



REPUBLICAN NEWS

Vol. 6 Number 39. SATURDAY, 9th OCTOBER, 1976

(England, Scotland & Wales 10p) USA 45cents.

THE LIGHT BREAKS THROUGH

Following Roy Mason's September 27th statement, that the IRA economic bombing campaign was leading to the collapse of the six-County puppet state, comes further proof that the IRA military strategy is correct. The EVENING HERALD, in an editorial, has said that the inevitable British withdrawal could be hastened if the IRA offensive on economic targets continues. The editorial, headed 'Bombing the Life Lines,' opens:

"The bombing campaign in Northern Ireland may not be as extensive as it was, but it has become very selective. For the future welfare of Northern Ireland, the present bombing wave carries dangerous consequences for the beleaguered area."

to join the 1,200 a month who are already abandoning the North. It is a dismal prospect. The careful destruction of economic targets could also hasten the day when the British will withdraw."

Recent events on the political field would certainly reinforce the sentiments expressed by the 'Evening Herald.' At the Tory Party

Conference in Brighton both Airey Neave and Harry West by calling for a 'scorched-earth' policy in the six-Counties were unconsciously admitting that British attempts to subjugate the Republican Movement have failed. The SDLP, for so long backers of Britain's claim to jurisdiction over the occupied Counties, are now vociferous in calling for a withdrawal. The main head-



along like a shorn Samson.

The Republican Movement recognise that there are difficulties ahead in the road to liberation. Those difficulties will be analysed and combatted as they arise. The tremendous efforts and sacrifices, by the Volunteer soldiers of Oglaiha na hEireann, have strengthened the resolve and deter-

mination of the people of the Nationalist areas. It is only a matter of time before England's Parliamentarians are forced to admit in public what they are all saying in private the Irish Republican Army cannot be defeated.

Roy Mason has, if unwittingly, admitted it. The

Evening Herald has, in its surprisingly frank editorial, acknowledged the success of the revolutionary sabotage campaign. The clouds of deception, thrown up by the reactionary press and TV to blanket the truth, are beginning to blow away.

The light has broken through.

HERALD Comments

Bombing the life lines

THE BOMBING CAMPAIGN in Northern Ireland is not as extensive as it was, but it has become very selective.

The editorial goes on to call the results of the bombing strategy "devastating" and points out that the economic life of the "area" is being further weakened.

"The bombers seem to have decided that there is more to be gained by cutting the commercial life-lines of the North than by an all-out assault on the security forces. They could very well be right. Fewer and fewer will want to invest in Northern Ireland and more and more will want

line in the current issue of Social Democrat," the newspaper of the SDLP, calls for Westminster to 'Govern or Abdicate....' tough talk from a party who have been directly responsible for prolonging the Irish struggle.

The Irish war zone, for over 50 years a haven for foreign multi-nationals, is now an 'Accident Black Spot' for international capitalism. Britain, desperately trying to maintain a grip on the deepening ruins of the Northern Ireland Puppet State, now stumbles blindly

THE MOST BLATANT LIE OF ALL

A spokesman for the Sinn Fein Advice Centre in Andersonstown described the British army statement, following the attempted murder of the 13 year old Brian Stewart in Turf Lodge on Monday evening, as 'The most blatant lie yet.'

The spokesman told us: 'When the British army murdered Majella O'Hare in South Armagh they claimed she was hit by cross-fire, despite the evidence of eye-witnesses. When they shot down two duck hunters last week they claimed that they called on the men to halt before shooting. After shooting young Stewart with a lethal plastic

bullet they didn't even bother to concoct an elaborate story, they just said that a crowd of some 700 were throwing stones at them this must be the most blatant lie yet. The facts of the incident are as follows:

When the British army entered Norglen Road there was absolutely no trouble.

Young Brian Stewart was standing alone and was not with any friends, let alone a crowd.

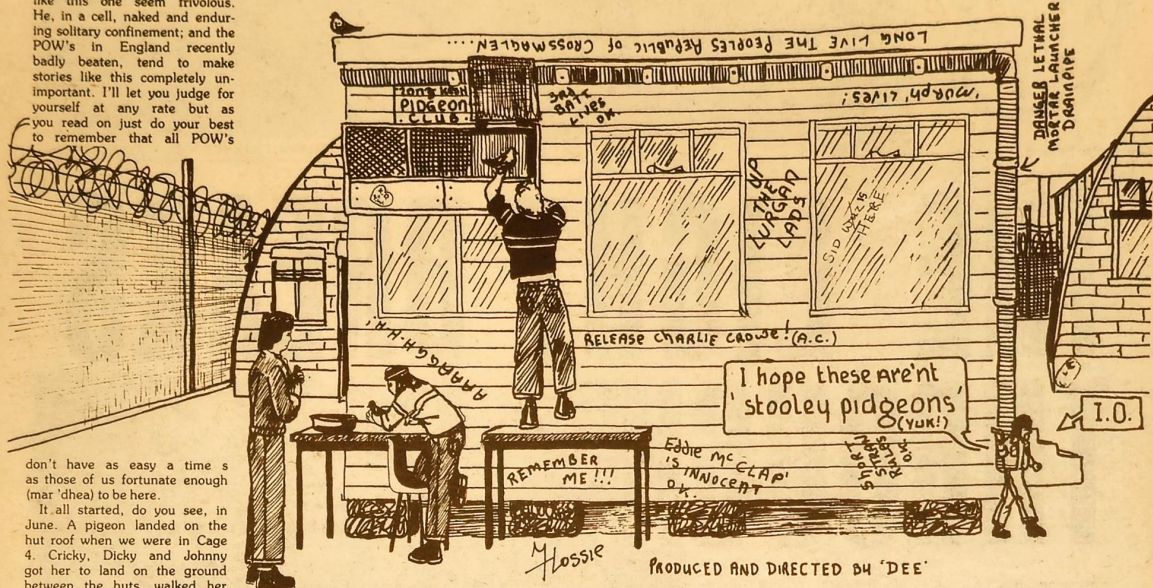
The plastic bullet was fired from a few yards range by a soldier who was running past Brian at the time.

The shooting of young

Stewart is the second serious incident to occur in the Norglen area of Turf Lodge in a week. It is less than ten days since Sandy Lynch was critically wounded by a British patrol who fired into the back of a car carrying Lynch and two companions. It is generally believed that the British army have been given a free hand to shoot at will in the West Belfast area. One observer in Turf Lodge remarked, 'A trapped rat will always attack, I believe that the British army are a demoralised bunch of gangsters who are hitting back in the only way left open to them, by shooting at innocent civilians.'

PIGEONS

I could have written this wee story many months ago. I will explain later why I didn't. To tell you the truth I didn't even know if now is the right time to tell it. With Kieran Nugent lying only a few hundred yards of barbed-wire from me, stories like this one seem frivolous. He, in a cell, naked and enduring solitary confinement; and the POW's in England recently badly beaten, tend to make stories like this completely unimportant. I'll let you judge for yourself at any rate but as you read on just do your best to remember that all POW's



don't have as easy a time as those of us fortunate enough (mar'dhea) to be here.

It all started, do you see, in June. A pigeon landed on the hut roof when we were in Cage 4. Cricky, Dicky and Johnny got her to land on the ground between the huts, walked her into a corner and then with great skill they just grabbed hold of her. She was exhausted, hungry and in bad health, so they built a wee box, kept her warm and fed and doctored her until she was fit and well again. Up until this a pigeon to me had always been a pigeon. I was to discover however that there are pigeons and... well there are pigeons. This particular invalid was a lady pigeon, a dark checker hen in fact and as she wasn't really at herself for a while I used to nip into Johnny's cell and take the odd blimp at her. Johnny didn't mind. Cricky was postively bursting with information and Dicky made tea. I soon learnt all kinds of things about pigeons in general and about this black checkered hen pigeon in particular.

A few weeks later ourselves and our feathered friend moved out off Cage 4 and we were only back in this Cage a wee while when our second pigeon arrived. He flew into one of the wash-houses in another Cage and the lads passed him down to Cricky, Dicky and Johnny. Great interest was created in this Cage when we, and our black checkered hen, discovered that this was no ordinary pigeon. He was in fact a gentleman pigeon, a cock pigeon and a red-checkered cock pigeon to boot. The plot began to thicken because after a good feed, a drink and plenty of rest, he soon let us know that he was in the company of a mammy pigeon and a Daddy pigeon.

The box was no good so it was decided that a shed would have to be built. The lads set

to work and soon there was a pretty sound wee shed in the corner of the study hut. The two pigeons were installed and they soon settled in. The study hut incidentally does service as the chapel, a library, a centre for discussions, lectures and staff meetings... somewhere to 'iron clothes' to hide away when big 'D's' settle in and of course as a place where I slip off to scribble these articles. The pigeons didn't seem to mind all this activity, they ignored remarks from curious clergymen and commenced to play an involved diversionary role in lectures, discussions and staff meetings.

The third pigeon arrived shortly after the shed was built. She was a bronze pied hen who landed, completely knackered, on the watch-tower just outside our Cage. Cricky, Dicky and Johnny put our other two birds out on the study hut roof and the bronze hen flew down to them. After one hour of cooing, whistling and coo-ing Cricky got her down on to the ground and in beneath the study hut. All the lads crowded round the hut and after some urgent crawling, shoeing and shouting they finally managed to get hold of her. This poor frightened bird was in a bad state and the lads kept her in their cell well away from the other pigeons. Cricky Dicky and Johnny didn't think she would last the night and they stayed up nursing her with a supply of medicine which they made up themselves. The following morning she was as right as rain and the three exhausted

but happy samaritans put her in with the other birds.

The fourth pigeon dropped in at the end of August. He landed on the canteen roof and refused to budge. After informing the more ignorant POW's that this was none less than a mealy cock, our three friends sent the desirable and highly sensual dark checker hen up to have a word with him. After a bit of provocative 'strutting and cooing she flew back to the study hut roof and the poor old gullible ejit of a mealy cock flew after her. We now had two mammy pigeons, and as you'll have guessed, two Daddy pigeons.

FOR CURLEY-WURLEY

You must give him (the jailed revolutionary) all your solidarity by demanding his liberty and by sending him information, food, money, clothing and books.

Fr. Camillo Torres.

FOR CURLEY-WURLEY (Again)

"Where is my shirt? You are out two weeks now! If you don't come across I will tell everything....."

Food became a problem as proper pigeon corn couldn't be got anywhere. Working on the principle that hunger is a good sauce, the boys improvised with a mixture of brown bread and budgie seed. After some initial futtering about, our cocks and hens started gobbling it up and as Paul Loughran's budgies became

noticeably thinner, the pigeons became remarkably plump. At this point they commenced flying. Cricky, Dicky and Johnny co-ordinated the take-offs and landings and POW's assembled daily in the yard to watch progress and to compare flying styles.

The birds, delighted with their audience, kited, pivoted, swooped and fluttered, climbing up and dropping down again. As your man remarked, 'they used up the whole sky.' Then they started going off on their own and anxious hours were spent scanning the horizon and peering off across the skyline. As they returned, tired and contented, sometimes together, sometimes straggling in alone, Cricky, Dicky and Johnny whistled them down and laid out clean drinking water and fresh brown bread with budgie seed. By this time the lads were talking of wee youngsters and nesting boxes were installed in the pigeon shed. As our colony of flying birds increased to eight Cricky, Dicky and Johnny scrubbed and mopped the shed every day while the less patient among us checked anxiously for eggs or signs of eggs-to-be.

Then the screws took the shed down. It was during a raid and luckily the birds had flown off, as the screws (with us locked safely in the canteen) commenced to demolish their wee home. That's why I didn't tell this wee story before. We sort-a-way knew they would do something and I didn't want to give them the excuse by publicising our pigeon colony. The pigeons now had no land-

mark to guide them back to our cage and in those few days of bad weather three were lost. One, a white squaler, had disappeared a few days previously and only four returned after their shed was wrecked.

The governor said they could be used to send messages. This was scornfully dismissed by Cricky who explained, as everyone knows, that you have to take pigeons away to release them before they can come home with a message. Since then we just stick a board out of the study hut window, the pigeons fly off when Screw raiding parties arrive and return when they depart. Last week another blue checkered hen arrived from the Madra's sanctuary in Cage 10 and yesterday Cage 13 sent down a sick black checkered cock.

And so the pigeons remain, perched on tables, on the smoothing iron, dozing behind my chair at the minute and generally happy and contented among the bric-a-brac in our study hut. They fly off each morning, off over the camp, past the cells where Kieran Nugent lies, off to some special place of their own. They return each evening and despite the loss of their shed and apart from their present discomforts Cricky, Dicky and Johnny look after them well. In fact they are far better off. I would suggest, than Kieran Nugent in the cells and much better off than the prisoners are in England. Sin e.

Slan's Beannacht,
BROWNIE POW
Long Kesh.

TWINBROOK Terror TACTICS BY BRITS

A Chara,
Over the past few weeks there seems to have been a new policy line to step up harassment in Twinbrook, both of Sinn Fein members and tenants in the estate. Members of the Fennell/Mc Donnell Cumann have been constantly hounded and lifted while doing political work.

Many of our members have had homes raided and have been lifted and interrogated - and many members of the general

public have also been subjected to this sort of treatment. Last week about a dozen homes were systematically raided - each morning - some homes being raided more than once on the same day.

The wife of a man at present charged with a political offence recently received abuse from the Brits and was generally messed about. But then this appears to be general Brit policy - "when the man of the house is away get stuck into the women and children."

The people of Twinbrook have suffered greatly at the hands of the Brits not only over the past few weeks but ever since they came to live in this "quiet, peaceful area." They have received beatings, had their homes wrecked in raids and seen sons and daughters arrested and dragged away. They have suffered! But the croppies won't be down! We can assure the people of Twinbrook that no amount of intimidation from whatever source, will prevent the Fennell/Mc Donnell Cumann

from striving towards the Republican Ideal in Twinbrook.

We are here to stay and if the Brits don't like it then it's just hard luck! I would end by stating that Sinn Fein will shortly be setting up an Advice Centre in Twinbrook. All residents are invited to come along to it with complaints or to seek advice on issues whether political or social.

Is mise le meas,
P.R.O. Fennell/Mc Donnell
Cumann, Sinn Fein.
Twinbrook.

BOOK REVIEW

GERRY ADAMS AND THE REASONS WHY THERE CAN BE NO PEACE UNDER BRITISH RULE

By Gerry Adams, printed and published by the Republican Press Centre, 170a Falls Road, Belfast.

"It [the six-County state] is not ruled in the interests of the Irish people, in the interests of peace—it never was. It always has been ruled in the interests of the British Government and an assortment of foreign industrialists. It is so ruled today."

Gerry Adams, reared in the tough Ballymurphy ghetto—a monument to Orange Unionist hegemony, attempts to analyse the aura of reality surrounding the current demands for 'peace.' Adams is now serving a year-jail sentence for the in-credible 'crime' of attempting to escape from Long Kesh while interned without charge or trial.

The author pulls no punches in giving his reasons why 'peace' as envisaged by the personnel within the present establishment sponsored campaign, cannot become a reality. He cites his own area, Ballymurphy, as an example of a community yearning for a genuine peace.

"Ballymurphy has always wanted peace. Violence existed there long before the IRA became active and, indeed, the IRA is a symptom of that violence, not the cause of it. Six hundred families exist in an area from which the political regime demands high and indecent rents. The area is without any provision by the system, of facilities for young people, for the aged, for mothers or for school-children."

"Their [the people of Ballymurphy] peace demands," he continues, "were for employment, for better housing, play centres, facilities for the aged, the handicapped and the young. They desired freedom from heavy rents, from homes they will never own; a freedom from the dole queues and freedom from the Assistance office. They have made these peace demands to the establishment for the last twenty years, but, like all peace demands, these were political demands for a just and peaceful estate. These demands have been consistently refused because they cannot and could not, be conceded by Stormont's political regime."

Gerry Adams's bitter statement on the demands for social justice by the people of Ballymurphy can be repeated in relation to every Nationalist ghetto in the six Counties. His view that the demands of the 'peace' people will be rejected cannot be argued against.

"A peaceful and just society cannot be built in Ireland by peace marches in the same way as it could not be built in Ballymurphy by demands to Corporation Officials or Government offices."

The awesome task of cramming an essay, on such a broad-based subject into a 16 page pamphlet cannot

BY SEAN CLARKE

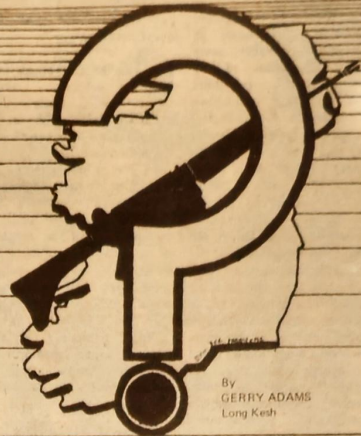
have been easy for a writer of Adams talents. Nevertheless, 'Peace in Ireland' represents the first real attempt to break through the veil of propaganda surrounding the pseudo-peace campaign and set out the reasons why a British withdrawal must be a prerequisite to a lasting peace.

The last few lines in 'Peace in Ireland,' printed on the back cover of the pamphlet, are not Gerry Adams's—but were uttered by a former British Prime Minister:

"They say Ireland is peaceful. Yes; but she is not so because she is contented. But because she is held under coercive laws...."

Benjamin Disraeli could have been outlining the 'peaceful' Ireland of Betty Williams.

Peace in Ireland



A BROAD ANALYSIS OF THE PRESENT SITUATION

SOLIDARITY IN GERMANY



Sermon in Long Kesh

The sermon began in a Cage made of wire
In a Cage made of wire, in a Cage made of wire
The sermon began in a Cage made of wire
Of galvanised, of old barbed, and new blood.

The sermon continued in a Cage made of wire,
In a Cage made of wire, in a Cage made of wire
The sermon continued in a Cage made of wire,
Of damnation, of old concentration, of new preservation!

'Not those are the best, said the priest, said the priest,
Not those are the best, said the priest, said the priest,
Of us who are here, of us who are here;
We think we're sincere, we think we're sincere
And making it clear that the last should be first
And making it clear that the hungry should dine
And revealing the naked, crossed, should they wine.
In a world made of wire, in a world made of wire,
Computerised and computerised and telephoned.

The sermon ended in a world made of wire,
On liberty of conscience, on liberty of conscience
And double the sentence, and double the sentence,
In a world with out liberty.

Madra Rua October 1st '76.

Albany I.O.W.

FULL EXTENT OF PRISONER'S INJURIES STILL NOT KNOWN

Following the recent disturbances at Albany, IOW, five POW's appeared before the board of visitors, accused of prison code offences, including mutiny and gross personal violence.

Two of the men were sentenced to 570 days loss of remission and 91 days confinement to their cells, exclusion from association and privileges, and loss of pay. Two others received 690 days loss of remission and 126 days confinement

etc., the fifth was sentenced to 690 days and 133 days respectively. The sixth man is still in the hospital wing, with a suspected broken rib.

The trouble started after Brendan Dowd (Kerry) was placed in the punishment-block for an alleged minor infringement of the rules. While there he was beaten-up by warders. The other POW's demanded his release and barricaded themselves in their section of

the prison. After 3 hours warders stormed the barricaded section and in the ensuing fight 19 of them were injured. After being subdued the POW's were beaten-up by the prison-officers. Fr. Patrick Fell (Coventry/Donagall) had to have stitches inserted in his face for injuries received. The full extent of all the prisoners' injuries is not yet known due to the aforementioned restrictions on the men.

AN INDEPENDENT NORTH: GRAVEYARD FOR FREEDOM

One "solution" to the present war increasingly favoured by some in the Loyalist camp is the setting up of an independent Northern state. John McKeague, the well-known Loyalist bigot has recently declared his support for such a state. In an interview given to the "Sunday Independent" he suggested that such a state would find widespread support among all the people of the six counties. According to McKeague, "Independence is the best possible solution to the present impasse and will give the opportunity of a new start and the creation of a community where everyone would have the same rights and opportunities and where nobody would have any privileges." Apparently "Independence" Ulster-style with a proportionally representative system of government would be acceptable to Catholics and Republicans as it would get rid of the Brits, and grant equal rights with one stroke.

Basic Questions At Stake

If taken seriously such proposals

put at stake the most basic questions of the war.

How can the Republican Movement achieve victory? What does victory mean? What will be necessary in order to establish a 32-county Socialist Republic? For some, of course, the question of a Socialist Republic does not even arise. They fail to grasp that freedom from oppression for the mass of the population-North and South, Catholic and Protestant - could only be guaranteed by a Socialist Republic. But we must not ignore this "ABC" of politics. We must learn from history. This means that not an inch should be given to Loyalist aspirations to bring back Stormont under whatever disguise.

GREATEST DISASTER FOR THE MOVEMENT.

To in any way give support to an independent North would be the greatest disaster to befall the movement since arising from the ashes of '69. The Republican Movement must remain true to

its basic principles by taking a clear attitude of total rejection to such proposals. There should be no confusion between a Federal Ireland and an Independent Ulster. No confusion between the nine counties of Ulster and the six counties of the present artificial Northern state. Republicans have not been waging war for the last six years in order to achieve an empty "Ulster settlement". Dreams of democratising the Northern statelet have been drowned in blood under the onslaught of batons, bullets and bombs from the Loyalists and their British allies.

All such dreams can be left to the pro-British parasites who crawl behind the banners of the Sticks and the SDLP. An independent North could in no way provide a reformed "democratic" state. It could in no way act as a bridge to the freedom of a United Socialist Republic.

PRIVILEGES

Central to this question is the nature of the Northern state and the relationship of the Protestant

people to it. The reality is that Protestant sectarianism is based on and fostered by the privileges provided by the Northern state. Thus it will be through waging a determined and successful struggle to smash the Northern state, to remove partition, that the possibility will exist of getting through to the mass of the Protestants. Although the destruction of sectarianism is a definite pre-condition it is certainly not the case that the core of the Loyalist demands are, or would be, just for the preservation of any kind of Northern state. There would be no point to that demand. Bigots like McKeague, despite the sweet talk, want the maintenance of a sectarian state in which Protestant privileges would be guaranteed through the oppression of Catholics. Far from moves towards the democratisation of "their" state giving a period of respite, during which time they could be encouraged to modify their bigoted views, the exact opposite would result. They would fight - they are fighting!- against any reform of

Part I by Peter Dowling

the 6 county statelet as bitterly as against a 32 county Republic. This has been shown in 1968, in 1969, through to their U.W.C. stoppage and since. Once they had set up a separate state they would fight even more savagely to maintain it. Israel is a similar case. The artificial establishment of Israel as an independent state was a gigantic step backwards forced upon the people of the Middle East. The nationality of the Palestinians is completely denied. Their struggle for freedom, far from being advanced was set back by decades. (to be concluded next week)

By Ciaran McKeown

A CROWD SO vast that experienced reporters gave up trying to estimate at an agreed 50,000, with people still pouring in, thronged into the Ormeau

THE SUNDAY PRESS

By PETER McKENNA

MORE than 30,000 voices were raised in prayer yesterday as the women's peace movement held a massive demonstration in Belfast.

SUNDAY INDEPENDENT

TWENTY-FIVE thousand people turned out yesterday - twice as many as last week - to back Mrs. Betty Williams and the Ulster women's drive for peace.

THE SUNDAY EXPRESS

TWENTY THOUSAND men, women and children thronged Belfast's Ormeau Park yesterday, standing shoulder to shoulder for peace.

SUNDAY WORLD

The top clipping, giving the number at the Ormeau jamboree as '50,000' was from McKeown's report. The other three are from various other reports.

Notes from nowhere

OLD BOYS OF THE PEACE-NARK BRIGADE

So Ciaran McKeown is out in the open as the frontman for those behind the latest "psychological warfare" outfit, the boys and girls of the old Peace-at-any Price Brigade.

As my illustration of his reporting shows, Ciaran is something of an expert at the number game.

Some of my scouts recall that Ciaran's expertise at figures was first displayed in Queen's Univer-

sity student elections, when he proved as honest as a Unionist. Indeed, I hear that McKeown is working furiously on an expose of student politics at Queen's during Ciaran's heyday.

The magnum opus, which is expected out early next year, has the working title "All the President's Boys". I'll keep you briefed from time to time, meanwhile, while waiting for Paddy,

I do hope that all those thousands who marked time in the old Alma Mater during that glorious period will keep their reminiscences pouring to this office. Just mark the notes from nowhere.

HONEST JIM AND HANDY ANDY

Lord Brayley, Roy Mason's old Deputy as Army Minister in the "Labour" government has been released on £2,500 bail after being accused of fraud in London. It reminds me that we hear very little these days about 'Provo' criminals".

This Brit campaign was ended pretty shartish when Republican News responded by weekly listing the Labour Party criminals who day in and day out face the courts in Britain. Few of these cases reach the headlines. Evil men with low standards in high places see to that. For example, when arch Labour Party racketeer and friend of the Durham Police, Andy Cunningham was released from prison recently after serving part of his sentence for his role in the Poulson Affair, he went straight to his son's flat. There he met the Rt. Hon. James "Honest Jim" Callaghan. What they talked about is known only to the three of them and the Special Branch who bugged the flat. It was all a coincidence that Handy Andy and Honest Jim met so soon. You see, young Cunningham, Andy's son, is Callaghan's P.P.S....

APOLOGY

Due to tremendous pressure on space we have had to hold over a lot of material until next week. We hope that our contributors will continue to submit material as usual.

"AND THEY SAY THAT BELFAST IS AS MUCH PART OF . . ."

An envelope, containing some fine photographs taken during the Labour Movement Delegation to Ireland tour, dropped through our letter box this week. The first photo (top left) shows well known Civil Rights leader, Paddy Short from Crossmaglen, speaking to Marie Purser of the Crawley Trades Council as the party entered the South Armagh town. (Bottom left) This shot, taken from the delegation's bus, shows Brit sappers hard at work erecting anti-mortar shields outside Andersonstown RUC Barracks. One of the delegation was heard to gasp: 'And they keep saying that the six-Counties are as much a part of Britain as Birmingham.' (Bottom right) The party, with a much clearer view of what is happening in the occupied North, leave from Aldergrove for home.



★★★★★★★★



THAT SPLIT IN 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY'

Last February a split occurred in the 'marxist' PD. The schismatic group - the Red Republican Party - have issued a statement outlining their version of the details of the split. The People's Democracy in June (BIG FLAME - Irish Bulletin - No. 6) gave their account.

What is obvious though is the retreat of the present PD leadership from former commitments. The national question is no longer a priority; and they are searching the dictionary for a precise definition for the nature of Loyalism. In their opinion 'the anti-imperialist mass movement has suffered a series of set backs and is in retreat.' In their attack on the RRP they use language ironically similar to that used by the Sticks against the Irish Republican Socialist Party when their split occurred: "a section of the membership did not accept the need to retreat and were attempting to force the organisation to the role of ultra leftist support for Blanquism and ideological justification for it." Blanquism being the tendency of an organisation to wage struggle by the use of a few conspirators in substitution of mass involvement.

The PD, however, always fail to define mass struggle (as they see it) - mass resistance, mass struggle, we insist, is in fact taking place in the Six-Counties.

Furthermore, we find in sulting their statement that the Republican Prisoners-of-war are a few individuals - "we have no intention of telling the working class that the military efforts of a few individuals will lead to revolution."

This PD declivity to textbook revolution, armchair-pontification and ideological elitism (a non-class posture), leads them into contradictions: "The major anti-imperialist group, the Provos have no class position ... and subordinate all to the national question." How can one be ideologically anti-imperialist (opposing and resisting the expansion of the capitalist ruling-class) without having a class position!

Also in the September edition of UNFREE CITIZEN the factional chauvinism of PD is aptly expressed. Comparing the Sinn Féin speeches at the big Political Status demonstration on August 8th to theirs at a following day's demo they

said: "Unfortunately the speeches at the Sunday rally consisted largely of windy emotional rhetoric contrasting with the speech of Fergus O'Hare of PD ... when he explained that Rees' attack on political status represented a political offensive by the British."

PD; when it's convenient ignore the fact that the open mass resistance of '69, '70, '71 and '72 etc. (periods of which they boast "We could make or break governments....") were the ghettos' responses to pogroms, a curfew, and Internments - each and everyone emotional issues

by PETER ARNLIS

On the issue of the use of force James Connolly had a very clear attitude: "We believe," he wrote, "in constitutional action in normal times, we believe in revolutionary action in exceptional times."

These are exceptional times.

Below is the text of the statement issued by the RED REPUBLICAN PARTY:

"On February 8th 1976 the People's democracy organisation split into two sections. One remained to continue on as PD; the other resigned, called itself the Left Revolutionary Group" and set about analysing PD, its mistakes and its failure.

The decision to form the Red Republican Party" was the result of this analysis.

The R.R.P. members who resigned from PD did so when they became aware of the political consequences of the domination of PD by an anti-democratic clique. A "clique" always exists in a political organisation for a reason, and in PD it represented a clear desire to back out of the stand on the National Question into the rut of the traditional left.

While those of us who had been in PD for a long time must certainly be criticised, little can we say other than when you are a committed revolutionary and bogged down in the running of an organisation, you are its least able critic. Many fingers were burnt in internal criticisms of PD's "regime" for over a year before the political rock the February split was founded

on was exposed.

We believe that PD was an organisation precipitated into adopting a revolutionary role by the nature of the NI State - First challenging sectarianism and discrimination, it opened up the whole question of the NI State, and Partition in Ireland. Events went beyond PD, and after 1972 it was reduced to analysing events, commenting on them, pointing the way forward - REACTING to oppression but as a organisation NEVER LEADING. Its activity on the streets was therefore without strategy, no link between it and the defeat of British Imperialism and progress to a Worker's State.

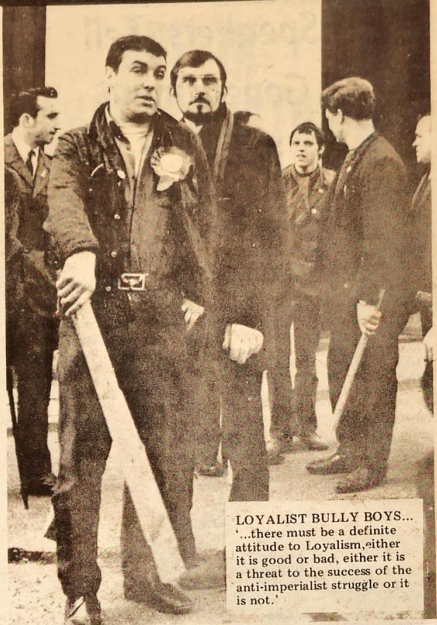
People could not have faith in such a position, consequently PD did not develop. Faith was lost once again in the ability of a Socialist organisation to liberate Ireland.

LOYALISM

Part of the politics of the split in PD is the question of Loyalism. It was upon this issue that such of the Cruise O'Brien-style attempted blackening of R.R.P. members was done. In its documentation of the split to organisations in Ireland and around Europe, PD declared that "a few people had resigned because they were only interested in carrying out isolated acts of terrorism." Apart from the immediate interest which this created among Ireland's, England's and Europe's Special Branches, it is a gross distortion of the truth.

PD's concept had been to build "mass action" to defeat Imperialism. That is also ours - to fully involve the people in their liberation struggle. The problems was HOW to do it. The 26 Counties State of Emergency limits the ideas that can be put forward here, but the question we asked was: How do you build mass support for an anti-imperialist struggle when that support is everyday being deliberately whittled away by the Loyalists tactics of demoralisation and terror - the no-warning bombs, the assassinations at home and on the job, the booby-trap, petrol-bomb and intimidation? HOW? [This was at the time when loyalist assassinations were at their peak, in January of this year]. A glib reply of "mass action" is poor comfort.

In effect PD wished to retreat from the LOGIC of the [correct] stand it had developed on Loyalism. It stood back and disowned those who through failure



LOYALIST BULLY BOYS... there must be a definite attitude to Loyalism, either it is good or bad, either it is a threat to the success of the anti-imperialist struggle or it is not.

of political leadership took their own retaliatory actions against Loyalism.

Those of us now in the R.R.P. believe that there must be a definite attitude to Loyalism. Either it is good or bad, either it is a threat to the success of the anti-imperialist struggle or it is not. We say that it is the Irish face of Fascism and holds the potential of defeating the struggle.

Loyalism has been created fostered and protected by Britain as a means of protecting British Economic interests, Loyalism defends the entrenched privileged position of the Loyalist middle class; Loyalism defends the privileged position in labour of the Protestant skilled workers, and the employment privileges of the Protestant workers in general over the Catholic workers. Loyalists are bound together by the racist concept that they are an elite within the Six-Counties State.

We believe too that Loyalism has an independent dynamic of its own - that it is no longer a puppet of Irish Imperialism which would collapse with British withdrawal. On the contrary, Britain is compromising with it and is banding over to it key security control in the UDR and RUC.

Loyalism represents the threat of a Fascist State or a Military dictatorship in the Six Counties in which the Catholic working class - the standard-bearers of the anti-Imperialist struggle - would be subject to the most intense political re-

pression. For the loyalists no other form of state could preserve their supremacy. We therefore believe that we must oppose the setting up of any Loyalist controlled administration in the Six-Counties - whether of the SDLP UUUC "Voluntary coalition type or the Fennell Boal Federal" type.

PD's failure is, we believe, tied up with the failure of the left in general in Ireland. The last eight years have shown that the Irish Left has again taken up the stance of standing by and letting Republicans carry the total weight of struggle against British Imperialism. Ireland's Socialists seem embarrassed by the final stand of our greatest Socialist visionary and activist, James Connolly. While they raise his slogans, they make the same mistakes he condemned in his contemporaries. They tend to see workers as only in the factories, not in the State; as motivated solely by wages and conditions, not by National, Political, and Economic and Cultural oppression. They have tended to elevate the tactic of raiding consciousness on the job to the level of a strategy to defeat Imperialism.

We believe that Irish Marxism must escape out of abstract sloganism into a positive commitment on the total struggle for Socialism. We will continue to develop our ideas and activities towards that.

The name "Red Republican Party" takes in the elements of the analysis we made of our involvement in PD, and of the Irish Struggle: It takes in

(continued on page 7)

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

T.O.M. MEETING

Speakers Tell Government . . . Name a Date'

Dear Sir,

Criticism of press treatment of the war in Ireland was a constant feature of the Troops Out Movement 'fringe' meeting at the Labour Party Conference in Blackpool on Monday 27th September.

So much so that in the end Daily Telegraph reporter felt bound to get up and defend himself. Which no doubt explains why all the British papers the 'Telegraph' was the only one to mention the meeting.

Trendville, (see photo) the Delegation's Press officer, produced both plastic bullets and live bullet cases on the platform to demonstrate that the British Army had lied about their actions in the Sloan Club in Ballymurphy on Sunday 19th September.

The meeting was packed, with 200 people present who were almost without exception rank and file labour party members. A number of people had to be turned away because there was



Although the Irish papers gave it fairly extensive coverage, none of them mentioned the speech by Mike Knowles of Hackney Trades Council, who described his visit to Ireland with the Labour Movement Delegation, and how actually seeing the situation had brought it home to the delegates that British withdrawal was the only solution.

Most of the Irish papers also failed to mention that Paddy

no room.

The audience was so attentive that you could have heard a pin drop during several of the speeches. They clapped and cheered when speakers demanded that the British Government "name a date" when it would withdraw from Ireland. Hopefully they will continue to press vigorously for British withdrawal long after the Annual Conference is over.

LINDA JONES

'SHOOT ON SIGHT' POLICIES OF BRITS

A Chara,

In a recent letter to your paper I pointed out the dangers to which the minority in the northeast counties would be subjected through the campaign now being waged by the 'Peace Women'. Since, the publication of that letter - within hours in fact - there have been a series of 'shoot on sight' incidents by the British Army, all of which have been recorded in your new columns. Harassment, beatings and torture are now the order of the day.

This drive was and is spurred on by the activities of the peace marches who have now dropped their "against all violence" stand and have as expected now configured themselves to acting and speaking against the Provos on ly.

One sided, blind and self destructing is this policy which is now the platform of the peace movement and that can be measured by the daily shootings and beatings delivered by the British army, RUC etc.

If that is doubted-and I fail to see how the link up between the emergence of the peace women and the "shoot on sight" tactics of the British Army can be missed-then one has only to consider the final accolade to the peace movement as presented by the British Prime Minister, Jim Callaghan yesterday at the Labour Party Conference in Blackpool. He welcomed the drive for peace and applauded the efforts of the women peace movement. Praise indeed from the Prime Minister of the most discredited nation on the face of the earth, and with such backing and moral support how can the peace leaders maintain their stand that they are solely against violence from whatever quarter? Let the relatives of those killed or tortured at the hands of the British be the final arbiters of exactly what the peace movement is achieving.

Is Mise

D. Morley P.O.W.

Cage

12.

NOEL JENKINSON SAYS:

THERE CAN BE NO PEACE UNTIL BRITISH ARE DRIVEN OUT

A Chairde,

There is no doubt that the greatest aspirations of the Irish people, over the last 800 years, has been to live in peace, tranquility and freedom in their own land.

During that time the Irish people have not been guilty of attacking any other country, they have not stolen the citizens of other lands and sold them into slavery, they have not practiced genocide, or torture on other peoples, they have not starved to death countless thousands of other nations nor have they made it a crime for other nations to speak their own language or practice their own religion.

And yet in that 800 years there has not been a day of peace. And this lack of peace is due solely and incontrovertibly to the fact that we as a people have been subjected to the most cruel and vicious attacks by foreign invaders. For eight centuries we have been slaughtered, starved, sold into slavery,

exiled and divided by the rulers of a nearby country, not one of whose 50,000,000 population can be found to say, "Yes I know, I took part in it." On the contrary they tell us they have sent their soldiers to make peace in our land. The same soldiers who presumably made peace in Palestine, Cyprus, Kenya, Aden, etc. The same soldiers who summarily execute young children to help a "peace movement" get publicity in the Brit gutter press.

These peacemaking troops have recently been convicted as unrepentant torturers before a international tribunal, even being so base as to attempt to excuse their behaviour by saying they had used these methods successfully elsewhere.

How can any right minded Irish person contemplate acting in concert with such people for any purpose.

The plain fact is that there will be no peace in Ireland

so long as one foreign soldier remains. The people will only be at peace when the invaders are driven out. Nobody denies the absolute right of the Irish people to peace but nobody in Ireland will have peace so long as any trace of Brit power remains. The violence in Ireland today is imported counter revolutionary violence - it can only be destroyed by revolutionary violence. Everybody wants peace - but not peace at any price - better to die on our feet than live on our knees. The members of the Womens Peace Movement should clearly understand that support of their movement by the Brit press and bureaucracy will be very quickly followed by demands that they become informers on their own families. This is how they acted in the past and they will act similarly now.

Yours,

Noel Jenkinson.

H.M. Prison Leicester.

NOTHING THE BRITISH SAY CAN CHANGE THE FACTS

A Chairde,

In a cold dark cell in another part of this camp, sits a solitary figure wrapped in a single coarse grey blanket to cover his nakedness and retain his body heat. His name, to those of you who don't already know it, is Kieran Nugent and he is the first of many who very shortly are going to find themselves in the unfortunate position of having to undergo physical and mental hardship to demand from the British their right to the name Political Prisoner.

Kieran Nugent is the first Republican prisoner to have his

right to the classification Political prisoner denied him and as a result on his shoulders has fallen the difficult job of blazing the trail for the other 200 and more Republican Political prisoners who will find themselves a similar situation. The British and their minions in the Prison Administration are well aware of this fact and are determined to break the spirit of this young Republican. To that end he is being kept in total isolation, in a cold depressing cell with a thin blanket between him and the cold.

Kieran Nugent and the many other Republicans about to be

denied their right to recognition as Political prisoners are, like those of us already recognised as such, fighting to change the political, social and economic structures which British Imperialism has used for so long to oppress, degrade and murder our people - Kieran Nugent is a Political Prisoner - the men and women in England, 26 Counties, Armagh and Crumlin Road are Political Prisoners - nothing the British say or do can ever change that basic fundamental fact.

Is Mise

R.G. McAULEY POW

Long Kesh, Cage 12.

THE WRITING IS ON THE WALL FOR BRITAIN



THE BRITISH DEFINITION OF PEACE



CUMANN SAY UDR ARE IN ANDERSONSTOWN AREA

The Cathal Brugha Cumann, Sinn Féin, have revealed that UDR personnel are supporting British army mobile patrols. In a statement the Cumann say that UDR members are operating with the Brit forces out of Andersonstown Barracks and Fort Monagh. The Cumann also say that a member of the UDR accompanied a patrol who went to a house in Twinbrook in an attempt to carry out a 'census.'

"The householder," say the Cumann, "refused to answer any questions and described the would-be interrogator as a dirty unkempt person with shoulder

length hair and speaking with a thick Belfast accent."

If the Cathal Brugha Cumann are right in their claim, that the UDR are acting in a support role to the Brits in West Belfast, it could bode ill for the civilian population of the area. Revelations at the Miami Showband murder trial prove conclusively that the UDR are active in an assassination role while in uniform. So far the Irish Republican Army have made no statement on the claim.

But it is thought that any large scale incursion by the UDR would be resisted with all the resources of the Republican Movement.

LONG KESH MAN BEATEN UP

A Republican who was recently released from Long Kesh was given a savage beating by a British army patrol on Monday evening.

The man had just left the Martin Forsythe Social Club in Turf Lodge and was about to cut through Beechmount on his way home.

He was kicked and punched before being trailed into ground at the rear of Our Lady's Hospital where he was again beaten.

The man had to go to the Royal Victoria Hospital for treatment when the Brits finally released him.

IN MEMORIAM

SECOND BATTALION REMEMBERED

Is Cuimhin Linn

Belfast Brigade, IRA 2nd Battalion. Staff, 'D' and 'B' Companies, Ogligh na hEireann, remember with pride and reverence their dead Volunteer soldiers whose anniversaries occur about this time.

Jimmy Quigley: Volunteer 'D' Co. Danny McAreeve: Volunteer 'D' Co. John Donaghy: Volunteer 'D' Co. Joe McKinney: Volunteer 'D' Co. Paddy Maguire: Staff Officer 2nd Batt. Paddy Mulvenna: Lieut. 'B' Co. Jim Bryson: Staff Officer 2nd Batt.

'Lay them away on the hillside, along with the brave and the bold; Inscribe their name on a scroll of fame, in letters as pure as gold.'

In honour of the Vols. "D" Company Ogligh na hEireann who paid the supreme sacrifice fighting for Irish Freedom. The Fourth Annual Commemoration (Lower Falls) will take place on Sunday 10th October. All Bands, wreath bearers, general public and all others taking part are asked to form at 1.30 p.m. Raglan Street and Osman Street.

IN PROUD and loving memory of Staff Captain James Emerson Bryson "B" Coy. 2nd Batt., Belfast Brigade Ogligh na hEireann, who was murdered on 22nd September 1973 RIP.

"Wherever death may surprise us, it will be welcome, provided this, our battle cry, reaches some receptive ear, that another hand stretches out to take up weapons, and that other men, come forward to intone our funeral dirge with the staccato of machine guns and new cries of battle and victory."

Always remembered by the officer Board and members of the Edward O'Rawe James Bryson Sinn Féin Cumann, Mayard New Barnsely, Ballymurry, 2nd Batt. Staff, and Belfast Brigade IRA.

(continued from page 5)

That split in the People's Democracy

the two main aspects of struggle in Ireland - the Socialist one and the National one. Red is the colour of Socialism and symbolises the blood of the working-class spilt in its struggle for emancipation. Republicanism embodies the ideal of the struggle for National Independence. We stand for:

Self determination for Ireland, for the destruction of British Imperialism's cultural, political and economic control over all parts of Ireland, for the establishment in Ireland of a Workers' and Small Farmers' Republic. All this is more fully explained in our programme, which we are published in pamphlet form shortly.

Statement made on behalf of the Central Committee of the Red Republican Party.

Britain See Cables--Hill Panel is told

But the transcript of the testimony released by the subcommittee shows that Greenish later changed that testimony to say "no, except in the United Kingdom".

The testimony gives no elaboration on what Western Union cables British officials monitor. But the transcript included news clippings showing that former Prime Minister Harold Wilson acknowledged in 1968 that officials there had been monitoring cables since 1927.

The testimony released by the House subcommittee was given in open session during its hearings on FBI monitoring of cables and messages in New York City and Washington.

An executive of Western Union International says British as well as U.S. officials have had access to that company's cables, according to testimony released last week.

The British Embassy in Washington refused to say whether the Western Union cables are being monitored in England even now, according to the House Individual Rights Subcommittee, which released the testimony.

Thomas S. Greenish, executive vice president of Western Union International, at first said no when subcommittee Chairwoman Bella S. Abzug (D.N.Y.) asked if any country other than the United States had access to its cables.

Another Advice Centre

Yet another Sinn Féin Advice Centre has been opened, this time in the Ardoyne area. A team of Sinn Féin personnel will man the centre at 199, Brompton Park and are equipped to deal with the basic day to day problems of the community.

Brit harassment, arrests, vandalism, and most other social problems affecting the people of Ardoyne will be handled by the centre.

Hours of opening will be from 9.00 am until 5.00 pm, Monday to Friday.

Snippets from the 'Strand

BRIT ASSAULT ON STRAND WHILE LOYALIST STRONGHOLD IGNORED

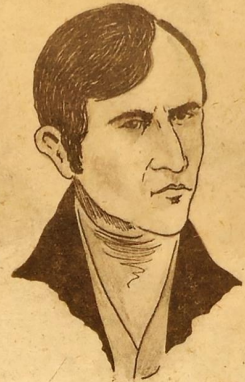
Property and people in the Short Strand have been in the line of the new British offensive against the civilian population in the Nationalist ghettos. Reports from our Ballymacarrett correspondent show that the British army's repressive grip on the areas has intensified over the past two weeks. Two men from the area were snatched from their homes on Saturday last, one was held under the draconian Section 10 for 34 hours, his neighbour was unlucky and spent 64 hours in the company of the RUC Special Branch. On Monday 4th

October two young girls from the 'Strand were arrested in the Belfast city centre, in full view of hundreds of people, and held for 4 hours before being released. Later on the same day a 13 year old schoolboy was arrested and told that he was being charged with 'obstructing the security forces.' When the boys parents contacted a solicitor the lad was quickly released.

A massive search of the 'Strand began on Tuesday morning at about 4.30 a.m. Among the buildings searched was an old age pen-

sioner's club, a rag store, a GAA Club and a bar. Private houses were also searched by the Brit raiding party. During the search of the rag store local people reported hearing two shots being fired although the premises were empty at the time. The Short Strand ghetto has been attacked on numerous occasions by UDA and UVF murder gangs operating from across the road from the Ravenhill/Woodstock District which is a loyalist stronghold. Searches in the Loyalist areas are few and far between despite the fact that regular sorties are made by Orange para-militaries.

REVOLUTIONARY PEN PORTRAITS NO. 7



Robert Emmet

Robert Emmet was born in Dublin in 1778. Under the influence of his elder brother Thomas Addis Emmet, himself one of the leaders of the United Irishmen, Robert joined the Society when he was eighteen. He organised a branch of it in Trinity College where he was a student.

Thomas Addis Emmet, with other leaders, was captured before the Rising of 1798 and, having been held for a time in Kilmainham, was taken to a prison in Scotland. In 1800, Robert visited him there, and went on to France, where he met Napoleon who was then considering invading England. Returning to Ireland, believing that "England's diffi-

culty would be Ireland's opportunity," Emmet set about preparing for another Rising. It was attempted on 23rd July, 1803, but the plans went wrong. Emmet was betrayed into the hands of the enemy by an unknown spy; captured and taken to Kilmainham.

At his trial he made his famous speech from the dock:

"When my country takes her place among the nations of the earth, then, and not till then, let my epitaph be written." At midnight on 19th September, 1803, he was brought back in chains to Kilmainham, and a few hours later he was hanged in Thomas Street, at its junction with Bridgefoot Street.

2nd Batt. say it again . . .

BRITS HAVE CHURCH KEYS

Despite denials, to the contrary, the Second Battalion, Belfast Brigade, have reiterated their claim that the Presbyterian Church at Broadway is being used as an observation post by British army intelligence. In their supplied statement the Second Batt. warned that if the minister of Broadway church did not take steps to ensure that British intelligence refrained from using the building for

collecting information on Republicans he would have to bear the consequences. It is common knowledge in the Broadway/Beechmount area that members of the Republican Movement had guarded the church premises from vandalism right up until the disclosure, several years ago, that British army patrols had been spying on the surrounding area from the bell-tower. On that occasion 4 local men were arrested and convictions ob-

tained through evidence supplied in court by a soldier who claimed he had spotted the men from the church tower.

Rev. R. Gillespie, the Broadway Church minister, has said on television that British soldiers were breaking into the premises and were not issued with keys. The Second Batt., however, are adamant that a set of keys have been supplied to the British army by a church official.

FIRST BATTALION ADMIT TWIN BLASTS

The First Battalion, Belfast Brigade, have admitted responsibility for the blast

last week at the Ulsterbus depot, Falls Road, and the car bomb attack on Andersonstown RUC station, a few days later. The blast at the RUC billet was the most devastating of the two, tearing down a solid concrete wall and ripping a 1000 square foot wire-mesh shield to ribbons.

Republican sources in Andersonstown estimate that the damage to the newly built reinforcement could total £50,000.

Although the First Batt. didn't mention it in their statement, it is thought that the twin attack may have been a reciprocal action for the beastly behaviour of the British troops in the area over the past few weeks. Several murder attempts have been supplemented by beatings, arrests and wholesale raiding in the West Belfast area.

The Frs. Paul Murray pamphlet, MAJELLA O'HARE, is now in its second reprint following a sell-out of the first run-off. Copies can be obtained from the Republican Press Centre, 170a Falls Road.

