versa, might try contacting former RUC man Fallis at the above address, telephone 4050, or at home, telephone Springfield 376.

★★★

I came across a newly-published booklet this week entitled *Irish — English, English — Irish* (only it has shamrocks where I have dashes). The idea is to explain words used in Ireland which might not be understood by English English-speakers, if you follow me.

So 'banjaxed' is 'messed up'; 'buroo' is the 'dole'; 'catch yourself on' is 'realise'; 'crack' is 'entertainment'; 'press' is 'cupboard'; 'hurling' is 'less restricted type of hockey'; 'leprechaun' is 'pigmy shoemaker'; 'slag' is 'verbally harangue'; 'your man' is 'the person under discussion'; and so on.

It really is amazing the differences in words listed, although I've never heard of half the ones that are supposed to be in common use here — wheeker, tovy, thaveless, hinch, cowp, creepie?

There are also a few political verbal pointers explaining such words as 'Proves', 'P-check', 'co-op mix', 'scall' and 'tourt', and the fact that 'army' in some nationalist areas means the IRA not the Brits!

However, one explanation does stand out, though I suspect it is an innocent misrepresentation. For the word 'torture', as used by the Irish, is given the English 'tease or annoy'.

Nevertheless, I reckon the booklet might sell amongst some of those trendy British revolutionaries. You know, the ones who put on what they imagine to be Belfast accents the minute they get off the boat on their annual two-day fact-finding visits.

Only slugging, a chairbel!

WHAT'S ON

NATIONAL GAY CONFERENCE
Friday 18th June-Sunday 20th June
Trinity College
DUBLIN
(commences on Friday at 7 pm — accommodation & creche available)
Details, etc., NGC Steering Comm.,
PO Box 1076, Dublin 1

CONCERT
8.30 pm-11.30 pm Friday 18th June
Spa Hotel
LUCAN
Co. Dublin

SINN FEIN WOMEN'S DEPT. NATIONAL MEETING
11 am Saturday 19th June
5 Blessington Street
DUBLIN
All Sinn Fein women are welcome
Creche and billets provided —
phone Dublin 308783 if billets
are required

EVE OF BODENSTOWN WREATH-LAYING CEREMONY
3 pm Saturday 19th June
Parade from Art Gallery,
Parnell Square to Wolfe Tone Street
DUBLIN

SLIDE SHOW & LECTURE
'The Year of the French'
8 pm Saturday 19th June
Fr. Mathew Hall
Church Street
DUBLIN
Speaker: Sean O'Bradigh
Admission: £1

OWEN CARRON FUND BALLAD SESSION
Featuring 'Brimmer'
Saturday 19th June
Geraldine Inn
STRAFFAN
Co. Kildare
Admission: £1.50
(Raiffe for Long Kesh harp)

BODENSTOWN BUSES
Sunday 20th June

FROM DUBLIN
Leave Liberty Hall, 11.30 am
(tickets: Sean Gallagher, No. 5 Club)
Art Gallery, Parnell Sq., 2.30 pm
reduced rates for children &
unemployed — bring dole card
(tickets: 5 Blessington Street);
St. Catherine's, Thomas St., 1 pm
(tickets: Rose Duggie, 44 Parnell Sq.)
& Ballymun Shopping Centre, 11 am,
picking up at the Drake Inn, Finglas,
11.30 am, & the Oasis pub, Cabra,
12 noon (reduced rates for children)

Dublin Battalion Fianna bus
leaves 44 Parnell Square 10.45 am
(tickets to be booked in advance)

FROM LURGAN
Leave Hurson Court, 9 am
& North Street, Lurgan 9 am
(tickets: SF centre or AP/RN sellers)

FROM TRALEE
stopping at Listowel & Tarbert
Leaves Brandon car park 8.30 am
Fare: £7.50
(tickets: M. Dowling or L. Cotter —
no drink allowed on bus)

FROM WEXFORD
Leave St. Peter's Sq., Wexford,
10.30 am, picking up at Crescent
Quay, 10.45 am, & Slaney Bridge,
Enniscorthy, 11 am
(tickets: Phil Kelly or Ned O'Connor)
New Ross, usual time
(tickets: P. Walsh)

CAFE DESPARD POLITICAL CABARET & DISCO
(in aid of Green Cross)
Friday 25th June
Markets Social Club
BELFAST
Admission: £1

ANTI-APARTHEID MEETING
(To celebrate 70th anniversary of
the African National Congress)
Speakers: Ruth Monpathi (ANC),
Ulick O'Connor, Eamonn MacThomas
and Kadar Aslam
Music by Johnny Moynihan
8 pm Friday 25th June
LIBERTY HALL
Dublin

BALLAD SESSION
Featuring 'Brogue' and
other artistes
8 pm Friday 25th June
The Brown Derby
James's Street
DUBLIN
Tickets: £1, c/o AP/RN, 44 Parnell
Square, Dublin
Organised by Sinn Féin

...Reviews...Reviews...Reviews...Reviews...Reviews...Reviews...

PLAY

'HATCHET'

REVIEWED
BY SIOBHAN O'MALLEY

HATCHET got his nickname at the age of 14, when his mother sent him out with an axe to help his father who was being beaten up by a gang.

His wife tells the story painfully and bitterly, his mother with pride and triumph — "And he sorted them out himself."

This is the theme of the play *Hatchet* by Heno Magee, now on at Dublin's Olympia Theatre.

Both the author and the actor in the title role, Mannix Flynn, know their subject well, both coming from Dublin's inner city where the play is set. Both know well the savagery of life there, the pressures of poverty, unemployment and bad housing.

Hatchet's mother, played by Laurie Morton, survives by using her men as protectors. They are expected to fight to be 'hard men', to be respected.

His wife Bridie (Veronica Cole) battles between his mother on the one side fighting to keep Hatchet in her home — "This will be yours when I'm gone," — and her own sister Angela (Lana McDonnell) with her phoney respectability pressing her to leave him.

Angela — "She's a secret agent for the Legion of Mary," says Hatchet's ma — has got out, and Bridie sees that the only hope for herself and Hatchet is also to leave, not like Angela because she is ashamed of her background, but to save Hatchet from the manipulation of his battling mother.

Slowly Hatchet's realisation of what his mother has done to him results in his agreement



Patrick Bedford, who plays the ma's boyfriend, outside the Olympia Theatre

with Bridie to leave, but it is too late. A drunken row between his mother and a rival family sweeps Hatchet inevitably to the final scene where he follows his bottle-waving mother into a fight he can't win.

The play was first shown in the early 'seventies but is as powerful a portrayal of life in Dublin now as then. The problems are the same in an environment which is geared to crushing any hope of a better life and which also crushes the love and tenderness of people to each other.

The lack of privacy for young couples living in the parents' house and the oppression of women are a thread throughout the play.

Hatchet's first words to his wife are, "Where's my dinner?" He tells her to stop drinking while he orders more for himself. His mother talks casually of the black eyes and beatings she got from his father, accepting brutality as part of her life and seeing no other way.

The audience at *Hatchet*, on its opening night on Monday, included many who would be very familiar with the themes of the play and obviously enjoyed it thoroughly. Unfortunately Vincent Smith's direction goes too hard for the easy laughs rather than allowing the cruel humour to break through itself. In doing so it loses a lot of its power.



CAITLIN MAUDE

Aiféala

IS MÓR an brón atá ar Ghaeil ar fud hÉirann ar chloisint an scéala go bhfuair Caitlín Maude bás. Fíle, amhránaí agus múinteoir thar barr ab ea í. Aon duine a chaith seal ag féisteacht léf is cinnte go mbeidh cuimhne na mná seo greasaite ina n-intinn go deo.

Is maith is cuimhín liom féin 'a chloisint ag amhránaíocht ar an sean nós i gClub Chonradh na Gaeilge i mBaile Átha Cliath. B'uathúil agus O amhránaíthe eile sa Chlub sin a fuair mé blas ar an amhránaíocht ar an sean nós.

Beidh ailt cuimhneacháin i gcló anseo ar Chaitlín go buath. I bhFaithéas Dé go raibh sí.

PLO demo

A PROTEST in Canada last weekend in support of the Palestinians also turned its attention to Ireland and expressed support for the IRA.

Over 1,000 people marched through Toronto last Saturday in support of the Palestinian and Lebanese people and against Zionist aggression. Speakers included representatives of the Lebanese community, Moslem students and non-Zionist Jews.

The march ended at the US Consulate because, as the main Palestinian speaker underlined, Israeli aggression only occurs with the support and connivance of the United States. Speakers at the US Consulate included representatives of the African National Congress, the Canadian Party of Labour, Canada/Grenada Friendship Society and PASOK (the Greek Socialists). A spokesperson for the Irish Prisoner of War Committee said that the Irish people, especially their revolutionary leadership, Sinn Féin and the IRA, stand shoulder-to-shoulder with the Palestinian and Lebanese people and the PLO in the fight to destroy imperialism.

"We have an enemy in common. Our unity in this fight is the only guarantee for victory in our struggle for a free Ireland and a free Palestine."

The brief statement was interrupted twice by chants from the crowd of 'Long live the IRA... Victory to the IRA!'

Bradford 12

THE Bradford 12 are a group of young people — all members of the United Black Youth League — who have been charged with making petrol bombs during last summer's riots in England.

The riots erupted as the result of continuous police harassment of the black community, and working-class youth in general, and when an attack on Bradford's immigrant areas by fascist groups was imminent.

Na Fianna Éireann are organising a petition in support of the Bradford 12, calling for the dropping of all charges, and will be collecting signatures at Bodenstown. The Fianna hope that all republicans will reciprocate the solidarity shown by the United Black Youth League with our struggle.

Young Republican

THE first edition of *Young Republican* the newspaper of na Fianna Éireann is now available.

The paper contains articles on youth unemployment, education in Ireland, plastic bullets facts-sheet, review of the film 'Taps' and a rock music review amongst other items.

Young Republican will be on sale at Bodenstown or is available from your local Fianna 'stus' or head office at 44 Parnell Square, Dublin.

BOOKS

Songs of 1798

BY SEAN O'BRIEN

JUST out in time to coincide with the Wolfe Tone commemoration at Bodenstown on Sunday is a well-produced new songbook entitled 'Songs of 1798', and edited by Sean O'Bradaiagh.

Among the 50 or so songs and poems gathered are familiar titles such as *The Men of the West*, *The Croppy Boy*, *Henry Joy*, *The Rising of the Moon*, *Boalavogue*, *Roddy McCorley* and *The Boys of Wexford*.

But there are many more in Irish, English and, fittingly, in French; and music to unfamiliar airs is also provided. Certainly many half-forgotten songs will be revived from this book and one can expect to hear the stirring recitations

of *The Man from God Knows Where* and *Paid O'Donoghue* gracing many a republican gathering yet again.

The songs themselves, gathered in context, bring home just how important a part this particular form of communication has played in handing down the message of Tone and 1798. Both on the conscious and sub-conscious mind the songs have left their indelible mark on thousands upon thousands of us.

And that gives pause for thought

as we read the verses of French soldiers under General Humbert in 1798, the sad lines of anonymous bards, the rousing calls of Thomas Davis, the favourite verses of Padraig Pearse and the thoughtful stanzas of Bobby Sands, all perpetuating the struggle inspired by Tone.

In his introduction O'Bradaiagh pays a personal tribute to the late Brian O hUiginn whose *Wolfe Tone Annual* more than anything else preserved the verses now re-published.

Not only does this new collection provide the words afresh, but O'Bradaiagh has succeeded in putting a new angle on many of them by the addition of concise informative notes, not the least of which is in parenthesis at the end of one inclusion: "There are 27 more stanzas to this song."

Adding further enjoyment to this welcome publication are the excellent illustrations throughout,



including reproductions of some 1798 documents.

'Songs of 1798' should be available in most shops or can be obtained for £1.50 plus postage from the publishers — Duchas, 5 Sraid Bhaile Chloimín, Baile Átha Cliath 7.

'IRELAND UNFREE — Essays on the history of the Irish freedom struggle 1169-1981,' edited by Martin Mulligan, Pathfinder Press.

Ireland Unfree

REVIEW BY CIARAN DOWD

IN THE wake of the hunger-strike there was a wave of renewed interest in Ireland in many countries, amongst them Australia. This short book (158 pp) is both a product of this and will hopefully stimulate more solidarity action in the future.

Around half the chapters are historical from the 'Great Famine' of the 1840s, through the setting up of the six-county Orange state, and up to Bloody Sunday in 1972. One chapter, 'Fenianism and the Catalpa expedition', presents the little known story of six Irish freedom fighters' escape from Fremantle jail in Western Australia in 1878.

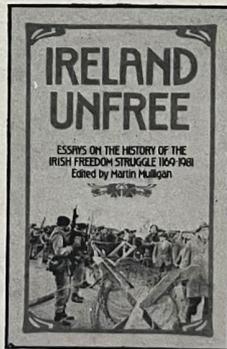
The rest of the book is effectively dedicated to a rundown of the hunger-strike. There are several of Bobby Sands' stories, including his beautiful 'The lark and the freedom

fighter'. Right at the back we find the hunger-strikers' statements on commencing and ending the strike. Interspersed throughout the book are photographs from the struggle, including the familiar wall murals of west Belfast.

So, we must say that Pathfinder Press has performed a useful service with this topical and well-produced book.

SOLIDARITY

This is just one of the numerous publications produced by support-

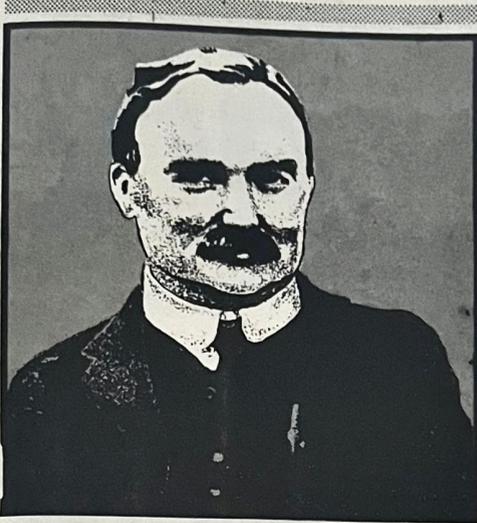


ers of the Irish struggle abroad. Together, they help break down the systematic misinformation churned out by British embassies. We hope also that they will lead to enduring

and systematic solidarity activities.

There is one reservation, however, which we must make, which results from the political sympathy of the publishers with the People's Democracy grouping. The Republican Movement is accused of acting "in a heavy handed manner" in the build-up campaign to the hunger-strike and of using "undemocratic methods" to prevent the Relatives Action Committees from supporting Bernadette McAliskey's campaign in the 1979 European parliament elections.

These polemics are out of place in a book designed for a broad solidarity audience. This type of innuendo 'does not square either with the book's own introduction which refers to the Republican Movement having "gained a new bearing in the South of Ireland and stands to consolidate a much stronger national apparatus"... and that *An Phoblacht/Republican News* has made giant steps in distribution and therefore influence.



Íobairt

LE TOMÁS Ó SÉ

IS MINIC ionsaithe á dhéanamh ag eaglaisigh éagsúla ar Oglaihn na hÉireann. Is geall le comortas é eatartha féachaint cé acu is déine á dhéanfaidh an cáineadh. Lú á ndiaidh lae leanann siad orthu agus ní ciall ar bith leis an gáid is mó de.

Ach tugadh dearcadh difriúil dúinn le déanaí ag Aifreann Cuimhneacháin Sheamais Uí Chonghaile. An tAthair Piaras Ó Duíll á bhí gníomhach i gCoiste na Blocanna H/Ard Mhaca á thug an t-athreas. Léirigh sé go bhfuil taobh eile den scéal ann agus gur chóir íobairt na bPoblachtacha a aithint mar íobairt á f'hás ag rá.

chomortha nuair 'tá an tAifreann doimhín dá rá agáin, is fíor é le rá go bhfuil ceangal cobhneasta idir íobairt Chríost agus íobairt eile atá bunaithe ar ghéirí comharas agus leas muirne.

"Creidim muid go láidir mar Chríostaíthe gurb é Chríost, mac Dé, á thagas gníomh agus tuiscint a d'fhág grá Dé agus grá comharas an oidhreacht spioradálta, treoiriamhail ar an gine daonna. 'Sé teagasc na hÍobairte (Íobairt Chríost) is bun leis an ráiteas ó Naomh Eoin. 'Ní grá is mó ag duine ar bith ná go dtabharfaid sé a anam ar son a chairde."

"Bíonn tuiscint i gcónaí de thoradh na hÍobairte. Ach ní tigeat an gníomh láithreach. Nach iontach an rud é an mhoill agus an ríghnath, an t-ost agus an ciúnas idir an íobairt agus an toradh, an gníomh agus an tuiscint."

"I gcás na fíin-íobairte go minic, bíonn an gníomh brúite ar leath íobairt, cailte i mórch-paolúcht na polaitíochta. Tháirg sé in ainm Chríost fhéin agus réabhadh na polaitíochta mórtáimhail. Tugadh faoi Chríost ó ghael uile thabog, gan bun-chúlús á íobairt á aithint. Ach cé go rinneadh failil ins na súilic á thiomáint Chríost ag an am, lean an tuiscint agus an brí ina dhiaidh sin. Athnóidh an fóirúisce agus leathach an creideamh agus an carthanacht."

"Tá comparáid spréite i stair na tíre seo. Tar éis bás Uí Chonghaile agus a chompañáil airm á bheartaigh an t-Eirí Amach, bhí feitheamh agus fanacht tar éis na stoirme. Tháinig an tuiscint ar ball, tháirg an dóchas agus an míseach á astrapreaghadh. Tá a fhios ag cách cad é an t-oidhreacht a lean é: báinilín an faoiús ó an t-eagla, d'ompaigh an taobh agus d'fhill an meann."

"Dar ndóigh, is mór idir an tráth sin agus an lá 'tá inniu ann. Ach bíonn taobh agus trá, líonadh agus caitheamh i saol an phobail i gcoáil. Cinnte, ní dhéantar failil ar an ngníomh 's an gaise a rinne Seamas Ó Chonghaile ar ár son. Ná ní déantar dearmad ach an oiread ar na hÍobairtí cosil leis i stair na hÉireann ó shin. Tá fúisceog na fuascailte fós clúin. Ach an tráth á bhí nheasa níor thréig muid ár ndúchas, 's tá an míseach comh-íglúiseach is bhí riann ann - Ó Chonghaile agus a chomráidithe a rinne deimhín de sin."

DEALGAS

"Rinne Seamus Ó Chonghaile á thoisín agus ghlac Comaoin-each Naofa ar an Mháirt 2ú Bealtaine. An tAthair Aloysius agus an tAthair Albhístín, Capláinigh dh'áirdeall, á threastair air. Agus roimh éirí na greine ar an Aoiné 12ú Bealtaine tugadh Ó Chonghaile in otharcharr go Príosún Chill mhaighnéin."

"Ansin tugadh ar shínteán go cías an phríosún é agus cuireadh ina shuí i gcatóir é. Bhí sé cróga, réchúiseach adeir an tAthair Aloysius. D'fhiafraigh an sagart de, an ndéanfá paidir ar sonna bhfeir atá ar t'ad' scáblaíonn? D'fhreagair sé, 'deirfidh mé paidir ar chulle dhuine mhianúil á dhéineann a thualgas.' Tugadh an t-ordú ansin agus scaoil na saighdiúirí."

"Ag caint leis an bPiarasach dhúirt an tAthair Aloysius leis gur ghlac an Chonghaileach an Chomáineach Naofa. Buíochas le Dia arís: an Piarasach is é ag dul ag á bhás feir, bhí taon rud amháin á bhí mé inníoch faoi, ar sé."

CORMAC'S KIDS



BROWN, Denis; MEALY, Jackie; MULVENNA, Jim. (4th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol. Denis Brown, Jackie Mealy and Jim Mulvenna, Belfast Brigade, Oglaihn na hÉireann, who were shot dead while on active service duty on June 21st 1978. This sláid sa Bhearna Bhaol ag 1978. ar son saoirse, NF dhéanfaimid MEALY, Jackie, Always remembered by their friends and comrades in the Belfast Brigade.

McELVANNA, Peadar. (3rd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol. Peadar McElvanna, Oglaihn na hÉireann, south Armagh, who was killed by the British occupation forces at Keady on June 9th 1979. Thus sé a raibh aige ar son saoirse. Always remembered by his friends and comrades in the 2nd Batt., Oglaihn na hÉireann, north Armagh.

McELVANNA, Peadar. (3rd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my nephew Vol. Peadar McElvanna, Oglaihn na hÉireann, south Armagh, who died on active service on June 9th 1979. From his uncle Kevin.

McELVANNA, Peadar. (3rd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of a very dear friend Vol. Peadar McElvanna who was killed in action on June 9th 1979. "A smile for all, a heart of gold, one of the best Ireland could hold. Never selfish, always kind, these are the memories he left behind." Always remembered and sadly missed by Noel.

McELVANNA, Peadar. (3rd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of our friend and comrade Vol. Peadar McElvanna who was killed in action at Keady on June 9th 1979. One of Ireland's bravest soldiers. Mary, Queen of Ireland, pray for him. Always remembered by Eugene 'Mac' Mary and little Peadar.

McELVANNA, Peadar. (3rd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of our dear friend and comrade Vol. Peadar McElvanna who was killed in action at Keady on June 9th 1979. Just as you were, Peadar, you shall always be - some day I often sit and think of you. With aching heart and silent tear, I often wish that you were here. I was not there to see you die, to hold you, to say goodbye. But I will remember my whole life through, the last words I had with you. Mary, Queen of Ireland, pray for him. Always remembered by Deborah.

McELVANNA, Peadar. In sad and loving memory of my dear friend Vol. Peadar McElvanna, who died from injuries received when hit by a plastic bullet fired by RUC personnel on April 25th 1981, and who would have been 17 on June 8th 1982. "A bouquet of beautiful memories sprayed with a million tears of love. God could have spared you, if only a few more years. It was a bitter parting, too bitter to forget, but I know that my God will never forget." Mary, Queen of Ireland, pray for him. Always remembered by Cathy.

SYMPATHY

MULLINS. The republican POWs (Portlaoise), extend their deepest sympathy to our comrade Leo and his family circle on the death of their father. Ar dhéine laimh Dé go raibh a nam.

Birthday memories

WHITERS, Paul. In sad and loving memory of my dear friend, Paul Whitters, murdered by RUC (with a plastic bullet) on April 25th 1981 and whose 17th birthday would have been on June 17th 1982. "I often sit and think of you and of the day you died, many times I've thought of you, many times I've cried. I did not see you close your eyes or hear your last faint sigh, I only heard that you were gone, and I say goodbye. Time helps to heal the sadness, like the smile that helps to hide the tears, but with you I was left with a part of me despite the passing years." Mary, Queen of Ireland, pray for him. Always remembered by my dear friend, Paul Whitters, who was killed by a plastic bullet fired

GREETINGS

BATESON, Peter. (Case 10, Long Kesh). Happy birthday, for June 20th. Hope your best one is spent in freedom. Love from Pauline and Joan.

CRILLY, Malachy. (Case 11, Long Kesh). Love from Mick and Dolores. We are far apart, they have you in their keeping but I have you in my heart. Happy birthday. Always. All my love and kisses, Dymphna. xxx

CRILLY, Malachy. (Case 11, Long Kesh). Many happy returns, Malachy. God bless and take care. From the Stuart family.

CRILLY, Malachy. (Case 11, Long Kesh). Birthday greetings to our friend, Malachy. Hope to see you soon. God bless. From Chinky and Colette.

HOLMES, Paul; McFADDEN, Con; O'NEIL, Dan. (Long Lartin and Shankwood). Happy Birthday and best wishes to Paul, Con and David. You're never far from our thoughts. From Mick and Dolores, Sinn Féin POW Dept., Dublin.

McCoy, Kevin. (HS-Block). Good luck and best wishes on your birthday, Kevin. Hope you get a shower that day! Lots of love from mum, dad, brothers and sisters and all your friends.

McCoy, Kevin. (HS-Block). Best wishes on your birthday, Kevin. See you soon. From Patrick (Case 11), Maggie and wee Sorcha.

McCoy, Patrick. (Case 11, Long Kesh). If we could have a wish, our wish it would be, the key of St. Kesh to set you free. All our love from Maggie and wee Sorcha.

McCoy, Patrick. (Case 11, Long Kesh). Birthday greetings, Patrick. Good health and good luck. From mum, dad, brothers, sisters and all your friends.

SLOAN, Tony. (Portlaoise). Happy birth-

Draw results

An Cumann Cabhrach, Doire
 £200: No. 1122; £50: 111, 378; £25: 279, 99, 117, 20, 108, 138, 110, Nos. 1038, 883, 632, 955, 590, 1182, 978, 792, 480, 577; £5: 805, 904, 942, 939, 765, 489, 839, 456, 41 and 781.
 Cork Sinn Féin private members draw
 1st: (card 74, line 8), Clara, c/o Kitty O'Brien; 2nd: (card 92, line 4), J. Lynch, c/o Fina McCarty; 3rd: (card 69, line 1), Niall Clinton.
 S. Tyrone Sinn Féin Building Fund draw
 Week 3
 1st (£100): Yvonne O'Neill, Eglis; 2nd (£50): Patrick O'Gara, Pomeroy.

Wanted

NA FIANNNA EIREANN is seeking summer jobs for republican students who are working their way through college. Anyone who may be able to help is asked to contact the Fianna at 44 Parnell Square, Dublin 1.

Thanks

AN CUMANN CABHRACH wish to acknowledge with thanks the donation of £100 from Cumann Sean MacGiolla 'Bride, Slíon Fein, Cathal na Maíre.

Revolutionary rules

BY BROWNIE

TO SUPPOSE that anyone or any group of people involved in the struggle in Ireland has all the answers to the many problems which beset active republicans and anti-imperialists is a recipe for disaster.

The making of revolution is a continuous process during which time for re-appraisals, self-examination and criticism is a necessary and fundamental requirement. We need meaningful and properly structured discussion, on a collective basis, and an openness, devoid as much as possible of human egotism, to admit and to learn from our mistakes. Such honesty built from comradeship and commitment permits frank discussion and from such discussion long-term and short-term objectives along the path we wish to follow will be established and tasks will be allocated.

The principle of collective leadership founded on the above points must be encouraged at every level of the Republican Movement and within every sphere of republican activity. There is also, it appears to me, a number of general rules which need to be sorted out and a number of general conditions which must be created if the struggle is to be successful.

These are stated below. In keeping with the spirit of the first paragraph the reader is reminded that these 'rules' are not exclusive of others but are listed here, not in any order of priority, but merely as they strike the writer.

Strong guerrilla army

Because of the necessity of armed struggle the organisation engaged in such struggle must be disciplined, politically conscious, absolutely non-elitist and with the capacity to ensure that its actions are understood by the people on whose behalf it professes to fight. The attitude of such republican soldiers must be consistently and consciously aimed at increasing support and understanding of the republican position and their behaviour must be exemplary. Of course, they must also be well-armed and properly directed but these matters do not concern us here — we are speaking only of the general requirements for successful struggle.

Strong party

It is of the utmost importance that a strong party, supportive in a general political sense of the armed struggle, be built in all thirty-two counties.

The party must be ideologically united on radical republican objectives and capable of formulating and implementing long-term and short-term strategies. Again, the attitude of party members must be anti-elitist and their behaviour must be exemplary. Regardless of all our human failings, activists



must consider their part in the republican struggle as a vocation, ever mindful that our general and personal attitudes can be as important in winning and keeping support as our strategies. Everyone has a part to play in the struggle. Those who perform a full-time role must ensure that everyone else has the opportunity to play a meaningful part.

Furthermore, it must be remembered that we will be judged not on our vision for the future but on our behaviour of today. Our attitudes towards the general populace, towards youth, towards women and other oppressed sections of our people, are all-important. It is impossible to free a people who do not wish to be free. It is possible only to create conditions in which people, seeking freedom, will seize it. Without the people we are nothing; we must be prepared to listen to their ideas, their visions and to structure our struggle so that it satisfies their needs and overcomes their oppressions.

Ideology

It is of the utmost importance and fully in keeping with republicanism, and the evolution of the republican philosophy, that our ideals be radical and aimed towards securing the nat-

ional, political, social, cultural and economic liberation of our people. We must be united upon those ideals or long-term objectives while, if necessary, reserving the right to have strategic or tactical differences. In other words, we must agree upon where we are going, for without such agreement we will never agree on how to get there.

In winning agreement and getting consensus for such ideals we should not suppose that we have the monopoly on truth. We should avoid the use of jargon, we should remember that despite everything suffered by them, new ideas must be carefully digested by many of our people and, finally, we must never forget that our ideology must be so shaped that it meets the needs of the Irish people and is not some pie-in-the-sky theory which bears no resemblance to Irish conditions or needs. Having agreed on ideology, or agreed as much as possible, we can then go forward, taking as many people and comrades as far along the road as they are prepared to go.

Support

We need, as a basic and perhaps primary requirement, the support of our people. The more friends we have the less enemies we have to contend

with. While it may be possible to struggle on without mass support, to be successful we must strive towards mobilising the maximum amount of people and enlisting their support, in a structured manner based on their needs and geared towards republican people's objectives. We cannot gain the republic without the people. We cannot do it on our own.

Education

Education, the key to knowledge, is needed if we are to understand the enemy, the struggle and ourselves. From a gut-patriotic rejection of British occupation we can become conscious of our roots, our culture, our class and of the deprivations inflicted upon us by a greedy foreign power and an equally greedy Irish ruling class. With such knowledge — and the acquirement of it is a continuous process — we can find the means and the methods of combatting the enemy.

These then are some ideas, hopefully helpful in promoting discussion and debate in republican circles. Perhaps some time in the future, le cuidin dia, we will return to them and elaborate in some detail on some of the individual points made here.