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Recalling Easter 1916

EASTER, above all other dates in the republican calendar, is the time when we recall, with justified pride, those countless men and women who over the years, right down to the present day, have given their lives in the fight for Irish freedom.

And, 67 years after the Proclamation of the Irish Republic in 1916, we once again 'declare the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland, and to the unfettered control of Irish destinies, to be sovereign and indefeasible.'

Those who have grasped positions of power in Ireland, on the backs of Clarke, MacDiarmada, Pearse, Connolly, McDonagh, Ceannt and Plunkett, now find grave embarrassment at recalling the assertion in arms of the Irish right to national freedom in 1916.

They cannot fail to recognise, in their own pro-British anti-republican activities, just where they would have stood at that time.

In 1916, just as today, the Irish establishment, media and hierarchy denounced with hatred those who dared to proclaim their allegiance to the Irish Republic and dared to express their determination to establish it and defend it with force against the evils of British rule.

There are even those today who attempt to mock and deride the leaders of 1916 as worthless dreamers.

OPPRESSION

But it might be worth reflecting for a moment, in this Ireland of today — still suffering British oppression, riven by the curse of partition, crippled by social and economic injustice, and stripped of its cultural heritage — on what might have been.

What if the chaos of the countermanded orders 67 years ago had not been? What if all things had

gone as planned? What if Pearse and Connolly and the rest, joined by Mellows and O'Connor and their comrades, had survived to become the leaders of a free united Irish socialist republic and put into practice the 1916 Proclamation, which was so quickly cast aside by the reactionary opportunists who quickly seized power in the Free State?

What if those who in the long years since then have striven with dedication, even sacrificing their lives, to achieve the first step of expelling British rule, had been free to devote their obvious selflessness to the development of that Irish Republic so proclaimed?

Who can doubt that Ireland today would have achieved its 'august destiny' then predicted, its 'exaltation among the nations'?

UNITED

In 1916, the leaders of the labour movement, the national movement, the cultural movement and, importantly, the new women's movement of the day, united, not as a loose transitory alliance, but as a result of a recognition and acceptance of each strand of Irish freedom of the truth of the others' particular concern.

Towards that powerful unity, republicans today work with increasing vigour and, in the year



● The GPO, Dublin, Easter 1916

since last Easter, have made dramatic and encouraging progress on many fronts.

This Easter, we declare our undiminished determination to destroy forever the British hold on

our country, as the first step to the achievement of that Irish Republic set out in 1916. Until then there is no laying down of arms, no surrenders or retreats, no indecision or faint-heartedness.

"In the name of God and of the dead generations from which she receives her old tradition of nationhood, Ireland, through us, summons her children to her flag and strikes for her freedom..."

BY PAT DEENEY

THE CONTRIVED cases against 71 Derry people, over half of whom are held in custody on remand, look to be heading for a dramatic collapse, with the revelation this week that the RUC informer involved, Derryman Raymond Gilmour, has been in contact with his family and with local Sinn Féin elected representative Martin McGuinness.

After eight months in enforced isolation, Raymond Gilmour made a surprise contact with his family on Sunday, March 13th.

He spoke firstly to his mother-in-law, Mrs Agnes Harkin, and expressed great regret for his previous actions. By his whole tone, she is convinced that he wishes to retract the statements he has made to the RUC.

On the same evening, Gilmour phoned his sisters, Dymphna, Geraldine and Kathleen, and made an attempt to phone another sister, Patsy. All the calls were made from a coin box.

From his conversations, it was clear to his family that Raymond deeply regretted his past deeds. He told them of a genuine desire to sever his connection with the RUC whom he claimed were "treating his wife and children like dirt." He told them that he did not want to "end up like Colm 'Rooster' McNutt", a young Derry man assassinated by the SAS in 1977. Raymond Gilmour obviously feels his life will be in danger if he does not carry out the RUC's orders.

PLEADED

His sister Dymphna, pleaded with him to end the agony he has brought on so many people. He replied that he wanted to but didn't know how to go about it. She then suggested to him that he speak to Sinn Féin elected representative Martin McGuinness. He agreed and arranged to phone the family again.

The following night, Gilmour phoned his sister Geraldine. She noticed a remarkable and dramatic change in his attitude and in

'I WANT TO RETRACT' SAYS RUC INFORMER

GILMOUR TALKS TO MCGUINNESS



● RAYMOND GILMOUR

his personality. Whereas on Sunday night his mood had been open, excited and buoyant, on this occasion he was hesitant, subdued and evasive. He did, however, repeat his intention to speak to Martin McGuinness. Geraldine was convinced that RUC men were with Raymond as he spoke.

The RUC almost definitely have had the



● MARTIN MCGUINNESS

Gilmour and Harkin families' phones tapped and were instantly aware that Gilmour had momentarily eluded their surveillance and so immediately re-applied pressure on him.

Martin McGuinness says:

"Raymond Gilmour has been in total isolation for eight months. He is totally

dependent on his Special Branch guards. They control his every word, his every action. In his excitement at making what he thought was a free and confidential contact with his family, he has overlooked the possibility of his relatives' phones being tapped.

"Such evidence of the RUC's apparently limitless power only serves to reinforce Gilmour's fears and his dependence on his guards."

Martin McGuinness assured the Gilmours that he would speak to Raymond and promised to exercise what influence he had as an elected representative to provide assistance to Raymond, who from his calls was deeply in need of help.

On Sunday, March 20th, Gilmour phoned his sister Geraldine's home. Patsy, another sister, took the call. She spoke to Raymond for a while and was sure that Raymond was again in the company of the RUC. Martin McGuinness then spoke to Raymond Gilmour:

"He told me he was using a coin box. That was untrue. He did little talking and what remarks he did make were of a guarded, dictated nature. I asked him if the RUC were with him. He refused to answer. He did, however, agree to consider all the points I had made. Our conversation lasted 35 minutes. I promised him I'd be available at any time to speak to him and he told me he would call again on Wednesday, March 23rd, at 8pm. I waited for four hours on that date expecting him to contact me but the call did not come.

"I am certain that the RUC have deliberately prevented him from making that call. Raymond Gilmour needs help. He has shown that he wishes to talk to either his family or to myself under conditions of real and guaranteed confidentiality.

"I believe that Raymond Gilmour wishes to retract. I also believe that the RUC are not prepared to let this happen. Raymond Gilmour is not, as Chief Constable Hermon has claimed, a 'free agent'."

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

Continued IRA action

IRA ACTIVE service units were in action in Armagh, Tyrone, Belfast and Crossmaglen during the past week, although only two hits were recorded.

On Wednesday evening, March 30th, just after 9.30pm, a bomb in a derelict building on Belfast's Falls Road, just opposite the Falls Road library, went off as a British army patrol was passing.

Part of the premises collapsed into the road and one British soldier was injured in the blast.

TYRONE SHOOTING

A County Tyrone man who had recently resigned from the UDR was shot and seriously wounded on Friday, March 25th, by the IRA's Tyrone Brigade as he drove out of the laneway of a friend's home. An IRA Volunteer, using

a shotgun, stepped out in front of the car and fired into the windscreen. In spite of an immediate and widespread follow-up search by hundreds of RUC and UDR personnel the IRA unit made good its escape.

GRENADE ATTACK

In an attack by Volunteers of the IRA's North Armagh Brigade

on Tullyally Road East, just outside Lurgan, on Friday night, March 25th, a hand grenade was thrown at an RUC land-rover.

The grenade hit the front of the vehicle and exploded on the road. No casualties were reported.

BELFAST BOMB ATTACK

British soldiers narrowly missed death on Saturday, March 26th, when only the detonator of a cylinder bomb placed in a derelict house and containing 15lbs of

explosives, went off as a British army foot patrol passed along Belfast's Malcolmson Street, opposite the Springfield Road Joint British army/RUC Barracks.

Had all the charges exploded the charge, which had been carefully shaped to confine the direction of the blast, would have caused serious casualties to the enemy.

BOMB DEFUSED

An area outside Crossmaglen was sealed off for two days on Sunday, March 27th, and Monday, March 28th, as British bomb experts defused a 200lb bomb contained in two milk churns.

BORDER POST ATTACKED

A Tyrone Brigade IRA active service unit fired about 20 shots at British troops manning the border checkpoint at Aughnacloy, shortly after midnight on Monday, March 28th. No casualties were recorded.

For the record

FOLLOWING a much-publicised call for a unilateral IRA ceasefire, from former republican Sean MacStiofain, the IRA has, for the second time in five days, split out its position in this regard.

In a statement, issued from the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau in Dublin, they said:

"The Irish Republican Army, for the record, is not thinking of, nor would it countenance thought of, ceasefires or truces short of a British withdrawal from Ireland, after which there would be no need for armed struggle.

"That has remained our principled position. It has been the position which young men and women have given their lives for and for which hundreds of others languish in jail. Though, of course, some who are weak-willed have appropriately fallen by the wayside."

Not involved at Mackies - IRA

THE IRA's Belfast Brigade has denied any involvement in the shooting of Raymond Orr, a Protestant worker, who was shot and seriously injured as he arrived for work on Friday morning, March 25th, at Mackies engineering factory in West Belfast.

Loud no to forum ploy

BY HILDA MacTHOMAS

THE HUME/FITZGERALD 'Forum for a New Ireland' is proving to be most unpopular. Last week invitations were issued by Free State premier Garret FitzGerald to all political parties, North and South - except, of course, Sinn Féin, the only major party to be excluded because of its principled stance on the armed struggle.

So far, all the invitations have been rejected. The only party which would have dearly loved to take part in the forum, the vanishing Irish Independence Party (123 votes in Carrickmore), was not invited.

The most recent rejection of the forum came from the Workers' Party, which at a Belfast press conference on Tuesday, March 29th, accused Garret FitzGerald of setting up the forum as a prop to the SDLP, and a diversion from the deepening economic crisis in the Free State. The Workers' Party, like all the other unionist parties, objected also to the forum's declared aim because it would alienate Northern unionist opinion. And to show their own brand of slavish compromise, billed their Leinster House deputy, Proinsias de Rossa, as plain, Anglicised 'Frank Ross'.

Some days previously, on Thursday, March 24th, the Official Unionist Party leader, James Molyneux, had rejected FitzGerald's invitation to the forum which "seeks means of compelling the greater number in Northern Ireland to agree to a united Ireland." The Alliance Party also rejected the forum stating that it favoured "a power-sharing society within Northern Ireland."

VIOLENCE

Ian Paisley's DUP also got an invitation. They must have been deemed by FitzGerald to fulfil his strict requirement of 'rejection of violence', and this in spite of



● In sending Paisley an invitation to the forum, Garret FitzGerald conveniently overlooked his past sectarian record and anti-nationalist activities

their Nuremberg-style Third Force rallies at the end of 1981, and more recently their unashamed gloating over the dead bodies of nationalist victims of the RUC's shoot-to-kill tactics.

Obviously, FitzGerald must think that shooting nationalists does not constitute an act of violence, but rather what Bishop Cahal Daly would call the unionists' "right and duty under law to defend their political institutions."

However, predictably, DUP leader Ian Paisley rejected the invitation, and in an open letter to FitzGerald on Friday,

March 25th, claimed the forum would only "give encouragement to the IRA," and the Free State should rather give up its "false claim to jurisdiction over Northern Ireland."

The publicity-hungry reverend concluded with a typical threat of "personally leading a campaign of resistance to any attempt made to use Northern Ireland as a venue" for the forum. Paisley, always looking for new opportunities to outshine his unionist rivals by staging spectacles of the 1981 mountain-side firearm certificate waving variety, is visibly determined to use the forum for his own personal campaigning.

The fact that Paisley was invited to the forum, and his predictable rejection, were aptly described by West Belfast Sinn Féin elected representative Gerry Adams as showing "at one stroke the shallowness of the so-called 'Forum for a New Ireland', and of FitzGerald's, Hume's and Haughey's exclusion of Sinn Féin."

As for the unionists, in spite of their sabre-rattling declarations, they are all well aware of the real purpose of the forum, which as Alliance leader Oliver Napier declared in a press interview on Tuesday, March 29th, using Gerry Adams' own words, without acknowledgment, of course: "I think the intention is for the forum to be an electoral life-line for the SDLP, to help the SDLP out."

All these rejections must have come as another blow to the SDLP which has pinned all its hopes of survival on the forum.

DEVOLVED

Meanwhile, on Monday, March 28th, the three unionist parties came together in the first of a planned series of talks aimed at devising a common strategy to get more powers devolved to the new Stormont.

While Monday's talks came to nothing, such moves are, however, a matter of grave concern to many nationalists who are only too aware of the desire of the British government to transfer to the local assembly the burden of managing the six counties economic 'wasteland' and repressing half a million unruly nationalists.

The EEC has recently recognised the Stormont assembly as a bona fide 'regional parliament' and this dubious stamp of approval will unfortunately go some way to providing the new Stormont with the respectability it needs to argue for devolution.

All else having failed for them, the SDLP might well end up deciding to take their seats in the new Stormont after all and, as is customary, sell nationalist aspirations down the river for a few token positions.

No miracle in Prior package

BY HILDA MacTHOMAS

ON WEDNESDAY, March 23rd, in a blaze of media coverage British direct-ruler James Prior unveiled a miracle package which would give the North the edge in attracting foreign investment.

The package consists mainly of an 80% tax-relief grant on new investments, this, combined with the recently established Industrial Development Board (IDB), is an obvious attempt to emulate, or even overtake, the Free State's drive to attract foreign industrialists, a drive spearheaded since the late '60s by the Industrial Development Authority.

The type of investor attracted by such grants is unfortunately only too clear: low-wage companies, like Hyster, which have closed plants in their country of origin as soon as the unions have managed to win better wages and moved to the North where the average wage is considerably lower. Also attracted are con-men like John Z. De Lorean who, having robbed mil-

ions of pounds from the British government, most of which found its way to the Swiss bank accounts of a few individuals, finally disappeared from the scene and is now awaiting trial on drug charges. Then, of course, there's the fly-by-night multinational companies which have plagued Ireland, North and South, throughout the last decade.

UNSTABLE

However, it is doubtful if these new measures will make the politically unstable six counties more attractive.

A survey commissioned by the



● Prior with whizz-kid con-man John De Lorean in happier days

IDB among German, British and American industrialists, the results of which were published on Tuesday, March 29th, revealed that two-thirds of foreign industrialists are opposed to investing in Northern Ireland - fifty per cent declared

that it was too risky. These results show recent trips abroad by British direct rule officials to address foreign industrialists to be nothing more than propaganda exercises for home consumption.

Intruders beat up Newry man

BY MAEVE ARMSTRONG

TWENTY-FIVE-YEAR-OLD Jim Byrne, a single man from Cloughreagh, Newry, was savagely beaten by what he believes to have been a four-man SAS unit.

Around 2am last Sunday morning, March 27th, Jim Byrne entered the hallway of his home having returned late from Clough where he had spent the evening with friends. Half-way up the hall the light in the kitchen was suddenly switched on revealing two uniformed soldiers.

Startled, Byrne ran for the door but immediately the window in the door shattered, scattering glass around him and two other soldiers entered. They kicked him back up the hall and into the living-room, with blood pouring from his nose and cuts to his face.

INTERROGATED

Byrne, who was very frightened and confused, was interrogated until 6am that morning, about his family, friends and if he knew anything about the IRA.

As soon as they left, Jim Byrne made his way to lodge a complaint at the local barracks but was informed by the British army there that the four soldiers were not their men.

Byrne was then handed over to the RUC who detained him in Bessbrook for several hours before he was eventually moved to Daisy Hill Hospital in Newry at around 9am.

Jim Byrne has undergone two operations because of persistent bleeding from his nose which is

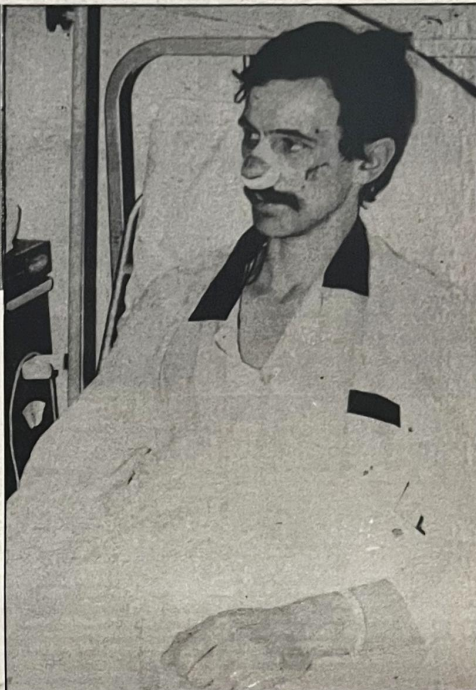
not only fractured but has several burst blood vessels which may necessitate yet another operation.

Jim McAllister, Sinn Féin elected representative for the area, said in a statement that the whole affair:

"Smacks of RUC collusion as Jim Byrne was threatened by a Special Branchman from Newry on the Green Road, Bessbrook, on St Patrick's Day, when he told Jim he'd get him 'done'.

"This savage beating is coupled with many similar incidents of this nature and the Sinn Féin office in Clough is receiving around six or seven harassment complaints every day.

"The rate of arrests in South Armagh and Newry has also increased dramatically with young men being arrested. All these people have complained of brutality in Gough and Newry Barracks yet all of them were released without being charged."



● Jim Byrne, recovering in hospital after being attacked by British soldiers

New Lodge sectarian attack



● EDDIE KANE

A 16-YEAR-OLD youth from the New Lodge area of North Belfast was slashed repeatedly around the face with a razor-blade in a sectarian attack by three loyalist teenagers last Friday night, March 25th.

Trainee upholsterer Eddie Kane, from Upper Meadow Street, was returning home down Cliftonville Road around midnight after leaving his fiancée's home in the Ardoyne area.

As he reached Manor Street, however, Kane retraced his steps to avoid any possible confrontation with a gang of 'Mods' who were engaged in throwing bricks at passing cars. Later, when Eddie Kane thought the gang would have dispersed, he tried to make his way home once again.

As he neared the corner of Manor Street, which is badly illuminated, Kane noticed three youths walking towards him.

They stopped when they reached him and demanded: "Are you

a Fenian?" Naturally frightened, Kane made no reply and was immediately grabbed by two of the youths who held him down and kicked and punched his ribs and stomach.

Eddie Kane recalls what happened:

"The other one started slashing my face with a blade. I didn't know what was going on, I struggled with them and kept pulling my face away from him."

PASSER-BY

Luckily for Eddie Kane, his attackers ran off when a passer-by threatened them with a broken bottle. With blood streaming from his face and in a state of shock Eddie returned with the man to the

safety of his home, but his mother Bridget recalls:

"I nearly dropped dead when he came in like that. I don't think he realises yet just how lucky he is and how close he came to death. We're lucky too that it wasn't his body we were finding, for they could've cut his throat just as easily."

Eddie Kane sustained a total of 15, mainly superficial, cuts to his face which required medical treatment the following day in the Mater Hospital.

In view of the long list of sectarian assassinations carried out by loyalists on members of the nationalist New Lodge population, Eddie Kane may be counted as fortunate to escape so lightly. More importantly, this attack serves as a reminder to all nationalists living in isolated areas throughout the six counties of the ever-present dangers of loyalist sectarianism.

Assaults in Crossmaglen

THE NATIONALIST border village of Crossmaglen, and the general South Armagh area, has undoubtedly carved a place in republican folklore as being amongst the staunchest — or deadliest — in terms of British army fatalities — and most active areas involved in the war against British occupation.

But the unflinching resistance of the nationalist people to British occupation has ultimately meant they are faced with the daily onslaught of repression and repressive measures in the form of harassment, beatings, arrests and imprisonment, and which has invariably affected almost every nationalist household in one way or other.

In incidents last week, in the Crossmaglen area, the actions of British soldiers resulted in injuries to two young children and in a further incident over the weekend, five Crossmaglen men sustained various injuries when they were assaulted by baton-wielding British soldiers.

SHAKEN

An 11-year-old boy, who suffers from epileptic fits, was riding

his pony along the Blaney Road, where a British army patrol was manning a vehicle checkpoint. As the boy approached them, without any reason whatsoever, the British soldiers threw a spike-chain across the road, directly in front of the pony's hooves. The animal, startled by the sudden actions, reared up, throwing the boy who was badly shaken and bruised.

Another 7-year-old boy running along the Dundalk Road, was vindictively tripped up by a British soldier. The young boy banged his head on the concrete pavement and was later detained in Newry's Daisy Hill Hospital overnight with slight concussion.

KICKED

On Saturday night, March 26th,

two men were coming out of the Cartwheel Bar in the town around midnight when they were confronted by British soldiers.

Both men were asked for their names and addresses and were then permitted to go. However, as soon as they turned away and began walking off, several British soldiers ran up behind them, kicked one man in the legs while the other was punched in the face as he turned around.

The soldiers then produced batons and struck the men around the head and body. The noise of the shuffles brought several other men out to investigate and they were also set upon by a large force of baton-wielding British soldiers.

One man, Raymond Hughes, had his shirt ripped off his back and sustained a badly cut lip and bruising.

Others had cuts, black eyes and swollen jaws. Five men were hauled off to Crossmaglen Barracks, some 15 yards away, where two of them were charged with assaulting a British soldier and an RUC man.



● The Square, Crossmaglen; the barracks is in the background, on the left

Tyrone housing scandal

BY MAEVE ARMSTRONG

HOUSING EXECUTIVE backtracking on a previously agreed improvement scheme to upgrade housing standards on the nationalist Meenagh Park estate in Coalisland, County Tyrone, has meant that residents are being forced to live in woodworm-ridden and badly neglected houses.

Built 30 years ago, the majority of Meenagh Park's 54 houses are riddled with woodworm following careless oversights by installing untreated beams during a re-roofing scheme six years ago. Consequently this led to dry rot in the beams and rafters which the Executive confirmed after an authorised inspection of seven houses. Armed with this evidence, however, all they did to rectify the situation was to replace floorboards in some of the worst affected houses.

GRIEVANCE

The badly designed interior lay-out of the houses is another major grievance of tenants as their small working kitchens are directly adjacent to their bedrooms which, even in Housing Executive building requirements, clearly stipulate that for hygiene reasons these two areas should be situated well apart.

The staircase, which is only accessible by walking through the living-room, presents one of the main bones of contention among tenants who rightly call them "nothing but a death-trap if a fire breaks out." A member of the tenants' association, Mrs Isobel McDowell, explains:

"If a fire broke out in the living-room, we would all be burned



● Houses in Meenagh Park, Coalisland — death-traps in the event of a fire

to death for the only way we can get out is through the living-room, so what are our chances if the living-room is on fire?"

The other 'alternative' is to jump through an upstairs window onto the concrete path some 15 feet below.

The Executive's improvement scheme which was to begin in 1982-83, then 1983-84, and recently — at a meeting with the Executive, residents and Francie Molloy of Tyrone Sinn Féin — they mooted 1984-85.

This 'pie-in-the-sky' date is unacceptable because the longer the Executive use this handy delaying tactic, the more drastic becomes the deteriorating condition of the houses. The Executive have clamped down heavily on carrying out essential repairs, using the improve-

DAMPNESS

In practically every house, window frames are rotting and draughty, doors need repairing, and dampness is evident in the kitchens. In the case of Mrs Sarah Corr, where a damp patch is in the middle of her living-room floor, literally seeping through the carpet, she, like many others, has given

up in despair in complaining to the Executive.

A few doors away, Theresa and Sean Girvan and their five children have been living in fear for over four years now as rats are breeding in their front garden. Sean, who is unemployed, had to erect a wire-mesh fence around the garden at his own expense, to prevent the rats running into the living-room. He has repeatedly asked the Executive to dig up the garden and concrete over it, but



● Sean Girvan

they have refused.

DUNGANNON

This same stubborn attitude of the Executive has been causing rising frustration over the years in Dungannon's Ballygawley Road estate, a few miles away from Coalisland.

Here, out of the 250 houses, around 30 have been blocked up by the Executive, mainly in Brae-side, as soon as the occupants left. This had two main implications: firstly, blocked-up houses invariably downgrade the appearance of the surrounding property; and secondly, this action was deliberately motivated on a purely sectarian basis to prevent other nationalist families waiting on Dungannon's long housing list from moving into the estate.

In effect, the Executive are primarily responsible for beginning the general run-down of the Ballygawley Road estate, added to further by their lack of maintenance to the houses and a general unwillingness to carry out the most urgent repairs.

Francie Molloy and Owen Carron MP have made some headway though:

"From October to December 1982," Molloy explains, "our Dungannon Sinn Féin office received 164 repair requests out of which 119 were carried out by the Executive, but even as they were completed, we were inundated with just as many new complaints!"

"At the moment, we are pressing for an urgent meeting between the residents and ourselves and the DOE under-secretary David Mitchell, as there has been absolutely no effort made to upgrade living standards in this estate or provide other essential amenities."



● Blocked-up houses in Dungannon's Ballygawley Road estate

No points for stress

BY MAEVE ARMSTRONG

MRS EDNA McQUILLAN, her husband, Thomas, and teenage son and daughter, John aged 13, and Donna Maria aged 14, live with Edna's parents in Turf Lodge. They have been living there for seven years, waiting for the Housing Executive to allocate them a house.

Edna's mother, Molly, suffers from a serious heart complaint. Her daughter, Donna Maria, suffers from a thrombosis of a cerebral blood-vessel, a condition which is aggravated by stress. She and her brother both sleep in the same room.

Edna herself is in ill-health and is due shortly to go into hospital for treatment.

"All we want is a house of our own," says Edna, "I can't understand why it's taking so long. Surely they must understand the strain this situation puts on a family."

But the Housing Executive official responsible for the Turf Lodge area, Monica Loughran, obviously does not

understand. She suggested that a solution to the overcrowding would be for the two children to stay with neighbours at night.

"We have more than enough points to get a house and yet rather than offer us one," Mrs Loughran suggests we split up our family. I think it's a scandalous situation," said Edna.

The Housing Executive say there is not enough medical evidence to grant a priority rating to the McQuillan family. Stress, according to the Executive, cannot be regarded as grounds for a priority rating, as too many people in West Belfast suffer from this.



● (Left to right) John, Donna Maria, Edna and Tommy McQuillan

Springhill strategy planned

BY JANE PLUNKETT

A PUBLIC MEETING of residents of West Belfast's Springhill estate held last Sunday, March 27th, has unanimously rejected the Housing Executive's scaled-down refurbishing programme for the estate.

The tenants' association called the meeting to enable residents to discuss the Housing Executive's latest proposals, put forward at an earlier meeting, on March 15th, between Executive officials and tenants' spokespersons led by Sinn Féin elected representative Gerry Adams.

At that meeting the Housing Executive insisted that the full refurbishing scheme it had originally announced could not go ahead for financial reasons, but promised to make the houses draught and weatherproof.

Officials also said that the £200,000 which the Housing Executive is prepared to allot for central heating and refurbishing of Springhill could be used to install either partial central heating in 100 of the 186

homes on the estate, or full central heating in only 26.

This miserable 'choice' was angrily rejected by all 70 Springhill residents present at last Sunday's meeting to shouts of, "It's all or nothing."

OBLIGATION

The tenants agreed to take the Housing Executive to court over its refusal to implement its original proposals. In addition, they decided to file individual cases against the Housing Executive at the small claims court, on the grounds that the Executive had also failed to fulfil its obligation to maintain the houses in a state of good repair.

An action committee was also set up, composed mainly of local women, to work out a strategy for future protests.

Sinn Féin elected representative Gerry Adams and housing spokesperson Sean Keenan, who were present at the invitation of the tenants' association, pledged Sinn Féin's support for the residents. Sinn Féin is currently conducting a survey of housing problems in the area.



● West Belfast's Springhill estate

Inside Portlaoise Prison

IN RECENT weeks, prisoners from Portlaoise Prison have been regularly complaining at court hearings of a deteriorating situation in the top-security jail which has included severe assaults on prisoners.

On Friday night, Portlaoise finally exploded into the headlines with the shooting of a senior warden from the jail, Brian Stack, in Dublin. As we go to press, he remains in a critical condition in hospital.

The IRA, in a statement issued through the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau in Dublin, has said that it was not involved in the attack.

Earlier the same day, two republican prisoners appearing in the Dublin Special Court, Gerry Tuite and John Gallagher, warned that an 'H-Block situation' was developing at the jail.

Maire de Barra of *An Phoblacht/Republican News* has been talking to Joe McHale from Straide, County Mayo, who was released from Portlaoise on Friday, March 18th. He spoke about conditions inside the jail and how they have worsened recently.

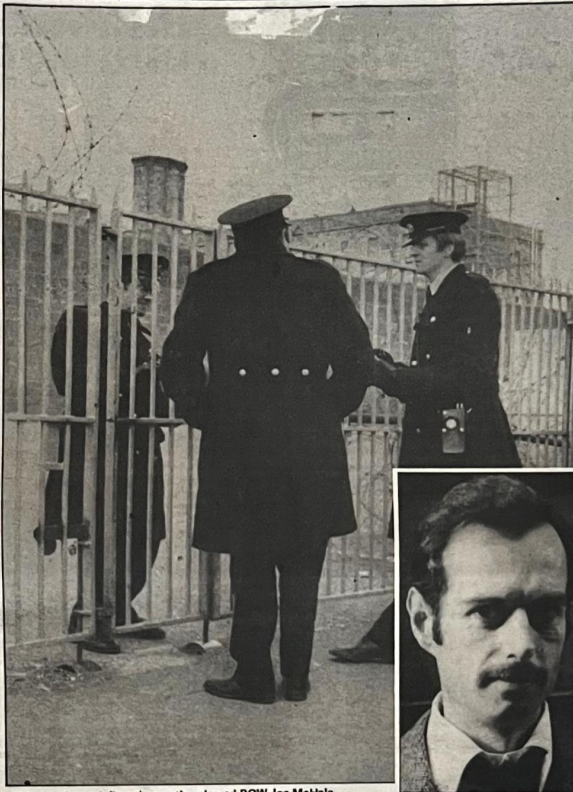
"Over the years a kind of myth has been built up about Portlaoise that the conditions were ideal, and it even went so far that during the H-Block hunger-strike the Free State government were advocating a 'Portlaoise-type solution'. Our situation was far from ideal, but because it was not quite as bad as the H-Blocks at the time we did not want to divert any attention from the situation there.

"The prisoners in Portlaoise have always suffered bad conditions with ongoing strip-searches, restricted education and exercise facilities, and visiting conditions which are extremely frustrating to both prisoners and relatives alike.

"The visiting boxes are quite small and visitors are separated from the prisoner by two sets of wire-mesh and a sheet of perspex half-way up which means absolutely no physical contact whatsoever.

"We recently had a very sad case inside where a prisoner whose wife had a baby after he was caught brought the baby in for his first visit. The child was a year old (since babies who wear nappies are not allowed in) and his father saw it for a half an hour. On the way home the baby was seriously injured.

"This meant that because of restrictions



● Portlaoise and (inset) recently released POW Joe McHale imposed on prisoners, this man had seen his baby once, for only half an hour.

"Visiting conditions are most definitely detrimental to marriages though. There are some men inside who are going into their tenth year and have not been able to speak to their wives in private since then." (This is because a warden is always present, recording details of every visit).

CELL-SEARCHES

"Prisoners are taken at random for cell-searches and strip-searches. In recent weeks there has been a marked escalation

in this type of activity.

"Three Screws and a garda come into a cell in the morning, with their back up outside the door, and they go through everything in the cell.

"The main emphasis is on the body-search. If you're lying in bed and you have clothes on they'll pull you out of it and ask you to remove your clothes. All prisoners naturally refuse to do so and then they set upon you, dragging you to the floor or spreading you across the bed and they tear off your clothes. Five or six of them then proceed to search all parts of your body.

"If the prisoner resists at all he gets solitary confinement which means a complete loss of all privileges and only one hour's exercise per day.

"Without any provocation whatsoever from the prisoner, the Screws go about beating them with batons and boots.

"Two senior warders recently supervised a very bad beating which was given to some prisoners. The prisoner has no hope of resisting since at least five or six Screws per man are used for the beatings.

"After the warders said they found explosives in the jail, everything was closed down — the craft-shop, gym and library.

"Four or five hundred of them arrived in with riot gear, power-hoses, the lot. These had been drawn from all the other prisons in the country.

"Men's personal belongings were taken, photographs and the like were smashed up, and, as a result of this provocation, there are now seven men in solitary confinement.

"An incident happened a couple of weeks ago involving a Screw and one of the lads. Two more prisoners saw what was happening and went to break it up. With that 80 to 100 Screws arrived in riot gear. They proceeded to baton everyone in sight.

"Although the deputy-governor came in and ordered them to stop, they completely ignored him and carried on.

"In the last six months or so, discipline amongst the warders has completely gone. This is one of the biggest dangers to the prisoners. They don't bother to shave, don't wear their caps, no longer salute the governor — they effectively do what they like.

POOR FACILITIES

"No food parcels are allowed into the jail at all and there is a limited tuck shop. Prisoners need to supplement the prison diet because what is served up would not be sufficient to sustain a grown man.

"The prisoners are allowed to do no craftwork anymore — the woodwork and leather shop are closed completely, and the governor has said that while he remains in office it will never again be open.

"Education facilities are very poor. At the moment, the men are allowed only three books — one of which may be a dictionary. But this is of no use to anyone who is studying maths, languages and so on.

"The lads inside do not want to see the situation escalating to the level of the recent H-Block situation. But even the building itself is in such a state of bad repair that in 11 of the cells, buckets and basins have to be used to collect the rain coming in through the ceiling, and the plaster is falling off walls with the dampness.

Vera Bannon charged

AN INCIDENT on the Donegal/Fermanagh border, in which a Ballyshannon woman was dragged into the North by the RUC, and was subsequently charged with breaching an exclusion order, maliciously wounding another woman and possession of a firearm, had its sequel on Wednesday last, when the two latter charges were dropped and the woman, Vera Bannon, was released on bail.

Under the terms of an exclusion order, Vera Bannon is debarred from entering the six counties and, therefore, when she brought her children to the St Patrick's Day fair in Belleek she waited for them on the Donegal side of the border, which surrounds the town.

An RUC man, who had been watching her throughout the afternoon, made a sudden rush towards Vera Bannon and dragged her, with the aid of another RUC man, from the South into the North. As Vera Bannon struggled desperately to release herself, one of the RUC men discharged a shot which hit another woman, Olive McGrath, of Kesh, County

Fermanagh, in the leg.

Later, at a special court in Armagh, on March 25th, the RUC turned the truth upside down and claimed that she had been in the North when arrested and that she was responsible for the shot which hit Olive McGrath.

The latest decision, to drop the charges of wounding and possession, was made by the Director of Public Prosecutions who realised that these charges would never stand up in court. Releasing Vera Bannon on bail of £100, counsel for the defence assured the judge that he had no doubt that his client would return to answer the charge of breaking an exclusion order, which she is strongly contesting.



● RUAIRI O BRADAIGH

O Bradaigh in Canada

SINN FEIN president Ruairi O Bradaigh is currently on an intensive tour of Canada where, in meetings with the many supporters of the Irish struggle there, he is engaged in organisational work as well as assessing the potential for future solidarity activity.

Beginning his tour in Newfoundland, Ruairi O Bradaigh met with Irish cultural activists and with members of the Newfoundland fishermen's union, discussing with them Sinn Fein's fisheries and off-shore policy.

In Nova Scotia, O Bradaigh attended lunch with Bishop Austin Burke of Yarmouth and with leaders of the Eastern Canadian Micmac Indians. Oxfam Canada held a reception for both Ruairi O Bradaigh

and Alberto Gallegas, representing the Sandinista government of Nicaragua.

In Quebec city, as in all other centres, O Bradaigh met with a number of Toronto Irish leaders as well as members of the Canadian Labour Party, civil rights lawyers and representatives of the Grenadan and Iranian communities. At a showing of the film *The Patriot Game* he spoke to an audience of 300 people.

The tour continues.

Oglagh
na hEireann
Cumann
na nDan

1969-1983

Na Flanna
Eireann
and
Sinn Féin

ROLL OF HONOUR

Belfast Brigade

Vol Paul Marlowe Oct. 16th 76

1st Battalion

Vol Tony Henderson	Apr. 4th	71
Vol Terence McDermott	Oct. 2nd	71
Vol Martin Forsythe	Oct. 24th	71
Vol Tony Jordan	June 28th	72
Vol John Finucane	June 28th	72
Vol Gerard Fennell	Aug. 30th	72
Vol John Rooney	Nov. 15th	74
Vol John McDermott	Nov. 15th	74
Vol Thomas Kane	Apr. 5th	76
Vol Danny Lennon	July 6th	76
Vol Brendan O Callaghan	Aug. 10th	76
	Apr. 23rd	77

2nd Battalion

Vol Liam McParland	Nov. 6th	69
Vol Peter Blake	Oct. 27th	70
Vol John McGoldrick	Oct. 27th	70
Vol Charles Hughes	Oct. 27th	70
Vol Stanislaus Sweeney	Aug. 11th	71
Vol Danny O'Neill	Aug. 7th	72
Vol Albert Kavanagh	Mar. 4th	72
Vol Gerard Crossan	Mar. 9th	72
Vol Tony Lewis	Mar. 9th	72
Vol Sean Johnson	Mar. 25th	72
Vol Patrick Campbell	Mar. 25th	72
Vol Robert McCruiden	Aug. 3rd	72
Vol Michael Clarke	Aug. 11th	72
Vol Jimmy Quigley	Sep. 29th	72
Vol Patrick McManus	Oct. 6th	72
Vol Patrick McManus	Oct. 10th	72
Vol John Donaghy	Oct. 10th	72

POBLAcht NA H-EIREANN

THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

OF THE

IRISH REPUBLIC

TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND

IRISHMEN AND IRISHWOMEN: In the name of God and of the dead generations from which the revolution is born, Ireland, through us, summons her children to her flag and strikes for her freedom. Ireland, through us, summons her children to her flag and strikes for her freedom. Ireland, through us, summons her children to her flag and strikes for her freedom.

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

She declares the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland, and to the unfettered control of Irish affairs, to be sovereign and indisputable. The long usurpation of that right by a foreign people and government is hereby repudiated. The long usurpation of that right by a foreign people and government is hereby repudiated.

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

Vol Gerry Donaghy	Jan. 30th	74
Vol David McAuley	Feb. 19th	72
Vol Sean O'Riordan	Mar. 23rd	72
Vol Michael Magne	May 13th	72
Vol Joseph Campbell	June 11th	72
Vol John Dougal	July 9th	72
Vol Joseph McCormack	Sept. 20th	72
Vol Bernard Fox	Dec. 4th	72
Vol Sean Hughes	Dec. 4th	72
Vol Michael Marley	Nov. 24th	73
Vol Robert Allaghy	Nov. 24th	73
Vol Tobias Allaghy	July 19th	75
Vol Kevin McClellan	Nov. 19th	75
Vol Kevin O'Sullivan	Feb. 13th	76
Vol John McWilliams	Aug. 9th	77
Vol John Dempsey	July 8th	81

Newcastle

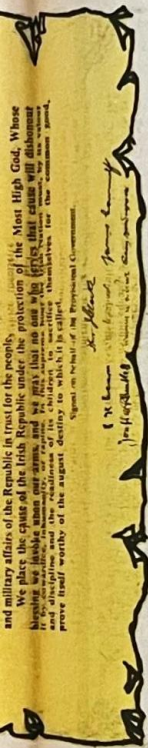
Vol Alphonse Cunningham	July 21st	73
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Newry

Vol Colin Murrugh	Aug. 9th	72
Vol Patrick Hughes	Aug. 22nd	72
Vol Oliver Rowntree	Aug. 22nd	72
Vol Noel Madden	Aug. 22nd	72
Vol Brendan Quinn	Dec. 24th	73
Vol Edward Grant	Dec. 24th	73
Vol Patrick McKeown	Aug. 27th	74
Vol Michael Hughes	Oct. 18th	74
Vol Robert Carr	Apr. 1st	80

North Armagh

Vol Michael Crossley	Nov. 22nd	71
Vol Terry Brady	Nov. 22nd	71
Vol Terry Brady	Nov. 22nd	71



and military affairs of the Republic in trust for the people.
We place this cause of the Irish Republic under the protection of the Most High God. Whoso
brings up the issue of the Irish Republic and the right of the Irish people to self-determination
and the right of the Irish people to the possession of their own land, shall be deemed to have
proved that worthy of the highest consideration to which it is entitled. (The Irish Republic)

Vol Michael Clarke	Aug. 11th	72
Vol Jimmy O'Leary	Sept. 29th	72
Vol David Kennedy	Dec. 8th	76
Vol John O'Connell	Oct. 10th	72
Vol Joseph McKinnay	Oct. 10th	72
Vol Stan Carberry	Nov. 13th	72
Vol Francis Liffert	Jan. 18th	73
Vol Edward O'Rawe	Apr. 12th	73
Vol Patrick Mulvanna	Aug. 31st	73
Vol James Bryson	Sept. 22nd	73
Vol Martin Skellan	Aug. 31st	74
Vol John Kelly	Jan. 21st	76
Vol John Stone	Jan. 21st	76
Vol Paul Fox	Dec. 12th	76
Vol Stan Bailey	Feb. 15th	76
Vol James McGillen	July 27th	76
Vol Tommy Tolon	Jan. 17th	80
Vol Kevin Delaney	July 1st	80
Vol Terence O'Neill	Feb. 2nd	81
Vol Liam Hennaway	Feb. 23rd	81
Vol James Burns		

3rd Battalion

Vol Henry McIlhorne	June 27th	70
Vol Michael Kenna	Sept. 4th	70
Vol James Sanders	Feb. 15th	71
Vol Billy Reid	May 9th	71
Vol Patrick McAdory	Aug. 9th	71
Vol Tony Nolan	Dec. 8th	71
Vol Gerald McDade	Dec. 21st	71
Vol Joseph Cunningham	Feb. 21st	72
Vol Gerard Ball	Feb. 21st	72
Vol Robert Dorrian	Feb. 21st	72
Vol Joseph Dargie	Apr. 7th	72
Vol Samuel Hughes	Apr. 7th	72
Vol Charles McCrystal	Apr. 7th	72
Vol John McErlan	May 28th	72
Vol Edward McDonnell	May 28th	72
Vol Jackie McIlhorne	May 28th	72
Vol Joseph Fitzsimons	May 28th	72
Vol Martin Engelen	July 14th	72
Vol Louis Scullion	July 14th	72
Vol James Reid	July 15th	72
Vol Joseph Downey	July 21st	72
Vol Searius Cassidy	July 28th	72
Vol Tony Campbell	Feb. 4th	73
Vol James Smith	Feb. 4th	73
Vol James McDonn	Mar. 27th	73
Vol Patrick McCabe	Apr. 17th	73
Vol Brian Smyth	May 7th	73
Vol Sam McKee	May 7th	73
Vol Frederick Leonard	Oct. 31st	73
Vol Searius McDougal	Jan. 13th	76
Vol Martin McDonagh	Oct. 16th	76
Vol Frank Fitzsimons	Oct. 16th	76
Vol Joseph Surgenor	Jan. 17th	77
Vol Trevor McKibbin	Jan. 18th	78
Vol Jackie McMahon	June 21st	78
Vol Jackie Mauly	June 21st	78
Vol Denis Brown	Jan. 21st	79
Vol Jim Mulvanna	Jan. 5th	79
Vol Laurence Montgomery	Jan. 5th	79
Vol Frankie Donnelly	Jan. 5th	79
Vol Martin McKenna	Oct. 23rd	79

Castlewellan

Vol Peter McNulty	Jan. 26th	72
Vol Francis Rice	May 17th	73
Vol Paul Magorran	Aug. 14th	74

Cumann na mBan

Belfast		
Vol Dorothy Maguire	Oct. 23rd	71
Vol Maura Meenan	Oct. 23rd	71
Vol Anne Parker	Aug. 11th	72
Vol Anne Marie Pettigrew	Sept. 1st	73
Vol Bridie Dolan	Feb. 9th	75
Vol Laura Crawford	Dec. 1st	75
Vol Rosemary Bleakley	Jan. 13th	76
Downpatrick		
Vol Vivien Fitzsimons	Feb. 10th	73
Newcastle		
Vol Pauline Kane	July 21st	73
Portadown		
Vol Julie Dougan	July 8th	72

Derry Brigade

Vol Thomas McCool	June 27th	70
Vol Thomas Cullin	June 27th	70
Vol Joseph Coyle	June 27th	70
Vol Eamonn Lafferty	Aug. 18th	71
Vol James O'Hagan	Aug. 18th	71
Vol Colin Keenan	Mar. 14th	72
Vol Eugene McGillan	Mar. 14th	72
Vol John Stairs	July 31st	72
Vol Searius Bradley	Sept. 17th	72
Vol Michael O'Leary	Nov. 28th	72
Vol John Brady	Dec. 28th	72
Vol James Carr	Dec. 28th	72
Vol Joe Walker	Dec. 28th	72
Vol Gerard Craig	June 24th	74
Vol David Russell	June 24th	74
Vol Michael Neenan	Oct. 30th	74
Vol John McDaid	Dec. 7th	74
Vol Ethel Lynch	Dec. 7th	74
Vol Bernard Coyle	June 30th	76
Vol Denis Hanney	June 30th	78
Vol Patrick Duffy	Nov. 24th	78
Vol George McBrearty	May 28th	81
Vol Charles Maguire	May 28th	81
Vol Eamonn Bradley	Aug. 25th	82

Co. Derry

Vol Martin Lee	Dec. 18th	71
Vol John Bateson	Dec. 18th	71
Vol James Sheridan	Dec. 18th	71
Vol Danny McMullan	Feb. 7th	82

Co. Donegal

Vol Peter McElar	July 17th	76
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Downpatrick

Vol James Carlin	Aug. 26th	72
Vol Martin Curran	Aug. 26th	72
Vol Leo O'Hanlon	Feb. 10th	73

Dublin

Vol Patrick Cannon	July 17th	76
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England

Vol James McDade	Nov. 14th	74
Vol Brian Fox	Dec. 21st	74
Parkhurst Prison		
Vol Michael Gaughan	June 3rd	74
Wakefield Prison		
Vol Francis Stagg	Feb. 12th	76

Co. Fermanagh

Vol Louis Leonard	Dec. 15th	72
Vol Kevin Coen (Sligo)	Jan. 20th	75

GHQ staff

Vol Jack McCabe	Dec. 27th	71
Vol Thomas O'Donnell	May 17th	73

Long Kesh

Vol Francis Dodds	Sept. 9th	73
Vol Teddy Campbell	May 3rd	74
Vol Patrick Teer	July 22nd	74
Vol Hugh Coney	Nov. 6th	74
Vol James Moynie	Jan. 13th	75
Vol Henry Henney	June 4th	78
Vol Bobby Sands	May 5th	81
Vol Francis Hughes	May 21st	81
Vol Raymond McCreech	May 21st	81
Vol Joe McDonnell	July 13th	81
Vol Martin Hurson	July 13th	81
Vol Kieran Doherty	Aug. 2nd	81
Vol Thomas McElwee	Aug. 8th	81

Co. Monaghan

Vol Peadar Mohan	Feb. 1st	81
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Na Fianna

Eireann

Fian Gerard McAuley	Aug. 15th	69
Fian Michael Sloan	Jan. 11th	72
Fian Eamonn McCormick	Jan. 16th	72

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

Vol Michael Crossley	Nov. 22nd	71
Vol Terry Brady	Dec. 8th	76
Vol David Kennedy	Dec. 8th	76
Vol John O'Connell	Oct. 10th	72
Vol Joseph McKinnay	Oct. 10th	72
Vol Stan Carberry	Nov. 13th	72
Vol Francis Liffert	Jan. 18th	73
Vol Edward O'Rawe	Apr. 12th	73
Vol Patrick Mulvanna	Aug. 31st	73
Vol James Bryson	Sept. 22nd	73
Vol Martin Skellan	Aug. 31st	74
Vol John Kelly	Jan. 21st	76
Vol John Stone	Jan. 21st	76
Vol Paul Fox	Dec. 12th	76
Vol Stan Bailey	Feb. 15th	76
Vol James McGillen	July 27th	76
Vol Tommy Tolon	Jan. 17th	80
Vol Kevin Delaney	July 1st	80
Vol Terence O'Neill	Feb. 2nd	81
Vol Liam Hennaway	Feb. 23rd	81
Vol James Burns		

Portlaoise

Vol Thomas Smith	Mar. 17th	75
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South Armagh

Vol Michael McVerry	Nov. 15th	73
Vol Sean Boyle	Feb. 1st	76
Vol Francis Jordan	June 4th	75
Vol Sean Campbell	Dec. 8th	75
Vol James Loughrey	Dec. 8th	75
Vol Peter Cleary	Apr. 15th	76
Vol Searius Harvey	Jan. 16th	77
Vol Peadar McElvanna	June 9th	79

Toome

Vol Phelim Grant	Feb. 5th	72
Vol Charles McCann	Feb. 5th	72

Co. Tyrone

Vol Jimmy McGlynn	Aug. 11th	73
Vol Searius Harvey	Aug. 11th	73
Vol Tony Ahern (Cork)	May 10th	73
Vol Paul Duffy	Feb. 26th	78

Coalisland

Vol Denis Quinn	July 3rd	72
Vol Kevin Kilpatrick	May 13th	72
Vol Diamond Morgan	Nov. 26th	73

Dungannon

Vol Patrick McDonald	Mar. 15th	73
Vol Kevin Murray	Mar. 15th	73
Vol Sean Loughran	June 25th	73
Vol Patrick Carry	June 25th	73
Vol Dermot Crowley (Cork)	June 25th	73
Vol Daniel McAnallen	Aug. 16th	73
Vol Patrick Quinn	Aug. 16th	73
Vol Eugene Martin	May 13th	74
Vol Sean McKearney	May 13th	74

Strabane

Vol Eugene Devlin	Dec. 27th	72
Vol Jim McGinn	Dec. 15th	73

Sinn Féin

Maire Drumm	Oct. 28th	76
Paul Best	Feb. 18th	76
* Noel Jenkinson	Oct. 9th	76
* Leicester Prison		
* Sean O'Connell	Oct. 1st	77
* Parkhurst Prison		
* (Both posthumously awarded membership of Sinn Féin)		

•Mála poist...Mála poist.

ALL letters should be addressed to: The Editor, An Phoblacht/Republican News, 51/53 (over) Mount Street, Dublin 2. Letters should be written on one side of the paper only. Names and addresses should always be included, even when not for publication.

A Chára,

The Irish Freedom Movement has political differences with the Troops Out Movement (TOM) current which was the dominant force in the solidarity movement in the '70s.

We call for the immediate withdrawal of British troops from Ireland and for the Irish people to determine their own future. While TOM has often paid lip-service to these demands, in practice it has never campaigned around them. It has always preferred to campaign against particular aspects of British rule — internment, torture, prison conditions, plastic bullets — rather than challenge Britain's right to rule directly.

TOM sometimes talks about self-determination but supports calls for a British solution along the lines proposed by the Labour Party.

These differences can be thrown into sharp contrast by considering a recent statement by Ken Livingstone. In an interview in *Socialist Action* (March 1983) he appeals for unity between Sinn Féin and the Workers' Party in Ireland — together with the Irish Labour Party.

Anti-imperialist supporters of Sinn Féin would dismiss out of hand any suggestion that they should unite with the pro-imperialist Workers' Party. Why should our response to calls for unity with the pro-imperialist Labour Party and its camp-followers be any different?

Whatever our differences with TOM and other Irish solidarity groups in Britain, we have always been prepared to unite with them in action in solidarity with the struggle in Ireland.

The demands for 'a complete British withdrawal', and 'self-determination' and 'repatriation of Irish political prisoners', indicated by Michael Doherty in *AP/RN* (March 10th), are for us an acceptable basis for demonstrations, protests, pickets, etc.

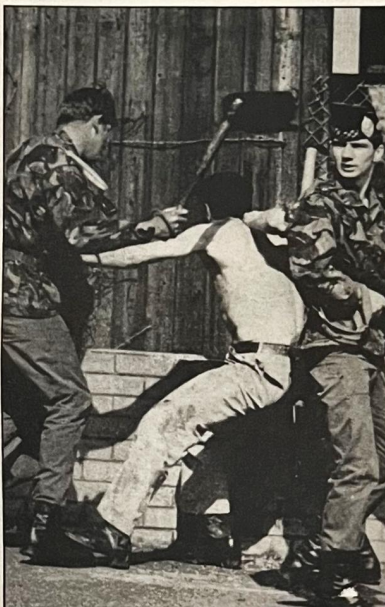
Indeed, it is on this basis that we are co-operating with Sinn Féin (Britain) in the forthcoming May commemoration of the deaths of Bobby Sands and other hunger-strikers. Now, in opposition to this demonstration, TOM and others in the Labour Party circle have called their own march around much more limited demands which amount to supporting, not the liberation struggle, but a new Irish social system. How can we unite with such a cynical betrayal of the cause of Irish freedom?

Irish Freedom Movement, London.

Dear Comrades,

Although we are not affiliated to any national organisation or self-proclaimed revolutionary party, and therefore have no vested interest in extolling the virtues

CALL TO UNITE



● Concerted action is needed from support groups to build for a withdrawal of British troops and imperialism from Ireland

or otherwise of the various groups involved in solidarity work, we have noted with interest the recent correspondence in *AP/RN* regarding the state of the Irish solidarity movement in Britain.

It cannot be denied that it is the political duty of socialists to support the right of nations to self-determination and freedom from foreign oppression, this stance been taken not only in response to the undoubted atrocities carried out by the agents of imperialism, but also, most crucially, from the standpoint that the defeat of imperialism is a precondition for the liberation of the working class, and hence in contradiction to the interests of British imperialism.

It is obvious that British workers suffering from the current crisis of capitalism are in a totally different position to the peoples of two-thirds of the world suffering from the ravages of imperialist domination, and it could be argued that the British working class are benefitting indirectly from British imperialism (as to a lesser extent do the loyalist work-

ers of the six counties, who derive a degree of economic benefit over the Catholic working class, and ideological benefit based on racism), and thus have an interest in supporting the British state.

Therefore, when the call is made for a broad-based front to oppose the British imperialist occupation of the six counties, a number of important factors should be considered.

Assuming that the primary reason for a broad-based campaign is to draw in as many vaguely sympathetic strands as possible, we also have to assume that the basis of such an organisation is the existence of such strands, which at present do not exist on a mass scale. This was apparent from the state of the solidarity movement during the hunger-strikes, when even the moral/ 'Charter '80' and the 'Don't Let the Irish Prisoners Die' campaigns failed to mobilise any significant support, whilst attacking attempts to build any political opposition to imperialist policies.

It is clear that a campaign

based on 'moral' issues is not going to defeat imperialism.

The call for unity is at best a call for a small number of individuals and tiny organisations to work together, and at worst a forlorn call for the realists of British 'left' politics to be ignored.

The material conditions for revolution are far from ripe in Britain, and the strength of imperialist ideology is such that many working class people do not even perceive their own class oppression, or if they do they cannot connect it with the economic system which is the basis of that oppression.

To make up for this deficiency of class consciousness, the 'glorious traditions' of the British working class (forgetting for the moment racism, royalism, pro-imperialism, etc.), the 'broad labour movement', the Labour Party (we Labour, they Party), and 'the most oppressed sections of the working class' are portrayed as heralds of the awakening revolutionary consciousness of Britain. Let us not forget that the Labour Party is not yet finished, it still has many chances to once again bolster up imperialism and dupe the workers.

The 'glorious traditions of the working class' and the broad labour movement are not causing the capitalists any loss of sleep, and that struggle of 'the most oppressed sections of the working class' appears at present to be confined to the middle class trying to stop US imperialism with tents and nappies.

It is patently obvious that the real revolutionary struggle is taking place in Ireland. This political struggle demands political action.

Moral liberalism in Britain will never even scratch the surface of imperialist ideology, and it has to be said that we have much to learn from the Irish people, although the national chauvinism of the British left frequently militates against a recognition of this fact.

From the Civil Rights movement of the '60s to the present day, the solidarity movement in Britain, whilst not a mass movement, has carried out consistent work — the most principled and consistent group being Sinn Féin (Britain).

As Sinn Féin (Britain) is the only group with a long-term perspective on solidarity work, and with the knowledge and authority to speak on behalf of those engaged in the national liberation struggle, it cannot surely be the task of Sinn Féin to accommodate itself to the activities and sectarian politics of the British left.

Unity is not the only thing lacking in Britain — polemical struggles and principles are also in short supply.

J. Harte,

Irish Solidarity Group, Nottingham.



experiences which she has related to us might help save some young persons from sniffing glue and ruining their lives.

For a long time she had been fooled when her son complained at various times of nausea, headaches, suffered from nose bleeds for no apparent reason, and developed a poor colour, etc., believing that he needed a tonic, was allergic to something or other or was suffering from some minor adolescent anxiety.

Glue-sniffing as a cause was the furthest thing from her mind. Her son has subsequently been involved in acts of vandalism and has committed a number of anti-social activities whilst under the influence of the glue vapour, and finally she had to seek medical help for him from the local hospital.

Sinn Féin in the greater Downpatrick area have received an increasing number of complaints from irate parents and youths about the harassing activities of the RUC who are operating an illegal (even by their own level stop-search-screen policy) completely at random whilst ostensibly looking for glue-sniffers.

On behalf of the anxious and concerned parents who have approached us over these past weeks we in the Lao O'Hanlon Sinn Féin cumann now launch this dual appeal:

Firstly, we advise parents to watch out for any of the tell-tale signs of glue-sniffing.

Secondly, we appeal to all shopkeepers not to sell glue, puncture-repair outfits, plastic bags, etc., to any boy or girl under 20 years of age.

Remember, glue-sniffing is not only dangerous, it can also be fatal, as can be seen from the recent tragic death of a young lad in Cork city after sniffing a solvent.

If you require any additional information or help then please contact any member of Sinn Féin in Downpatrick.

PRO, Lao O'Hanlon Sinn Féin cumann, Downpatrick, County Down.

Fianna history

A Chára,

I am at present researching a history of Na Fianna Éireann, the republican scouting organisation, since its foundation in 1909 by Countess Markievicz.

If any of your readers who were members of Na Fianna Éireann during the past 70 years have information about the organisation, or have manuscripts, documents, newspaper cuttings, books, photographs, pamphlets, etc., would contact me at the address below, I would be most grateful. All material lent will be acknowledged and promptly returned after they have been copied.

Any information, sources, and material about Na Fianna Éireann in Ireland, Britain and America will be very much appreciated.

Patrick A. McGlynn, 27 O'Connell Avenue, Berkeley Road, Dublin 7.

Liam Mellows

A Chára,

Phil Flynn's article in *Irish* (No. 5) has surely given food for thought to many republicans. It shows clearly that Liam Mellows was not only an outstanding revolutionary, but was also in his time a far-sighted analyst of Ireland's cultural, political and economic problems.

I am sure that Mellows, Connolly or Pearse would not forgive us if we, in our own time and place, did not also analyse the forces ranged against us. Even those great revolutionaries could not have foreseen the massive advancement of capitalism today.

Reappraisal now, of republican dogma, could mean more than just ideological purity — it might mean our very survival as a race.

I believe it is time to explain, in detail, the class nature of our struggle. There can be no compromise between capital and labour.

It is not our responsibility if the petty bourgeoisie oscillate between the two whenever the economic wind blows cold. Don't forget the birth-right of Fianna Fáil, we must not let the likes ever happen again. We must speak clearly on behalf of 'the men of no property'.

There can be no place for the bourgeois socialism of the establishment trade unions, and the liberal socialism of reformers only gives succour to capitalism.

We have now entered the era of high technology which will bring in its wake progressively higher levels of unemployment. It is wishful thinking to believe that full employment can once again be attained in the Western world.

The only labour-intensive industry which will boom again will be the armaments industry. The forces of capitalism will once again prepare for war. Because ever-diminishing markets and over-production are creating discord in the market place, capitalism has now reached crisis point.

In the past, war was used to solve such a crisis. It will be used again, and the ranks of the unemployed will once more be sacrificed to the ultimate solution.

If we were to achieve 'political' freedom tomorrow, we would still be an integral part of capitalism and therefore be vulnerable to all its war-like dictates.

Republican ideology has been interpreted, falsely I believe, as some 'doctrine' in between capitalism and totalitarianism. That doesn't mean anything to me. Certainly our final accomplishments must be made in a truly Irish context but can they be any less than absolute control by the proletariat? Even then

we will have to struggle hard to eradicate existing class divisions.

Can we be successful revolutionaries if, for example, we do not recognise and destroy the exploitation of women? Today a stigma is attached to the unemployed. Both women and the unemployed must be given the respect of revolutionary equality and educated to acknowledge and use the immense power of their class. That must be our base.

We will win the political/armed struggle, but it will benefit us nothing if we do not coincidentally win the economic war against capitalism.

Mellows said as much, and if he and his comrades were alive today I believe they would have said much more.

I can only hope that in the very near future the pages of *AP/RN* will take up where they left off.

Brian Keenan, Leicester Prison, England.



● BOBBY SANDS

Bobby Sands essay

A Chára,

The Bobby Sands Commemoration School Prize Essay committee wish to announce that the final date for receipt of entries has been extended to April 22nd. This has been done at the

request of teachers, parents and entrants, to enable entrants to utilise the Easter holiday period to complete their essays.

The essays may now be from 2,000 words upwards and should deal with the contribution of any person to the Irish 'The Spirit of Irish Freedom'. Historical or contemporary persons from the social, political, cultural, economic or scientific fields may be chosen. Their contributions may be viewed as positive or negative.

The essays shall be judged by a panel of literary and cultural figures — Professor Seamus Deane, Professor John Flannery (San Antonio, USA), Tomás MacAnna, Ulick O'Connor, Dáithí Ó hUgáin and Risteard de Róis.

The competition is being held to commemorate Bobby Sands and his nine comrades who died on hunger-strike in Long Kesh Prison. This competition shall be held annually. All young Irish people and those of Irish descent, between 13 and 16 years of age, are eligible to enter the competi-

tion. Entry forms and further information may be obtained from the undersigned.

Jim Monaghan, PRO, Bobby Sands Commemoration School Prize Essay, 17 Arnold Grove, Glengarry, County Dublin. Telephone 01-855189.

Glue-sniffing

A Chára,

The Lao O'Hanlon Sinn Féin cumann in Downpatrick have expressed serious concern at the growing incidences of glue-sniffing in the town and the accompanying problems that this is creating.

One exasperated mother whose son has become addicted to this noxious poison has approached her local cumann in the earnest hope that the

All in a day's work

BY MAEVE ARMSTRONG

JIM McALLISTER, elected Sinn Féin representative for Armagh in last October's assembly election with 5,182 first preference votes, spoke to Maeve Armstrong of *An Phoblacht/Republican News* last week about the level and extent of his constituency work in an area which he describes as being seriously neglected by government authorities and institutions.

Sitting in his Camlough office, Jim McAllister was engrossed in typing a stencil for the local news-sheet *An Feinisc* — albeit with two fingers — which is distributed weekly in Newry and South Armagh. The telephone rang incessantly from a corner of the tiny room while, adding to the atmosphere of organised confusion, a steady flow of constituents trudged in and out seeking McAllister's advice.

My first misgivings about the Camlough office's efficiency were, however, completely cast aside as McAllister's easy-going manner and professionalism in handling the complaints made it quite evident that he was in full control of the situation.

The Camlough offices, first opened during the hunger-strike, quickly became the main organisational centre of activity in the South Armagh area, primarily because it was also the home town of hunger-striker Raymond McCreech. Steeped in a long tradition of republicanism, the people of Camlough worked vigorously for Jim McAllister during his election campaign and now the Camlough office is his main base for co-ordinating his constituency work, opening six days a week from 11am to 5pm, and is staffed by one full-time worker and a team of part-timers.

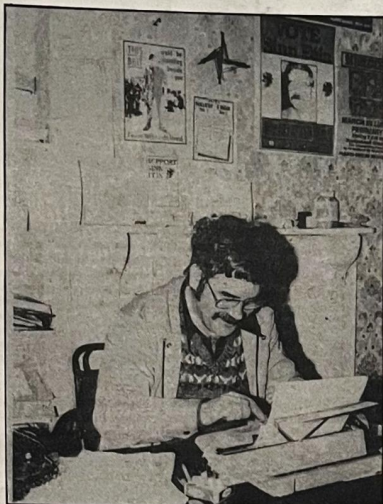
In the County Armagh area, he regularly keeps in touch with the Newry office in Francis Street and the longer established Lurgan centre in North Street. Both centres are staffed by experienced full-time personnel and are open six days a week, dealing with a wide range of social, economic and housing problems.

PROGRESS

An indication of the progress since Sinn Féin's electoral success in the October election can be gauged by the need for Sinn Féin to establish clinics in areas where in the past the nationalist people had no means to voice their dissension other than through constitutional politicians whom they had, by and large, lost faith in.

Another constituency clinic will shortly be opening in Armagh city, while on Saturdays Jim McAllister is available in Crossmaglen, his home town. In any normal week the Camlough office receives on average between 60 and 70 enquiries and complaints, a minimum of 12 per day, and this does not include meetings or the stream of enquiries at Jim's home which he good-humouredly dismisses as being "all in a day's work."

The varied nature of the com-



● Jim McAllister, hard at the two-finger typ



● The Camlough Sinn Féin office



● British troops search Camlough, an area where Jim McAllister deals with numerous complaints of harassment by the occupation forces

plaints themselves and the actual physical problems involved in travelling long distances to his constituents because of the geographical spread of this border area, are made all the more frustratingly awkward by being deliberately stopped and detained for long periods by the British army and RUC. Jim McAllister deals with many harassment cases, and while being interviewed by *AP/RN*, 18-year-old Camlough man Martin Jennings entered the office and described how he had

been threatened by the RUC in Gough Barracks who held up a bullet and said it was "marked" for him.

The largest category of enquiries McAllister deals with is in the area of housing.

"These range from maintenance work — and mainly the lack of it — transfers, and newly-married couples looking for a home," explains Jim.

"One fairly common problem,

both in South Armagh and North Armagh, around Lurgan, Craigavon, and Portadown, is that the majority of nationalist estates are still being heated by electricity or gas which the tenants simply cannot afford. We are campaigning along-side the residents to have the solid fuel heating system installed.

"In parts of Craigavon and Lurgan, in the Thornleigh estate, there is an outrageous situation where the electrical heating system has caused

excessive dampness. We are dealing with one case where a semi-invalid man and his invalid wife are paying enormous heating costs and water is still running down their walls."

In the Ardowen estate in Craigavon, which is gas-heated, Jim is campaigning with the tenants' association to have solid fuel heating installed also, but amazingly, at a meeting six weeks ago at which McAllister was present, tenants listened to the unrealistic bleatings of Workers' Party councillor Tom French, the DUP, and Official Unionist councillors press the tenants to reflect on the long-term benefits they would reap from Kinsale gas!

CUT-BACK

In dealings with the Housing Executive McAllister stressed the need for people to remember:

"The Housing Executive is just another extension of the British government. Its prime role, rather than looking after the interests and well-being of its tenants, is to keep the overall housing situation looking as sweet as they can on the surface and to cut back spending-money on nationalist estates to the minimum."

Through persistence, McAllister has had successes in resolving several contentious areas involving commitments on maintenance, repairs and extension grants and in practically every case, he points out, people very often are fobbed off too easily by the system's bureaucratic nature.

Other areas of his work concern pressurising the Department of the Environment to carry out repairs on a large proportion of side-roads in the South Armagh area and also the inadequacy, and often the absence of, street lighting in the Clady, Grainmore and Ballymacnab areas which lie between Armagh and Newtownhamilton.

DUMPING

McAllister has also succeeded in getting an assurance from the Newry and Mourne District Council to take more stringent control in dumping waste material at the Cull-oville Road dump outside Crossmaglen which has been responsible for blocking up drainage systems in surrounding fields owned by nationalist farmers and has often caused flooding of their land.

Also, following several meetings with the head postmaster and a petition from local people, McAllister has received confirmation that post office facilities will be restored in Jonesborough, provided suitable premises and applicants are obtained. The Jonesborough post office has been closed for months following a spate of robberies which meant that local people had to travel three miles to the nearest post office in Drumantee.

Jim McAllister's amiable and practical personality, but above all his now widely-known reputation as a tireless worker, has attracted people from all political and religious persuasions to seek out his advice.

In line with his character, Jim McAllister modestly sums up:

"Sinn Féin is working for the people on day-to-day problems in a way in which no other party has ever done, and we will continue with this work. While the existing system remains imposed on us we will milk it for all we can, but this does not stop us from using every means to demolish it."

TV

Child's play?

BY SIOBHAN O'MALLEY

SWAPSHOP, BBC 1's very successful Saturday morning children's programme ran for a number of years. Its original format was copied by both ITV and RTE, and by its BBC successor *Saturday Superstore*.

None of the attempted copies manage to get anywhere near *Swapshop*'s standard. It held the interest of kids from 6 to 16 with a fast-moving, casual, but impressively professional style that did not talk down to its audience.

Saturday Superstore on BBC has most of the original programme's team with the addition of Mike Read, who looks like a redundant disc-jockey; despite its similarities to the original, it falls flat.

ITV's Saturday offering is *The Saturday Show*, presented by Isla St Clair, a determinedly 'sparkling' woman who made her name as straight woman for Larry Grayson's innuendoes on *The Generation Game*.

She hauls around the bewildered children who are supposed to be pleased to appear with barely-concealed irritation. The 'stars' are all adults and the children are encouraged, as in adult quiz shows and the like, to make fools of themselves.

In one aspect, RTE, for once, do better than their British counterparts. *Anything Goes* on Saturday mornings does have a lot of children participating in the show.

ASSUMPTIONS

But it is how the three programmes approach the children in the studio and at home that is most disturbing.

The assumptions they make, the attitudes they transfer to children's minds, the alien values and culture picked up from BBC and ITV, and the straight insulting treatment of both child participants and viewers, all add up to a damaging package which should be taken a lot more seriously than the so obvious failure in professional presentation.

Some recent line-ups on the programmes speak for themselves.

Main items on the BBC show were a visit to the National Youth Orchestra, model-making, and computer chess. These are things that middle-class adults

think kids should be interested in, but the kids don't seem to agree.

RTE sometimes make a token gesture in the direction of a separate culture by the odd touch of Irish music or dancing on its Saturday morning show. But it feels much more at ease concentrating on aping the British models.

It too concentrates on activities that are almost exclusively the preserve of the middle classes — pony riding, playing harps and cellos and going to the Young Scientist Exhibition.

In their 'Make and Do' slot, children are shown how to 'wrap up presents nicely' and make pop-corn.

The woman making the pop-corn set the stove on fire. Not one of the watching children in the studio laughed. The nice, well-bred children, who get invited into television studios, don't laugh at adults who make mistakes.

PATRONISING

Gingerly absent from all these shows is a genuine interest in children.

The patronising attitude is typified by Mike Read on BBC who takes phone-calls from kids and doesn't bother to answer intelligently.

"What would you be if you weren't on TV, Mike?"

"I'd be a spaceman," says Read, who doesn't for a moment think that a kid might just like a straight answer.

Isla St Clair is even more in-



● RTE, in *Anything Goes*, for once do better than their British counterparts

sulting to the children's intelligence. She asks a nervous little girl what her hobbies are and then cuts her off in mid-sentence to give way to the next adult 'star'.

The RTE team of presenters are, if anything, even more insidious in their attitudes.

Here it is assumed that every child lives at home with Mummy and Daddy. Every child is healthy, well looked after and able to afford the latest toys and clothes.

If mental or physical handicap is mentioned, it is in the context of the child viewers raising money for guide-dogs or coaches for those shadowy unreal children who are not seen

and never spoken to via the screen.

REGULAR

In spite of their failings, children do of course watch these programmes. One teacher in a Ballymun primary school says that the 10-year-olds in her class all report regular viewing of Saturday morning programmes, though only those with no choice but RTE watch *Anything Goes*.

The message being fed to these children gives rise to aspirations to a life-style that most can never achieve.

Apart from live appearances on the show, participation is by way of phone-ins, which ex-

cludes all children without a phone in the house.

The concentration on expensive computer and video games not only cuts the poorer children off from these parts of the programme but emphasises the future lack of educational opportunities in electronics and computers.

The sporting activities that require expensive equipment also highlights the gulf between rich and poor.

These programmes all tend to reinforce that widening gulf and inevitably poorer children are given a debilitating image of themselves that is worthless, that without these material possessions they are nobodies.

Boland's lament

BY JOHN DOYLE

THIS slim book *The Rise and Decline of Fianna Fail* is already a bestseller. Much of the interest in it follows from the success of Boland's previous work *Up Dev* and the inevitable attraction of a title which deals with the state of the largest party in the Free State, a party which has led the mass of nationalist opinion since 1926.

Unlike Neil Blaney, Kevin Boland suffered badly from the 1970 Arms Crisis. His attempts to promote a constitutional but more nationalist alternative to Fianna Fail through Aontacht Eireann failed very pointedly.

Lacking any nationalist constituency to provide him with a platform, Boland has carried on his campaign against the perfidy of the 'Republican Party' through the occasional interview and publication.

By comparison with the rambling style of *Up Dev*

this book succeeds more clearly as a critique of the party which, up until 1970, was Kevin Boland's life.

The book is not, however, an adequate analysis of collaboration by Fianna Fail with British policy. Nor is it especially useful as an historical record.

Its relevance lies in it being an extended and extremely bitter denunciation of Fianna Fail policy since 1951, but with the real venom being kept for comment on events since 1969.

BOOK

Although many might like a deeper analysis of Boland's own role in Fianna Fail at that time.

CAREERISM

Boland's commentary is correct and justified as far as it goes, however.

In his attacks on vested financial interests and on careerism within the parliamentary party, he is unbridled.

Like many genuine bourgeois nationalists he displays the ambivalence typical of the Fianna Fail grass-roots, most notably in relation to the actions of the IRA and in sympathy towards the hunger-strikers.

He extols the golden past of populist Fianna Fail ideology and certainly articulates the feelings of those still within Fianna Fail who support Charles Haughey in the hope of a new republican dawn.

Unlike these soul brothers and sisters, Boland sees no

certain future in this hope. He believes that the party is so corrupt that it will take a major and unlikely upheaval to make that organisation lead nationalist opinion in the twenty-six counties against the British. He does not go to the obvious conclusion of advocating support for the Republican Movement.

Boland lashes out at the 'change' in Fianna Fail while failing to note that the seeds of the growth he abhors lie in de Valera's advocacy of a capitalist, rather than a revolutionary, project of development for the Free State.

The gradually intensifying betrayal of nationalist aspirations by the party he served, rests on the Free State's unimpeded integration into the world capitalist system.

SOCIALISM

Bourgeois nationalism, which

rejects non-capitalist patterns of development for fear of socialism will decay, not for the moral reasons which Boland identifies, but because of its economic alliance with imperialism.

Boland does not discern the subtle but inexorable operation of capitalism on the actions of the Fianna Fail oligarchy. His outlook is therefore limited.

But, importantly, he does represent a strand of Free State opinion which opposes the cruelty of the British occupation and the sordid nature of Dublin's collaboration with the maintenance of partition.

In this book, Boland puts it up to the Fianna Fail rank and file, and their idol.

The potency of his view depends greatly on the ability of republicans to exploit the contradictions within Fianna Fail which he exposes.



● KEVIN BOLAND

Trial by jury

BY EDDIE STACK

J. EDGAR Hoover, the late FBI chief, once remarked: "Justice is incidental to law and order."

For many people in the 'free' world, trial by jury represents the cornerstone of their 'free' society. The state should not interfere in the last refuge of a free man — the courtroom.

For these same people, the North is bracketed to one side, rather like the Scilly Isles on a geography map. So, being difficult, the coercive role of the state is acceptable and defendants brought before Diplock or Green Street courts are allowed to face not a court of justice, but a court of law.

In the United States of America, however, no government is good government. Such visible coercion would be tolerable in the land of Daniel Boone. Here the machinery of justice is laid bare to the genius of private enterprise and the law of the jungle rules supreme.

Money talks fluently in all languages and the only thing that counts is to win. Lawyers are the new bounty-hunters, commanding fees beyond the arithmetic of ordinary mortals. They forage in an America that does not tolerate losers.

To be poor in Ireland is unfortunate, in America it is a crime. This concept is ably demonstrated in the court of law.

Whilst in Ireland privilege is maintained by the state, in America privilege buys itself out of trouble.

GOOD GUYS

This theme is touched on in the new Paul Newman film *The Verdict*, and it would in itself make for an interesting film were it not treated with crushing naivety by a Hollywood out to reassure its audience that the good guys win in the end.

Frank Galvin (Paul Newman) is the underdog lawyer

FILM

offered a last shot at self-redemption after years of booze and bad breaks.

In taking up a case of hospital malpractice and fighting for a girl suffering from irreparable brain damage after being given the wrong anaesthetic, he must fight an uphill battle against a team of crack lawyers backed by unlimited resources.

Between them sits the jury, proving the dictum that it is composed of 12 people of average income.

The film contends that the court of law offers not justice, but the chance of justice. It seeks to show that there are no rights and wrongs, no longer 'sides' but just relative interests. Truth is cloaked by convenience, and institutions (in this case a Catholic hospital) are dehumanised in order to protect their 'good name'.

ROBIN HOOD

Having stated its case, as it were, this film runs away from all logical conclusions. Frank Galvin is 'good', the defence 'bad', and as the film progresses Galvin strides up and down the court like Robin Hood without his bow and arrow.



● Paul Newman (left) as Frank Galvin, the underdog lawyer offered a chance at self-redemption, in yet another slice of Hollywood trash

The film ultimately caves into marshmallow and the ending is so obvious that the viewer will only be on the edge of his seat if he has someone pushing him from behind.

The Verdict thus, in a sober

guise, is just another slice of Hollywood trash.

The courtroom melodrama has made Hollywood a lot of money over the years and this film has all the ingredients of the formula.

American audiences must still be in need of this celluloid opium which, while hiding under the veneer of reality, leads them by the nose up another threadbare yellowbrick road.

Fitt to run?

BURKE'S AT THE BACK

By Kevin Burke

GERRY FITT may have to suffer the humiliation of standing in the West Belfast constituency at the next Westminster election after all.

In order to qualify for severance pay — of up to £14,500 — an MP must stand and be defeated in an election. If he doesn't stand, he gets nothing.

No doubt the disgraced former SDLP leader will be hoping his British friends will somehow spare him this final trial and come up with some kind of compensatory reward for his years of faithful service.

Will he really face the ultimate ridicule and accept a peerage?

★ ★ ★

Meanwhile, strong rumour in the West Belfast constituency has it that the Alliance Party will not be putting up a candidate for Westminster.

Instead it is believed that Alliance will be urging its voters to vote instead for the SDLP in the hope of closing the gap somewhat on Gerry Adams.

★ ★ ★

The Catholic Church is also stepping up its campaign of attempting to undermine Sinn Féin in Belfast.

Appalled at the effectiveness of Sinn Féin's expanding housing and social services departments in the city, Bishop Daly has ordered that one priest in every parish is to get involved immediately in social work and housing problems.

Good to see that Christianity is being put into practice anyway — even if it is for purely political reasons.

★ ★ ★

Fine Gael's FitzGerald has strong views on the North and on the SDLP.

According to him, the majority of people in the twenty-six counties do not want a united Ireland, and the SDLP, since deciding to abstain from the assembly, has become 'the poor man's Sinn Féin' and should not be helped out with forums and the like but told to get back



• GERRY FITT

into Stormont.

Not Garret FitzGerald talking this time, but his brother, Fergus, addressing the Bray Fine Gael AGM earlier this month.

★ ★ ★

Garret FitzGerald himself, worn out appealing for us all to tighten our belts, accept spending cuts and suffer hardship for the sake of 'the nation', will be having a well-earned rest over Easter.

Last Friday, he and the wife flew out to sunny Spain for a fortnight's holiday.

It's alright for you unemployed layabouts for whom every day is a holiday, but poor Garret hasn't had a proper break since he was in the Canary Islands three months ago.

Be fair now.

★ ★ ★

Before they went, both Garret and Joan

FitzGerald directed their attention to Sligo, where their interest has led to the postponement of a county council plan to create a dump not far from an ancient archaeological site of a megalithic cemetery.

The Free State premier's wife intervened personally to stop the dump going ahead.

Instead there is to be an examination of the possibility of extending the present dump at Finiskin.

That is only right on the doorstep of several houses whose residents have been plagued with stinks, flies, rats and seagulls for the last number of years.

★ ★ ★

Giving a lengthy interview on the PAYE/PRSI protests on RTE News on Monday night the ATGWU leader, Matt Merrigan, displayed a very noticeable Easter Lily pinned to the lapel of his coat.

Surely Section 31 must now be amended to cover this subtle subversive propaganda?

★ ★ ★

But what a shaker for Section 31 the following night on RTE's *Today Tonight* programme.

Starting his views on the clash between left-wing small farmers and a profit-seeking afforestation company was none other than the Sinn Féin spokesperson on agriculture, Joe Gallogly.



REMEMBERING THE PAST

Killed in action

BY PETER O'ROURKE

PETER O'Neill Crowley, the son of a prosperous farmer, was born at Ballymacoda, County Cork, in 1832.

When the Fenian movement was launched in County Cork, he was one of the first to join. A very popular man, who had great influence with the local people, he became head-centre of the Ballymacoda IRB circle, which numbered about a hundred members.

In March 1867, a party of Fenians under Crowley's command raided the Knockadoon coastguard station, some ten miles from Youghal, imprisoned ten coastguards and captured their rifles.

DISPERSED

On learning of the failure of the general rising throughout the country, Crowley dispersed his men, while he, John McCune and Edward Kelly retreated to Kildoonoy Wood in County

Tipperary.

There, on the last day of March 1867, the last action of the Fenian Rising was fought.

The three were surprised by a large force of military but refused to surrender. After a fierce fight, which lasted some hours, Crowley was killed, having been hit by several bullets.

McCune and Kelly were captured and spent many years in prison but were finally pardoned.

GENERATION

Crowley's funeral in Ballymacoda was one of the largest seen in County Cork for more than a generation.

"Peter O'Neill Crowley," wrote John Devoy in his *Recollections*, "was one of the best men in the Fenian movement, and Ireland never gave birth to a truer or more devoted son. His devotion to the cause of Irish liberty was sublime and his courage dauntless."

Peter O'Neill Crowley was killed in action on March 31st 1867.



• IRB leaders are captured following police raids

WHAT'S ON

BALLAD SESSION

Featuring the Jolly Beggarmen, Gerry Crilly & Gene Anderson
8pm Thursday 31st March

The Carolan Rooms

The Embankment

TALLAGHT

County Dublin

Admission £2

EASTER CELLI

9pm to 1am Sunday 3rd April

The Manhattan Hotel

TRALEE

County Kerry

Admission £2

BUFFET & SOCIAL

Featuring Noel & the Wagonmasters

Sunday 3rd April

The Richmond Inn

CLONRA

County Longford

Bar extension

Admission £2.50

Organised by Sinn Féin

REUNION SOCIAL

Featuring Shebeen

Tuesday 5th April

James Saunders Memorial Hall

Ardoyne

BELFAST

Admission £1

Admission by ticket only

BALLAD SESSION

Featuring Brimmer

9pm Friday 8th April

The Hunter's Moon

ASHBOURNE

County Meath

Admission £1

Organised by Sinn Féin

CEILI & OLD TYME NIGHT

Featuring The O'Hagan Family

9pm Friday 8th April

Magherahoney Hall

MAGHERAHONEY

County Antrim

Admission £1

Organised by the North Antrim

Green Cross Committee

BUFFET & SOCIAL

Featuring Hugo Duncan &

The Ramblers

Friday 8th April

The Melvin Hotel

KINLOUGH

County Leitrim

Bar extension

Admission £2.50

Organised by Sinn Féin

BENEFIT CONCERT

Featuring Christy Moore,

The Keenan Family, The Tinker's

Wedding & Children's Theatre

3pm Sunday 10th April

The Dominican Convent

Ballyfermot

DUBLIN

Organised by the Committee for the

Rights of Travellers

WHY LABOUR NEEDS TO SPEAK TO

SINN Féin

PUBLIC MEETING

7.30pm Thursday 14th April

Trade Union & Community Centre

Brabant Road

(off Station Road)

LONDON N22

Speakers: Steve Bundred (GLC councillor

or who recently met Sinn Féin in Belfast)

& Steve Bell (LCL)

Organised by the Labour Committee

on Ireland

CONNAUGHT SINN FEIN

EDUCATION SEMINAR

The Role of Officers in Sinn Féin

1.30 to 6pm Sunday 17th April

The Village Inn

STROKESTOWN

County Roscommon

All comhairlí ceantair & cumainn

officers to attend

WELCOME HOME SOCIAL

FOR JOE McHALE

(on his release from Portlaoise Prison)

Friday 22nd April

The Welcome Inn Hotel

CASTLEBAR

County Mayo

Admission £5

HUNGER STRIKE

COMMEMORATION

(2nd anniversary)

2pm Sunday 1st May

Sparkhill

BIRMINGHAM

Organised by Sinn Féin (Britain)

SEAN MacDIARMADA

CENTENARY COMMEMORATION

Sunday 15th May

Killyclogher

County Leitrim

EASTER COMMEMORATIONS

COUNTY ANTRIM
1.30pm Toomebridge Cemetery
3pm Waterfoot
March to local cemetery

BELFAST
Beechmount Avenue
March to Milltown Cemetery
Assemble 12.30pm, parade leaves 1.15pm

COUNTY ARMAGH
11.30am Junction
of Moy/Banbrook Road
Armagh city
March to Armagh Cemetery

2.30pm Fenla Road, Ballymacnab
March to local cemetery
After 9.30am Mass, Belleeks

9.30am Camlough
10.45am Rangers Hall, Crossmaglen
11.30am Ballynamony Cottages
Derrymacash

March to St Patrick's Cemetery
After 11am Mass, Drumintee
12 noon Jesusborough

1pm Kilcurry
10am Mass, Lislee
2.30pm Francis Street, Lurgan
March to St Colman's Cemetery

After 11am Mass, Maghera Cemetery
10.30am Mass, Newry
After 12 noon Mass, St John's Cemetery
Drumcree, Portadown

COUNTY CAVAN
2.30pm Curran Cross
March to Kilnavant Cemetery,
Ballyconnell

COUNTY CLARE
3pm Fogarty's Cross
March to roadside cross, Carrowgarraff
on Kinvara-Ardrahan road

COUNTY CORK
3pm National Monument, Grand Parade
Cork city
March to St Finbar's Cemetery

COUNTY DERRY
After 11.30am Mass, Ballyghey
Wreath-laying ceremony
2pm Bogside Inn, Westland Street
Derry city

3.15pm Ballyrobin Road, Lough
After 11am Mass, Newbridge Chapel
Wreath-laying ceremony

COUNTY DONEGAL
3pm Johnston's Corner, Stranorlar
March to Drumboe Woods
via Ballybofey

COUNTY DOWN
Ardglass
4.30pm Bann Road, Castlewailan
2.30pm Irish Street Car Park
Downpatrick

Tyrconnell
2.30pm Pro-Cathedral
March to Glasnevin Cemetery

COUNTY FERMANAGH
County commemoration
2.30pm GAA field, Donagh
After 10am Mass, Arney Cemetery

After 11am Mass, Derrylinn
After 11am Mass, Brenadrum
Enniskillen

After 11.30am Mass, Newtownbutler
After 11am Mass, Roslea



ALL nationalist, cultural and sporting groups, and trade unions, are invited to take part in the Easter commemoration ceremonies, which are organised by the National Graves Association, but no banners are to be carried on the parades. People who wish to take photographs of the parades and ceremonies must first obtain permission from the organisers. In Belfast, press cards are available from the Republican Press Centre at 51/53 Falls Road.

COUNTY GALWAY
11.30am After Mass, Oughterard
outside church
3.30pm Quinlan's Cross, Donaghpatrick
March to Donaghpatrick Cemetery
7pm Pearse's Cottage, Rosmuc

COUNTY KERRY
3pm Fair Green, Chahivreen
March to local cemetery
After 12 noon Mass, Listowel
3pm Denny Street, Tralee
March to Rath Cemetery

COUNTY KILDARE
3pm Rathcoffey
March to Mainham
11.45am Bedford Row, Limerick city
2pm Town centre, Athea
March to local cemetery

COUNTY LEITRIM
3pm The Old Railway, Mohill
March to local cemetery
COUNTY LONGFORD
3pm Ballinacuck, Galgaa Crossroads
March to Pikenam Memorial
2.30pm Tubberpatrick Cemetery

COUNTY LOUTH
After 11am Mass, St Peter's Church
West Street, Drogheda
March to memorial on March Road
2.30pm Market Square, Dundalk
March to local cemetery

COUNTY MAYO
3pm Chapel Road, Islandeady
March to local cemetery
COUNTY MEATH
3pm Drumree
March to Knockmark Cemetery

COUNTY MONAGHAN
3pm Fergal O'Hanlon Memorial
Clones Road
Monaghan town
March to Latturcan Cemetery
Also wreath-laying ceremonies at graves
of those on the County Monaghan
Roll of Honour

COUNTY OFFALY
2.45pm The Square, Clara
March to local cemetery
COUNTY ROSCOMMON
3pm Tibohine

COUNTY SLIGO
County commemoration
3pm Town Hall, Sligo town
After 12.30pm Mass, Carrowa Chapel
Ballisodare

COUNTY TIPPERARY
2.45pm Castleconnell
March to local cemetery
3pm Coolbawn Cross, Fethard
March to St Johnstown Cemetery
After 10am Mass, Nenagh

COUNTY TYRONE
County commemoration
3pm Main Street, Carrickmore
12.15pm Aghayan cemetery
12 noon Ardree cemetery
12.15pm Carrickmore
(local commemoration)

12 noon Coalsland cemetery
12 noon Clonore cemetery
10.45am Edendork cemetery
12 noon English cemetery
11.45am Galbally cemetery
12.45pm Greencastle cemetery
9.45am Moy cemetery
12.15pm Trillick cemetery

COUNTY WATERFORD
3pm The Glen, Waterford city
March to military barracks
COUNTY WEXFORD
11.30am Foley's Garage, Enniscothy
March to St Mary's Cemetery
3pm John Barry Memorial on quays
Wexford town
March to Republican Plot
Crossstown Cemetery

EASTER MONDAY
COUNTY DERRY
2.30pm Swatragh Chapel
March to Granahan
DUBLIN
2.30pm Baker's Corner
March to Dean's Grange

COUNTY CORK
11.30am Fire Station, Cobh
March to Republican Plot
GALWAY CITY
12 noon City Cemetery

EASTER TUESDAY
BELFAST
Ardoyne/Bone/Ligoniel Mem. Cttee.
2.30pm Junction of Elmfield/Butler St
March to Berwick Road

COULD all commemoration committees, in conjunction with the Republican Movement locally, please send photographs of the ceremonies, as soon as possible, to 44 Parnell Square, Dublin (telephone 747611); or 51/53 Falls Road, Belfast (telephone 246841).

Memoriam

ALLSOPP, Robert. (8th Anniversary). In loving memory of my dear son, Robert, who died on March 23rd 1975. RIP. St Joseph, pray for him. The son I love is out of sight, but never out of mind, his smiling face and heart of gold, are with me all the time. They say in time that you forget, for some that may be true, but how on earth could I forget, a wonderful son like you? Just a prayer from a lonely heart, for a son whose troubles I shared, just a token of love and regret from a mother who always cared and always will. Always remembered by his loving mother, aunts, uncles, family circle, and friend Liza.

ALLSOPP, Robert. (8th Anniversary). In loving memory of my dear brother, Flan Robert 'Swab' Allsopp, who died on March 23rd 1975. RIP. St Patrick, pray for him. Deep in my heart a memory is kept, of a brother I loved and will never forget, no time goes by when I think of him, but in our hearts, Robert, you are always there. Always remembered by his sister Margaret, brother-in-law Damien, and nephew Robert Lacey.

CAMPBELL, Patrick. (11th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of our dear friend, Vol Patsy Campbell, 81st Coy., 2nd Battalion, Belfast Brigade, Ogligh na hEireann, who was killed in action on March 25th 1972. Eleven years have passed, our friend, the pain is still the same, you laughed, you cried, you fought, you died, but that was not the end. No matter what you did, you did with all your heart, your dreams and dreams are still the same, so we never really part. Always remembered by John, Gretta and family.

CARR, Robert. (3rd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Robert Carr, Ogligh na hEireann, Newry, who died on active service on April 1st 1980. Always remembered by his friends and comrades in the South Down Brigade.

CARR, Robert. (3rd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of IRA Vol Robert Carr who died on active service on April 1st 1980. Always remembered by his friends and comrades in Portlaoise Prison, Newry and Dundalk.

PARRELL, Eamon. (6th Anniversary). In loving memory of Eamon 'Plum' Parrell who died on April 1st 1977. RIP. St Martin, pray for him. Always remembered by his friend George, Portlaoise Prison.

MORGAN, Michael. (1st Anniversary). In loving memory of Michael Morgan, dear father of Micky, Portlaoise Prison. On his soul, sweet Jesus, have mercy. Always remembered by the Morgan family and George, Portlaoise Prison.

remembered by his brother Malachy, sister-in-law Dorothy and family, Lurgan.

TOMAN. Birthday memories of my dear friend, Eugene, who was brutally murdered by the RUC on November 11th 1982 and whose 22nd birthday would have occurred on March 30th 1983. Always remembered by Eleanor McKerr and family.

TOMAN. Birthday memories of my dear brother, Eugene, who was murdered by the RUC on November 11th 1982 and whose 22nd birthday would have occurred on March 30th 1983. Always remembered by Christine.

In County Monaghan extend their sympathy to the family and friends of Eugene Keenan, Scotstown, who tragically died recently. Ar dheis Dé go raibh a nam.

SYMPATHY
KEENAN, The Republican Movement

Death of Josephine Fee
The DEATH occurred last Saturday of one of Belfast's oldest republicans when Mrs Josephine Fee, late of Waterford Street, died after a short illness.

A life-long republican, Josephine Fee came to Belfast as the daughter of a young girl (her maiden name was O'Dwyer), from her birthplace in the Glen of Imaal in County Wicklow.

Josephine Fee was a direct descendant of Michael Dwyer, the United Irishman, and before the 1916 Easter Rising she joined a republican auxiliary nursing unit.

Her first husband, Micky McDonnell, died in the 1920s in the immediate aftermath of the attacks by loyalists on Catholic workers in Belfast shipyard. He was one of the Catholic workers thrown into Musgrave Channel and died as a result of his injuries.

In his life-time he had been associated with various organisations working for the preservation of Ireland's culture and heritage, in particular Conradh na Gaeilge, Cumann Luthleach Gael and Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Eireann.

It was only natural for a man holding such a great love for his country to give his support to the Republican Movement. After the split of 1969, he remained true to republicanism.

From the origins of the present campaign, out of the social injustices of the '60s, and as time and circumstances demanded tactical changes in order to advance the republican cause, John Doe, with his lively political understanding, was quick to interpret and support developments.

In Brackville, where he lived, he is fondly recalled by many parents who sought his advice over the years on suitable Irish names for their children.

Not only was he able to give them a wide choice of names, but he was also able to provide their meanings and to tell the story of their origins.

His knowledge of Ireland's history, and his fluency in the Irish language, meant that he could unfold at will many of the lesser known facts of not only Christian names, but surnames as well and, indeed, ancient place-names.

John Doe will be remembered as a quiet and knowledgeable man and, above all, an Irish republican.

To his wife, Mary, and daughter, Susan, the Republican Movement extend their deepest sympathy.

Death of John Doe
THE DEATH took place on Thursday, March 10th, of John Doe, a life-long supporter of the Republican Movement, in Brackville, County Tyrone.

Irish Lesson

Mo (muh) - my
Do (duh) - your
A (uh) - his
These three put a "th" after the first letter of most words following them.

A (a) - her
This makes no change to following consonants but puts a "h" in front of following words that begin with a vowel.

Láimh (lavy) - hand
Cos (kuss) - foot
Cluas (klewus) - ear
Béal (beyul) - mouth
Súil (sooil) - eye
Mear (mare) - finger
Gruaig (groo-ig) - hair
Cann (kyown) - head
Corp (korp) - body
Nach bhfuil sé? (noch will shay) - is it (he) not?

PRONUNCIATION
The pronunciation given in brackets is as near as possible to the sound.
CH is sounded as in LOCH ERNE.
D and T before A, O and U are thick, spoken with the tongue pressed against the upper front teeth.
DH and GH are like a G far back in the throat - almost a gargle.

Tá do chluas fuar (thaw duh chlewus foor) - Your ear is cold.
Níl do chos salach (neel duh chuss salach) - Your foot is not dirty.
An bhfuil a mhéar tinn? (un will uh vare tinn) - Is his finger sore (sick)?
Nach bhfuil a gruaig go hlaínn? (noch will a groo-ig go haul-ign) - Isn't her hair lovely?
Tá a h-án ar an scránn (thaw a hayun ar an gr-ow-in) - Her bird is on the tree.

Tá mo shúil ort (thaw muh hoo-ur ort) - My eye is on you.
Tá hata ar a cheann (thaw hoh-ur ar uh chyeown) - There is a hat on his head.
Níl a corp anáin (neel uh korp un shin) - Her body is not there.
Tá mo bhéal tinn (thaw muh vay-ul tinn) - My mouth is dry.

PHRASES
1 - Mo ghraí thú (muh ghraw hoo) - You are my love.
2 - Fé do chais é (fay duh chais ay) - It is under your foot (said as praise to a good dancer).
3 - Tabhair dom do lámh (thow dum duh law) - Give me your hand.
4 - Tá a shúil uirthi (thaw uh hoo-ur irreh) - His eye is on her.

Keep hammering away at the British

BY MAIRE DE BARRA

PAX O'FAOLAIN was born in Dungarvan, County Waterford, in 1893. He joined the Irish Volunteers in his early 20s, was very active against the British in the years that followed, and later became Brigadier General in the IRA. He was jailed several times and took part in nearly as many hunger-strikes.

A life-long member of the Republican Movement, he is now, at 90 years of age, honorary president of the Keating Sinn Féin cumann in Dungarvan.

"My mother died when I was very young and my father was in ill-health leaving us hard pressed to keep going from day to day. This meant that I had to leave school before the age of 12 and from then on I made my own way in life.

"At that time I was only one amongst thousands whose interest in the various national movements was growing daily, and when the Irish Volunteers were formed here in Dungarvan almost everyone joined. There was a kind of enthusiasm for military training which increased with the outbreak of the First World War.

"Our training hadn't gone beyond what we called close-order drilling, so we had to go about it almost from scratch. We were divided into three companies and at the beginning we didn't do much more than drilling and training and trying to gather in some weapons.

"The Irish Parliamentary Party had no interest in the Volunteer movement when it was first founded, but, of course, as soon as it began to gain in strength they set out to capture it which in turn resulted in a split. This was because Redmond had decided that he was offering their services to the British for the Great War."

RECEPTION

There had always been opposition to parliamentarianism around this area. Daniel O'Connell once christened Dungarvan 'the piss-pot of Ireland' — so bad was the reception he received at a public meeting in the town!

"So now we had the Irish Volunteers and Redmond's newly formed National Volunteers. Thankfully, around here we split without any real ill-feeling between the two sides.

"We had an arms fund which amounted to £18 and at least we had the satisfaction of holding on to that even if it didn't buy us much!

"Since we hadn't many Volunteers here, our orders were to join up with Waterford for the Easter Rising. However, due to the confusion caused by the countermanding order, we carried out only a very minor operation.

"After the Rising there was a great upsurge of enthusiasm for the Volunteers and reorganisation began. We kept on doing what we could, but with martial law in operation all sorts of things were forbidden, including drilling.

"Soldiers on leave from the British army used to bring their rifles home with them and we would call to their houses and collect them. I was arrested for the taking of one rifle and after two or three remands they could prove nothing so I was let off.

"Then I was arrested for drilling and sent to Belfast Jail where I met Austin Stack. We were fighting for better conditions and we



● (Left to right) IRA Volunteers Mick Mansfield, Dick Mooney, Mick Shalloo, Paddy Cashen and John Boyle, all members of Pax O'Faolain's flying column in County Waterford

wrecked the jail before we succeeded."

In 1920 Pax O'Faolain was deported under the 'Defence of the Realm Act'. He was brought to Wormwood Scrubs Prison via Belfast Lough where he and his fellow prisoners were given a send-off by the loyalist Harland and Wolff shipyard workers who hurled abuse and showered them with nuts and bolts.

HUNGER-STRIKE

"When we got to the jail in England we all went on hunger-strike in protest at the conditions. This was not long after Thomas Ashe had died, so they were very careful not to let any of us die on hunger-strike. As the men became weak they were released, only to be re-arrested under the 'Cat and Mouse Act'.

"After 21 days or so, I was released and I made my way back home again where we recommenced the struggle to bring about the downfall of the British empire."

O'Faolain's activities in the Black and

Tan War, as a member of the IRA's West Waterford Brigade, began with attacks on the smaller RIC barracks forcing them to be abandoned.

His first big action was at Piltown where arms and ammunition were captured, followed by major ambushes at Ballyvoyle, Durrrow and Tramore and many minor engagements.

An ambush took place at the Burgery in March 1921, and went on all night before the republicans captured most of the enemy forces, including a policeman whom they later shot. When six IRA Volunteers returned at daylight to retrieve the arms and ammunition left behind, the Black and Tans opened up with heavy fire, fatally wounding two of them — Sean Fitzgerald and Pat Keating.

Fitzgerald's body was taken to the square in Dungarvan in a cart drawn by an ass and put on display by the British before they removed it to the barracks. At the funeral the authorities ordered that only 20 people

should follow the coffin, but the order was defied and hundreds of people followed it to the cemetery.

Pax O'Faolain, as IRA Brigadier General, came to know well many of the IRA leaders of the time including Liam Mellows, Michael Collins, Liam Lynch, Cathal Brugha, Rory O'Connor, and Dick Barrett, with whom he was involved in important arms importations on the Waterford coast.

TREATY

"Then the Treaty in 1922 split us all over again. What I could not understand was that very good men and women — former comrades — were going on the side of the Treaty. Those who would not have yielded an inch were now taking an oath of allegiance to the English kings.

"They were now carrying out executions on instructions from the British government — such as the shooting of Patrick O'Reilly and Michael Fitzgerald who were executed for something which happened during the Tan War, a year and a half earlier."

Pax O'Faolain himself was arrested and conveyed to Mountjoy around this time, while the executions were continuing. He later learned that in case of reprisals after the shooting of McKelvey, Barrett, O'Connor and Mellows, he was next in line along with Ernie O'Malley, Peadar O'Donnell and Tom Barry.

"After the Civil War, people became very disheartened and many of them accepted the partition of our country, but you always had the few who kept the spirit alive and handed down their ideals right through to the present day.

"The three main establishment parties now sit above in Leinster House and call themselves 'Dail Eireann'. They will talk about Irish unity but will do nothing about it. None of them will say that this state is morally wrong, that it was forced on the Irish people under threat of 'immediate and terrible war' from the British. They have this unbelievable lust for power and material things."

DEFENCES

"It delights me to see that there are still people carrying on the war against the British in Ireland and I have to hand it to them — the IRA have done some very good jobs in the past 13 years.

"You have to keep hammering away at the British, otherwise they will try and get your defences down and before you know it they have beaten you again.

"But we were only novices compared to the IRA of today, I suppose, though, if we had had the knowledge and technology that exists today we could have hammered the Brits into the ground.

"I must also pay tribute to the men who died on hunger-strike in the H-Blocks. Their courage is surely an inspiration to us."

At 90 years of age, Pax O'Faolain, having played a full part in the freedom struggle, hopes that it will not be long before his country is free from British imperialism and that the Irish people will build the nation that he has seen so many die for.