

AN
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POLITICAL WEEKLY



**Exclusive
interview
with IRA**

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WE FIGHT ON UNTIL BRITS GO —IRA

IN AN EXCLUSIVE interview with *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, the IRA has stated its determination to carry on the armed struggle "through 1984 and on until victory".

"When we put away our guns, Britain will be out of Ireland," the IRA pledge, and promise continued attacks on British crown forces in the North and further bombs in Britain, against political and military targets.

The IRA spokesperson also makes it clear that its General Army Orders, stating that armed action is not to be taken against the Free State army or gardai, are still in force, and that it is not an objective of the IRA to overthrow the twenty-six county state by force of arms.

The confrontation in Ballinamore, when a Free State soldier and a garda were killed, was, according to the spokesperson, "a human reaction where armed Volunteers were surrounded by another armed group with superior numbers".

The IRA says that it has established that Free State forces opened fire first and its Volunteers "responded in defence of their lives", mindful of previous ruthless attacks by Task Force members.

SHOTS

In the interview, the IRA admits that its Volunteers killed the soldier in the initial exchange of shots, but the garda was not killed by them, the spokesperson states.

Far from garda heroics in the rescue of Don Tidey, the IRA says that he was "beaten up and trailed about by the Task Force and nearly shot dead by them because they thought he was a Volunteer".

Explaining the reasons for the abduction, the spokesperson states: "The ransom demand was directly related to the struggle in the North."

"It takes considerable finance to run and organise a guerrilla war, and while we have sufficient funds to keep the war going we were seeking a large injection of funds to escalate the armed struggle to shorten the duration of the British presence in Ireland, which is the source of bloodshed and violence."

HARRODS

Answering questions on the controversial Harrods bombing, the IRA spokesperson says that IRA strategy in Britain is "to inflict damage against enemy political and military targets and bring to the attention of the British public that their government is engaged in a war in Ireland".

The IRA statement issued after the bombing, stating that it had not been authorised by the Army Council, was issued after the Army Council had "met in emergency session".

"There was no repudiation of our comrades," the IRA says, "but there was certainly an implicit instruction in the statement at a time of extremely difficult communications."

"The Irish Republican Army does not abdicate responsibility for actions carried out by its Volunteers. We are comrades in arms who work at all levels in this army under tremendous pressures. While the Army Council did not authorise this specific operation at Harrods, we do not believe that the Volunteers involved set out to deliberately kill civilians."

"The British government has attempted to project the Harrods operation as a civilian bombing, despite the fact that they know that if the IRA wanted to kill British civilians it could do so in the hundreds."

FULL INTERVIEW ON
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OPINION

Defending democracy from the voters

"IF VOTING could change anything it would be made illegal," is one of those cynical slogans which occasionally appears on walls or hoardings as a symptom of political frustration.

It seems to have more than an element of truth these days as the establishment parties, both British and Irish, toy with ideas on how to stop the expression of electoral support for Sinn Féin — the only party with the prospect of achieving radical change in Ireland.

So the taunts that republicans never had any support at the polls have now given way to efforts to disenfranchise the 103,000 voters in the North who succeeded in electing Sinn Féin representatives, and the thousands of voters in the South who apparently did not exist five years ago, even though they had elected local councillors, and who are showing increasing enthusiasm for a wider Sinn Féin electoral intervention in twenty-six county politics.

So now votes for Sinn Féin become 'threats to democracy' and fine distinctions are being made between 'democratic parties' — those who endorse the use of arms to maintain oppression — and 'non-democratic parties' — those who defend the use of arms to achieve freedom.

But how does 'democracy', as operated by these establishment figures, work in practice?

It is easy enough to tot up the number of votes cast by Northern electors for James Prior and his team of assistant direct-rulers. And it is a fact that both the 'democratic' SDLP and OUP as well as the 'non-democratic' Sinn Féin refuse to sit in the Assembly.

So let us look for democracy instead in the South.

The Coalition government paused over Christmas, in its efforts to defend democracy from Sinn Féin, to announce that it had cancelled the local elections due this year.

Nobody pretended that there was any other reason than that the Coalition parties were going to lose disastrously in them — so cancel them.

A few months previously, the Coalition had combined with the 'democratic' Fianna Fáil party to ensure that there would be a president elected without holding an election — for the third time.

Presumably, another successful defence of democracy — from an attack by the electorate?

The Labour Party, meanwhile, has chosen its eleventh member to have a lucrative turn at an EEC seat — none of the original five elected Labour MEPs continues to sit, but the electors have had no choice in their successors.

And on Wednesday, the Labour Party's leader, Dick Spring, announced that he would follow James Prior's example and refuse to answer communications to his government department from Sinn Féin's local elected representatives in the twenty-six counties on behalf of their constituents.

His government department, if you don't mind. Democracy in action, no doubt.

This is the Labour Party which fought the election on one manifesto, abandoned it for an agreed programme of government, and abandoned that over the last year for the perks of office.

The Fine Gael party, with a diametrically opposed manifesto, did the same thing coming from the other direction.

But who is foolish enough to believe that manifestos and election promises have anything to do with democracy? Certainly not the 'defenders of democracy'.

But then there are voters who cannot remember giving their elected 'representatives' a mandate to award themselves a 19% pay increase, or to introduce school bus fares, or to allow unemployment to rise to a quarter of a million.

But democracy will allow the election of Tweedledum Fianna Fáil for the Tweedledee Coalition — a change of faces, but don't expect to be able to detect a change in policies.

But what if electoral support for 'anti-democratic' parties keeps increasing? Is there no hope for democracy?

Garret Fitzgerald, two days before Christmas, had some words of reassurance.

"A government that ruled out internment would rule out the possible survival of democracy," he said.

But don't expect to be asked to vote on that either.

WAR NEWS...WAR NEWS...WAR NEWS...

UDR soldier killed

THE IRA's determination to continue the armed struggle and its ability to strike at both military and economic targets was clearly demonstrated as the New Year began with one UDR soldier killed and hundreds of thousands of pounds worth of damage caused to commercial premises.

The UDR soldier killed on January 2nd by the Tyrone Brigade was shot as he was about to drive away from his home in Castlederg. Several IRA Volunteers, armed with automatic weapons, took part in the attack in which over a dozen shots were fired.

COMMERCIAL TARGETS

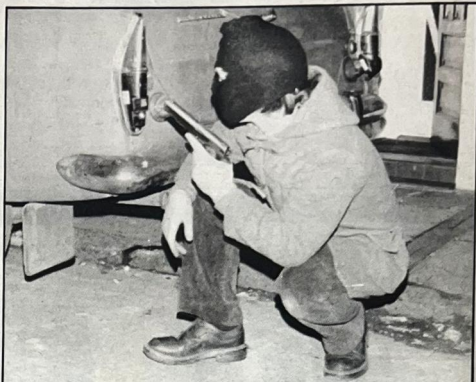
The same night, Tyrone Brigade attacked two businesses in Dunganon. Two IRA active service units placed bombs outside Davidson's car showrooms in John Street, and at Holmes' coal yard on the Ballygawley Road. Extensive blast damage was caused to the showroom and the offices in the coal yard were devastated.

In the third bomb attack on Monday night, North Armagh Brigade, using three bombs, totally destroyed Brennan's furniture store at Loughgall Road in Armagh. Tens of thousands of pounds worth of furniture and carpets were burned in a raging fire which followed the explosions.

The day before, on January 1st, Tyrone Brigade bombed three targets in the county. The Kildress filling station at Drum Road, Cookstown, was their first target, with the bomb causing minor damage. A few miles away two bombs destroyed a furniture factory, while in Cabra, Lamont's Supermarket was extensively damaged by an incendiary bomb.

HOAX BOMBS IN BELFAST

A series of hoax bomb attacks on December 29th by Belfast Brigade caused widespread disruption to Belfast's commercial centre



at the height of the sales.

At mid-day a lorry which had been commandeered in Beechmount was abandoned on the West Link at the Grosvenor Road roundabout, effectively stopping all cross-city traffic.

A short time later, a beer lorry commandeered on the New Lodge Road was parked on the Albert-bridge Road. A third vehicle, a transit van, was stopped in Roden Street with a beer keg on the front seat. The driver had been ordered to bring it to the new RUC barracks on the Grosvenor Road.

At the same time, a series of phoned hoax warnings emptied most of the major stores in the city centre.

CAR-BOMB BLAST

On Wednesday, December 28th, a huge car-bomb detonated in Upper North Street, Belfast, causing considerable damage to dozens of shops. The several hundred pounds of explosives had been placed in a Renault car and left in Upper North Street when it exploded around 7pm. Crown forces were stretched to capacity dealing with this device and six other hoax warnings, with large parts of the

city sealed off while searches were carried out.

BOOBY-TRAP ESCAPE

A UDR soldier based in Enniskillen, County Fermanagh, had a narrow escape on December 22nd when a bomb attached to his car by an ASU of the South Fermanagh Brigade exploded in Brookeboro's Main Street.

Contrary to RUC claims that the bomb had endangered both the soldier and his family, the IRA, in a statement, pointed out that their attack was carefully planned to avoid any civilian casualties. They said:

"After regular surveillance, IRA Volunteers observed a pattern in the soldier's movements, from work to his home in Brookeboro, from which he returned alone to duty in Enniskillen.

"On Thursday, December 22nd, an ASU waited until the soldier and his family returned to Brookeboro and had parked the car, before attaching the bomb. Before the soldier had returned to the car, the bomb exploded, and he escaped injury. No civilian lives were endangered."

NEW YEAR'S PROTEST



● Nationalists march on New Year's Day against the use of paid perjurers

"WE Irish people have had George Orwell's 1984 here for the past 800 years," Sinn Féin's Martin McGuinness told crowds who attended a New Year's Day march in West Belfast to protest at Britain's use of paid perjurers in the North's colonial courts.

During the rally, Bernadette McAliskey outlined the successive tactics of repression used by Britain since the civil rights protests and internment, continuing:

"Having failed to criminalise the struggle, having failed to break the hearts and determination of our people through the use of Diplock courts, plastic bullets against our children, the SAS, and shooting people down in the street, the final sophistication of this system, in all its 'glory', is the use of perjurers in the courts, so that people will be interned with trial."

DISCREDITED

Maura McCrory, of the Stop the Show Trials Committee, who chaired the rally, introduced the next speaker, Sinn Féin elected representative Martin McGuinness, who pointed out that in the course of 1983, the use of hired perjurers in the six counties "has been totally and utterly discredited", both by retractations and by the blatant lies told in court.

by RUC perjurers.

Following their recent failures, the RUC have realised the need to coach their so-called witnesses far better in future. McGuinness warned that the Quigley and Gilmour show trials, both due to start soon, could result in more than 50 men and women from Derry receiving long prison sentences. McGuinness continued:

"But it has to be remembered that no matter how hard the RUC coach them, no matter how long they train them, these people are telling lies to save their necks, they're telling lies because they're frightened, they're intimidated and they're bought off, and their evidence has no credibility whatsoever."

Fine Gael targets Flynn



● PHIL FLYNN

BY KEVIN BURKE

A SINISTER attempt at political interference in a trade union — to an extent which almost suggests a carefully orchestrated campaign — has been continuing against one of Sinn Féin's vice-presidents, Phil Flynn, who is acting general secretary of the Local Government & Public Services Union.

Efforts to undermine Flynn's position in the union were rather weakly attempted following his election to the vice-presidency at the October Ard-Fheis, after six years on the Sinn Féin ard comhairle, but the attack proper was launched by right-wing Fine Gael Defence Minister Paddy Cooney on Friday, December 16th, in an apparent attempt to persuade LGPSU members not to confirm Flynn in the position of general secretary at the forthcoming annual conference.

If successful, the campaign, which appears to be a combination of Fine Gael right-wingers with a selection of virulent anti-nationalists, would be a precedent for purges in other trade unions — and al-

most without exception the leading members of the trade unions are also leading members of political parties of the broad 'left', whether Labour Party, Workers Party or Communist Party, whilst a large proportion of trade union members are Fianna Fáil supporters and would be aghast at a successful Fine Gael interference in a choice of union leader, even if not particularly sympathetic to Flynn's personal politics.

SINGLED OUT

Cooney, speaking in Leinster House (before news of Ballinamore) on Friday, December 16th, singled out first of all the chairperson of Longford County Council (Cooney's home constituency), Sinn Féin's Michael Nevin, and then Phil Flynn — "the acting general secretary of the largest white-collar trade union in the country". He wondered how people could put Sinn Féin members in such positions and continued:

"When I look at members of the Provisional Sinn Féin, I cannot do so without loathing."

He said that it 'had to be made clear' that Sinn Féin members "are not entitled

to the normal courtesies of the community".

ELEMENTS

After news of Ballinamore and the Harrods bombings, elements in the media enthusiastically took up Cooney's lead and attempted to influence LGPSU members into ignoring Flynn's acknowledged able service and success in 16 years in the union and concentrated instead on his political opinions and Sinn Féin membership — which, in any case, he had never attempted to hide.

In a series of articles in both the *Irish Times* and *Irish Press*, both before and during the Christmas period, Flynn's position was brought up on the flimsiest excuse and speculated upon.

More disgracefully, a few supposed trade unionists of the National Union of Journalists abandoned all semblance of journalistic standards and presented a string of inaccurate reports recording meetings alleged to have taken place which never happened, undertakings given by Flynn to the union executive which were never sought, and information on a union executive vote which never in fact took place.

BISHOP LAUNCHES NEW ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN AGAINST SINN FEIN

Daly diatribe hasn't a prayer

BY KEVIN BURKE

IN AN AMAZING, and lengthy, political diatribe against Irish republicans and their supporters, issued on New Year's Day, but with an eye on the approaching EEC elections, the Catholic Bishop of Down and Connor, Cahal Daly, threw his weight behind those urging further repression of Sinn Féin, North and South.

In the course of the bitter attack, which ran to several thousand words and was billed as an 'Address for World Day of Peace', Daly made no mention whatsoever — even to the extent of one syllable — of the British record of shoot-to-kill, plastic bullets, paid perjurers or any other method of brutal oppression used in maintaining British rule in the North, nor one word of sympathy for the sufferings of its nationalist victims.

Instead he called for Britain to establish some form of political institution which would coperfess the six-county unnatural statelet.

The nearest he came to a criticism of Britain was in gobbledygook phrasology:

"Those who make inter-com-

munity consensus in Northern Ireland unattainable by political means will make violence between the communities interminable."

IGNORANCE

And either through incredible ignorance on his part or, more likely, through his patronising belief that his humble flock could not be *au fait* with world affairs, he urged nationalists to follow the "non-violent course of Solidarity" in Poland, whilst, later, urging Margaret Thatcher to follow her "promising precedent in Zimbabwe" in the Irish context.

The fact that Solidarity (not, in any case, struggling for national freedom) has achieved little success, whilst Thatcher was forced to concede in Zimbabwe at the end

● BISHOP CAHAL DALY
no mention of British violence

of a lengthy guerrilla war by that country's present government, was not explained by the bishop. Nor did he recall what had happened to non-violent civil rights protestors.

Describing the IRA's campaign as 'morally evil', Daly went on to discourse at length on why they could not claim to be fighting a 'just war' — a convoluted theolog-

● DANNY MORRISON
challenge to Bishop Daly

ical concept which the IRA has never sought recourse to.

Daly then went on to misrepresent Sinn Féin's position, accusing them of using votes as a mandate for violence — something which Sinn Féin alone has consistently never claimed either before or after an election, whereas its opponents on all sides have always insisted it is.

Again, the bishop, hoping to keep the anti-Sinn Féin pot boiling in the South, ignored the party's clearly, and repeatedly stated, position, and alleged:

"Its aim has been, and is now more clearly seen to be, to subvert the institutions of the Irish republic."

Then, in a totally hypocritical invocation of the republicans of previous generations — whom the Dalys of the day condemned just as viciously — he claimed that they would repudiate present-day republicans who are "destroying the democratic institutions set up by the sacrifices of the dead generations".

And perhaps most dishonestly of all, Daly asked the nationalist people to believe that the money spent on 'security' would be diverted by the British into providing social necessities and employment in the North, if only the IRA would unconditionally surrender the national struggle.

Even disregarding the social and economic conditions prevailing under British rule before the current phase of the struggle, the possibility that this would be done by a government which, with millions unemployed in its own country, cuts its own people's health and social services to the bone in order to maintain nuclear weapons of mega-death potential, is asking for an act of faith of incredible proportions.

PLATITUDES

The address ended with some brief and hastily thrown in platitudes on the power of prayer:

"To pray is to enter into the action of God upon history: he, the sovereign actor of history, has wished to make people his collaborators," he observed, in an unfortunate choice of words, attempting, at the last moment, to make his political propaganda sound like a sermon but falling short of the pulpit skills displayed by any of the numerous revered unionist politicians.

Commenting on the statement, Danny Morrison, Sinn Féin's elected representative in Mid-Ulster and party PRO, said:

"When the six-county state was first established, the Irish Catholic bishops stated that partition was immoral. I ask Bishop Daly, does he now disagree with that pronouncement?"

"But I especially challenge him to state to his flock whether or not the British presence here is immoral or is missionary work. We in Sinn Féin, categorically and unequivocally, declare it to be immoral and the source of the violence."

Thatcher cheers on UDR murderers

THE BRITISH prime minister, Margaret Thatcher, flew to the occupied six counties for a six-hour visit on Friday, December 23rd.

Heavily guarded at all times and travelling in a flight of four helicopters, she went for a quick walk about among the very loyal Christmas shoppers of Newtownards, met some RUC widows, then flew to Armagh where she visited the UDR base at Dromadd — a choice so obviously offensive to the nationalist population, in view of the number of UDR men at the base involved in sectarian killings of nationalists, that it prompted six local priests to issue a statement of protest, calling Thatcher's visit "an approval of the breaking of the law".

Thatcher issued a brief statement to the press in which she reiterated that the six counties were 'part of the UK', praised her military wing, and had a word of approval for Free State premier G. W. B. FitzGerald.

That morning's edition of the London *Times* carried an article by FitzGerald asking the British for "joint and resolute action on the political front" in order to defeat the 'gun-men'. In Thatcher's statement, this had become an invitation to further step-up "our co-operation in the battle against terrorism".

VIOLENCE

Thatcher's visit, aimed solely at bolstering the flagging morale of the RUC, UDR, British army and loyalists in general, was described by West Belfast MP Gerry Adams as an effort in "promoting the use of violence by the British government in our country".



Exclusive IRA interview

'Our active service units are as determined as ever to carry on the struggle through 1984 and on until victory.'

IN A NEW YEAR INTERVIEW with *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, an authorised spokesperson for the Irish Republican Army spoke about the year ahead and of some recent events which have made the headlines and led to speculation about a retaliatory clamp-down on Sinn Féin by the British and Free State governments.

AP/RN What way does the IRA see the armed struggle proceeding in 1984?

IRA: We foresee continued attacks on British crown forces in the North, on the RUC and the UDR. We will use the resources at our disposal to attempt to raise their casualty rate, which is always our objective but which is often hampered by logistical or supply problems we do not wish to elaborate on.

British forces are presently better protected than they have ever been. Their flak-jackets have been modernised to a standard where they are the most advanced bullet-proof vests in the world and are difficult to penetrate. For mobility and surprise, the RUC in many rural areas rely on heavily-armoured unmarked cars, and British military vehicles have also been strengthened in an attempt to make redundant IRA weaponry which years ago could wreak havoc.

Nevertheless, these vehicles, British soldiers, local forces and out-of-uniform RUC and UDR men are still vulnerable to landmine and gun attacks and we will make full use of these methods in the months ahead. Also, whilst we would prefer to increasingly militarise the war and give the Brits no opportunity to misrepresent our struggle in their propaganda, we still rely on commercial bombing to ram home the message that Britain cannot securely rule or stabilise an area the size of Yorkshire — to use an analogy the Brits are so fond of.

Our active service units are as determined as ever to carry on the struggle through 1984 and on until victory.

In the last few months of 1983 the IRA showed that it had the capacity, despite all the difficulties of being up against the most experienced counter-insurgency army in the world, to inflict a significant number of casualties; for example, in Derry, in Belfast's Polytexnic, in South Armagh, in Newry, in Carrickmore and Armagh city.

All of these actions came after ridiculous statements from figures in the RUC and loyalist parties predicting that the IRA was finished. James Molyneux, leader of the Official Unionists, said in the summer that we would be finished in 12 months, and a deputy chief constable said last August that we were 'in turmoil'.

The Irish Republican Army cannot be beaten because it is a people's army, recruited from an oppressed people who will fight until that oppression ceases.

The armed struggle is the cutting edge of the campaign to remove British forces and achieve a united Ireland. It will and must continue until the British government with-

draws its forces from Ireland.

Paid perjurers

AP/RN: Much of the British and loyalist boasts were based on the fact that there were large-scale arrests throughout 1983 as a result of the paid perjurer phenomenon. How damaging to republican morale was this and the development of the show trials?

IRA: Firstly, there have been perjurers before the emergence of those later ones you referred to. But the idea was recently seized upon by the British and the courts were used in a fashion, as advocated by Kitson a decade ago, of disposing of unwanted members of the public.

The Brit plan was to set precedents in the courts slowly, sentencing small numbers of men and women mostly on the word of witnesses, that is, people who claimed to have been involved with those accused. The perjury of the witnesses would have credibility and, of course, massive propaganda value to the Brits if the witness was to claim to have seen the light, the error of his/her ways. Thus, the RUC got hooked on their 'converted terrorist' terminology which fell asunder as a significant number of people retracted — loyalists and republicans — and publicly stated that, rather than having been converted, they were subverted, bribed, blackmailed and bullied by the RUC.

Now what went wrong with the Brit plan was that the RUC, under the pressure of IRA operations, and, it should not be ignored, perhaps Sinn Féin electoral successes also, shot their bolt. They exploited and expanded a limited clearance and began arresting everybody and anybody, and many of those who were blackmailed or intimidated or who were weak fell into the trap and agreed to become perjurers.

However, the credibility of the 'converted terrorist' theory took severe knockings with the retractions of McGurk, Skelly and others, and especially of Robert Lean because of the false seniority which the RUC had claimed for him.

Republican morale was affected at first because there was some confusion and dismay. But as people adapted to the new situation they came to see it clearly as part of the long list of Brit offensives from internment, to the interrogation centres, to attempted criminalisation. And the IRA took important steps and measures to counter the possibility of infiltration.

The threat from the show trials still remains the central thrust of the RUC's campaign against republican activists and supporters, along with undercover operations aimed at assassination, and the daily routine of repression and harassment.

The show trials will have to be fought politically and through a campaign. The Irish Republican Army for its part will



take action whenever and wherever possible against those who have given perjured evidence in the courts.

Tidey abduction

AP/RN: The killing of a garda and a Free State soldier at the conclusion of the Don Tidey abduction last month was used by the Dublin government to suggest that the IRA was out to overthrow by force of arms the twenty-six-county state. Did the shooting represent a departure by the IRA?

IRA: No. The IRA's General Army Orders specifically state that armed action is not to be taken against the Free State army or the gardai.

What happened during the Leitrim confrontation was a human reaction where armed Volunteers were surrounded by another armed group with superior numbers, and a section of which, the Task Force, has shown ruthlessness in the past in attempts to execute our comrades.

In a number of other, unreported, incidents the garda Task Force has fired on unarmed Volunteers along the border. It has been abusive and threatening, and, of course, murderous at Roundwood, where its members attempted to wipe out an IRA unit which didn't even fire a shot.

So in Leitrim what happened, we have now established, is that the Free State forces again opened fire first and our Volunteers responded in defence of their lives.

They did open fire and threw a stun grenade, not hand grenades, to cause confusion and escape, and the Free State forces fatally shot one of their own men — a

garda. This business about another garda throwing himself over Tidey is nonsense. Tidey was beaten up and trailed about by the Task Force and nearly shot dead by them because they thought he was a Volunteer. He was better treated by us during three weeks than he was during his first three minutes with them.

What happened, as we have said, is that the Free State forces opened fire first and there was an exchange of fire in which the Free State soldier was shot dead.

A stun grenade was then thrown by the Volunteers and, following that, the leading Free State party of 15 were disarmed.

As the Volunteers withdrew, an armoured car opened up and fired hundreds of rounds.

The Dublin government immediately imposed censorship after the shoot-out, just like the Brits did with news during the Falklands war, monopolising the media with their version of events.

And then, afterwards, the Dublin government quite cynically milked all the political benefits it could out of the two tragic deaths, which are just as tragic as the deaths of, for example, the two Volunteers murdered by the SAS in Coalisland.

A McCarthyite witch-hunt was unleashed, not necessarily aimed at the IRA, nor aimed at preventing further abductions, but at attacking the public face of republicanism — Sinn Féin. Sinn Féin, which has defended the oppressed nationalist people in the North, and whose message of Irish republicanism is increasingly relevant in the twenty-six counties, has been hypocritically singled out for attack.

And those in the media or those who have joined in with the chorus for further repression may well rue the day when the Dublin government gets round to turning those measures against them.

The Free State is unstable and reactionary because it restricts its view of things to cover its own interests and perpetuation. That's why the two deaths in Leitrim were presented the way that they were and not in the same low-key way as two Irish men just miles away across Britain's border.

AP/RN: Could you elaborate on this?

IRA: Well, as we said in the statement issued at the time, the ransom demand was directly related to the struggle in the North. A struggle pursued because of the political and moral abdication of the Free State government which acts as an agent of Britain instead of an agent of the Irish nation and Irish sovereignty.

What happened in Ballinamore is a symptom of the disease which affects all of Ireland as a result of British rule. If the Dublin government were to treat the disease — the illegal British occupation — instead of squandering public funds to repress the symptoms, then tragedies such as Leitrim, and many others in the North, could and would be avoided.



It takes considerable finance to run and organise a guerrilla war, and while we have sufficient funds to keep the war going we were seeking a large injection of funds to escalate the armed struggle to shorten the duration of the British presence in Ireland, which is the source of bloodshed and violence.

AP/RN: Why was the abduction unsuccessful?

IRA: The company indicated that it was anxious to pay but FitzGerald and Thatcher issued a joint directive, threatened embargoes, which led to prolonged and difficult negotiations and ultimately resulted in an armed confrontation and two deaths. Prior had even gone to Brussels to meet with Peter Barry solely on the issue and not, as a media smokescreen suggested, to meet over the Dowry affair.

Tidey had been chosen very carefully because of his establishment status, and indeed, after his release, FitzGerald went to his house but left it to two junior ministers to visit the grieving families of the garda and soldier. Tidey has been elevated to the status of a saint, but his company is in Ireland to exploit our people, and we were only exacting from it some dues.

A lot of the media hysteria must have backfired on the Dublin government because every young person in the country, and not just republicans, admired the considerable feat performed by the active service unit which, despite being hounded and surrounded by superior armed forces, evaded searches and dragnets and made it to safety.

Harrods bombing

AP/RN: To turn to the other controversial incident during this period, the Harrods bombing. How serious was the breach of instructions given to the active service unit in London?

IRA: Let us understand IRA strategy in London and operations in Britain generally.

Firstly, our policy is to inflict damage against enemy political and military targets and bring to the attention of the British public that their government is engaged in a war in Ireland, that their government will not allow the Irish people their national rights and that is why a barracks gets blown up or those involved in politically administering, in some way, are attacked.

Such a strategy relies on the premise that the British people do not support British government-sponsored murder in Ireland, that they want their troops withdrawn from Ireland as indicated in all opinion polls, and that they have the potential to eventually force the British government, because of the cost of the war or the attrition rate or because of demoralisation and war-weariness, to withdraw from Ireland.

This strategy requires the belief that if the British people really knew what was going on in their name they would support

the right of the Irish people to self determination. By fighting the war for the last 14 years, we have already demolished much of British government propaganda about the nature of their involvement in the North, about the IRA. In the absence of anything else, bombs in Britain provoke debate, however initially hysterical and racist.

All active service units in Britain, as in Ireland, are aware of the need to avoid civilian casualties, and, indeed, at Harrods a 40-minute warning showed that there was no intention to kill or injure civilians. The British government has attempted to project the Harrods operation as a civilian bombing, despite the fact that they know that if the IRA wanted to kill British civilians it could do so in hundreds.

Presently there is an inquiry being conducted into this incident.

AP/RN: There has been a foreign newspaper report, quoted in the British press, that the Volunteers are to be punished. Is this so?

IRA: All IRA Volunteers, including ourselves, have to account for the operations they are involved in, particularly if something goes wrong.

As a matter of course, inquiries are conducted when accidents occur. Those sitting on such inquiries are people of equal rank to the particular Volunteers.

The Irish Republican Army does not abdicate responsibility for actions carried out by its Volunteers. We are comrades in arms who work at all levels in this army under tremendous pressures. While the Army Council did not authorise this specific operation at Harrods, we do not believe that the Volunteers involved set out to deliberately kill civilians.

The inquiry will pin-point the reasons why the operation went as it did and the leadership, like all other Volunteers, will accept the findings of the inquiry.

AP/RN: The Army Council statement was a fairly unusual one. Why was it made?

IRA: The Army Council met in emergency session and decided upon the text of the statement. In all IRA statements we are truthful. On many occasions we have been challenged because of the difficulties created by our honesty. We understood and foresaw that the candid nature of the statement would create difficulties with sections of our grassroots but we have the right as a leadership, under IRA regulations, and with a global view of things, to make our position known on any operation, regardless of the circumstances, which has not been authorised by the Army Council.

We realised that because of the ferocity and inhumanity of British repression in the six counties, because of the real suffering of nationalist and republican people, because of the way the media distorts IRA statements, that some confusion would follow. But we are confident that given the democratic nature of the Irish Republican Army that this confusion will evaporate.

AP/RN: Perhaps some supporters feel that there is nothing wrong with a campaign of no-warning bombs in London, or that the IRA statement tended to repudiate the active service unit?

IRA: We feel very strongly about this, particularly as the *Irish News* actually referred to our comrades as 'renegades', which they are not. There was no repudiation of our comrades but there was certainly an implicit instruction in the statement at a time of extremely difficult communications.

What British people have to realise is that because of their apathy towards Ireland, which is extremely frustrating, and because of British atrocities in Ireland, some oppressed Irish people and republican supporters, out of desperation, would view no-warning bombs as a way of shaking up the British

public and their government.

Furthermore, many people, and not necessarily republicans, become so exasperated by British and media hypocrisy over, for example, the sufferings of those injured or bereaved as a result of Harrods, in contrast to the attention given to the tears and heart-break of nationalists, that they would sympathise with desperate remedies.

However, regardless of these emotional tendencies and reactions, the republican leadership does not advocate or support such a strategy.

AP/RN: Will there be more bombs in Britain?

IRA: Yes. Despite all the logistical difficulties we will continue to bomb the targets I have described as long as Britain continues its policy of terrorism in Ireland.

This war is to the end. There will be no interval — as in the disaster of partition and its curse on subsequent generations.

When we put away our guns, Britain will be out of Ireland and an Irish democracy will be established in the thirty-two counties with a national government.

And peace with justice will have arrived when that government of the people, and by the people, is a socialist one.

SINN FEIN AND BRITISH HISTORIAN CALL FOR WITHDRAWAL New Year resolutions

BY HILDA MacTHOMAS

IN A New Year message, Sinn Fein has pledged "uncompromising leadership in the days ahead despite the threat of proscription, internment and further repression".

"Sinn Fein's emergence as a major political force in the North and the building of a radical alternative in the South has set off alarm bells in the London and Dublin establishments," the statement said.

Claiming that it had exposed the SDLP as politically bankrupt and lazy at a constitutional level, the message continued:

"We look forward to eclipsing the SDLP in future contests in order to break the deadlock and force political reality on the British and prevent the Dublin government from compromising on the conscience of the Irish nation — the nationalist people of the North."

"We offer those at present tied to the philosophy of loyalism, peace and an equal place with all others in an Irish democracy."

"We offer the British peace by the exit

door and we promise nothing but strong uncompromising leadership in the days ahead."

FAMILIAR

Other messages began the year on a familiar note, with the DUP predictably calling for "a strong and resolute initiative against the IRA", while Alliance simplistically wished that "politicians put aside their differences".

The SDLP's new general secretary, Eamon Hanna, launched a roaring attack on Sinn Fein — one which could equally have been scripted for James Prior.

Hanna pompously stated that the SDLP would be "in the front-line of the struggle to maintain democratic values against the onslaught of the anti-democratic values of Provisional Sinn Fein".

Hanna described the leadership of Sinn Fein as 'ruthless and unscrupulous' and accused them of 'capitalising on social discontent'.

HISTORIAN

In an interview with the Sunday Press

on January 1st, leading British historian AJP Taylor once again came out forcefully in support of an immediate British withdrawal from the North. By their presence, he said, "the British are simply holding down forces which, if they were not held down but were allowed to develop, would take on a more balanced attitude. As long as the British are in Northern Ireland, there will be a militant opposition to them".

Taylor added that the British had done "as much killing as the IRA", and described last century's Famine as "a form of genocide" perpetrated by the British on the Irish.

Taylor was asked about an eventual unionist reaction to a British withdrawal. Ideally, he said, the unionists would "seek compromise with the people of the rest of Ireland", but if they did not it would be "their decision".

"After all," he added, "the British have been in Ireland for centuries and have not produced a peaceful island, so the people of Ireland better have a go at it themselves and not have the British interfering."



● AJP TAYLOR

Housing battle succeeds

A TWINBROOK couple's long battle against Housing Executive negligence and intimidation ended successfully last month when they were awarded substantial damages in a legal test case over the Executive's faulty district heating system in the area.

On December 21st, a judge at Belfast's Small Claims Court ordered the Executive to pay £800 compensation, plus costs, after finding them guilty of breach of contract and negligence in failing to maintain an adequate heating supply to the Aspen Walk home of Tom and Evelyn Collins.

The court case was a by-product of a successful campaign started by tenants of the Aspen/Cherry area of Twinbrook in late 1981, following several years of repeated break-downs of the district heating system. Through organised and persistent pressure, the tenants eventually, in 1982, forced the Executive to begin replacing the communal heating system and install coal or electric systems

in individual homes. The work is still not yet completed.

By October 1981, the Collins family had reached despair, as 31-year-old Evelyn recalls:

"It was one of the most severe winters on record. In court the Executive claimed that the heat was off for six days in all but it was off for six weeks. And when it was working, the radiators were never warm."

"The Executive did nothing and wouldn't even acknowledge there was a problem."

RECORDS

Fortunately, Evelyn and the tenants of the flat upstairs kept records of every break-down, which they were able to produce in court. Throughout that win-

ter, her two young daughters, Mairead and Clar, then aged ten months and three years, were plagued with chest infections.

Tom Collins, a taxi-driver, and Evelyn could not afford to pay for alternative heating on top of the basic charge of nearly £10 a week for the district heating. According to Evelyn:

"In court the Executive led the judge to believe that when there was a big break-down we were getting emergency payments to cope with buying our own heat and paying them at the same time. But in fact you never got that money, it was credited to your account."

Along with nearly 30 other tenants, they refused to pay for heat they didn't get. Most, however, were unemployed and had to abandon the protest when the charges were deducted by the DHSS from their social security payments.

Tom and Evelyn Collins stood firm, despite intimidation by the Executive, which refused them a transfer out of the estate and, for many months, refused to replace the direct heating in their home (both on the grounds that their protest technically put them in arrears), and threatened to seize their possessions to cover the arrears. This they were prevented from doing by the Collins' pending court case.



● Evelyn Collins with her daughters Clar and Mairead

During last month's legal hearing, the intransigent Housing Executive unsuccessfully attempted to defend themselves, according to Evelyn, by "lies" and legal obstruction, apparently for fear that, with district heating schemes in the Shankill and Lower Falls having also proved disastrous, the Executive could find themselves forced in future to pay more often in hard cash for their callousness.

To Evelyn Collins the verdict of 'negligence' against the Executive was not simply an individual victory:

"It was great to win because all along when the heating broke down they were fobbing people off, doing a cover-up. I would say they didn't take the district heating out because of any concern for the tenants but just because the complaints were causing them too much hassle."

Sham jobs don't add up — Fianna

BY TONY BARRY

1983 WAS a black year for young people looking for jobs in the twenty-six counties. While government officials express their satisfaction that there was a slower increase in the rate of youth unemployment, the hard fact remains that the number of young people joining the dole queues grew by 22% last year.

Over 17,000 young people who left school in 1982 were still out of work in May 1983, according to a report issued last week by the Youth Employment Agency (YEA). The YEA is the failed co-ordinating body and sponsor for the various youth employment schemes set up by the Dublin government, and funded by a 1% levy on the incomes of all workers.

Increasing numbers of youths are seeking temporary shelter from the dole queues by signing up for a plethora of projects and schemes. In 1983, over 45,000 young people participated in training, work experience and temporary employment programmes funded by the Youth Employment Levy. That compares with 33,000 in 1982, and 22,500 in 1981.

But the efforts of YEA schemes, the National Manpower Service, and AnCo and Vocational Education Committee (VEC) courses have not



even made a dent in the growing number of young unemployed. They are defeated because the Coalition government hangs all its hopes on the private sector, trusting vainly that capitalism will come up with new jobs if even more lucrative incentives are offered.

A survey of 5,930 young people carried out by the Economic and Social Research Institute showed that only 5% of young people aged 15 to 25 years who had a job found it with the assistance of the National Manpower Service — a damning indictment of the twenty-six counties' major

job agency.

And just who the burden of unemployment falls most heavily on is also made clear in the survey. Early school-leavers (i.e. working-class children) are worst hit, with up to half of all 15-year-old school-leavers ending up without a job.

The fewer qualifications a youth has, the less chance he or she has of getting a job. 48% of youths whose parents are unskilled workers leave school without any qualification. Only 14% go on to all stages of second-level education and

a negligible proportion go on to third-level.

PROBLEM

In a statement, Fianna Éireann (Republican Youth Movement) commented:

"The problem of unemployment generally, and of youth unemployment in particular, is not going to go away. It's here to stay as long as we are saddled with a government that scorns the aspirations of its youth — real jobs with decent pay."

"We want jobs that will last, not a few hundred temporary placements on a half-baked scheme like the Environment Improvements Scheme brought in as an election gimmick and jettisoned just before Christmas."

"This was done in the middle of a Cabinet reshuffle, partly in the hope that no one would notice and partly in order to let Labour Party leader Dick Spring, formerly the socialist responsible for the cut-back, off the hook. He was shifted to the Department of Energy and thereby avoids any embarrassment that might be caused by this latest example of fiscal rectitude."

"No amount of political 'strokes' and no amount of AnCo courses, YEA schemes or the new, and faintly ridiculous, COMTEC (Community Training and Employment Consortia), which the Free State government has just proposed to co-ordinate the activities of AnCo and the VECs, will solve the problem."

"What is needed is a clear realisation that it is the capitalist system that is the cause of youth unemployment, and that only socialist policies will create real jobs with decent pay."



● The launch of the Sinn Féin manifesto for the June Westminster elections

JANUARY

REPORTS COMPILED BY
MAEVE ARMSTRONG, HILARY MACTHOMAS,
SIOBHAN O'MALLEY & JACK MADDEN

IN THE WAKE of Sinn Féin electoral successes in the October 1982 Assembly elections, capturing 10.2% in first preference votes, securing five seats and demolishing the SDLP's claim to represent the views of the nationalist population, the New Year began with the confident announcement in January 1983 that Sinn Féin would contest as many as possible of the North's 17 seats in the Westminster elections in order to maximise the republican vote and close the gap in establishing Sinn Féin as the majority nationalist party in the North.

To Official Unionist politician Harold McCusker, fears of the collapsing colonial economy in the North — with official unemployment statistics at 112,310 — and the growing rise of 'Sinn Féinism', led him to call for loyalists to seriously consider retreating and consolidating their position behind a redrawn border, achieved, undoubtedly, by means of a bloody pogrom against nationalists.

The equally reactionary and extremist fears of the Catholic Hierarchy about Sinn Féin's democratically contested success at the polls were expressed on New Year's Day by Cardinal O'Fiaich during, of all things, a Mass in Armagh, the county where six members of his 'flock' were murdered in shoot-to-kill operations. Ignoring this state violence, he quipped:

"A vote for Sinn Féin is a vote for violence."

A few days later he entertained British bishops whilst refusing to meet relatives of those same victims outside.

Bishop Cahal Daly, typifying the Hierarchy's almost unquestioning support for British rule in Ireland, attacked those who resisted that rule as being 'morally damaged' and called for greater collaboration from middle-class Catholics to bolster the flagging support for the SDLP and British institutions. The IRA challenged Daly to explain:

"Is the British presence, generally speaking, morally good for the nationalist people of the North?"

There was no reply from the bishop during 1983.

In Armagh Prison the six-year long 'no-work' protest by republican POWs ended on January 31st, and, the day before, thousands of people took to the streets to commemorate the 11th anniversary of Bloody Sunday in Derry.

COALITION

In the twenty-six counties, having regained office in December 1982, FitzGerald's Coalition relentlessly propelled their disastrous monetarist economics; dole queues lengthened, taxes soared, and drastic cuts in such basic public spending priorities as housing, health, the social welfare and education threatened those already in despair — the old, sick, young and unemployed.

On January 26th, over 7,000 teachers, parents and students demonstrated outside Leinster House in a militant

show of opposition, sentiments felt throughout the twenty-six counties.

Mid-January brought the exposure of Fianna Fáil telephone-tapping and buggings, as though it was something new, but although everyone carried obituaries for Charles Haughey, he held on to the party leadership in another dirty contest.

The Coalition bent over backwards to regain favour with the Thatcher government — after a year in the cold — and spared no time in proving themselves to be more British than the British, increasing repression of republicans in the ill-fated hope of wooing loyalists.

Section 31 of the Broadcasting Act, which debar republicans from appearing on RTE, was renewed on January 19th and two days later a broad-based committee of journalists, trade unionists and influential individuals was launched to campaign for its repeal.

Peter Barry, the Dublin Foreign Minister, went on a two-day 'fact-finding' visit to the North, meeting various shades of unionism and the SDLP, throwing loyalists another useless sop by declaring that the Free State constitution would be reviewed in an effort to exclude the section claiming jurisdiction over all thirty-two counties.

DOYLE

January saw a series of IRA operations which shook the colonial British establishment, the most successful target being the execution, on January 16th, of Judge William Doyle, who through his collaboration had gained an influential position in the Orange judiciary. The IRA shot dead two members of the RUC's Mobile Support Unit in Rostrevor, County Down, on January 6th, wounding another, and in Derry the previous day IRA Volunteers shot and wounded an RUC Reservist.

In three separate attacks in Armagh and Down on January 11th, two RUC men and one UDR soldier were wounded, while near Forkhill 300lbs of explosives, destined for an ambush of crown forces were prematurely discovered and defused.

There were two other shooting attacks by West Tyrone Brigade around Castlelog on RUC personnel, and on January 18th Tyrone Brigade ambushed and wounded a UDR man five miles outside Omagh. That same day an ASU in Derry ambushed and shot dead an RUC Reservist in the predominantly loyalist Waterside district.

And in a massive IRA van-bomb the heavily-fortified Sion Mills RUC Barracks in County Tyrone was completely destroyed in a neatly executed attack on January 27th.

PAID PERJURERS

The obnoxious use of paid perjurers to repress nationalist resistance to British rule continued throughout 1983, and on January 12th North Belfast man Christopher Black began giving 'evidence' against 38 people.

The RUC's shoot-to-kill policy claimed the life of another victim, Francis McColgan, on January 19th and Sinn Féin personnel in Loughiel, North Antrim, were issued with death threats by the UDR, while the arrest of well-known Sinn Féin activists in West and North Belfast set the stage for what was to follow.

FEBRUARY

THROWN into fear and panic by the accelerating growth of Sinn Féin and the apparent abandonment of the SDLP by the British, Free State premier Garrett FitzGerald eagerly extended his collaborative hand in friendship to the Thatcher government during a BBC television interview on February 1st and expressed 'anxiety' to get into discussions with the Brits on how to prevent Sinn Féin's 'destabilising effect'.

The previous week in Belfast, at a dinner held to mark the 10th anniversary of the enlargement of the EEC, FitzGerald mouthed platitudes to the loyalists about the uniting ability of the Community, but his sanctimonious speech was wasted as both the DUP and OUP boycotted the event.

On February 9th the Coalition introduced a savage Budget on top of already major spending cuts, crippling the worker, underprivileged and unemployed while the rich became richer.

With unemployment figures soaring to 187,000 in the twenty-six counties, 14 workers occupying the Ranks flour mills in Dublin were imprisoned by a legal system heavily biased in favour of employers and against genuine trade union grievances.

An escape bid by republican POWs was foiled in Portlaoise while another period of repression was launched on Irish POWs in England and Armagh.

BOYCOTT

In the North, the Official Unionists grudgingly decided to end their six-week boycott of the Assembly committees only to become enraged again when one of their number, Robert McCartney, took part in a televised debate with Sinn Féin's Mid-Ulster elected representative, Danny Morrison, on UTV's *Counterpoint* programme.

Meanwhile, the SDLP annual conference voted overwhelmingly in favour of contesting all 17 Westminster seats in a bid to counter the strong Sinn Féin challenge and John Hume headed for Dublin in an effort to

gain badly needed support from Dublin politicians for his 'Council for a New Ireland' plan. That week, in an outburst of uncommon militancy, Hume called on Brit direct-ruler James Prior to resign.

Inner tensions in the DUP caused the resignation of two of its councillors and as soon as the OUP returned to the Assembly their deputy-leader Harold McCusker led a 'mass walk-out' of almost half its members in a row over the selection of committee chairpersons again.

SUCCESSFUL

Intensifying its level of successful military operations into February, the IRA shot dead two RUC men and wounded several other enemy personnel in shooting attacks throughout the North, showing once again their ability to switch from an apparent period of lull to one of an effective striking power.

On February 20th an ASU of the South Down Brigade ambushed and shot dead an RUC Reservist in the centre of Warrenpoint, covering their retreat by lobbing a hand grenade at the nearby barracks.

Unfortunately, that same day a 53-year-old postman, Alan Price from Enniskillen, was shot dead by an IRA unit in a case of mistaken identity for a UDR soldier whose part-time round Mr Price was standing in for.

A second RUC man was to die within the space of 24 hours, being caught in an IRA booby-trap explosion in the nationalist Shambles area of Armagh city on February 21st, and the following day an RUC Reservist and UDR soldier were shot and wounded near Sixmillcross.

At the beginning of the month three other UDR soldiers were wounded in Derry, Bellaghy and Castlewells, while in a commercial bombing in Armagh city several incendiary devices placed in Shaw Tyre and Battery warehouse completely gutted the building.

IRA Volunteers in Ballyvaughan, County Tyrone, ambushed and shot dead a UDR soldier on February 25th, bringing the total to three enemy fatalities in the month of February and the fourth successful operation in the space of a few days.

SHOOT-TO-KILL

The IRA's ability to wage war brought heart to the oppressed and beleaguered nationalist population in the six counties as the shoot-to-kill policy was stepped up and claimed the life of

an unarmed INLA Volunteer, Neil McMonagle, mown down in Derry by Brits who also wounded another man.

A march organised by relatives of six shoot-to-kill victims was held on February 6th in Lurgan.

The Brit's answer to rising political action, both in electoral successes and involvement in agitation on social and economic issues within the nationalist communities, was the harassment of Sinn Féin activists. The Sinn Féin centre in Derry was besieged by Brits who attempted to force an entry on February 16th, Martin McGuinness and several other Sinn Féin workers were assaulted. And in Belfast detention of Sinn Féin workers became a daily occurrence.

Brutality, raids, arrests, undercover activity and surveillance continued against the nationalist community and also succeeded in further 'alienating' them from British rule.

LIVINGSTONE

At the invitation of Sinn Féin, Ken Livingstone, chairperson of the Greater London Council, and two other Labour councillors arrived in Belfast on February 26th to begin what the hysterical media termed an 'extremely controversial' two-day private visit. They toured nationalist West Belfast and Livingstone told the press he had been 'deeply shocked' at the scale of poverty, unemployment and bad housing, a picture continuously distorted by British propaganda.



● Labour Councillor Steve Bundred and GLC leader Ken Livingstone during their February visit to Belfast

(continued on next page)

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And following his near fall from power only a few weeks beforehand, Fianna Fail leader Charles Haughey, at the annual party conference, directed his speech to the British presence in the North, almost but not quite, calling for a British withdrawal in a resurrection of verbal republicanism whilst out of office.

MARCH

ON March 1st, the second anniversary of the H-Block hunger-strike begun by Bobby Sands, republicans at home and abroad paused to reflect on the heroism and sacrifices of the hunger-strikers. But the political lessons gained in the aftermath of the hunger-strike continued to strengthen the republican struggle and for the first time in more than 50 years Sinn Féin in the North contested a local by-election, for a vacant seat on Omagh District Council. The victory for their candidate Seamas Kerr, on March 22nd, was total, with Kerr topping the poll on the first count, well ahead of Alliance, the SDLP, Workers Party and IIP.

The racist Prevention of Terrorism Act was again renewed on March 7th while in the USA massive and successful demonstrations were organised against the British Queen's visit, deeply embarrassing her host Ronald Reagan and displaying the real depth of feeling in the US against British rule in Ireland.

This was clearly demonstrated in one of the largest and most controversial St Patrick's Day parades seen in New York for many years, led by Irish Northern Aid founder Michael Flannery. Despite hysteria from both Brit and Free State premises — who dubbed the march as support for the IRA — their 'black propaganda' had the opposite effect and Flannery and the Noraid contingents were cheered every step of the route.

FLOUNDERING

In a follow-up to his trip to Dublin in February as spokesman for his Council for a New Ireland, John Hume at first found the water rather cooler in March. FitzGerald and his Labour Party partners were getting cold feet as the 'master plan' had overlooked the participation of loyalists.

The Free State government's Forum, however, was launched after all to prop up the floundering SDLP. But it lost early credibility, not only because it was given the thumbs down by loyalists, but because it excluded a sizeable section of the nationalist community — the 35% who had voted for Sinn Féin the previous October.

Meanwhile, a proposed EEC enquiry into the North continued to provoke angry reaction from both unionists and British politicians, with several Tory MEPs being severely ticked off by Thatcher for allowing the idea to gain such momentum in Brussels.

For the fourth year in succession, on International Women's Day British and Irish feminists picketed Armagh in support of the women republican POWs who were being subjected to degrading and humiliating strip-searches.

STRIKING HARD

In a series of successful operations in March the IRA maintained pressure, striking hard against both economic and military targets. On March 2nd an RUC man was shot dead in North Belfast. Two days later, in Clady, County Tyrone, an RUC Reservist manning a permanent checkpoint was hit in the shoulder by an IRA sniper.

The main Belfast-Dublin rail-link was severed by an IRA bomb at the Kinsagart Bridge and in separate attacks on 9th and 25th March in Castlewellan and Tyrone, two UDR men were injured.

On March 15th three Volunteers from the IRA's South Down Brigade shot dead an RUC Reservist outside Newry. Within the space of four days, from March 12th, there was a hand grenade attack on Springfield Road Barracks, an RPG-7 rocket attack on a British Saracen, both in Belfast, and a mortar bomb attack on a permanent Brit checkpoint at Mullan, County Fermanagh.

A booby-trap explosion on March 30th, on the Falls Road in Belfast, seriously injured a member of a Brit foot patrol who died several weeks later.

DAILY BRUTALITY

Three nationalist youths narrowly escaped death in Strabane in a continuation of the shoot-to-kill policy, while death threats, arrests, and assaults by the crown forces continued. One example of the kind of daily brutality encountered by the nationalist people was an assault where Ballygawley woman Josephine McCaffrey, a mother of eight children, was knocked unconscious by the RUC who forcibly entered her home during a raid.

The actions of the Free State's Special Task Force equalled, if not excelled, this type of oppression and on March 13th they actually invited RUC detectives to join them in Clones and Monaghan garda barracks whilst three republicans were being interrogated and assaulted.

And as if the daily litany of armed state brutality on both sides of the border was not enough, following close behind came high unemployment, atrocious housing conditions and poverty, not to mention the constant battle against the bureaucracy of state establishments.

APRIL

ON Sunday, April 3rd, Irish republicans everywhere commemorated their patriot dead.

"Our struggle has many facets," the leadership of the Republican Movement declared in a statement, praising the recent political and military victories achieved by both Sinn Féin and the IRA against the enemy.

On April 5th, Seamas Kerr took his recently-won seat on Omagh District Council. And as rumours of impending general elections began to mount in Britain and in the North, two unionist parties held their annual conferences. On April 9th, Paisley's DUP met, and started the haggling over electoral pacts with their rivals in the OUP. On April 19th, the 'moderate' unionists of the Alliance Party issued an appeal to the SDLP to take their seats in Stormont and abandon the 'divisive' Dublin Forum.

PREPARATORY

The first preparatory meetings for Hume's Forum took place in Dublin on April 14th and 21st. A chairperson, Galway academic Colm O hEocha, and a venue, Dublin Castle, were agreed upon. On April 14th, the SDLP nominated candidates in all 17 constituencies of the six counties, and later that month refused point-blank an offer by Sinn Féin to discuss agreed nationalist candidates.

Bishop Cahal Daly's warning to Catholics against a 'vote for violence', marked the start of a vitriolic campaign against Sinn Féin by the Catholic Hierarchy, the SDLP, unionist and British politicians and the media. As for Gerry Fitt, he chose to launch his electoral campaign after some local youths had petrol-bombed his house on April 21st.

UNEMPLOYMENT

Unemployment continued to rise, both North and South, and at the annual conference of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions' Northern Committee, the unions set as 28% their estimated unemployment figure. The workforce at Fermanagh's Belleek Pottery fought on to prevent further redundancies and a take-over of the company. Belfast Citybus drivers had been suspended for refusing to drive unroadworthy buses. Ulsterbus drivers came out in sympathy on April 15th.

In the twenty-six counties, PAYE protests continued, with 100,000 people demonstrating on the streets on April 13th. Ranks flour-mill workers intensified their action to prevent the company directors from using cheap imports. At the end of April, the People's March for Decent Jobs took place from Cork to Dublin. Leitrim farmers began campaigning against indiscriminate afforestation of arable land.

BENNETT

Sean McConnell, a Lurgan nationalist, was beaten to death by a loyalist gang on April 3rd. UDR men shot people indiscriminately at a Fintona petrol station on April 8th, British soldiers desecrated a H-Block monument in Crossmaglen on April 9th, and injured a Bessbrook youth on



● 1983 saw Thatcher continuing to seek to subjugate the nationalist people of the North by both military means and monetarist policies whilst FitzGerald cravenly backed her up with extensive cross-border collaboration



● The SDLP's main electoral life-line, the New Ireland Forum, opened in Dublin Castle on May 30th

April 22nd.

On April 11th, a Diplock Court judge convicted 14 loyalists on the sole evidence of paid perjurer Joseph Bennett, whom he described as "a ruthless, resourceful and experienced criminal". The verdict was condemned by uneasy unionist politicians.

On April 18th, Lorraine Gilmour came home to Derry, leaving her perjuror husband in the hands of his RUC 'ministers'. Linda Quigley's parents tried to get their daughter back through the courts.

In the South, harassment of Sinn Féin personnel continued, with nine charged with IRA membership on April 29th. The charges were later successfully contested.

UNABATED

IRA resistance continued unabated. The Tyrone Brigade mounted two successful bombing operations within two days, killing one Brit and injuring another on April 9th, and destroying a filling station on April 10th. RUC patrols came under attack in North Antrim on April 6th and in Derry and Armagh on April 21st.

The Derry Brigade shot dead one SAS man and injured another in a successful gun attack on April 11th, and in Keady, a member of the Territorial Army was shot dead on April 13th.

MAY

ON May 9th, Thatcher ended weeks of speculation by calling a general election for June 9th. The two main unionist parties failed to come to an electoral agreement in West Belfast, South Down and Mid-Ulster. Alliance stood down to help the SDLP against Sinn Féin in three constituencies. Sinn Féin nominated 14 candidates, and as their campaign got under way they expressed confidence, especially in West Belfast and Mid-Ulster.

Vicious SDLP attacks on Sinn

Fein intensified. On May 19th, Alistair McDonnell of the SDLP accused the IRA of having taken over tenants' associations 'at gunpoint'. Hendron called Sinn Féin 'fascists' and Feeney equated IRA and British army violence. Catholic clerics issued further calls to their flock not to vote for Sinn Féin.

Meanwhile, the SDLP's main electoral life-line, the New Ireland Forum, opened in Dublin on May 30th, with long addresses by the four party leaders, FitzGerald, Spring, Haughey and Hume.

A Dublin court rejected Gerry Tuite's appeal on May 2nd. On May 1st, Nicky Kelly started a hunger-strike for his release and on May 26th, and again on May 31st, Coalition Justice Minister Michael Noonan stated that he was not prepared to reverse the court decision on Nicky Kelly, in spite of an almost universal belief that Kelly was innocent. On May 27th, Nicky Kelly was transferred to hospital.

CLOSURES

In the twenty-six counties, unemployment rose, with more job losses and threatened closures: Teletron in Tallaght, Goodyear, and McArdle's Coachbuilders in Dundalk. Dublin deep-sea dockers went on strike against the lack of work. The Ranks dispute continued. In Smithborough, County Monaghan, workers at Grove Farm Ltd began industrial action over union rights.

In the North, Belfast's Sirocco engineering works, which discriminate against Catholics, got a £1 million contract from the Dublin government as part of their attempt to woo Northern loyalists.

On May 8th, thousands of nationalists marched up the Falls Road in Belfast to commemorate the 12 hunger-strikers who have died in the latest phase of the struggle.

An inquest held in Derry on May 3rd found that Gary English and Jim Brown had been deliberately killed by a British army landrover in 1981. A Crossmaglen man was injured by the Brits on May 10th, and on May 15th a plainclothes RUC

man fired into a crowd in Coalisland. On May 26th, Trevor Close, a North Belfast nationalist, was murdered by loyalists.

On May 27th, a housing protest in Belfast city centre was attacked by the RUC.

IMMOBILISED

The Volunteers of the IRA continued their attacks on the Brits and the RUC throughout May. Hundreds of Brits were immobilised by a booby-trapped petrol tanker in South Armagh, which they finally made safe on May 3rd. The South Armagh Brigade attacked a Brit helicopter with an M60 machine gun on May 12th, and mounted a landmine attack on an RUC patrol, injuring two RUC men.

In Armagh, two UDR men were injured in a grenade attack on May 12th, and on May 27th, a bomb was detonated beside an RUC car. On May 5th, a UDR man was injured near Enniskillen, and the next day an RUC patrol was attacked in Lisnakeel.

In Derry, on May 10th, the IRA accidentally killed Mrs Purvis, the wife of a British soldier, while attempting to shoot her husband.

Derry Volunteers were in action on May 29th when an ASU escaped capture by attacking a Brit patrol with gun and grenade. Brits were also attacked in County Down on May 7th.

In Belfast, the IRA launched two successful commercial bomb blitzes, on May 8th and 29th, destroyed Andersonstown RUC Barracks on May 24th, and shot dead an RUC communications officer on May 16th.

JUNE

THE Westminster election campaign in the six counties drew to a close, marked by constant harassment of Sinn Féin election workers by the Brits, RUC and UDR, and repeated attacks by politicians, clergymen and the media. On June 6th, however,



● During their visit to Lond...



● Members of the pop group who was murdered by a Brit...



● Members of the pop group who was murdered by a Brit...

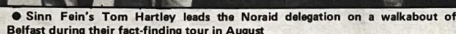
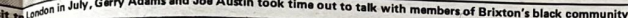
a worried John Hume that Thatcher's policy in Sinn Féin. Harassment on election day, but a high turnout in areas (74% in West Belfast).

The next day, the results which sent shockwaves through the British and Irish far beyond Sinn Féin's Sinn Féin increased its share of the vote to 35% to 43%.

In West Belfast, the SDLP by a narrow margin won the seat. Gerry Adams was elected to the British House of Commons, and martyr by the British.

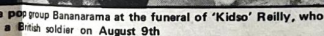
Sinn Féin narrowly won a second seat in Mid-Ulster, the DUP, the SDLP's vote-splitting. The historic seat of Fermanagh was lost by the British into the hands of the UDR major Ken Maguire, much bitterness among the

arms was lifted by the 12 hours after the election. British directorate reiterated that he would the Sinn Féin MP. The SDLP's only seat, Foyle, tailor-made for On June 28th, Hume



Hugh Torney, named by INLA perjurer Harry Kirkpatrick, was arrested.

(continued on next page)



RELENTLESS

Throughout the month, IRA units pursued their relentless attacks on

Needless to say, one RUC man got off scot free, and the other three had

On June 19th, Gerry Adams addressed thousands of republicans at Bodentown, outlining the work to be done, especially in the South. On June 22nd, a Derry inquest contradicted the British army version when it found that young Stephen McConomy had not been rioting when he was killed by a Brit plastic bullet in 1982.

Throughout the month, IRA units pursued their relentless attacks on occupation forces, killing a UDR



REVIEW OF THE YEAR 1983

(continued from previous page)

ed in Drogheda on foot of an extradition warrant from the RUC and which was granted at a Drogheda District Court. He lodged an appeal.

Unemployment figures, North and South, rose by 41,000 in the year since 1982.

BOOBY-TRAP

The IRA's Derry Brigade injured two RUC men in a booby-trap bomb in the Rosville Street Flats on September 5th, and Derry Brigade ASUs attacked an RUC landrover on the Culmore Road two days previously. In Belfast, the tightly guarded security zone was breached and a number of incendiary devices caused damage to business premises.

On September 11th, an RUC man was wounded in an attack on Cloughmills barracks in North Antrim, and the following day the IRA in Derry attacked an RUC mobile patrol in the Shantallow area.

On September 20th, the IRA's North Armagh Brigade killed a UDR soldier in a booby-trap bomb in Portadown.

In Belfast and Armagh, on September 17th, incendiaries were planted in business premises and a customs post on the Armagh to Monaghan road was burned down.

In East Belfast, three incendiary bombs damaged shops on the Newtown Road. Six blast incendiaries destroyed a warehouse in Derry on the 20th, and, on the following day, a landmine narrowly missed a UDR patrol on the Knockloughrim Road in Gulladuff. Three soldiers were slightly injured.

An Armagh filling station on the Portadown Road was damaged by three bombs, and one hour later, three bombs destroyed a timber yard in Newry.

On September 29th, a pub on Pomeroy's Main Street was bombed by Tyrone Brigade of the IRA, and that night four business premises in Dunganon were also attacked. In Strabane, the County Building was damaged by a bomb, and in Cabragh, also in Tyrone, a supermarket was destroyed by fire-bombs.

OCTOBER

THE political repercussions of the H-Block escape continued into October when, at an emergency meeting of the Stormont Assembly, calls were made for the resignation of both James Prior and his junior minister for prisons, Nicholas Scott.

Amidst reports of vicious revenge beatings being meted out to prisoners by uncontrollable warders who took over the administration of the H-Blocks following the escape, further salt was rubbed into British wounds on October 6th when, in an exclusive inter-



view with *AP/RN*, a group of escapees gave a detailed account of their break-out.

The show-trial strategy suffered serious reverses, and nationalists, who on October 2nd met in Dunganon to form a broad-based campaign of opposition to the use of paid perjurers, gained some consolation when two men refused to give perjured evidence against people they had implicated in alleged IRA activities.

The retraction by Robert Lean, who, the RUC had boasted, would destroy the IRA and Sinn Féin in West Belfast, caused severe embarrassment in official circles. So angry were the RUC that they vindictively arrested Lean as he emerged from a press conference, only releasing him a week later.

Dunganon man Patrick McGurk again emphasised the depths to which the RUC will sink when, on October 24th, it emerged that he had never signed statements against seven Dunganon men being held. All seven were released after spending 18 months in custody on remand.

The Kevin McGrady show trial spluttered on, however, and despite the acquittal of two of the accused and Judge Lowry's own description of McGrady's evidence as "unsatisfactory and inconsistent", a further seven men were found 'guilty' on Wednesday, October 26th.

BRIGHTON CONFERENCE

A Sinn Féin delegation to the British Labour Party conference in Brighton was well-received by delegates at a fringe-meeting. However, when conference resumed the following day, resolutions proposing a radical change in the party's policy on the North was defeated. Days later the Westminster parliament voted to adopt the racist 'Prevention of Terrorism Act' as permanent legislation.

Repressive legislation in the guise of the Criminal Justice Bill was released by the Coalition government on October 18th, one day before Leinster House politicians returned from their 'summer recess', and only weeks after a further prop had been handed to British rule in the six counties through the Kinsale gas agreement.

British Intelligence was severely embarrassed following the Casuso adventure in which at least two Dublin couples 'won' mysterious holidays in sunny Spain. Those holidays were simply designed to recruit informers whom the British believed would have information on republican activists.

Censorship of the republican viewpoint severely backfired on the American government in October, firstly in the banning of trade union and Sinn Féin activist Phil Flynn from entry to the country. This led to widespread protests by the powerful American trade unions against Ronald Reagan.

The return of Sinn Féin elected representatives Danny Morrison and Owen Carron to the USA to face charges of illegal entry on a previous occasion also backfired as it allowed both men the opportunity to conduct a countrywide publicity tour of the United States without hindrance.

ECONOMIC GLOOM

The economic gloom continued with 680 employees of the Dunlop factory in Cork beginning a sit-in to try and win proper redundancy terms. After a 14-month lay-off 400 workers at the Snia factory in Sligo were told on October 11th that their factory would never re-open. The dispute at Clery's department store finally ended on October 12th, but even there redundancies were included as part of the settlement.

Finally, the prospect of further job losses emerged following the take-over of the PMPA insurance group by a government receiver, while on October



● A classroom full of RUC men at the Ulster Polytechnic was devastated by an IRA bomb on November 4th, resulting in the deaths of two RUC personnel and injuries to 14 others

27th John Bruton, Coalition Industry Minister, reneged on his commitment to re-open Clondalkin Paper Mills.

NEW HEADACHE

Five members of the crown forces died and another was fatally wounded in attacks throughout the six counties. Attacks on commercial and military targets caused new headaches for the RUC who had stupidly announced the imminent defeat of the IRA in September.

On October 4th, IRA Volunteers in South Armagh launched attacks on two British army checkpoints near Crossmaglen, wounding at least one soldier. Although a 400lb bomb left outside Sion Mills RUC Barracks, County Tyrone, failed to explode, other bombs at commercial targets in Belfast, Lisburn and South Down damaged both their targets and British morale.

Two RUC men died in an IRA ambush in Downpatrick on October 6th. Three days later, an RUC patrol in Armagh came under rifle-fire and a grenade attack. The following day, an RUC inspector was wounded by high-velocity shots fired at Woodbourne RUC Barracks in Belfast.

Omagh Courthouse was blasted in a bomb attack on October 14th, and two RUC men narrowly escaped death when a 600lb landmine exploded on the road in front of them, near Coalisland, on the same day. Derry Brigade were more successful two days later when in a carefully planned attack they killed one British soldier and seriously wounded another.

Another British soldier was fatally injured in a bomb blast in Crossmaglen on October 26th, while in Turf Lodge a similar attack on the same day caused minor injuries to another British soldier. Two days earlier, on October 24th, a UDR man died in an attack by IRA Volunteers near Dunganon, and in Derry the IRA bombed derelict shops being used as undercover bases by the British army.

In further attacks, an RUC man was shot dead in Derry on October 28th and the commercial heart of Armagh city was blasted by a 500lb car-bomb. On October 31st the IRA in South Armagh pursued an unmarked RUC car and wounded two RUC men.

A tragic error resulted in the death of a Newry man, mistakenly believed to be an RUC Special Branch man whom he resembled.

In the closing days of October, Gerry Fitt was rewarded for his services to British imperialism by being admitted as Lord Fitt of Bell's Hill into the British House of Lords, the supreme bastion of imperial privilege.

NOVEMBER

NOVEMBER began as October had ended, with further attacks on British forces beginning on November 4th with a devastating bomb blast in a classroom full of RUC men at the Ulster Polytechnic in Jordanstown. Two RUC members, an inspector and a sergeant, died in this attack and 14 other RUC personnel were injured.

Two UDR soldiers escaped serious injury in an attack near Strabane, but two days later, on November 6th, an RUC member was shot dead at Rasharkin, County Antrim, while IRA Volunteers in Fermanagh launched a co-ordinated incendiary attack in three separate areas.

The following day, Armagh Volunteers launched a fire-bomb attack in Lurgan and the soldier injured in the Crossmaglen attack at the end of October died from his wounds.

Mortars rained down on RUC men in their newly built Carrickmore Barracks on November 12th. One RUC man died and a further 33 were injured. Two days later, the UDR in Armagh suffered a severe reverse when Major Charles Armstrong died in a booby-trap bomb blast while the chief architect of the paid-perjurer strategy in Derry, Detective Inspector Derek Martindale, was seriously wounded in a daring attack by the IRA on November 15th.

Derry Brigade attacked again on November 19th injuring a UDR soldier. Yet another UDR soldier escaped death in a booby-trap explosion in Tandragee in County Armagh.

Anti-personnel mines were used by the Belfast Brigade on two occasions, the first on the Falls Road on November 24th when two British soldiers were seriously wounded, the second on the New Lodge Road when another was injured on November 28th.

SECTARIAN

Sectarian attacks were unleashed throughout November, with Adrian Carroll being shot dead by the UDR, under the guise of the 'Protestant Action Force', and a week later the revenge attack on a Pentecostal service in Darkley where three Protestants were shot dead on November 20th.

Days later, one Catholic was injured in a shooting incident and another was beaten to death in sectarian violence.

(continued on next page)



● Robert Lean is re-arrested by a vindictive RUC after retracting his 'evidence' in October



Strand area of East Belfast.

The shoot-to-kill policy continued unabated, however, and two unarmed IRA Volunteers, Brian Campbell and Colm McGirr, were shot dead by members of the SAS near Coalisland on December 4th. And giving official blessing to such tactics Margaret Thatcher chose to visit Dromadd Barracks, in County Armagh, from which most of the UDR murderers had been arrested, when she arrived in the six counties on December 23rd.

BLINKERED

The Haagerup report, commissioned by the EEC, arrived on December 12th, with blinkered and sparsely informed notions of the situation in the six counties, advocating power-sharing and some Anglo-Irish tier of government. Four days earlier, the North's Fair Employment Agency had released its report on sectarian discrimination in the Civil Service. After four years, this report, which had been partially leaked beforehand, included conclusions from the body under review — the Civil Service!

The EEC super-levy proposals, designed to penalise milk production, virtually destroyed even the pretence of European economic unity and at the December summit in Athens this issue, which would particularly affect Irish farmers, led to the breakdown of talks.

In a significant move on December 12th, leading Irish trade unionists invited Ken Livingstone of the Greater London Council to a debate on trade unionism and the Northern crisis, while two days earlier, on December 10th, trade unionists had joined strikers at Condon's Concerto in Tullamore in a demonstration in support of their right to join a trade union.

The calibre of perjurers in Northern courts became apparent yet again in the case of John Morgan, whose total inconsistency forced the judge to dismiss his evidence as 'dishonest' and 'most unreliable'.

ATTACKS

IRA actions continued unabated in December when, besides the attacks on Temple and Graham, Volunteers launched two separate attacks on commercial targets in Newry, bombing five targets. On December 8th a UDR soldier in Loughmargry, County Tyrone, escaped injury in an IRA ambush, but the following day three RUC men were injured in a bomb blast in Armagh.

Omagh, County Tyrone, was the scene of yet another devastating IRA bomb blitz on Friday, December 16th. Targets included the Royal Arms Hotel, a regular haunt of British troops which was totally destroyed in the attack, and several commercial premises. The cost of damage was estimated to be in excess of one million pounds.

The following day, a UDR soldier died in an IRA ambush in Maghera, and two days afterwards the IRA in Armagh launched an incendiary attack on commercial targets.

On Thursday, December 22nd, a UDR soldier in Brookeborough was fortunate to escape a booby-trap bomb which exploded prematurely, destroying his car. Upper North Street in Belfast was the scene of a huge car-bomb on December 28th, and hoax bomb warnings caused chaos to the commercial heart of Belfast the following day.

OPPORTUNIST

The discovery of Don Tidey, the supermarket executive abducted by the IRA in November, and the subsequent deaths of a Garda and Free State soldier on December 16th, was followed the next day by five deaths in a car-bomb at Harrods in London. These events led to a hysterical reaction and opportunist calls for the banning of Sinn Féin.

The year closed with the Stormont Assembly falling apart as James Prior tried desperately to keep it going. The Dublin Forum, having gathered together the submissions presented to it, has now to face the impossible task of developing a coherent, unified and generally acceptable report on its findings. Leinster House has drawn ever closer to British dictates and increased collaboration.

The increasingly unpopular Coalition administration continued their economic and social attacks on people in the twenty-six counties while the Tory government remained indifferent to the hardship suffered by people in the six counties, delivering only the mailed-fist solution.

Strip-searching continues in Armagh

BY MAEVE ARMSTRONG

A 23-YEAR-OLD Andersonstown woman, Marie Wright, has been on remand in Armagh Prison since July, and has been subjected to at least 18 strip-searches during that time.

On her way to a court appearance on December 29th, Marie, being again told to strip, asked could she keep on her underwear as she was having her period. The request was refused and she was forced to endure the strip-search.

When she complained to the prison doctor, Cole, he told her that it was "very healthy for a woman to strip in front of a man, or indeed anyone".

Marie was charged with refusing to obey an order, using abusive language and assaulting a warder. She was sentenced to three days' solitary confinement plus seven days' loss of remission, even though she has yet to be convicted or sentenced.

COMMUNICATION

A smuggled communication from the PRO of the Armagh POWs, dated December 27th, described Dr Cole's attitude as "unethical and perverse" and continued:

"Rather than calm the fears of a woman who must endure this ordeal every week, he has increased her anxiety since he clearly sanctions the administration's misuse of authority."

The women called on all influent-



● MARIE WRIGHT

ial groups to lend their weight to securing the ending of strip-searching and concluded:

"As we enter 1984, we again appeal to the public and those interested bodies for your help in resolving this issue."

"Women have been compelled to experience degradation, to have the privacy of their bodies violated for far too long. The psychological effects of this procedure are too great and too alarming for any young woman to bear."

PLAN TO COMBAT VANDALISM

BELFAST Sinn Féin have announced that they will be holding a number of public meetings to organise community action against hooliganism and vandalism in nationalist areas. In a statement issued on January 2nd, they said:

"The escalating problems of vandalism, joy-riding and general hooliganism, allied to the more serious offences of break-ins, muggings, sexual assault and armed robberies in working-class nationalist areas, if not checked, will soon reach epidemic proportions, and indeed in some areas have almost become a way of life."

"To refer to the problems as a type of 'community sickness' is not, in our opinion, to overstate the position."

"A people who for the past 14 years have displayed a magnificent resilience and community spirit, in the face of massive oppression and intimidation by the British army and the RUC, are now finding that resilience and spirit being undermined, not by the obvious forces of oppression, but by elements from within the very community itself."

"While it is a comparatively simple task to diagnose the various facets of the problem, it is quite another matter to analyse, suggest or even attempt to find a remedy."

"Nevertheless, in an attempt to initiate action that may at least lead to an alleviation of the problem, Sinn Féin intend, over the coming months, to convene a number of public meetings in all affected nationalist areas; meetings, we hope, which will be attended by all concerned bodies and individuals from within the community, particularly parents whose influence, we believe, could eventually prove to be a major factor in the overall problem."

BEHAVIOUR

"The fact that the communities in which this behaviour is most rampant are also the communities in which massive unemployment, chronic deprivation and grinding poverty are rife is surely no coincidence."



"While we would recognise and understand that the elements responsible for vandalism and hooliganism have been born in a totally abnormal political and social environment, nevertheless, to the people who are on the receiving end of their activities, namely the victims, sociological analysis is cold comfort."

"The problem is not one of 'policy', or for any outside body to address themselves to. It is the responsibility of the community and the solution must come from within the community, so hopefully the coming year will see a serious and concerted effort by all the community to tackle, alleviate and ultimately eradicate this 'community sickness'."

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ian attacks in Lurgan and Portadown. In a further incident, an 80-year-old pensioner died in a hail of gunfire as RUC members indiscriminately fired on a post-office in Pomeroy, County Tyrone.

The political establishments, North and South, blundered onward. A furious public in the twenty-six counties watched aghast as Leinster House politicians awarded themselves a pay increase of 19% retrospective to early September, while nationalists watched the sickening hypocrisy of politicians following the Darkley killings and the walk-out of Official Unionists from the tottering Stormont Assembly on November 21st.

James Prior delivered his Sinn Féin/Cuba address to Conservatives on November 10th while three days later the Free State government, accompanied by Free State soldiers, paraded with their poppies to commemorate those who died in defence of the British empire. Although relations supposedly soured between Garda Chief Laurence Wrenn and his RUC counterpart, John Hermon, over the Dowra saga, collaboration continued, and on November 29th Free State Foreign Affairs Minister Peter Barry met James Prior in Brussels to further improve relations.

Owen Carron and Danny Morrison walked free from a court in Buffalo, USA, acquitted of charges of illegally entering the United States. Both arrived back in time for the Sinn Féin Ard-Fheis where Gerry Adams was elected president of Sinn Féin and the party geared itself towards increased political involvement throughout the thirty-two counties, voting to contest seats in the next European parliament elections on a non-abstentionist basis.

Within weeks, this electoral emphasis was tested in a by-election in the Dublin Central constituency where Sinn Féin candidate Christy Burke shocked his opponents by beating the Labour Party candidate and taking 7% of the vote.

A major storm erupted following an invitation to the newly elected Sinn Féin president and MP for West Belfast, Gerry Adams, to address the annual Kilimichael commemoration in West Cork on November 27th, but no such lure greeted the FitzGerald-Thatcher summit which further whittled away any semblance of sovereignty in the twenty-six counties, not the report of the inept Dublin Forum that the cost of partition had run into billions of pounds.

RETRACTION

The Criminal Bar Association urged

lawyers to withdraw from the show trials "in view of recent court decisions", while another retraction, by William Skelly on November 14th, dealt a further blow to the paid-perjurer strategy. Charges against seven of the eighteen accused in the John Grimley show trial were thrown out of court, but even this did not stop a continuation of the trial.

On November 17th, a campaign against the extradition of political refugees in the twenty-six counties was launched in Liberty Hall, Dublin.

After two years spent resisting enforced redundancies in their workplace, two workers at Clondalkin Paper Mills embarked on a hunger-strike on November 3rd. The strike ended a fortnight later, following written assurances that a buyer had been secured for the factory.

Monetarist hatchmen continued the rise in unemployment, deciding on November 18th to withdraw government funding for the Scariff chip-board factory, County Clare, in which the state held a 60% stake and on the same day laying off 348 employees in PMPA subsidiaries.

DECEMBER

THREE events dominated the news headlines in December. The first of these was the execution of leading Official Unionist Edgar Graham by the IRA on December 7th; the second, the major controversy over the super-levy proposed by the EEC; and the third, the events surrounding the discovery of abducted Quinns-worth executive Don Tidey and the subsequent attacks on Sinn Féin.

Graham, a major proponent of the paid-perjurer strategy, died six days after the IRA's Derry Brigade shot and injured RUC Detective Ivor Sample, who succeeded Derek Martin-dale as co-ordinator of perjurer recruitment in Derry.

Anticipating media exposure of who was really responsible for the sectarian attacks in the six counties throughout 1982 and 1983, the RUC began a series of arrests of UDR and RUC men in December, charging them with murders ranging from the deaths of Roddy Carroll and Seamus Grew, the Sinn Féin election worker Peter Corrigan, and Roddy Carroll's brother Adrian, all in Armagh city; and, on December 12th, Tony Dawson, a young nationalist from the Short

TV

Aw well, it's 1984

BY SIOBHAN O'MALLEY

THE BBC isn't letting anybody forget it is 1984. George Orwell's vision of 1984 was the inspiration for programmes on BBC2 on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday, with a few BBC radio programmes thrown in for good measure.

Beyond 1984, on Monday, on BBC2, was presented by Stephen Sedley, a barrister, who argued that Britain is already well on the way to totalitarianism, with the rights of the individual to privacy and control of their lives being steadily undermined.

A discussion after the programme was chaired by Nick Ross and the group of lawyers, social workers and policemen who took part, despite differing

views, had a grim view of the future. However, the constant confusing of care and responsibility for people, especially children, with interference and bureaucratic control was the most striking note of the whole programme.

UTV tried their best to take our minds off it all, with New Year's Eve and New Year's Day television dominated by pop

shows, escapist films, and a *Game for a Laugh* special with 'highlights' from the last series. That was enough to plunge viewers into dependency for the rest of the year.

UTV's best offering was in the middle of the usual Saturday afternoon's dose of sport which even New Year's Eve did not relieve us of. Called *It'll be Alright on the Day*, it was a series of clips showing sports reporters making a mess of things, gymnasts falling flat on their faces, and footballers punching each other.

The best one was when a beam fell and hit one commentator on the head just as he started to speak — the sort of thing you would want to



● 'Paddy Gorilla', as depicted by Punch magazine in the 19th century; most of Fleet Street's gutter press maintain the wild, mad or stupid caricature of the Irish happen at the start of every match.

Two of RTE's programmes

for the New Year had a gorilla theme.

The first was a documentary on how English cartoonists in

the 19th century portrayed the Irish. They were first referred to as wild beasts, and this evolved into the *Punch* cartoons which caricatured all Irishmen as apes or gorillas, with 'Paddy Gorilla' becoming a common cartoon character.

The fact that English 'civilisation' was not readily accepted by the Irish people was explained away by their 'wildness' and 'madness'.

The Bank Holiday movie also starred a gorilla, this time poor old King Kong, an unlikely monster whose fate is sealed when he falls for an aspiring Hollywood starlet, appropriately named Dwan.

Kong didn't fancy civilisation either, but his obsession with Dwan spoiled his chances of escape and he falls from a skyscraper in a hail of bullets to the cheers of the crowd and the tears of Dwan, who realises, too late, what she has done.

'Paddy Gorilla' has proven much more resilient.

Big Sister's message

BY EDDIE STACK

IT IS 1984 — there's no getting round it. Most years are cheered in amidst a drunken orgy, fog-horns are sounded, and grannies are kissed warmly as they are congratulated for having stayed alive to see in another year, but that's usually the end of it. Not this year, however. Because some tubercular old crank wrote this doomy book about a totalitarian state and just happened — I repeat, just happened — to name it 1984, we are showered and pelted with George Orwell until it seems he has assumed the role of Big Brother himself.

Those people with access to the Western press have used the beginning of this year to tell us that Orwell was wrong and their policies are right. If we were wrong, they tell us, you couldn't read our honest opinions in this here 'free press'. Certainly republican readers will look vainly for any other opinions in the 'free press'.

Margaret Thatcher has told us that 1984 will be 'a year of liberty'. For whom? Her husband Dennis? The people of Ireland then? But aren't they, by her own admission, free already? We are to enjoy this year of liberty thanks to the fact that profits are rising again and that Cruise missiles will be fully operational. But wasn't one of the mind-numbing slogans of 1984 that 'War is peace'? Today Thatcher tells us that to have peace we must have the bomb. Well fancy that! Today Thatcher tells us she wants peace. And you can believe her. But she wants her peace — a capitalist peace.

THREAT

In the eyes of Margaret Thatcher and all the reactionary class-warriors who support her, the biggest threat to a capitalist

peace is the USSR. In the three-way split that divides the world today (I'm sorry, but this sounds like George Orwell's 1984), it is Russia not Maoist China that wants to eat our children and kick our dogs.

Nice China, we are told. Why those funny little people with those toothy grins — they wouldn't hurt a fly let alone an airliner! And aren't there a lot of them? Guess what they're doing in between the five-year plans (hal hal hal).

But those nasty Russians?

Why, they've got nearly as many missiles as we have. It's very worrying, isn't it? Heavens, if only we had democracy back in Russia. Think of all the cheap minerals we could exploit, just like we do in the Third World.

And the Russian worker, he'd work for buttons. And what would that do? It'll certainly bring down the bargaining power of the Western workers, the ungrateful dubs. And then we can have real profits again, just like the '50s.

Yippee!

Restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union is the long-term goal of the Western powers. Then we can look at those

FILM

funny little Chinese people, hopefully when there's still more of us than there is of them. Until then, the Soviet Union is Big Brother, Satan or Jaws — take your pick.

I link these points in with a review of the latest thriller to reach the screen, *Gorky Park*, because all these points merge perfectly in this film as if they were designed to fit in to some great Orwellian essay which the writer was prone to scribble.

Firstly, the film is an adaptation of the best-selling pulp novel by the New Yorker (and half Puerto Rican) Martin Cruz-Smith. Readers of this fairly enjoyable romp will not have noticed any more gratuitous digs at the Soviet Union (in which the book is set) than they are normally used to getting in our unbiased free press. Secondly, the film has been made by Hollywood and which has secured the services of the terribly liberal English writer Dennis Potter, a man with a good word for the poor but not very many for the Soviet Union. Result: still a fairly good thriller (you don't want to bore those bucks away), and a heavy dose of anti-Soviet Union, the ending of which is pure pass the sick-bag, Seamus.

MYSTERIOUS

In brief, the plot concerns the mysterious finding of three bodies on the edge of Gorky Park in the middle of Moscow. All three bodies have had their faces carved off and their fingerprints removed. Who are they



● Chief Investigator Arkady Renko ensures that American cop Kerwin is aware of his displeasure at having his room searched, but what got in my throat was Gorky Park's tacit assumption that the Soviet government has no support from its people

then? Foreigners? If so, surely this is a job for KGB, thinks the Investigator Arkady Renko. But the hallowed KGB wants no part of it and Arkady, with the aid of "the world's finest militia and the support of the people", embarks on the dirty business of finding the killer. His endeavours lead him to an American businessman, Jack Osbourne, and a beautiful dissident, Irina Asinova. It also leads him right up the path to the KGB hierarchy and corruption at the top. So far, so not so bad.

No one pretends the Soviet Union is Heaven on Earth — except the Sticks — and the film gives a fairly plausible picture of the privileged bureaucratic caste and the cars, swimming pools and country houses that give them a vested interest in the regime.

What gets you in the throat, however, is the film's tacit assumption that the regime there has absolutely no support from the people it governs and that real freedom will only come about when Russia returns to 'democracy' as outlined earlier. The film's re-writer is thus almost Orwellian, if even further to the right of Cruz-Smith. Like Orwell, he can be grieved by the worst aspects of capitalism but he wets himself when faced by Stalinist socialism. Orwell was a convinced socialist, demoralised by Stalin's murders and the betrayal of the Russian Revolution. His critiques of this perverted socialism could thus be taken by the enemies of socialism to be used to beat socialists in general.

It's no wonder *Animal Farm*

and 1984 are Orwell's biggest sellers. All his other works are a call for socialist action. Tut, tut, tut.

With *Gorky Park*, its re-writer has ended up kicking the Soviet Union even harder in this otherwise enjoyable entertainment. If a film with this subject can never be treated in an unbiased fashion in the West, then surely Big Brother is alive and well, even if we have to pay in to see him.

Hollywood/Reagan/Thatcher are the many faces on the one beast trying to turn the Western worker from an intelligent perspective on Russian socialism.

The Russian worker will settle scores in his own time. Like the workers of Solidarity, he will need no 'help' from his 'friends' in Wall Street.

Fuinneoga ar oscailt

LEABHAR

LE GABRIELLE NIG LOCHLAINN

FUINNEOGA. Fuinneoga ar an intinn? Fuinneoga ar an anam? Fuinneoga ar an saol? Seo an radharc a chuireann Tomás Tóibín ós comhair na léitheoirí sa chnuasach Fuinneoga. Cé gur foilsíodh an cnuasach seo dúpla bliain ó shin is ar na mallabha a cuireadh chugainn é.

Ar an chéad duil síos tá cnuasach tharannach ar an leabhar. Tá se breac le pictiúirí a léiríonn agus a mhaisíonn na dánta. Sílim go mealladh an gné seo den leabhar leitheoirí óga, agus molaim na foilsitheoirí agus Karl Uhlemann a rinne na léaráidí. Ar an drochuair is ró-mhíne a bhíonn crot leamh ar leabhair fhíchoilte agus a chuireann leis ar an aos óg tabhairt futhu.

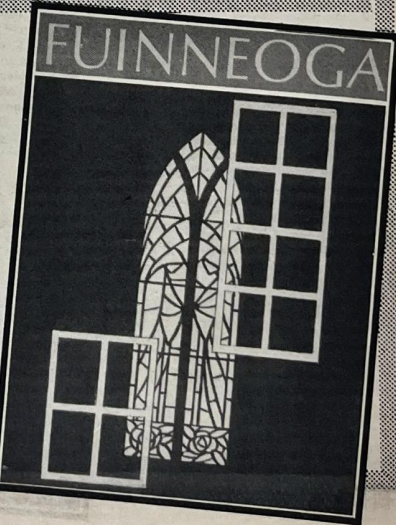
Tá na léaráidí simplí agus soiléir ar nós na teanga féin. Cé go mbíonn doimhneacht agus diamhracht i bhfeallsúnachán an Tóibínigh nuair a scrúdaíonn sé

fadbhanna doréitithe an duine, ní bhíonn an teanga féin casta ná doiléir. Sa dóigh seo bíonn an teanga féin mar thuinneoga a thugann léargas dúinn ar réirne na fíchoilte agus spectream fairisín an tsaoil.

Ar ndóigh is cainteoir dúchais Gaeltige an Tóibínigh. Sílim go n-áithníodh sin agus tá ag léamh an leabhair seo. Níl teorainn le cnuasach cumhacht na teanga mar a mhúnlóinn an Tóibínigh í. Mar a deir sé féin sa dán *Baisteadh*:
*Bíonn focail úra,
De shíor do mí nuachan.*

Chruaigh an Tóibínigh dúinn cheana féin go bhfuil sé ar na filí is mó a léiríonn cumann faoi leith leis an dúra. Is léir an bua seo sa chnuasach Fuinneoga fosta. Amharc ar an dóigh a dtosaíonn an file an dán *Brat Anuas* (tá pictiúr de dhá mhann alla ag barr an leathnagh):
*Ag bun méisíní dom ar maidín
Chonac ailtire 'dhamhan allá
Ina Róimh i súil a lín.
Míle drúchtín, amh, ag drúthliú
Rinne glé gach snáth, dá mhíne,
Tríd an Gcathair-Lios ag sní.
Is léir dúinn an chontrácht idir an chéad líne seo agus an véarsa deiridh:
Chrap an bás, leis, umhal don dúra —
Ach clúir
Chuir deimheas thear an*

ghairdín
Deireadh leis an dráma.
Tá gontacht agus úire le feicéil arís eile sa dán *Fear Amháin* — *Vóta Amháin* nuair a scrúdú aionn an Tóibínigh dhá choimhlint, coimhlint phoibí agus coimhlint phríobháideach:
*Mé féin is mo vóta
Mór againn a chéile,
Cead taobh againn
Gan córda orainn ag aon dron.
Ach is mó 'gam
Fear áirithe den dream thall.
Is cara é.
Ní mínín ann a shamhail sin.
Is léir ó na sleachta sin go bhfuil an-dagsúilacht sna dánta ó thaobh ábhair de, cé go bhfuil tásma na bhfuinneog tríd. Tá na fuinneoga ar oscailt agus is luachmhar an léargas a léirítear dúinn fíriúil!
● Fuinneoga, le Tomás Tóibín, Foilseacháin Naisiúnta Teoranta, lúach £2.*



No surprise

BURKE'S AT THE BACK

By Kevin Burke

FEW REPUBLICANS would be surprised at the final conversion from republican to reactionary of former Sticky chief of staff Cathal Goulding — still a leading member of the Workers Party — which was summed up in a lengthy interview in the *Irish Times* on Thursday, December 29th; although some of his own friends are reported to be extremely upset.

In the course of the interview, Goulding justified the use of paid perjurers in the North; spoke of his disappointment that Garret Fitzgerald had missed the opportunity to "build on a basis of his personal liberalism"; insisted that the six-county state must be accepted as legitimate; supported tougher laws against republicans in the South; and generally turned all his earlier declarations on their heads.

In the process, Goulding managed to paint his own organisation and himself as whiter than white, get away with many obvious misrepresentations, and go totally unchallenged on numerous contradictions.

The reason for the soft ride could, perhaps, have something to do with the fact that *Irish Times* reporter Mary Maher is married to none other than Des Geraghty, a comrade of Goulding's on the Workers Party executive.

★★★★

Dramatic scenes in Belfast this week as the SDLP and the Workers Party, in electoral confrontation with Sinn Féin, attempted to have people whom they imagined to be Sinn Féin voters struck off the electoral register by means of numerous objections lodged with the returning officer on the flimsiest of grounds.

Confronted by angry voters who turned up at the Linenhall Street electoral office on Friday, December 30th, to defend their right to vote, the SDLP and Sticks rapidly wilted, particularly as the returning officer became increasingly annoyed at this 'frivolous and mischievous' behaviour, as she described it.

The SDLP's Brian Feeney finally fled in disarray when confronted by a large lady in a fur coat whom he had hoped to deprive of the vote. She informed him in loud tones that she had voted SDLP since the party's inception but would never do so again.

★★★★

Fermanagh loyalist Marshal Coulter walked free from court just before Christmas after he had been charged with firing shots at three Sinn Féin election workers poster in Enniskillen last May.

A sympathetic crown prosecutor explained to the judge that there was "absolutely nothing political or sectarian in the incident". Perish the thought.

★★★★

Ronald Reagan — and he should know — has been informing the Christmas issue of *People* magazine in New York that the end of the world is nigh.

Discussing on the final conflict of good and evil, predicted as Armageddon in the Bible, the geriatric president said:

"There have been times in the past when we thought the end of the world was coming, but never anything like this."

"I've talked here with my own people because theologians, quite a while ago, were telling me that never before has there been a time when so many prophecies were coming together."

Help!

★★★★

The Labour Party's Senator Tim Conway was on his way into Naas Town Hall for the December meeting of the UDC and paused



● Cathal Goulding — from revolutionary to reactionary

for a photograph with residents protesting against the imposition of local charges on water and refuse collections, holding placards declaring that they would not pay.

The photograph appeared on the front page of the *Leinster Leader*.

Inside the chamber, in the course of an hysterical attack on independent councillor Evelyn Bracken, for previously having congratulated Gerry Adams on becoming president of Sinn Féin, Conway referred to Sinn Féin's intervention in the recent Dublin by-election and spluttered:

"Their slogans were to vote against the rates demands, burn their rates notices and to vote against the government and for Sinn Féin. The work was done to disrupt the state."

★★★★

I see that the Coalition government is to

force senior civil servants to retire on their 60th birthday because it is considered that they are too old for the responsibilities at that age.

Does this mean that the politicians will follow suit and Garret Fitzgerald will withdraw graciously on February 6th 1986 — just two years away?

"Happy birthday to you..."

★★★★

I note that the London-based *Irish Post* newspaper has this year refused to carry greetings to republican prisoners from Sinn Féin in Britain in its Christmas edition.

So far, its editor has not offered any explanation for this ban.

★★★★

The Labour Party's Minister for Health and Social Welfare, Barry Desmond, seems to have got even with Sinn Féin's Christy Burke for beating his party's candidate into fifth place in the Dublin Central by-election.

On Christmas Eve, Burke was informed that his disability benefit was ceased forthwith 'on the minister's instructions' and he received no payment.

★★★★

A man who attempted to rape a woman by threatening her and her 15-month-old daughter with a loaded air-rifle was sentenced to two years 'youth custody' in Leicester Crown Court in mid-December.

Barry Clements asked for ten other offences to be taken into consideration. His solicitor told the court that he had been under considerable emotional strain and had 'gone downhill' since leaving the British army.

★★★★

Also getting off with a two-year prison sentence was William Watson Sweeney, this time for an even more serious offence.

He admitted having 'unlawful sexual intercourse' with a seven-year-old girl and his plea of not guilty to rape was accepted by Judge Brian Gibbons, who told him he had 'considerable sympathy' for him.

Judge Gibbons said that the offence 'strikes me as being one of the kind of accidents that could happen to anyone'.

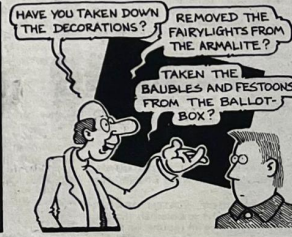
Part of the evidence presented in support of Watson Sweeney, described as a 'London society figure', was a revelation that he had twice been injured in gun-battles with the IRA whilst serving on clandestine operations with the British army in the North.

★★★★

Somebody has informed me that Portumna has just been declared the winner of the 1983 Tidy Town Competition.

I was sure it was going to be Ballinamore.

NOTES
BY CORMAC



WHAT'S ON

SIX-COUNTY SINN FEIN EDUCATION OFFICERS MEETING
Originally scheduled for Sunday 6th January, will now coincide with the national education department meeting in Derry on Saturday 28th January (details below)

FRANK CARROLL COMMEMORATION
3pm Sunday 8th January
WALSH ISLAND
County Offaly
Dublin bus leaves Cabra (Oasis) 1pm & Inchicore (Black Lion) 1.30pm

FERMANAGH SINN FEIN GENERAL MEETING
3pm Sunday 8th January
Killester Hall
KILLESTER
County Fermanagh
All members to attend

MEETING AGAINST THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE BILL
7.30pm Thursday 13th January
Liberty Hall
DUBLIN
Organised by the Prisoners Rights Organisation

IRISH BRIGADE ON TOUR
Friday 13th January
The Ban Boo
MANORHILLTON
County Leitrim

SINN FEIN EEC ELECTORAL CONVENTION
2pm Sunday 15th January
BELFAST
Open to all members of the Republican Movement

SINN FEIN EDUCATION DEPT NATIONAL MEETING
2 to 6pm Saturday 28th January
15 Cable Street
DERRY
All regional education officers must attend
Open to comhairle education officers
Enquiries: phone Derry 268926

BLOODY SUNDAY COMMEMORATION
(12th anniversary)
1pm Sunday 29th January
Carlisle Street/Spittal Hill
for rally at City Hall
SHEFFIELD
Yorkshire
England

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF TENANTS ORGANISATIONS MEETING
(Dublin regional council)
8pm Thursday 2nd February
Liberty Hall
DUBLIN



Republican Diary

DEMAND for the 1984 Republican Diary has been high but there are some copies still available from Sinn Féin at 44 Parnell Square, Dublin 1.

The pocket-sized diary contains vital items such as articles on your rights if stopped in either the North or the South, plus all the usual diary facilities.

Also included are articles entitled *Freedom struggle in Ireland*, *International Women's Day*, *The Irish language*, *The anti-nuclear movement*, and a number of historical pieces, together with names and addresses of Irish language organisations and women's organisations.

The Republican Diary costs £1.75 from the usual outlets or £2 by post from Sinn Féin.

Gorman, Michael Logue, Malachy McCrossan and Paddy McClinchey (H-Block); John Patrick Coleman, Patrick McCann and Kevin Sheehan (Magilligan);

Fergal O'Hanlon remembered

ON SUNDAY, January 1st, the 27th anniversary of the death in action of IRA Volunteer Fergal O'Hanlon was commemorated at a special ceremony in Latturcan Cemetery, Monaghan town. Approximately one hundred people attended.

Fergal O'Hanlon and his comrade Sean South, from Limerick, were killed in an IRA attack on Brookeborough RUC barracks, County Fermanagh, on New Year's Day 1957. They were the first of nine Volunteers to die in the phase of the struggle which commenced in December 1956.

The ceremony held at the graveside was chaired by Caoimhghín Ó Caoláin of Monaghan Sinn Féin. The oration was given by Vincent Conlon, a comrade of Fergal on that fateful day. A decade of the rosary in Irish was recited by Padraigín Uí Mhurchú, sister of Fergal. Wreaths were laid on behalf of Oglaihn na hÉireann in Monaghan and the O'Hanlon/McMahon cumann of Sinn Féin in Monaghan town.

MEMORIAL LECTURE

Later the same afternoon, the third annual O'Hanlon Memorial Lecture was given by Sinn Féin elected representative Owen Carron. The lecture took place in St Macartan's Hall, Monaghan town, and was attended by over 250 people.

Undoubtedly the most successful in



● Owen Carron, flanked by Caoimhghín Ó Caoláin and Padraigín Uí Mhurchú, gives the third annual O'Hanlon Memorial Lecture on New Year's Day

the series to date, Carron received an enthusiastic standing ovation when he completed his address. The subject matter of the lecture and the subsequent discussion that arose from the question and answer session was 'The Way Forward for the Republican Struggle'.

In his address, Carron spoke strongly of his abhorrence of the present blatant collaboration of the forces of the Free State with those of the enemy forces of occupation in the six beleaguered counties of the North-East.

Continuing, he referred to the decades of neglect that the people of County Leitrim had been subjected to

by a so-called native government and contrasted this with the recent near-hysteria and interest shown by the Free State powers in the plight of one Englishman:

"The stark contrast is clear to all who wish to see the reality of present-day life in the twenty-six counties," he said.

Concluding, he said:

"For 14 years we have fought against all odds. We are not intimidated easily and we have developed our programme to progressively building our organisation. This determined effort will continue, at all levels, until final victory is achieved."

Irish Lesson

Nóta - Many readers will have learnt an alternative negative form for this verb, 'ní dhéanach mé', instead of the Munster, 'ní chualaigh mé'.

Chualaigh mé, tú, sé, sí (choo-ig may, thoo, shay, shee) - I, you, he, she, it, went.

Chumar (choo-um-ar) - We went. Chualaigh sibh, siad (choo-ig shiv, shee-ud) - You, they, went.

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.

Níor chualaigh mé (nee-ur choo-ig may) - I did not go.

Ar chualaigh tú? (err choo-ig thoo) - Did you go?

Níor chumar? (nawr choo-um-ar) - Did we not go?

Fearthaínn (far-thing), báisteach (bawsh-tyoch) - Rain.

Sioc (shuk) - Frost.

An baile mór (un bolveh more) - The town.

Sneachta (shnochtuh) - Snow.

Ag siúl (uh shooh) - Walking.

Chuaigh mé go dtí an baile mór - I went to town.

Níor chuaigh tú amach sa sneachta - You didn't go out in the snow.

Ar chuaigh sé ag rith sa bhfeartainn? (far-thing) - Did he go running in the rain?

Chumar amach sa sioc - We went out in the frost.

Nár chuaigh sé go dtí an baile mór inné? - Did she not go to town yesterday?

Ar chuaigh sibh ag siúl ar maidin? - Did you go walking this morning?

Níor chumar mar bhí tuirse orainn - We didn't go because we were tired.

Nár chuaigh sibh go dtí an leaba? - Did you not go to bed?

Memoriam

BRESLIN (Ganley), Sean. (2nd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my friend and mentor Sean Breslin who died on December 23rd 1981. Always remembered by Liam.

BRESLIN (Ganley), Sean Mór. (2nd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Sean Mór who died on December 23rd 1981. Always remembered by Eamon.

COUGHLIN, Chris. (7th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Chris Coughlin whose anniversary occurs this month. Always remembered by the Terence MacSwiney Sinn Féin cumann, West London.

DONNELLY, Frankie; MONTGOMERY, Laurence. (5th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vols Frankie Donnelly and Laurence Montgomery, Belfast Brigade, Óglaihn na hÉireann, who died as a result of an accidental explosion while on active service on January 5th 1979. Fuair siad bás ag troid ar son na saoirse. Always remembered by their friends and comrades in the Belfast Brigade.

DONNELLY, Frankie; MONTGOMERY, Laurence. (5th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my brother Vol Laurence Montgomery and his comrade Vol Frankie Donnelly who died on active service on January 5th 1979. Always remembered by Sean, Kathleen and family.

DONNELLY, Frankie; MONTGOMERY, Laurence. (5th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of IRA Vols Frankie Donnelly and Laurence Montgomery who died on active service on January 5th 1979. Always remembered by Frankie Fennell.

KELLY, John. (9th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my dear son Vol John Kelly, 'D' Coy., 2nd Battalion, Belfast Brigade, Óglaihn na hÉireann, who died on active service on January 21st 1975. A lot of things have happened since you were called away, things you would have shared with us if God had let you stay. Your voice keeps whispering: 'Volunteers be brave, be kind and be true for at the end of the battle there is freedom awaiting you'. Queen of the Gael, pray for him and all his brave comrades. God bless them all.

Always remembered by his loving father and sister, brothers and family circle.

McADE, Gerald and James. (12th & 9th Anniversaries). In proud and loving memory of Vols Gerald and James McAdams who were killed on active service on December 21st 1971 in Belfast, and on November 14th 1974 in England, respectively. Fuair siad bás ar son na saoirse. Always remembered by cumann Toirbhleach Mac Súilbhe, Shannon, County Clare.

McGINN, Jim. (10th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Jim McGinn who died on active service at Clady Bridge on December 15th 1973. RIP. Mary, Queen of the Gael, pray for him. Fuair sé bás ar son na saoirse. Always remembered by cumann Toirbhleach Mac Súilbhe, Shannon, County Clare.

MAGUIRE, Bridget. In loving memory of our dear aunt Bridget Maguire whose anniversary occurred on December 18th. Memories also of her dear son Martin who died in October 1976 and her two daughters who were murdered in October 1971. Mary, Queen of Ireland, pray for them. Always remembered by Anne Marie and Paddy Adams; Sue and David McKnight; May and Joe; and the Maguire family circle.

MOONEY, Martin. (1st Anniversary). In loving memory of my dear nephew Martin who died on December 12th 1982. Never more than a thought away, loved and remembered every day. St Martin, pray for him. Always remembered by aunt Kathleen, aunt Lily and families.

O'NEILL, Danny. (12th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Danny O'Neill, Belfast Brigade, Óglaihn na hÉireann, who was shot dead while on active service on January 7th 1972. Chail sé a shaoil ag obair agus ag troid ar son na saoirse. Ní dhánfar dearmad air. Never forgotten by his friends and comrades in the Belfast Brigade.

O'NEILL, Danny. (12th Anniversary). The Clonard/Colin Martyrs Sinn Féin cumann, Belfast, remembers with pride Vol Danny O'Neill, Belfast Brigade, Óglaihn na hÉireann, who was shot dead by British occupation forces on January 7th 1972. Thuig sé a raibh agus ag troid ar son na saoirse.

SYMPATHY

AUSTIN, MURRAY. Cumann Toirbhleach Mac Súilbhe, Shannon, County Clare, extends deepest sympathy to the Austin and Murray families, Aidan Park, on their recent relative sad bereavements. Go nódana Dia trócaire ar anamacha na marbh.

CAMPBELL, McGUIR. The Terence MacSwiney Sinn Féin cumann, Shannon, County Clare, extends deepest sympathy to the family and friends of Vols Brian Campbell and Colm McGUIR who were murdered by British gunmen.

DULLAGHAN. The Gos/Gaughan Sinn Féin cumann, Dundalk, extends deepest sympathy to the family and friends of the late Teddy Dullaghan.

McNULTY. It is with deep regret that I learn of the death of my dear friend Maisie McNulty. Sadly missed by Dickie Glenholmes (Long Lartin).

MORGAN. The POWs in the Cages and H-Blocks of Long Kesh, Armagh, Magilligan and Crumlin Road are saddened to hear of the death of the brother of

our comrade Mickey Morgan. Ar dheis Dé go raibh a nam.

MORGAN. The republican POWs in the H-Blocks and Cages of Long Kesh, Armagh, Magilligan and Crumlin Road extend their deepest sympathy to their friend and comrade Arthur Morgan (H8) on the death of his father. Go nódana Dia trócaire ar a nam. Heartfelt sympathy is extended to the Morgan family circle.

O'HAGAN. The Republican Movement in County Monaghan extends sincere sympathy to JB O'Hagan on the death of his brother, Jim. To Jim's immediate family and many friends and relatives we offer our condolences. Ar dheis láimh Dé go raibh a nam dílis.

Birthday memories

REID, Billy. (43rd Birthday). Birthday memories of our son Vol Billy Reid whose 43rd birthday would have occurred on January 1st 1984. Died at the hands of British thugs, they're hateful and they're rotten, they murdered you that fateful night, but you'll never be forgotten. Always remembered by his mother, father, sister and brother.

REMEMBERING THE PAST

The Irish Transport & General Workers Union

BY PETER O'ROURKE

THE FORMATION of the Irish Transport & General Workers Union by James Larkin, in 1909, was to change the course of Irish labour history and establish what was to become one of the foremost trade unions in the world.

In November 1908, Larkin, organiser in Ireland of the British-based National Union of Dock Labourers, supported a strike by Dublin carters which the union's executive council refused to support. For this 'breach of union discipline' Larkin was suspended and soon afterwards dismissed.

In January 1909, with William O'Brien, he founded the Irish Transport & General Workers Union. The union began in humble surroundings. Its first central office was a bare room in a tenement house in Townsend Street, Dublin. The men who formed the union, the dockers and carters of Dublin, were dissatisfied with the general compromising policy of the NUDL leaders and wanted a union that would not shirk from militant action when such action was justified.

In 1910 the ITGWU was affiliated to the Irish Trade Union Congress, and by 1911 had a membership of 5,000. Larkin was general secretary and other prominent members were Thomas For-

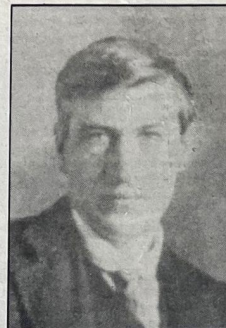
an, PJ Daly and William O'Brien. James Connolly, upon his return from America, became Belfast organiser in June 1911.

LOCK-OUT

Under Larkin's leadership, the union's campaign for members brought it into conflict with William Martin Murphy, the Dublin financier, newspaper proprietor and public transport tycoon. The union also clashed with other Dublin employers who sought to prevent their workers from joining it and to smash the union. This led to the 'Great Lock-out' of workers, which lasted from September 1913 until February 1914.

Following the Lock-out, Larkin went to America to raise funds for the union, and in his absence Connolly became leader. After Connolly's execution in 1916, the leadership devolved to William O'Brien.

Over the next few years O'Brien built up the union and by 1920 there were 350 branches with 100,000 members.



● JAMES LARKIN

The ITGWU grew from strength to strength during the following decades and had 155,000 members in 172 branches in the late 1920s. Today it is the largest trade union in Ireland.

The Irish Transport & General Workers Union was founded on January 4th 1909, 75 years ago this week.



DONEGAL republican Raymond McLaughlin returned to Ireland on Wednesday, December 28th, after serving nine years as a POW in English jails and was met at Dublin Airport by his wife Mary and son Patrick. On his release, Ray was served with a deportation order by the British government.

Registration in the 26 counties

ALL Sinn Féin cumann and republican supporters in the twenty-six counties are reminded that the electoral register, which will be valid for the EEC elections, will be finalised on January 15th 1984. Unregistered voters must make their claims prior to this date.

Draft registers can be checked at local libraries or post offices. Registration forms are also available from post offices.

Cross-border incursion

BY CATHAL MCCOY

A BLATANT incursion by the British army into County Louth, with the apparent knowledge and connivance of the gardai, has caused widespread local anger and increased fears that such incursions may now become a regular feature of life in the border counties following pledges by the Free State government of increased cross-border collaboration.

Kevin Campbell, a farmer from Rathduff, which is 3½ miles south of the border, was returning to his farmyard from feeding livestock on Friday last, December 30th, when he discovered a van parked there. Although he hadn't even approached the van, Campbell was immediately surrounded by plainclothes and uniformed gardai and Free State soldiers.

A Special Branch Detective Hynes told him "this is very serious" before he was ordered to take them through all the rooms in his house and outhouses.

When he later learned that they were looking for the armed man who had earlier tried to intercept a Securicor van near Crossmaglen in South Armagh, Campbell presumed that he had simply been used as a shield by the gardai in case they found the men.

Their search completed, the gardai towed away the van, but later a uniformed garda inspector, named Murray, arrived at Campbell's home with a Special Branch man, Jim 'Bronco' Lane, who questioned him for



● KEVIN CAMPBELL



● PADDY CAMPBELL

about half an hour. As Murray returned to his squad car, Lane commented that Campbell needed "a couple of bullets up your arse for helping these subversives".

Later, other gardai returned to apologise for Lane's threat.

HELICOPTERS

While feeding his stock that morning, Campbell had noticed two helicopters pass low over his land, but did not see them land and could not identify them. He learned

later from neighbours that one of the helicopters had landed in a field at the bottom of the lane leading to his farmhouse.

His brother, Paddy Campbell (72), who lives about three miles from the border at Ballinfill, also saw two helicopters, one of which circled his farmyard at telegraph-pole height. When he saw the clearly identifiable British markings he rushed into his house to get a Tricolour flag which he keeps for such occasions. The helicopter then landed about 400 yards away before continuing on its

journey towards his brother's farm.

Such incursions are "not an unusual occurrence", according to local republican Brendan McDonnell.

"At least seven times since last November there have been overflights," he said.

Local belief that the British army actually directed the gardai to the Campbell farmyard are supported by evidence from eyewitnesses that a British army officer was seen to disembark from the helicopter and hold a conversation with the gardai.

UDR THREATEN CAVAN MAN

INTIMIDATION and threats were used by a UDR patrol when they stopped a young County Cavan man as he travelled from his home in Blacklion to Enniskillen to visit his girlfriend on Sunday, December 18th.

Owen O'Hara was questioned about his political affiliations by the UDR soldiers who came from the Lettergreen area of County Fermanagh. One commented:

"Of course you're a member of Sinn Féin, otherwise you wouldn't be going out

with a Sinn Féin bitch."

This was a reference to O'Hara's girlfriend, Catherine Magee, who has suffered regular harassment from the UDR.

While searching his car, they made ridiculous accusations. One said:

"I suppose you were aiding Tidey's kidnappers, or maybe you were one of them."

They then insisted on a degrading body search and when he complied in taking off his shoes they made him stand on the roadside grass verge. Some of them began to laugh, kicking his shoes around the road and warning him that if he tried to be 'smart' with them they



● Catherine Magee and Owen O'Hara, targets of UDR harassment

would shoot him and throw him in a nearby drain.

Before searching inside his car, a UDR man said:

"The last time I searched your car I found a Sinn Féin book in it. This time if

I do you'll not survive to tell your story."

After being subjected to a stream of verbal abuse and sexist remarks about his girlfriend, O'Hara was allowed to proceed two hours after

being stopped. Before leaving, a UDR soldier referred to publicity about the harassment of Catherine Magee in previous issues of AP/RN, saying:

"Don't worry, none of that bothers us in the least."

Sinister blackmail bid

BY JANE PLUNKETT

A 22-YEAR-OLD Lower Falls man has revealed how, over Christmas, the RUC made persistent attempts to intimidate and blackmail him into signing perjured statements incriminating men he has never met.

The ordeal of Seamus Sullivan started over two weeks ago, on the night of Tuesday, December 20th, when he was the victim of an apparent sectarian murder bid carried out by two masked men, one of them armed, who chased him for several hundred yards.

Having made good his escape, Sullivan, who has no connection with any political grouping and whose main interest is football, went to Grosvenor Road RUC Barracks to report the incident.

There, the RUC, implying that the attack was not sectarian, attempted to persuade him to sign a statement implicating two local men, whom they named, in the attack. When he correctly refused to collaborate in this RUC frame-up, the RUC began interrogating him about other people living in the Falls area, none of whom he knew,

and threatened that, unless Sullivan started co-operating, they would implicate him in a shooting incident which they alleged occurred several years ago.

Before he left the RUC Barracks, Sullivan was told to meet three RUC men the following night, who would pick him up in a red Vauxhall car to "discuss the matter again".

APPOINTMENT

Sullivan did not keep the appointment on Wednesday, but later that night, as he walked down the Falls Road at about 11.30pm, the red car pulled up beside him. An armed man jumped out and forced him to lie on the floor of the car. He was then driven to Grosvenor Road RUC Barracks, where for four hours he was again questioned about local individuals, being asked in particular whether he had "heard

any stories about Adams".

The RUC set up a second meeting, this time outside the Shaftesbury Square branch of the Northern Bank, at noon on Christmas Eve. They warned Sullivan that they would get at least two other people to sign false statements against him if he refused to co-operate.

Again Seamus Sullivan did not attend the meeting, hoping that the RUC would leave him alone. Late on Christmas Eve, he was again abducted at gunpoint by the same RUC men, and held in Grosvenor Road RUC Barracks until the early hours of Christmas morning.

During this time he was again threatened with imprisonment on the word of a paid perjurer or a concocted 'verbal statement' and promised an unspecified sum of money if he agreed to work for the RUC. Sullivan was told to be at the same bank at noon the following Wednesday. December 28th, to meet two RUC men from Thiepval Barracks who, his interrogators said, "are experts at this kind of thing". Sullivan was warned that if he did



not turn up he would be arrested and charged.

By now terrified and convinced that the RUC were intent on framing him, Seamus Sullivan, at last,

and sensibly, contacted Sinn Féin and a local solicitor, realising that his only possible defence is to expose the RUC's blackmailing tactics.