

AN

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POLITICAL WEEKLY

PHOBLACHT

Republican News

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STORM CLOUDS GATHER

THE SUN is shining so what is there to worry about? That appears to be this summer's message from those who claim to be our leaders and rulers, and political activity apparently goes into neutral gear until the autumn.

In the North, we are told 'nothing is happening' because direct-ruler James Prior is planning an extended holiday and a successor has yet to be appointed.

But the reality is that the brutal tactics of the RUC against the nationalist population continue unabated. And further refinements of cruelty are introduced in Armagh Prison and the H-Blocks. No summer respite, either, for republican prisoners in Portlaoise, or prisoners in Mountjoy.

Moreover, the apparent aimless drift of British policy in Ireland can clearly be seen to have as its destination the establishment of extended joint repression in the autumnal picking of the shrunken bones of the Forum report.

Meanwhile, the willing participant in that restricted interpretation, Garret FitzGerald, addresses the half-empty benches of the EEC parliament and calls for that rich man's club to provide the jobs it has actually stolen.

When will Dublin governments stop 'calling for this' and 'calling for

that' and realise they are supposed to be delivering the goods? Are the habits of colonial dependency impossible to shake off?

LOWEST-PAID

The same FitzGerald slams the lowest-paid workers in the state for expecting a wage increase which will only compensate for half the rise in the cost of living at the very most.

Hundreds more workers face the news this week that they are to be made redundant and the Free State army continues to be used as a strike-breaking weapon, still without protest from the labour movement.

At the same time, our lives appear threatened by the cost-saving discharges of Britain's nuclear industry, with no protest from those who take their vacations on Mediterranean beaches.

Coalition Minister for Health Barry Desmond tells the suffering parents of Dun Laoghaire that they have not really got a drugs problem and withdraws last week's false promise of a treatment centre.

Those are some of the not so sunny stories we have to bring you in this week's paper.

For the ordinary people of this island, there are plenty of clouds on the horizon.



Armagh warders torment baby

SEE
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South African boycott

SEE PAGE 6

WHY THE WAR WAS LOST



SEE PAGES 8, 9 and 10

OPINION

Bíodh imní oraibh

AINMHÍ leochaileach is ea an duine. Táimid ag brath ar an bpláinéad seo, an domhan, chun a bheith beo. Tá baol ann go gcuirfear deireadh linn i gcogadh eithneach. Tharais sin tá baol dúinn sa tionscal eithneach.

Nílimid go fóill ach i dtús tuisceana maidir leis an gné sin den eolaíocht. Nílím ach ag foghlaim go fóill agus is follas go bhfuil an t-eolas atá againn teoranta. Níl aon mhórghá go fóill le húsáid fuinnimh eithnigh.

Go dtí seo níl réiteach réasúnta faighte ar an bhfadhb maidir le cad ba cheart a dhéanamh leis an bhfuíoll marfach ón tionscal seo. Tá an fuíoll á dhumpáil isteach san Aigéan Atlantach agus a chur in áiteanna iargúlta eile. Ach níl seo sásúil agus tá staidéar á dhéanamh ar an bhfadhb go fóill.

Tharla crith talún amach ó chósta na Breataine Bige le déanaí. Bhí sé ar an gcrith talún is mó a tugadh faoi deara sa tír seo ó thosaíocht ag tógáil tomhas ar a leithéid ag tús an chéid seo. Cláraigh sé ag 5.5 ar Scála Richter. Mhúscaíl an crith talún sin go leor ceisteanna maidir le sábháilteacht na stáisiún eithneacha.

Tá ceisteanna curtha freisin mar gheall ar Sellafield i gCumbria. Aisteach go leor sé Sellafield an t-ainm nua ar Windscale. Athraíodh é díreach mar a athraíodh 'Long Kesh' go 'The Maze' agus 'internment' go 'detention'. Tá imní le fada mar gheall ar an dóigh atá uisce atá truaillithe le hábhar eithneach á scaoileadh isteach i Muir Éireann. Ní hamháin sin ach tharla roinnt 'tionóisc' inar scaoileadh níos mó ná bhí beartaithe isteach sa mhuir. Tamall ó shin bhí orthu trá sa cheantar a ghlanadh d'ábhar eithneach.

Tá pobal na hÉireann i mbaol de bharr seo ar fad. Chéana féin, is féidir tairlíntí sa tír seo a cheangal, a bheag nó a mhór, le Sellafield. Tá níos mó páistí ná mar a ba chóir tar éis bás a fháil den aisele i gContae an Dúin. Tharla freisin go raibh páistí le Siondróm Downes ag mná a bhí ar scoil le chéile i nDún Dealgan i 1958 an t-am go raibh tine trasna na mara i Windscale. Chomh maith le sin ar fad tuarascítear go bhfuil lascairí i Muir Éireann ag tógáil éisc atá athraithe óna nádúr.

An Luan seo caite d'fhoilsigh Rialtas na Breataine tuarascáil oifigiúil a dheimhíonn Sir Douglas Black. Dhearbhaigh sé go raibh ráta ar aisele i bpáistí atá ag cónaí in aice le Sellafield. Ní raibh sé in ann an t-ardú sin a mhíniú agus mhol sé go ndéanfaí a thuilleadh staidéir ar an bhfadhb.

Fágann seo ar fad go bhfuil pobal na hÉireann ar fad i mbaol. Glacann Rialtas na Breataine le treor ó British Nuclear Fuels Limited atá i mbun Sellafield. Níl siad san chun stop a chur leis an tionscal sin. Is cuid tábhachtach dá bplean eacnamaíoch an tionscal eithneach, go háirithe anois agus na mianadóirí ar stailc.

Ní bheidh ionadh ar aon duine ar an oileán seo a chloisteáil nach bhfuil faic déanta ag Rialtas na sé chontae fíchead chun pobal na hÉireann a chosaint. Glacann siad le gealltanais Rialtas Shasana agus sin é.

Eilímid go ndúnfair an fearas próiseála eithneach i Sellafield, nó Windscale nó pé ainm eile a chuirfidh siad air. Sin an méid is lú is féidir glacadh leis ag an bpointe seo.

Another cosmetic exercise?

BY JANE PLUNKETT

A UDR MAN based at Drumadd barracks was returned for trial on Tuesday, at a court hearing in Armagh, on a total of 22 charges including the murder of Sinn Féin election worker Peter Corrigan, which, at the time, was claimed by the so-called Protestant Action Force.

The UDR man, Geoffrey Edwards, who was initially arrested last December, is also charged with the attempted murder of six Armagh nationalists, with firearms charges relating to handguns, an Armalite and a submachine gun, and of causing an explosion.

In recent months, eight UDR men from the notorious Drumadd barracks have been charged with sectarian killings in the Armagh area, as part of a continuing cosmetic exercise by the RUC, at the instigation of the British government, to prop up RUC Chief Constable Hermon's several-years-old claim that there were only a few 'bad apples' and that he would weed them out.

Northern nationalists, recalling the numbers of UDR and RUC men involved in open attacks on nationalists, are also aware that those currently charged represent the sectarian attitudes of the RUC and UDR in bulk.

Thus UDR man Edwards is a convenient scapegoat to 'clear the books' on, a series of sectarian attacks, the evidence in all of which, as local people have poin-

ted out, indicates a large-scale UDR involvement.

Edwards is charged with murdering 47-year-old Armagh man Peter Corrigan, father of eleven children, who was gunned down on October 25th 1982, as he made his regular fortnightly journey on foot from his home in the nationalist Drumbreda estate to the local unemployment exchange.

UNHINDERED

Corrigan's killers, who were evidently aware of his precise movements, had travelled in a stolen car from Belfast that morning, conveniently unhindered despite the presence of numerous UDR checkpoints in the Armagh area at the time. Equally suspicious, there was no crown forces' activity in the immediate vicinity when the shooting took place and the assassins speedily made their getaway.

Edwards' other alleged victims include another Sinn Féin election worker, father-of-three Kevin Trainor (also shot from a passing car and seriously wounded on his way from the same unemployment office on March 9th 1983), his cousin Emmet Trainor, a shopkeeper (seriously injured ten days later when a booby-trap bomb attached to his car exploded), Emmet's six-year-old son Dermot and a neighbour Peter Rafferty (38), who were also injured in the explosion.

Edwards is also charged with the attempted murder of Martin Hegarty, aged 22, (shot from a passing car shortly after leaving



PETER CORRIGAN



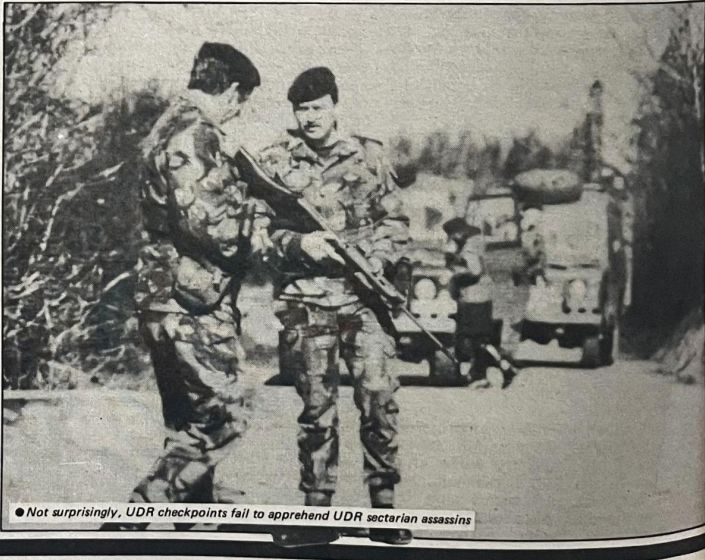
KEVIN TRAINOR

work on May 14th 1982) and of Seamus Grew at his home in the Mullacreevie Park estate in the city on September 8th 1982.

Three months after this unsuccessful murder bid, Grew and another INLA Volunteer, Roddy Carroll, both unarmed, were shot dead by the RUC in an elaborate shoot-to-kill operation.

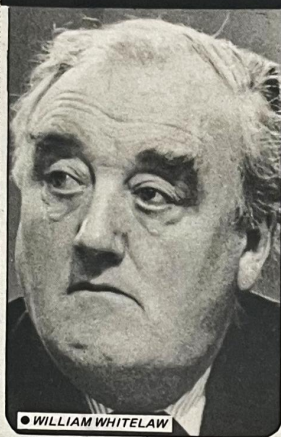
An RUC man subsequently charged with Grew's murder, John Robinson, revealed at his trial that the 24-man operation had involved the Special Branch, a British army undercover unit and the RUC's elite DMSU squad.

Predictably, despite forensic evidence, Robinson was acquitted at his trial last April.



Not surprisingly, UDR checkpoints fail to apprehend UDR sectarian assassins

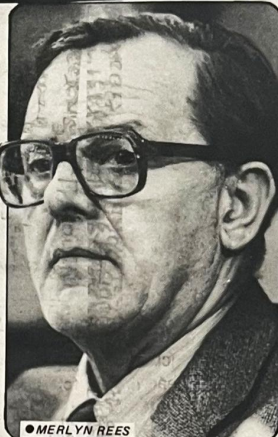
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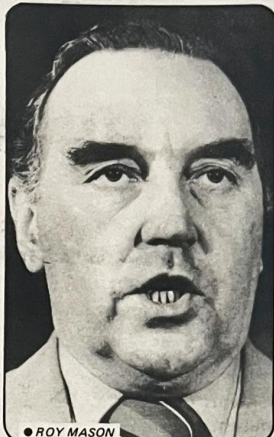
● WILLIAM WHITELAW



● FRANCIS PYM



● MERLYN REES



● ROY MASON

BY PETER ARNLIS

THE SOONER James Prior goes the better. Then we can get on with wearing down his successor, and so on, exhausting British initiatives until their last option is relinquishment and disengagement.

Since Prior hinted several weeks ago that his days as direct-ruler could be numbered, there has been speculation about who will replace him. Hopefully, we will be sent somebody with a face as captivating as Leon Brittan's, and with the diplomacy of George Seawright, a direct-ruler whose second wife is as beautiful as Eileen Paisley at eight in the morning after the big man plants a *maiden mhaith* on her cheek.

An unpronounceable double-barrelled name would also help to establish beyond doubt in the minds of certain nationalist voters the colonial nature of the past and present political relations between this country and Britain.

However, while Leon Brittan might give one the willies and on a moonless night scare the SDLP into the Assembly, Thatcher could hardly spare such a faithful servant and is more likely to dispatch any one of a number of raw Junior ministers who, upon prompting, can manage to point on an atlas which hemisphere Ireland is in.

EXAGGERATION

The tragic truth is that the post of direct-ruler and the issue of Ireland is considered low priority and only becomes crucial when it is dynamited into the headlines. People like Free State Foreign Minister Peter Barry, and John Hume, who pretend otherwise, thus have to engage in habitual exaggeration about how important the British consider their Forum report, while all that Britain considers important is its own interests.

While the individuals and parties in Ireland who can best serve these interests can, do, and will change, the economic and strategic interests of Britain remain unchanging.

In the last 12 years, six colonial standard-bearers — four Tory and two Labour — have done stints as direct-rulers at Stormont.

William Whitelaw (March 1972 — November 1973) took

over after Stormont was prorogued, had truce talks with the republican leadership and conceded political status after a hunger-strike. He later ordered 'Operation Motorman' and reversed the release of internees. He is remembered for setting up the Sunningdale agreement — the power-sharing Executive — which gave the SDLP a taste of ministerial salaries for four months. As British Home Secretary in December 1982, he issued exclusion orders against three Sinn Féin elected representatives, including Gerry Adams, though he later rescinded the order on Adams when he was elected MP. (Wonder were they on talking terms again?)

Francis Pym came in November 1973 and left just three months later when, in February 1974, Labour won the general election. (One of his least-credited major political initiatives was to release me from Long Kesh internment camp, for which 78 other men in Cage 2 were indebted.)

'THE MAGICIAN'

After Pym, Labour's Merlyn Rees. He liked it here and didn't leave until September 1976. He chaired the collapse of the Executive, the collapse of the Constitutional Convention and the collapse of the 1975 IRA ceasefire. He was so incapable that cynics called him 'Merlyn the Magician'.

With the introduction of the PTA in November 1974, he had power to sign seven-day detention orders and exclusion orders. At the same time as he released the last internee in December 1975, the building of the H-Blocks was underway.

Roy Mason was posted here in an envelope and at first couldn't be seen but he let the cameras know of his presence. He was about the most repugnant Englishman to set foot on Irish soil since Oliver Cromwell. He was pompous, egotistical and extremely violent and claimed to have defeated the IRA more than once before his slumbers were disturbed.

Every Monday morning, he sat at a security meeting gloating over the figures showing the number of people battered into signing incriminating statements at interrogation centres the previous seven days, and who went on to fill the H-Blocks and Armagh Jail. When a number of unarmed IRA Volunteers were executed by the SAS in May 1978, Mason appeared on television with a grin. He advocated censorship and thought the SDLP were extreme republicans!

He was responsible for Elizabeth's diamond jubilee visit in August 1977 and then, incredibly, persuaded UTV to screen at the end of their nightly transmission the film of him and her dandering like a royal couple across the lawn of Coleraine University to the tune of 'God save the Queen'. I watched it every night, fascinated, doubting if he was a film star. (Mind you, it was more entertaining than the film of her in her Peter Pan suit, astride a horse at Buckingham Palace.)

Mason also liked John De Lorean but that's *sub judice*!

DEVOLUTION

The good British people, in their wisdom, decided in May 1979 to replace Labour with a woman. She sent us Humphrey Atkins who was hesitant and bungling, awkward and unsure. She was still in control and more than demonstrated this during the prison crisis and the H-Block hunger-strikes.

It was his enthusiasm for Atkins' abortive round-table conference in late 1979 which led Gerry Fitt to leave the SDLP, accusing the party of having been infiltrated by Sinn Féin!

In September 1981, as the hunger-strikes came to an end, a smiling James Prior arrived in Belfast. He said it wasn't his first time here, he had been briefly stationed at Hollywood during the war and had even courted a local girl. (She-who-escaped-his-clutches failed to be unearthed by local journalists and is believed to be living in the rain-forests of Tullymore, unaware that the war ended 39 years ago.)

In 1982, Prior's scheme for rolling devolution resulted in the October Assembly elections,

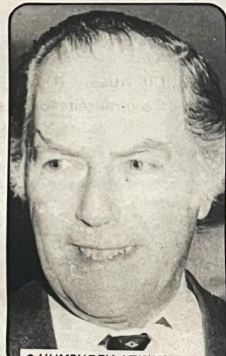
from which Sinn Féin received its first substantial vote. Luring the SDLP into the Assembly and getting more collaboration out of Dublin in return for the minimal concessions on recognition of their elusive 'Irish identity' will be one of the tasks of Prior's successor, to complement the attempts to break the freedom struggle of the nationalist people.

So for 12 years these British governors have come, carried out policy, shattered our lives, and gone. But they have never, ever defeated us.

Each scuttled attempt at internal stability is one more step towards our objective — British disenchantment and failure.

So send in the next one.

We could be doing with Ian MacGregor, but he would be in no fit state for us by the time



● HUMPHREY ATKINS

the striking miners are finished with him.



● JAMES PRIOR



Stink over Blackhorse Grove

BY SIOBHAN O'MALLEY

THOUSANDS of bluebottles and a vile smell emanating from an abattoir only feet from their homes, are making life a misery for Dublin Corporation tenants in Blackhorse Grove, North Circular Road.

Coupled with the stench and the noise of the frightened animals, the tenants of this small 67-house estate have to put up with blood bubbling up from drains outside the Corporation-owned abattoir which is in use five days a week.

The Tenants' Association is also protesting to Dublin Corporation about the unfinished entrance to Blackhorse Grove where a six-foot high heap of mud, rubble and projecting pipes is surrounded by rusty oil-drums.

Chairperson of the association, Margaret Dunne, commented:

"Since the estate was built three years ago, the tenants have been asking the Corporation to remove the unsightly and dangerous rubbish and finish the road."

Jimmy Byrne, also from the Tenants Association, added:

"Instead, the Corporation has spent £15,000 on a temporary road beside the proper estate entrance. With that money they could have either finished the real road or cleared the waste ground on the other side of the road for a children's playground."

DEMONSTRATIONS

After two demonstrations when people from the estate blocked the road, Corporation workmen cleared some of the rubble away

but the mound of mud and stones remains. After the second demonstration, a Corporation engineer told incredulous residents that he *"didn't know the abattoir was there"* when plans for the roads were being drawn up.

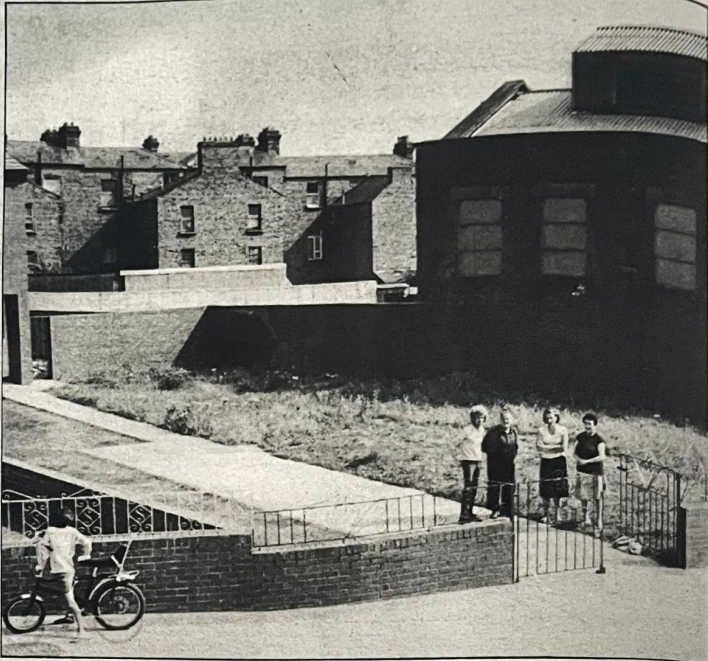
There have been numerous cases of serious illness, including meningitis, among children living in the estate, and parents believe the infections are caused by the flies from the abattoir.

Desmond and Mary Flynn, who live in the house closest to the abattoir, cannot open their windows because of the hordes of bluebottles.

"They are all over the windows," said Mary Flynn, *"we can't even sit in the garden on these hot days because of the smell and the flies."*

The lowing of the cattle attracts children from the area, who frequently climb on the Flynn's garden wall to get up on the adjoining abattoir wall to see them. The animals are often let loose by the children and stampede around the area.

"We thought that the abattoir was going to be closed down when these houses were built," said Margaret Dunne and Jimmy Byrne, *"they should never have built houses so near something like that."*



● Neighbours Margaret Dunne and Jimmy Byrne with Mary and Desmond Flynn in their garden which is overshadowed by the Corporation abattoir

Poleglass black spot

SINN FEIN in Poleglass has erected several 'accident black spot' signs on the Pembroke Loop Road in the Poleglass Estate. Four months ago, Sinn Fein contacted the Department of Environment and raised the need for pelican crossings on the South Orbital Road, where the Laurelbank Estate meets Colinnmill, and the Pembroke Loop Road at Poleglass's only shopping centre. Sinn Fein also pointed out the need for crash barriers and footpaths, and action on the Colin River which poses a serious hazard for local families.

The Department made vague promises but took no action and, following several accidents involving young children, Poleglass Sinn Fein directly tackled one of the issues. Lucy Murray, Sinn Fein spokesperson in Poleglass, said:

"In recent months, several accidents involving young children have occurred on the Pembroke Loop Road opposite the shops."

"The DOE, having been contacted, have dragged their heels, and while they have continued to dither, children have continued to be hurt."

"Sinn Fein has now erected two prominent signs on either side of the shops to draw to drivers' attention the fact that they are approaching an accident black spot."

"There are many other similar dangers in the Poleglass area and Sinn Fein will continue to argue with the DOE about the necessity of erecting various pelican crossings etc. Parts of Poleglass have now been opened for five years, the fact that certain essential safety precautions which are the responsibility of the DOE have still not been erected, must raise the

obvious question of sectarian discrimination."

GORTNAMONA

Determined residents of the Gortnamona estate in West Belfast who, after a local child was fatally injured in a traffic accident in recent weeks, have mounted several protest road-blocks on the Monagh by-pass which borders the estate, on Wednesday succeeded in extracting significant safety measures from the British government agencies they hold responsible for the tragedy.

Five-year-old Niall Mallon died in hospital on July 14th, several days after he was knocked down on the busy dual-carriageway.

Since then, representatives of the Gortnamona Tenants Association, accompanied by Sinn Fein MP for West Belfast Gerry Adams, have met several times with the Housing Executive and the Department of Environment to press for adequate safeguards.

At the latest meeting, on Wednesday, July 25th, agreement was finalised on the tenants' demands for the erection of a safety fence between the estate and the motorway and of safety signs. A survey is to be carried out on the feasibility of providing a pedestrian crossing and the Housing Executive also promised that a dangerous pathway leading from Gortnamona onto the bypass would remain closed.

Sinn Fein Belfast City Councillor



● Poleglass Sinn Fein members tackle one of the problems of the area by erecting 'black spot' signs, while the Department of Environment continues to dither

Alex Maskey, in consultation with the Tenants' Association, is to press the council, who have responsibility for play areas, to develop a piece of waste ground adjacent to the estate as a children's play area.

Commenting after Wednesday's

meeting, Gerry Adams said:

"I am satisfied that so much progress has been made and saddened that it was made only after Niall Mallon's death."

"I have asked the DOE and the Housing Executive to take on board

safety considerations, especially regarding children, for any future housing developments sited close to motorways. I would also like to record my admiration of the Gortnamona Tenants Association for the determined way they put their case."

Inside Portlaoise

BY MAIRE DE BARRA

THE GRIM REALITY of Portlaoise Jail visiting conditions will be on general display from Saturday this week as part of a new campaign launched by the Portlaoise Relatives Action Committee.

A reconstruction of a Portlaoise visiting-box will be on general view outside the GPO in Dublin's O'Connell Street on Saturday, July 28th, from noon. The display will show clearly the way in which prisoners and their visitors are prevented from touching each other by the wire grilles and perspex which separate them.

At the same time, a thirty-two-county petition will be launched in support of the relatives' two demands: an end to strip-searching and beatings, which amount to inhuman and degrading treatment of prisoners; and open visits where physical contact is possible between prisoners and their relatives.

A letter seeking support for these demands has already been sent to elected representatives, members of the medical profession and clergy.

INQUIRY

The Portlaoise Relatives Action Committee plans to make submissions to a number of organisations concerned with prisons and has invited Amnesty International to conduct an inquiry into the events of October 30th last year, when warders and gardai attacked republican prisoners, 80 of whom were injured, many sustaining broken



● Portlaoise POWs' relatives display the grim reality of visiting conditions at the prison, using a reconstruction of the visiting-box

en bones, severe bruising and cuts.

At their recent annual conference, prisoners openly admitted that their colleagues had carried out these beatings, but no official action has been taken by the authorities.

The relatives' campaign will also highlight the call for the release of Mick Kin-

ella of Monaghan whose mental health has completely broken down in the jail.

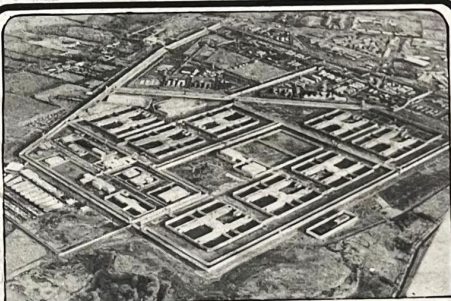
Leaflets and further information about the campaign is available from 5, Blessington Street, Dublin; phone: 308783.

SPONSORED CYCLE

Meanwhile, the Carroll/Ashe Sinn Fein

cumann of Cabra in Dublin is organising a sponsored cycle from Cabra to Portlaoise on Monday, August 6th. As well as raising funds for An Cumann Cabhrach and Sinn Fein's POW department, the cycle will draw attention to conditions in the prison.

Anyone who would like to sponsor a cyclist should contact 5 Blessington Street.



CLOSED VISITS IN H-BLOCKS

BY MAEVE ARMSTRONG

ON MONDAY this week, the NIO adopted the Portlaoise visiting system, by introducing the use of 'closed visits' for 100 H-Block prisoners, a policy which can ensure nothing but a future recipe for conflict.

The NIO gave the all-embracing reason for their move as 'security grounds' for prisoners whom they said were "considered to be of an exceptionally high security risk". Predictably, the overwhelming majority of the 100 prisoners are republicans, with a few token loyalists being included to lend an appearance of impartiality.

The visiting boxes used for closed visits have a perspex partition running vertically from the middle of the table to the ceiling thus physically separating the prisoner from his visitor. This had been imposed on 19 prisoners last September following the Great Escape.

However, the permanent part-

itions were extended on Monday on the orders of Brit direct-ruler James Prior, acting on the advice of the RUC.

Criticising the move, Sinn Fein president Gerry Adams, said:

"The closed visits will be for men deemed security risks who would cause political embarrassment if they were to escape. A number of loyalists have been included to take the one-sided look off the application of this measure.

"It appears that, among the legacy of political failures that James Prior will leave behind, will be included a heightening tension within the H-Blocks."

Armagh warders torment baby

BY MAEVE ARMSTRONG

A BABY born to a remand prisoner in Armagh Prison is being subjected to constant body-searches by vindictive warders under orders from the jail's governor.

Every time Jacqueline Moore takes her baby off the wing where her cell is — for example, when going to exercise in the prison yard — warders insist on searching her child, causing distress.

Sinn Fein MP Gerry Adams, who has made representations to the NIO on her behalf, has commented:

"This practice cannot, by any stretch of the imagination, be justified on 'security grounds' by the prison authorities as Jacqueline Moore is in absolutely no contact with any member of the general public.

"Ms Moore has also been denied baby clothes which were sent to her from the USA and has to request extra nappies each time she requires more than the meagre three allowed for the baby every day.

"This is an extremely vindictive attitude and one which is clearly being used to pressurise her into prematurely breaking links with her baby by forcing her to give the baby over to relatives outside.

"Women who have had babies in Armagh in the past have been permitted to keep their children



● JACQUELINE MOORE

with them for the first year of their lives in order to form a bond between mother and child. In this case, it appears that the

prison regime is imposing unreasonable pressure on Ms Moore which is causing deep distress to her and her family."

South African boycott

BY SIOBHAN O'MALLEY

A young woman check-out operative in Dunnes Stores, in Dublin's Henry Street, has been suspended without pay for refusing to handle South African produce on sale in the store.

Ten other employees in the Henry Street branch have come out on strike in support of her. They are all members of the Irish Union of Distributive Workers and Clerks, and their official action is in line with union policy.

Kadar Asmal, of the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement, has visited the picket-line to express solidarity with the striking workers.

Free State soldiers are continuing their strike-breaking role, using Free State army lorries, during the Phibsboro bus strike in Dublin. None of the three unions involved, the Federated Workers Union, the Irish Transport and General Workers Union or the National Busworkers Union, has protested against their use. Meanwhile, on Wednesday, July 25th, the ITGWU busworkers voted to reject a settlement proposal which falls short of their demands. The other unions involved have yet to take a decision.

An 8% pay increase in two stages, recommended for 6,000 workers in the women's clothing industry, has been criticised by Garret FitzGerald, ignoring the fact that women in the clothing trade are the lowest paid in the country, and that the increase will mean a real cut of about 10% in take-home pay when inflation has been taken into account.

Mary Mulhall, a Carlow nurse, has been awarded £500 by the Labour Court in an employment equality case. Her employers, the South Eastern Health Board, are appealing the decision. They were charged with 'flagrant discrimination' in restricting overtime at St Dymphna's Psychiatric Hospital to male nurses only and failing to protect her rights in employment. Mary Mulhall has worked at the hospital for 12 years.

Women cleaners at the Mater Hospital, Dublin, have voted for industrial action to oppose plans to make them redundant. The 76 women members of the Federated Workers Union of Ireland, are employed by Contract Cleaners Ltd, and many of them have worked at the hospital for up to 21 years. The cleaning contract for next year has been given to Noonan Building Cleaners Ltd, and the union have been told that there will be no automatic continuity of employment.

A survey, carried out by the Ballina Trades Council, shows an increase of almost 7% in unemployment since last October in Mayo. In the Ballina-Swinford-Belmullet area, there are 6,254,



●Dunnes Stores, Henry Street, Dublin



●Free State soldiers continue their strike-breaking tactics

54%, out of work. The Ballina Trades Council predicts "a social upheaval and revolution of the most violent dimensions" and calls for the promotion of industrial and tourist development in the area.

Meanwhile, 50 workers are to be laid off by Travenol Laboratories, Castlebar.

The Electricity Supply Board in the twenty-six counties are discussing plans to close a number of district offices which could result in the loss of 500 jobs. District

offices are to be retained in large towns only, and a number of managerial and supervisory grade jobs are to be cut. The ESB unions are considering the plans, and are likely to oppose them.

The Mirror Mirror chain of 22 fashion shops has gone into liquidation with the loss of 300 jobs.

Two hundred jobs are to go at the

Waterford plant of Clover Meats.

Dublin's 3,500 barmen are considering taking strike action on Saturday in support of a 15% pay rise, as recommended by the ICTU. The Licensed Vintners Association have offered 5%, claiming that the trade can afford no more. A final decision on the proposed strike, which could close many of Dublin's 700 pubs, will be taken at a meeting on Friday.



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North Antrim raids

LARGE-SCALE intimidation of nationalists by crown forces took place in North Antrim on Saturday night last, July 21st, when many homes in the Dunloy, Armoy and Loughiel areas were raided by large groups of heavily-

Among the homes raided were those of an elderly couple, Mr and Mrs Boyle of Loughiel, the Armoy home of their son, Jed Boyle and several houses in the Dunloy area.

But the most serious incident took place at the Dunloy home of the family of the late IRA Volunteer Henry Hogan, who was shot dead by the SAS in February this year.

After surrounding the house, crowbar-wielding RUC men forced their way through

the back and front doors and forced Mr and Mrs Hogan and their daughter Margaret into the kitchen, where they were held, at gun-point, under house-arrest throughout their ordeal.

The RUC men searched the house, overturning furniture and emptying drawers, while delivering a constant barrage of sectarian insults about Volunteer Henry Hogan.

DEATH THREAT

After two-and-a-half hours, the raiding-

party left, but as they did so, Margaret, who since the death of her brother has been the subject of constant harassment and assaults (reported in AP/RN on four different occasions), was told:

"Remember, we'll get you before a year is up."

Margaret's father, Paddy Hogan, said later:

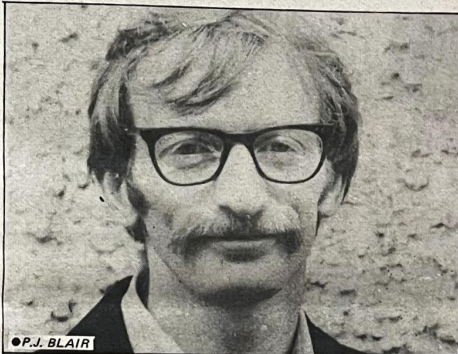
"These uniformed thugs forced their way into my home and issued death threats to my daughter, which we take very seriously because of the way she has been singled out by the RUC."

"We are told that these are the 'security forces' and the 'forces of law and order.' I would ask: whose law and order and whose security? It certainly is not ours."



● MARGARET HOGAN

Newry death threat



● P.J. BLAIR

A 32-YEAR-OLD meat-factory worker from Newry was told by the RUC last week that a well-known Sinn Féin activist in the town was going to be shot dead.

Peter Connolly from Barcroft was arrested from his home on Tuesday, July 17th, and held in Newry Barracks until Thursday, July 19th. During a series of interrogation sessions in which he was intensely questioned

about his movements and who he knew to be republican activists, the RUC told him that P.J. Blair of Sinn Féin would be shot.

They also produced a photograph of a Belfast man and indicated that he was in store for a similar fate as Blair. P.J. Blair has also directly received a series of similar threats this year from the RUC, who are constantly stopping him and harassing him in the town.

BULLIES IN BALLYNAHINCH

BY MAEVE ARMSTRONG

LOYALISTS have again intimidated a nationalist family in Ballynahinch, County Down, following a series of attacks in the town over the Twelfth of July period.

On Tuesday, July 17th, a large crowd of loyalists gathered outside the home of Thomas Baker in Windmill Gardens and began to spit upon and look through the livingroom windows, which terrified Mrs Baker and her young child who were alone at the time.

When Thomas Baker later reported the incident to the RUC however, he was informed that if he tried to take matters into his own hands they would charge him and indicated that they intended doing nothing about the matter.

Also in Ballynahinch, in the early hours of Saturday morning, July 21st, several nationalist youths from the Hillcrest Drive area on their way home from a party were set upon by five carloads of RUC who produced batons and demanded the names and addresses of the youths.

The 17-year-old brother of one, Christopher Smyth, was passing by on his way home from the party and was also detained by

the RUC.

BEATEN

Their mother, Mrs Eileen Smyth, was awakened by the noise outside and sent another son to bring Christopher home but as they approached the house an RUC man, called Hingsley Singer, placed Christopher under arrest while several other RUC men held him as he was beaten with the butts of their revolvers.

He was grabbed by the neck and forced into an RUC car, leaving him with severe bruising to the neck, arms and ribs. The youth's father, Raymond Smyth, ran over to the RUC car and, after a struggle, pulled Christopher out of it.

At this point, a crowd of local people gathered round and were threatened by the RUC who pointed guns at them.

Christopher's brother, Tony Smyth, tried to reason with the RUC but he was struck on the nose by RUC man Singer and



● THOMAS BAKER

batoned and punched in the ribs by several of his colleagues. Tony Smyth was forced into an RUC car and charged with assault and disorderly behaviour in Downpatrick Barracks before being released later on Saturday morning.

That night, Christopher Smyth was picked up by the RUC and brought up on the same charges, while another youth who was among the group, Michael Baker, was stopped by two RUC men on his way home and also received a severe beating.

Extradition decision awaited

BY JACK MADDEN

THE Free State Supreme Court has dismissed one of two appeals made by Monaghan man Seamus Shannon against attempts to have him extradited to the six counties for alleged involvement in the killing of the former Speaker at Stormont, Sir Norman Stronge and his RUC son at Tynan Abbey, County Armagh, on January 21st 1981.

Counsel representing Shannon lodged two separate appeals against earlier decisions by High Court judges to allow the extradition.

The first of these appeals began on Tuesday, July 17th, when Sean MacBride SC argued that the Extradition Act is unconstitutional, because in allowing extra-

dition on the basis of a warrant and without any need to establish a *prima facie* case, the right of the defendant to a fair trial was infringed.

In the case of the six counties, because of the biased and sectarian nature of the judiciary. To support this view, MacBride was preparing to raise the comments of Judge Gibson when he acquit-



● SEAMUS SHANNON

ted three RUC men on trial for the murder of unarmed IRA Volunteers.

Chief Justice O'Higgins refused to allow this evidence to be read, although he claimed to have noted the section.

Finding against Shannon, the judges have yet to present their reasons for doing so.

POLITICAL

The second appeal began on Thursday, July 19th, on the

grounds that the alleged offence is of a political nature or related to a political offence, and is therefore excluded under the terms of the Extradition Act. Judgement has not been delivered on this appeal.

An appraisal of republic

THE COUNTER-REVOLUTION which is known as the Irish Civil War began on June 28th 1922, when Free State troops attacked the IRA garrison in Dublin's Four Courts.

Today we remember that war for the savagery of the Free State campaign, their execution of prisoners and the support given to such policies by the Catholic hierarchy, the establishment media and the British government.

The defence of the Republic is remembered in the struggle of prisoners of war, their hunger-strikes and their deaths. But for all their suffering, the war was lost.

In this re-examination of the position of the IRA both before the war and during its early stages, Jack Madden finds that the seeds of defeat were sown long before the war ever began and that the reluctance of sections of the leadership to take the offensive was based on their desire to maintain and subsequently restore Army unity. But that unity became an end in itself rather than the means to an end.

The eventual realisation that such unity was impossible came too late and, having been allowed months to prepare, the Free State forces launched their offensive from a position of strength which they had not had a few short months before.

BY JACK MADDEN

AMONGST the many contributions to the Dail debate on the Treaty proposals, the speech delivered by Liam Mellows on January 4th 1922 stressed the inevitability of civil war if the Treaty was accepted.

In the course of his speech, Mellows said:

"The government of the Free State... eventually occupy the same relationship towards the people of Ireland as Dublin Castle does today, because it will be the barrier government between the British and the Irish people. And the Irish people before they can struggle on, will have to do something to remove that Free State government..."

"We are told that we must have unity. Yes, we want unity, and had unity in Ireland during the last few years, but we had it only on one basis — the basis of the Republic. Destroy that basis and you cannot have unity."

Despite what was said by Mellows, and others, the Treaty was passed on January 7th 1922 by 64 votes to 57. And even in the changed circumstances which then arose, with the creation of the Free State, there were those on both sides who continued to try and achieve 'unity'.

This was particularly true in the IRA which, because of its allegiance to the Republic on the one hand and its control by the Dail on the other, found itself torn asunder. Two clearly opposed views quickly emerged; one that a decision made by the elected representatives of the Irish people had to be accepted by the Army, the other that by disestablishing the Republic, which the IRA was pledged to defend, the Dail had no longer any right to the allegiance of the Army.

Even though these views were clearly irreconcilable, there was another factor which had to be accounted for — the position of the IRB and its influence on both pro-Treaty and anti-Treaty forces.

CONVENTION

Four days after the Treaty was passed, a group of senior IRA officers sent an urgent communication to the then Chief of Staff and Minister for Defence, Richard Mulcahy, asking him to convene an Army Convention not later than February 5th 1922.

All of those who signed the communication were opposed to the Treaty, while Mulcahy had supported it.

They proposed that the convention would include an equal number of delegates proposed by Mulcahy and themselves, and added a resolution which proposed:

"That the Army re-affirm its allegiance to the Irish Republic."

"That it shall be maintained as the Army of the Irish Republic, under an Executive appointed by the convention."

"That the Army shall be under the supreme control of such Executive, which shall draft a constitution for submission to a subsequent convention." Thus would control of the Army by the Dail be ended.

Amongst the signatories to this communication, which heralded the Army split, was Liam Lynch, who also held a position on the Supreme Council of the IRB. But when the IRB Supreme Council had discussed the issue even before the Dail debates, Lynch found himself alone in opposing a declaration *"that the present peace treaty between Ireland and Great Britain should be ratified."*

Within the IRB, Michael Collins was firmly in control and could count on the support of those IRA officers who were also in the IRB. This was borne out in the Northern and Midlands Divisions of the Army where the IRB held most of the leadership positions.

Where the IRB was not as strong, in the South and West, the IRA tended to be anti-Treaty. There were, of course, exceptions

WHY THE



● RORY O'CONNOR

where individuals or groups differed from the majority view in their own areas or where the influence of a strong leader was felt. Thus most of the IRA in County Clare followed Michael Brennan into the pro-Treaty side while North Louth became a republican stronghold under Frank Aiken.

DIVISIONS

When the divisions did emerge, the republicans were clearly in the strongest military position. They could rely on the bulk of the fighting IRA who had carried the Tan War — this was especially true in Munster — and the support of those Volunteers who had been most active in quieter areas.

This can be verified in a county such as Meath where those Volunteers who were identified as fighters during the Tan War, appear again as republican escapees from Dundalk Jail and barracks throughout Meath during the Civil War.

But if the republican side had its strengths, it also had major weaknesses which ensured defeat, and the most important of these weaknesses was its reluctance to take the offensive. This difficulty was personified in Liam Lynch, whose position as an IRB member kept him in close contact with Collins. Since Lynch was to become Chief of Staff of the republican forces, this relationship was even more significant.

In his account of the period the Assistant Chief of Staff of the pro-Treaty forces, J. J. O'Connell wrote:

"Lynch had very great influence with certain members of GHQ which was hard to understand seeing that he himself and his senior officers were known to be,



● Anti-Treaty IRA men under the command of Ernie O'Malley, set up headquarters in L.

to a man, hostile to the government..."

"I believe the secret of Lynch's influence at GHQ can be explained in that members of GHQ, like myself... had not any such influence at all. Gradually, one got to feel that one was up against a stone wall, and that Lynch was being given a free hand. And as it fell out, all the efforts to placate Lynch were unavailing."

If officers on the Treaty side were unhappy at this situation, so too were many of Lynch's colleagues. Indeed in the months up to the attack on the Four Courts by the Free State army it was by no means certain that Lynch would fight, and even after the war had begun he seemed to think that 'unity' was possible.

MEETING

This attitude became clear as early as January 18th 1922 when, in response to the communication from anti-Treaty IRA officers, Mulcahy called a meeting of GHQ and Divisional commanders in Dublin. The meeting, described by Ernie O'Malley in *The Singing Flame*, led to a heated debate. It seemed likely that an indepen-

dent republican headquarters staff would break away there and then, but Liam Lynch opposed such a move and, since his Division was the strongest numerically, the others couldn't afford to break away without him.

It was further agreed at this meeting to postpone the Army Convention for two months, an arrangement which suited Mulcahy, as it allowed him time to consolidate the position of the pro-Treaty forces. Furthermore, Mulcahy ensured that the proposed convention would take place only with the permission of the Dail because, as he said:

"The setting up of an Executive in this way does not in actual fact take the Army away from the control of the Dail. It but secures that... the work of the Army shall be along lines agreed to, not only by the Dail, but by its own Executive."

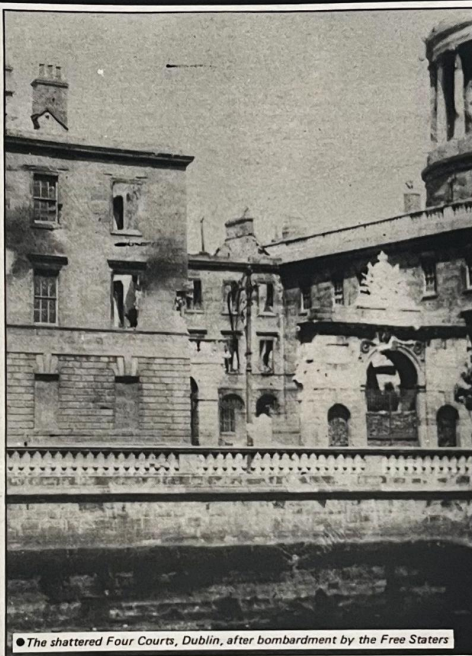
The date agreed by the Dail Cabinet to hold this convention was March 26th, but in the period between January and March the position altered dramatically with individual IRA leaders, such as Ernie O'Malley, breaking with GHQ. Furthermore, at a special conference of Cumann na mBan on February 5th, the Treaty

Republican strategy in 1922

WAR WAS LOST



ra in Limerick's Glentworth Hotel, February 1922



● The shattered Four Courts, Dublin, after bombardment by the Free Staters



● LIAM LYNCH

the old GHQ Staff who mutinied against the arrangement agreed to by their senior officers in doing the right thing in Limerick."

Certainly the relationship between Lynch and leading people on the pro-Treaty side influenced the capitulation, but as a tactical move it suited them not to force the issue just yet.

Because of events in Limerick, the Dail Cabinet met on March 15th and decided that the Army Convention scheduled to take place on March 26th should be called off.

In response, Rory O'Connor called another meeting of anti-Treaty GHQ Staff members at which it was decided to adopt a proposal made by Liam Lynch that they hold their own convention. Lynch himself was appointed Chief of Staff of the IRA.

RESOLUTION

At the convention, a resolution re-affirming IRA allegiance to the Republic was passed. This resolution went further in stating that the IRA "shall be maintained as the Army of the Irish Republic, under an Executive appointed by the convention" and that "the Army shall be under the supreme control of such an Executive".

The convention was adjourned until April 9th so that a new constitution could be prepared. Even at this re-convened convention, no firm proposals were adopted. According to Tom Kellher, Commandant General of the IRA 1st Southern Division:

"Nearly half of the delegates sought strong and forceful action against the Treatyite government. They were diverted by propositions from Cathal Brugha. These withdrew the IRA's allegiance from the government... Anyway, they elected an unwielding Executive and took no action to snuff out the Staters."

(continued on next page)

port of the establishment media and the Catholic hierarchy they could, in the words of Mellows, "stampede" the people into accepting the Treaty as the only alternative to "immediate and terrible war". And with the confusion and internal struggles of the IRA up to the election, the debate on the Treaty became less relevant to more than half of those who voted in the election for the Labour Party and independent groups.

Failure to confront the real social problems of the people by republicans, and the confinement of the debate to principles, however just, was a major factor in the election. According to Peadar O'Donnell:

"Pure ideals were used as a mask and a blinkers to direct the Movement away from revolution. After the Treaty, had we soaked up all the leaderless people then awaiting our bidding, we could have changed the whole social structure to accommodate them."

There was no lack of dedication on the republican side but there was a lack of direction or strategy.

Between the IRA and the emerging Free State army the battle began for the control of strategic

positions. As British forces evacuated barracks, these were immediately taken over by one side or the other and in some areas control was bitterly contested.

Nowhere was this more true than along the axis from Limerick through Templemore to Kilkenny. Both sides recognised the importance of these areas, especially Limerick, which, if it was controlled by the Free State, would mean a barrier between the republican forces of the West and the South. J. J. O'Connell wrote:

"If we could establish, say 700 to 1,000 men along the line: Limerick-Templemore-Kilkenny, I was perfectly satisfied the Southern Irregulars (IRA) would be definitely checked and time secured for proper measures against them."

"In addition, such posts would have, as well as their military value, a great moral and political effect in reassuring the people in general, and would inspire confidence."

EVACUATED

When Kilkenny was evacuated by the British on February 7th, O'Connell made certain to secure it with pro-Treaty forces, even though the Divisional Staff in

County Kilkenny was republican. O'Connell said:

"It was a great score to get strongly settled in Kilkenny: this was abundantly proved later, both around Easter time and July."

In Limerick, between March 3rd and 11th, O'Connell's plans were frustrated. Knowing that Volunteers in the city were anti-Treaty, he gave permission to Michael Brennan's 1st Western Division to seize evacuated barracks in the city. As this was done, anti-Treaty Volunteers led by Ernie O'Malley flocked into the city. A stalemate arose, with neither side prepared to shoot first.

The pro-Treaty government 'capitulated', according to O'Connell, and the 1st Western Division was withdrawn. A similar 'capitulation' at Templemore led to a near-mutiny by a group of pro-Treaty officers who met in the Gresham Hotel on March 12th and issued a document of intent "that in the face of an armed attempt to subvert the will of the Irish people, there is but one course open and that is resolute action."

Describing this near-mutiny, Liam Lynch said:

"It was the junior officers of

was rejected by an overwhelming majority.

There was, too, the continued political opposition to the Treaty. One aspect of this opposition was de Valera's proposals in Document No. 2, offering an alternative to the Treaty, but this document was largely ignored even on the anti-Treaty side because as Mellows had said in his January 4th speech:

"There is no question before us of two documents or two sides, but there is a question of maintaining the existing Republic of Ireland or going back on it..."

Document No. 2 was then a distraction from the real issue — Republic or Free State.

More important was the buildup to an election on the Treaty issue and the decision by the Sinn Féin Ard Fheis of February 21st to postpone the election for three months. A private agreement between de Valera and Collins ensured that no vote was taken on acceptance or rejection of the Treaty by delegates.

CONSOLIDATE

Again, this allowed the pro-Treaty side time to consolidate their position and with the sup-

WHY THE WAR WAS LOST

(continued from previous page)

On April 15th, the IRA took over the Four Courts as its new headquarters but, despite this apparently final move, negotiations on Army 'unity' still continued. By May 1st, an 'Army document' advocating "a closing of the ranks" was signed by a number of senior IRA officers, including Dan Breen, and pro-Treaty leaders such as Eoin O'Duffy and Michael Collins. Accepting the inevitability of electoral support for the Treaty, the signatories to this document called for an 'agreed election' and 'Army unification'. They wrote:

"We suggest to all leaders, Army and political, and all citizens and soldiers of Ireland, the advisability of a unification of forces on the basis of the acceptance and utilisation of our present national position in the best interests of Ireland, and we require that nothing shall be done that would prejudice our position or dissipate our strength."

No disciplinary action was taken by Liam Lynch against the anti-Treaty signatories of this document. In any case nothing came of it, but the creation of a joint committee of the Army on May 4th led to a truce and further negotiations on 'unity'.

Such attempts were reflected in the political movement when, on May 20th, Collins and de Valera announced an electoral pact in which both pro-Treaty and anti-Treaty candidates would stand on the Sinn Féin ticket. The number of candidates from either side would be determined by their existing strength in the Dail.

CONSTITUTION

Further, at the Sinn Féin Ard Fheis on May 23rd, Collins pledged that the new Free State constitution would be published a full ten days before the election and he indicated that it would be 'republican' in tone and content. Arthur Griffith, on the other hand, assured the British, who were worried at these developments, that those drafting the constitution were acting "upon their own interpretation of the Treaty, approaching it with minds biased in its favour".

In any event, the pact was broken by Collins and the Free State constitution did not appear until June 16th, the day of the election, when it was too late to campaign against it. The pro-Treaty politicians had played for time and won.

Similarly, the Army was hampered in its efforts to organise because of negotiations on 'unity' which continued into June. Eventually, discontent exploded on June 18th when, at an Army convention, there was a walk-out by half of the delegates.

The convention concerned two proposals according to Sean Mac Brides who was Assistant Director of Organisation and kept a diary of the period. He wrote:

"Apparently, three out of five members of the Executive, who had been negotiating on behalf of the Army with the Free State HQ to try and reach an agreement, had agreed to certain proposals which, if accepted, would have given complete control of the Army to the Free State government... The Executive rejected these proposals by 14 votes to 4."



● Two Cumann na mBan officers stand guard by Cathal Brugha's body, Dublin



● Free State troops in Limerick the day after the republicans evacuated, July 1922

Amongst those who went to the convention supporting such proposals were Liam Lynch, Sean Moylan and Liam Deasy, all of whom held important positions in Southern Divisions of the IRA.

Against them was a proposal from Tom Barry that "an ultimatum be given to Britain to withdraw all her troops from Ireland within 72 hours". This proposal meant war and should properly have been dealt with at Executive level, but Barry's aim was to force the issue and in this he succeeded.

DEFEATED

On the first vote, Barry's motion was passed, but an objection was raised against the right of one particular Brigade staff to vote and, when this objection was upheld, the new vote saw Barry defeated. Together with Rory O'Connor, Liam Mellows, Joe McKelvey and Barry himself, half the delegates walked out and agreed to reconvene next day in the Four Courts.

Commenting on these events in his diary, MacBride wrote:

"It was far better to break off quits from those who were prepared to compromise on such a vital question, that of control of the Army, and of the working of the Treaty... It probably would have been better if such a split had come before, however weakening it might have been; it was far more weakening to have the Army controlled by people who, although sincere, did not put their heart into it and who still believed our opponents could be

trusted in negotiations."

Rank-and-file Volunteers in the IRA were as confused as the general public throughout this period. One Dublin Volunteer, William Halpin, kept a diary of events and wrote at the beginning of June:

"Army matters in bad way. Afraid the unity of Army about to break. Many are looking for jobs. British government wants and is urging for split of Army."

This belief that the British government wanted a split was well-founded since, throughout, they had urged the pro-Treaty government to take action against the republican forces.

Ironically, it was an operation sanctioned by Michael Collins and carried out by his men - the execution of unionist MP General Henry Wilson - that precipitated a near-hysterical feeling in Britain towards the republican forces. Collins never claimed responsibility for the attack and the British assumed it was the work of the IRA.

Besides British pressure, the timing of the attack on the Four Courts was influenced by the split within republican ranks. Nor could the pro-Treaty forces have known that, on the day before their attack on the Four Courts, June 28th, Liam Lynch had settled the rift, agreeing to resume the position of Chief of Staff from Joe McKelvey who had been appointed in his place.

WEAKNESS

When the attack began, Lynch

had gone South to join his Volunteers in Limerick, but in Dublin the republican garrison was battered into submission. One major weakness which emerged was the presence of the GHQ staff in the Four Courts, so that measures taken by Commander Paddy O'Brien for the defence and evacuation of the building were overruled.

Similarly, the relief party of the Dublin Brigade led by Oscar Traynor took up positions on the wrong side of O'Connell Street so that they could not break through to the Four Courts. In *The Singing Flame*, Ernie O'Malley commented that the lessons of Easter Week 1916 had neither been learnt nor applied.

O'Malley was himself in the Four Courts and after the surrender he managed, along with some other leaders, to escape from detention in Jameson's Distillery. Making his way to Blessington, he joined forces with Volunteers from Tipperary who were advancing on Dublin. However, on instruction from Oscar Traynor, this advance was stopped.

Turning south, O'Malley led his forces to Wexford and Carlow where they launched successful attacks on the Free Staters, displacing them from a series of barracks. However, a communication was sent to O'Malley from Liam Lynch ordering him to take control of the Northern Divisions of the IRA with whom he was less familiar.

Lynch himself was under pressure in Limerick, with renewed



● LIAM MELLOWS

attempts by the Free Staters to take the city. These Free Staters, led by Michael Brennan, were short on supplies and could not launch an attack with any hope of success. According to Brennan:

"My whole fright was that Lynch would attack me before they (fresh supplies) turned up, because we couldn't last, I had to keep him talking to keep him from attacking."

By stalling Lynch, Brennan waited more than a week. By then, July 11th, the supplies had arrived and he informed Lynch that the truce was over. His reluctance to take the offensive had again proved to be Lynch's shortcoming and he was forced to withdraw from Limerick to establish headquarters in Clonmel.

DISILLUSIONMENT

As the war developed, this reluctance to attack led to disillusionment amongst IRA Volunteers. One of these, Walter Mitchell from Offaly later commented:

"A few weeks after the start of the Civil War we got orders in our area not to fire upon Staters... They were trying for a truce I heard afterwards... Most of the lads, seeing we were not prepared to make a stand, dispersed and went home."

Later still, there came the blow of the defection of Liam Deasy, whose call for a surrender was published by the media.

Expressing this "general sense of discouragement and insecurity", Jim Donovan, Director of Chemicals, wrote to Lynch on January 27th 1923:

"Again the slowness of our methods seems to be losing us our sympathisers. People see the highest enemy officers struggling about the same city half two or three times every week! People wonder. I do not advocate brutal methods but I am appalled to find that each month finds the enemy increasingly stronger entrenched and the people compelled by us to accept it as an accomplished fact. Fifty-three executions! What are our heads doing. I sometimes impatiently ask myself. Are we playing at war; are we trifling with the liberties of the people; are we growing callous? - even to the blood of our own men?"

"In January 1922, at our historic meeting, I accused Mulcahy of treachery... but I was a lone voice and I subsequently bowed to the will of the majority - of the minority..."

"Each month after that we could have struck with vigour and success, but we started drifting and drift it has been all through... Are we always going to drift? You must not think I am blind to the weakness, the fatuities and the self-destructing rottenness of the Free State, but I solemnly think that our process of disintegration, with ultimate extinction in view, is proceeding even more rapidly and whilst they have numbers and foreign backing we have not."



● Prisoners on the roof of Mountjoy Jail last week-end

MOUNTJOY GRIEVANCES

BY SIOBHAN O'MALLEY

THE Prisoners Rights Organisation has outlined the reasons for the protests last week-end at Mountjoy Prison in Dublin, when 14 prisoners climbed onto the roof of A-wing.

The prison authorities issued statements saying that the prisoners had expressed "no grievances" and media reports tried to dismiss the demonstrations as being caused by "the long hot summer." The prisoners, however, have genuine grievances and demands.

There is a total lack of both work and recreation facilities on A-wing, where long-term prisoners are held. They have no

television, have only two hours exercise per day and are locked in their overcrowded cells for the other 22 hours. Prisoners regularly 'disappear' from the wing, to turn up later in the punishment and isolation cells, or in Limerick Prison.

All the cells on A-wing were invaded by prison officers on Sunday, July 15th, a number of prisoners were assaulted and personal effects, such as family photographs, letters and pos-

ters, were torn up.

MAIL THEFT

The prisoners are particularly angry that nothing has been done about the theft of prisoners' mail by prison staff. A Garda investigation is supposed to be taking place but no prisoners have been interviewed.

Indeed, the prisoners who found the sack of undelivered letters, some months old, have been transferred to other wings or to Limerick Prison. Other prisoners, who protested at letters not being delivered and who are taking legal action, have also been moved.

The dismissal of charges of assault against two prison officers on Thursday, July 19th,

was the last straw as far as the prisoners were concerned. These two officers were charged with seriously assaulting a prisoner during the disturbances in Mountjoy in November 1983.

The case was dismissed on the grounds that the Director of Public Prosecutions had not brought the charges within six months.

The general feeling of the prisoners is that the prison officers are deliberately orchestrating the build-up of tension in Mountjoy to further their own dispute with the Department of Justice, and that they are helpless pawns in the battle over pay and overtime levels for prison officers.

Bray takes drugs action

BY SIOBHAN O'MALLEY

INSPIRED by the example of their Dun Laoghaire neighbours, Bray parents are now organising themselves to defeat the fast-growing heroin trade in their town. Several known pushers live in Bray, and use it as a base to supply Dun Laoghaire and Dublin.

Phyllis O'Reilly, a Bray mother who has had personal experience of the tragedy of drug addiction in the family, is the main mover behind the Bray committee.

At a meeting in the Holy Redeemer church hall in Bray on Tuesday, July 24th, people from the Concerned Parents Against Drugs committees in Crumlin, Cabra, Dolphin's Barn and St Theresa's Gardens came to support and advise the Bray parents. A young ex-addict also spoke at the meeting, saying that heroin was easily available in Bray and said that he could go out of the meeting and come back with heroin within 15 minutes if he wanted to.

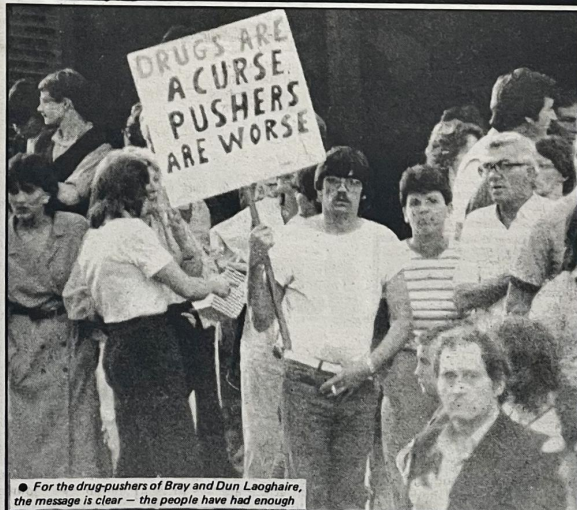
John Humphries, chairperson of the Central Concerned Parents Committee told the Bray parents that they should act now before the drug trade in Bray got any worse. Information that they had received indicated that because of the Dun Laoghaire campaign, pushers and addicts were moving to Bray, he said.

This was backed up by local people, including Mrs O'Reilly, who said that prevention was better than cure. She said that she had found the courage to stand against the pushers in spite of threats and intimidation because she knew she had the support of other parents.

A march was organised for Monday, July 30th, starting at 7.30pm outside Bray Shopping Centre.

THIRD MARCH

At Dun Laoghaire's third anti-drugs march on Wednesday, July 18th, 1,000



● For the drug-pushers of Bray and Dun Laoghaire, the message is clear — the people have had enough

people marched from St Michael's Church through all the streets in the town where known pushers operated. The marchers cheered and clapped as they passed by the people from Smiths Villas who are maintaining a vigil on two houses where pushers live. The tenant of one of the houses, Paul Kane, has given a guarantee to the local Concerned Parents committee that he will not allow his home to be used to push heroin.

The march ended back at the church with a short meeting addressed by Kevin Fitzpatrick, chairperson of the local committee, and committee members Tony Byrne and Tom Walsh. Mick O'Brien from Bally-

brack told the meeting that it was they, and they alone, who could solve the drug problem, as had been proved by their actions so far. He said it was the big businessmen, who were making a fortune out of other people's misery, that had to be stopped.

The Coalition Health Minister, Barry Desmond, has withdrawn the promise of a drug-treatment day-centre for Dun Laoghaire, which he made in an attempt to defuse the anti-drug protests. He now says that the drug problem in Dun Laoghaire is "exaggerated" and "no worse than anywhere else".

Imeachtaí

BALLYMUN SINN FEIN ACTION CENTRE

Open every Thursday 11am-1pm
and 7pm-9pm &
every Saturday 11am-4pm
In caravan beside McDermott Tower
Help available to organise protests,
pickets, etc
Advice on housing, maintenance,
social welfare, redundancies, etc

CHARITY FUNCTION

Note change of date
Music by Paddy's Dream &
Gerry Crilly
8.30pm Friday 27th July
Bridget Burke's
Old Bawn
TALLAGHT
Tickets £1.50
In aid of An Cumann Cabhrach

PORTLAISHE VISITS

PROTEST
12 noon Saturday 28th July
GPO
DUBLIN
(The bus for relatives to Portlaoise
will leave Dublin at 12.30pm on
Friday 27th July, instead of
Saturday 28th July, because of
this protest.)

BALLAD SESSION

Music by Fiddlers Green
9-11pm Saturday 28th July
Geraldine Inn
STRAFFAN
County Kildare
Tickets £2
Organised by Sinn Féin

BALLAD SESSION

Music by Latch
Saturday 28th July
Cassidy's Lounge
COLLON
County Louth
Tickets £1

THOMAS KENNEDY

COMMEMORATION
Sunday 27th July
(following 11am Mass)
RATHCORMACK CHURCH
County Waterford

CONFERENCE

ON WOMEN PRISONERS
12 noon-6pm Sunday 29th July
5 Blessington Street
DUBLIN
Speakers will include two ex-prisoners
Organised by
Sinn Féin Women's Department

SINN FEIN FUNCTION

Music by the Jolly Beggarmen
Friday 3rd August
Commercial Hotel
BALLINAMORE
County Leitrim

MEETING TO FORM

FIANNA SLUA
Open to anyone over eight
years old & their parents
7pm Saturday 4th August
Sinn Féin Centre
21 Dublin Street
MONAGHAN

DISCO & BUFFET

8pm Saturday 4th August
Ashley Arms
DUNDALK
Organised by Sinn Féin

MARCH & RALLY

(In aid of Irish POWs)
1pm Sunday 5th August
Assemble Carlisle Street
(Spital Hill)
SHEFFIELD
England

KEVIN LYNCH

ANNUAL COMMEMORATION
2.30pm Sunday 5th August
Assemble Bus Station
DUNGIVEN
County Derry

UNVEILING OF MEMORIAL

TO LIAM O LIDEADHA
(Liam Liddy)
Speaker: Daithí O Conaill
3pm Sunday 12th August
ARAGLIN
County Cork

INDIL CHUINE

AXSON, Cormac, (3rd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my comrade Flann Cormac Axson, who was killed on active service on July 21st 1972. Ar dheis Dé go raibh a anam. O Mamal, Dadaí, Monica agus Gordon.

AXSON, Cormac, (30th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my comrade Flann Cormac Axson, who was killed on active service on July 21st 1972. Ar dheis Dé go raibh a anam. O Mamal, Dadaí, Monica agus Gordon.

AXSON, Cormac, (3rd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my comrade Flann Cormac Axson, who was killed on active service on July 21st 1972. Ar dheis Dé go raibh a anam. O Mamal, Dadaí, Monica agus Gordon.

BRADLEY, Seamus, (12th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my comrade Seamus Bradley, Derry Brigade, who was killed on active service on July 31st 1972. I measc laochra na nGael go raibh a anam uasal. Always remembered by his friends and comrades in the Derry Brigade.

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CASSIDY, Jerry, (2nd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my comrade Jerry Cassidy, Lambeth Walk, London, who died on July 16th 1982. Forget you Jerry we never will, for in our hearts we love you still. Sadly missed by Teresa and Anna.

CASSIDY, Seamus, (12th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my comrade Seamus Cassidy, 3rd Battalion, Belfast Brigade, who was killed on active service on July 21st 1972. Ar dheis Dé go raibh a anam d'fais. Always remembered by his friends and comrades in the Belfast Brigade.

CUNNINGHAM, Alphonsus; KANE, Pauline, (11th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my comrade Alphonsus Cunningham, who was killed on active service on July 21st 1972. Ar dheis Dé go raibh a anam d'fais. Always remembered by his friends and comrades in the Republican Movement.

KANE, Pauline, (11th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my comrade Pauline Kane, Cumann na mBan, Newcastle, South Down, who was killed on active service on July 21st 1972. Go ndána Dia trócaire ar a namán dílis. Always remembered by her friends and comrades in the Republican Movement.

MCDONNELL, Joe, (3rd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my comrade Joe McDonnell, who was killed on active service on July 21st 1972. Ar dheis Dé go raibh a anam d'fais. Always remembered by his friends and comrades in the Republican Movement.

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TEER, Patrick, (10th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my comrade Patrick Teer who died in Long Kesh on July 22nd 1974. I measc laochra na nGael go raibh a anam uasal. Always remembered by his friends and comrades in the Republican Movement.

TOLAN, Tommy, (7th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my comrade Tommy Tolan, 2nd Battalion, Belfast Brigade, who was killed on active service on July 27th 1977. I measc laochra na nGael go raibh a anam uasal. Always remembered by his friends and comrades in the Belfast Brigade.

TOLAN, Thomas, (7th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my comrade Thomas Tolan, who was murdered on July 22nd 1977. Deep in my heart your memory is kept, I loved you too dearly to ever forget. Mary, Queen of the Gael, pray for him. Always remembered and sadly missed by his wife Patricia.

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BEANNACHTAI

CORR, Paul, (H-Blocks). Happy birthday. Bet you have gate fever by now. Have a great year and see you in August. From Eleanor and Bob Schumaker, USA.

CUNNINGHAM, Robert HAYES, Sean KEENE, Brian, (England). Belated July birthday greetings and best wishes for the future. From An Cumann Cabhrach, Walkinstown.

FITZSIMONS, Michael, (H7). Wishing you a happy day. No matter where you are, we are always thinking of you at home. The time may not go fast, but it gets nearer. Lots of love. From Mum and Dad.

FITZSIMONS, Michael, (H7). Happy birthday, Michael. We are saving hard for you getting out. Lots of love. From Eamon, Michael and family.

FITZSIMONS, Michael, (H7). Lots of love on your birthday. From Mary Manus and family, also Anne, Joe, and Sean.

FITZSIMONS, Michael, (H7). Thinking of you on your birthday, Michael. Lots of love. From Theresa and Alan; also Gerald.

HUNTER, Rab, (Portlaoise). Congratulations on your splendid victory over Altony (Dodger) Morrow, champion handballer, in your closely fought challenge match which you won 21-20. A great victory, Rab, even if you did get 20 points up for your handicap. Not your stiff leg, your gut! Fat man! From all the lads (even Dodger)!

KEARNEY, Seamus, (Crumlin Road). Happy birthday, Seamus. No matter where you are, today, tonight, tomorrow, you are never far from my thoughts. Hope you have a great day. Our love and prayers are with you. From Eleanor and Bob Schumaker, USA.

LENNON, Sean, (H-Blocks). Happy birthday. It won't be long until we see you and give our greetings in person. Take care. From Maryann and John Jude, USA.

MURRAY, Marcus, (H8). Happy birthday for July 28th, Marcus. From Mammy, Daddy, Catherine, Niall and Declan.

NORDONE, Stephen, (Parkhurst). Happy birthday, Stephen. I wish for you what you wish for yourself. 'Til soon. All my love from Jutta.

NORDONE, Stephen, (Parkhurst). Happy birthday, Stephen. Many love and prayers are with you. From Eleanor and Bob Schumaker, USA.

ROGERS, Peter, (Portlaoise). Happy birthday, Peter. From Bronagh, xxx.

TOAL, Fergal, (Portlaoise). Love and best wishes for your birthday, Fergal. Sorry I can't be with you, but hope to see you soon. Hope you liked your present, so don't be getting crank (that) all. Thinking of you always. From Bronagh, xxx.

TOAL, Fergal, (Portlaoise). Happy birthday, Daddy. All our love from Gary, Paula and our new brother, London.

TOAL, Fergal, (Portlaoise). Wishing you a happy birthday on July 21st. You're getting on a bit now. Also congratulations on the birth of your new son. From your ever-loving sister, Nora.

TOAL, Fergal, (Portlaoise). Happy birthday, Fergal, and congratulations on the birth of your new son. You'll make it the 12th next time (that) all. Don't worry, we'll celebrate it for you. From Shamie, Sean and big Pat.

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Death of Jim Wall

THE DEATH occurred on Wednesday, June 20th last, of Clare republican Jim Wall in St Joseph's Hospital, Ennis, after a short illness.

The removal of the remains and the funeral on Friday, June 22nd, were both attended by large gatherings of his neighbours and republican comrades from Clare and surrounding counties. On both occasions the Tricolour-draped coffin was attended by a republican guard of honour.

At the graveside in Trough cemetery, a brief oration was delivered by Des Long of Limerick, during which he gave an account of Jim Wall's long years of active involvement in and support of the Republican Movement.

Particular mention was made of his concern and support for the republican prisoners.

The sincere sympathy of the Republican Movement was extended to his relatives, friends and comrades. Ar dheis Dé go raibh a anam.

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CUMHNÍ BREITHLAE

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TOAL, Fergal, (Portlaoise). Love and best wishes for your birthday, Fergal. Sorry I can't be with you, but hope to see you soon. Hope you liked your present, so don't be getting crank (that) all. Thinking of you always. From Bronagh, xxx.

TOAL, Fergal, (Portlaoise). Happy birthday, Daddy. All our love from Gary, Paula and our new brother, London.

TOAL, Fergal, (Portlaoise). Wishing you a happy birthday on July 21st. You're getting on a bit now. Also congratulations on the birth of your new son. From your ever-loving sister, Nora.

TOAL, Fergal, (Portlaoise). Happy birthday, Fergal, and congratulations on the birth of your new son. You'll make it the 12th next time (that) all. Don't worry, we'll celebrate it for you. From Shamie, Sean and big Pat.

TOAL, Fergal, (Portlaoise). Happy birthday, Fergal, for July 21st and congratulations on the birth of your new son on July 11th. See you soon. From your sister, Mairead.

TOAL, Fergal, (Portlaoise). Happy birthday, Fergal. From Seamy Mc Ardle and wife.

TOAL, Fergal, (Portlaoise). Happy birthday, Fergal, for July 21st and congratulations on the birth of your new son on July 11th. See you soon. From your sister, Mairead.

TOAL, Fergal, (Portlaoise). Happy birthday, Fergal. From Seamy Mc Ardle and wife.

Remembering the Past

As the armed and elated Volunteers marched back towards Dublin, they were confronted by police and military at Contarf. But while the officers proceeded to parley with the police, the main body of Volunteers succeeded in scattering and concealing their rifles in places where they could be retrieved during the night.

The day



PETER ROBINSON

FEA reports

A Chara,
"The FEA assumes," With these three words, the Northern Ireland Fire Authority spokesmen quickly dismissed the claims and findings of the Fair Employment Agency report. The report, in layman's terms, said that around 80% of the fire brigade were employed for something other than their fire-fighting abilities. Right-footers in other words.

I happen to know three of the 20% who slipped through the net. Two have addresses in loyalist areas and the third has a nickname which is the brand name of a well-known Israeli citrus fruit. Maybe that helped in their applications. I don't know. Mistakes can be made and if they weren't made, who knows, but the big red fire-engines might have changed their colour scheme to orange! Mind you, it's only an assumption, maybe they're not really sectarian.

Recently, when Peter Robinson was speaking on the proposed Shorts Factory in West Belfast, he said that it was a fact that the Protestant community just happened to have a better selection of engineering workers. Could it be that they also happen to have a better selection of firemen, and ship-builders, and leading civil servants, and plumbers and masonic brethren?

Maybe all these allegations of sectarian employment practices are misguided, or maybe the FEA should look, not at the employment practice of particular firms, but at the employment opportunities of whole communities? They could begin their investigations from about 1860 or 1922.

In a retrospective report, I'm sure they could concede that the whole web of sectarian employment is actually part of the fabric of the whole corrupt, irreformable six-county statelet. Maybe, Somehow I don't think they'd admit it. You'd have as much chance of that as of finding holy water in an Orange lodge — or a fire station for that matter.

Eoghan MacCormaic,
Ceis Fhada.

New myths for old?

A Chara,
Some years ago I challenged the *Irish Times* to revert to its practice of reprinting items from its files of 50 years previously. I think it was in November 1979 or March 1971 when Kilmiel or Crossbarry might be seen through the paper's contemporary spectacles — but by then it might have been embarrassing.

In 1967, it had devoted a supplement to the Fenian Rising Centenary, at a time when even the *Daily Telegraph* thought John O'Leary sufficiently quiet in his grave. Sometime after the paper dropped its recollections of stories of 50 and 100 years before.

So long as Jack Madden

mála poist

A Chara,

Uinsann Mac Eoin asks what Pdraig Pearse would have thought of Eileen Flynn (*Mála poist*, July 19th). The relevance of the question is not clear, but, nevertheless, let us try and find an answer.

Perhaps we could look at the private lives of two contemporaries of Pearse, for whom he expressed support and admiration — Constance Markievicz and Maud Gonne MacBride.

Markievicz was separated from her husband and had 'abandoned' her daughter into the care of her mother in order to involve herself in the Irish revolution — and such a woman was the founder of Fianna Éireann, the republican youth movement!

The second woman too, was involved with children. Remember Maud Gonne's numerous Patriotic Children's Treats, not only organised in opposition to British royal visits, but in order to influence the minds of the hundreds who attended.

Remember Maud Gonne's organisation of school meals for children — in response to requests from some of the very priests who controlled the schools.

But remember too that Maud Gonne had borne, not one, but two 'illegitimate' children to the Frenchman, Lucien Millevoye, and then married John MacBride, separating from him after two years. And she spent much time in France afterwards lest she lose custody of Sean, her son by that marriage, if she returned to Ireland.

My goodness! What a woman! How strange Pearse did not condemn her!

In the *Murder Machine*, Pearse wrote:

"I would urge that the Irish school system of the future should give freedom — freedom to the individual school, freedom to the individual teacher, freedom as far as may be to the individual pupil. Without freedom there

EILEEN FLYNN



can be no right growth; and education is properly the fostering of the right growth of a personality."

Why not apply Pearse's educational freedom to Eileen Flynn?

Uinsann Mac Eoin claims that the "amoral standards" of your editorial will alienate the "mass of Irish republicans". But Sinn Féin, by overwhelming majority at ard fheisanna, supports a policy of "divorce for those who wish to avail of it" and has expressed opposition "to the attitudes and forces in society that impel women to have abortions".

Eileen Flynn is an active member of Sinn Féin, and she is providing a mother's care to her own child and three others.

Given a choice as a teacher of my children between Eileen Flynn and landlord, property speculator, republican hurler-on-the-ditch Uinsann Mac Eoin of Dublin 4, I have no problem at all making a decision!

Patrick O'Brien,
South Circular Road,
Dublin 8.

A Chara,

Re your editorial of July 5th, I totally disagree with your twisted comments. You must have paid little attention to the trial.

If some had their way we'd be down on all fours again. One of these days we'll be told of the wonderful English way of life.

No you haven't succeeded in my abandoning Sinn Féin at the polling booth. I intend standing my ground. I've watched the blow-ins come and go over the years. As a matter of principle, I vote first for the person and second for the party.

I do hope you will see fit to publish this.

Mrs Mairead Delahunty,
Rockfield,
Ballyshannon,
County Donegal.

A Chara,

The two letters in last week's *AP/RN* disagreeing with your editorial of the previous issue represent the attitudes in our society which drive so many Irish women to England every year to have abortions.

There is something sickening and hypocritical about a state which enshrines in its constitution the rights of the unborn to life, yet makes child-bearing for single women such a psychological endurance test that many feel unable to stand up to it.

What is pathetic about the indignation and crawl-thumping attitudes displayed by some about Eileen Flynn's case, is that they are held from a supposedly 'traditional Irish' point of view.

In fact, the thinking that condemns Eileen Flynn and all the other Eileen Flynn's as lepers and social outcasts represents the puritanical values imposed on the Irish people by the clergy in Victorian times.

If Eileen Flynn had been a male teacher who fathered a child out of wedlock, the dismissal would never have taken place. If she had gone to England and had an abortion, it probably would not have taken place either.

Strange times we are living in!

Aine Nic Murchadha,
Baile Atha Cliath.

ficant News, from 96 per week to 168 with a target of 200 papers weekly being the cumann's goal in the months ahead.

Despite Section 31 of the Broadcasting Act and the petty Garda harassment, the cumann's hard work before the election proved itself on polling day when one out of every four electors voted Sinn Féin in Lifford town.

This large vote has shocked the establishment parties in the area into open admission that Sinn Féin is on the move. Leading up to the election, Sinn Féin canvassers were delighted with the response they received at the doors from people in Lifford and surrounding areas. The confidence the people of Lifford have in the local Sinn Féin personnel and their acceptance of Sinn Féin policies was expressed on election day.

The cumann is presently drawing up a list of social and environmental problems experienced daily by the residents of the town. Lifford Sinn Féin hope to highlight these problems through the pages of *AP/RN* and in the long term would hope to be in a position to help try and alleviate hardships which are now accepted as a way of life by working-class families, but which in reality are the end-product of misgovernment by 'going nowhere' parties like Fine Gael, Labour and Fianna Fáil.

Tony McDavid,
PRO,
McGinn/McLaughlin
Sinn Féin cumann,
Lifford.



Traitors

A Chara,

"Protestant republican, Beal Feiste" in his letter in *AP/RN*, July 5th, asked, "How is it that when the IRA kill an RUC or UDR man at his home or farm, it's execution. Yet, when it is one of their own, it's murder?" He says that when he is asked this question, he does not know the answer.

Given the nature of the Anglo-Irish conflict as guerrilla war by the IRA against the illegal armed British presence in Ireland, Irishmen in their British RUC and UDR uniforms openly display that they are on the side of the British in their war against the Irish people. Are they not traitors?

If your reader consults *AP/RN* columns, he will see that a large majority of Irish Republican Army Volunteers since 1970, killed in the war, are remembered as 'killed in action'. Many fewer were murdered by the British army and the pro-British RUC and UDR.

The Republican Movement clearly recognises a distinction in these cases. Only when the circumstances are clear that unarmed IRA Volunteers have been captured or cornered without being allowed to surrender, and then afterwards killed in cold blood, does the IRA condemn this as murder.

Jack H. Rogers,
London.



is about, the attempt to misrepresent the past, which Orwell depicted as the most frightening aspect of tyranny, cannot be fully successful.

By examining press coverage of Kilmiel, for instance, he has unmasked the hypocrisy of the 'respectable' commentators. His examination (*AP/RN*, June 28th) of the various conflicting orthodoxies successively imposed under the heading of 'history' on Irish children from the 1830s to the present, strips the fig-leaves not only from old Emperors but also from some of today's academic and media Bonapartes.

Never was such work more necessary. In a debate in the House of Lords in the 1960s the desirability of getting all of Ireland into NATO occasioned the remark that unfortunately history taught in twenty-six counties was nat-

ionalistic. Not long after, a 'heavy' London paper congratulated the MacMillan's Harold's family publishers for gaining a share and a say in M.H.Gill, publishers of Irish school texts, I am advised that the publishers can and do eradicate such terms as "Red-mandite" which are considered pejorative and Anglophobic.

Anti-national revisionism is accelerating. Many Irish academics and journalists today seem to have the same relationship to Ireland that professional footballers have to their clubs. Once they've got their transfer fees and their regular pay, they slot into Fleet Street and the BBC as if they had been brought up as intended by the 'National' Board in the 1930s, "happy English children" for whom Ireland's people and their struggle were both alien and horrid.

Legal rights

A Chara,

Republican activists and supporters throughout the 32 counties face the very real threat of arrest by the very nature of their work. As a result, those arrested, both young and old, invariably question themselves, "What should I do? What am I allowed to do?"

In all my reading of books and magazines related to the freedom struggle in Ireland, I have never come across a detailed and sequential account of the behaviour of the crown forces in such places as Castle-reagh or Gough Barracks, or of the gerald agents in the Bridewell or Monaghan.

Granted, the 1984 Republican Diary goes some way to alleviate these problems, but I

must say that this is not enough.

What are my legal rights if I am stopped while walking in the street or when driving along the road? What specific questions am I legally obliged to answer, and are the RUC legally correct and justified in removing the Tricolour from telegraph poles everywhere? What is the advised attitude or procedure to adopt when one finds him/herself 'lifted' under Section 11 or 12.

I feel the onus is on Sinn Féin and on *An Phoblacht/Republican News* to answer these many queries for the benefit of republicans everywhere.

Una Donaghy,
County Tyrone.

On the move

A Chara,

As a direct result of Sinn Féin's participation in the EEC elections, the McGinn/McLaughlin Sinn Féin cumann, Lifford, has doubled its number of members and, over the last few weeks, has increased sales of *An Phoblacht/Rep-*

REVIEWS

TV

So what's new?

BY SIOBHAN O'MALLEY

CRIME INC is a new seven-part series on UTV on Wednesdays. It investigates the mafia and how it has developed, from its origins, to become a powerful part of American society and big business.

Today, Mafia money is 'laundered' through multinationals and respectable US corporations where the profits are much greater than those from prostitution, gambling and drugs. Although the Mafia is still involved in these activities, 'legitimate' business is more lucrative.

The contradictions of the Mafia code, the reverence for the family side by side with ruthless exploitation of people outside 'La Cosa Nostra' was shown by extracts from old film of gang warfare cut with clips from home movies of the bosses with their adored and adoring wives and children.

Maggie Thatcher is a family

person too. She was demonstrating what a warm and human woman she really is on *Aspel and Company* on UTV on Saturday.

And isn't Ronnie Reagan a wonderful father? He is so worried about Pattie living an unwholesome life.

The Mafia's methods pale into nothing compared with the blood that is on the hands of Maggie and Ronnie.

So what's new?

The trendy sixties was the setting for Saturday night's BBC2 film *Sunday, Bloody Sunday*, starring Glenda Jackson and Peter Finch. The British middle-class's studied liberalism is held up to per-

sistent, if gentle, ridicule in this film about a love triangle involving a middle-aged doctor, a successful businesswoman and a young artist.

All of the favourite causes of the time are here. The precocious children who are more sophisticated than the babysitters, the search for the meaning of life etc. What was considered very daring in 1971 looks dated and obvious now, and this film, which made quite a stir at the time, is not so shocking in the '80's.

The film on BBC1 on Sunday, *Jeremiah Johnson*, was set in Utah in the 1800s, and was also made in the early seventies.

Starring Robert Redford, it is loosely based on the true story of Jeremiah Johnson, a white man who married an Indian woman. She is murdered by Indians from another tribe and Johnson sets out on

a campaign of revenge which alienates him from all contact with other people. The film really did capture the harshness of life in the wilderness, and how loneliness affects human beings.

The vast difference in attitudes and values of people of other cultures was well illustrated by the series *Diary of a Masai Village*, which ended on BBC2 on Monday.

This documentary followed events in a Masai village over seven weeks, and the last episode showed a new bride coming to the village. She is the fourth wife of Misiia, one of the village leader's sons. Her 'acceptance' into her new family and new village is preceded by jeers and insults from the other women.

Masai women have few rights and status in their culture is achieved mainly by producing children. Their lives are strictly controlled by their husbands and the traditions of the Masai.

Because the men can leave the village, they have some contact with 'civilisation'. The conflict between their own ancient codes and the modern



• Peter Finch, Murray Head and Glenda Jackson

laws of the outside world affect them more and this was the subject of an earlier episode.

Diary of a Masai Village was a documentary in the truest sense. It watched and

recorded what was happening, without imposing too much 'explanation'. The makers of this series did not try to interpret the Masai life into western terms. A series worth seeing again.

Paying the piper O'MORE'S ALMANAC

BY RORY O'MORE

THE QUESTION after Ford's *Siamsa Cois Laoi* last Sunday remains — does he who pays the piper call the tune?

The Ford bosses obviously think so and Christy Moore, however much he let his arm be twisted by promoter Oliver Barry, thinks not.

So Hartmut Kieven, Ford's sales director, and obviously not a Corkonian, stormed out when Moore turned to Henry Ford's redundancies and Ronald Reagan's warmongering.

And then Ford's bossman, Paddy Hayes, walked out when the Wolfe Tones got too rebellious.

Now Ford's are threatening to withdraw their £23,000 sponsorship next year if *Siamsa* is not confined to empty lyrics and mindless melodies.

A very paltry sum, when £500,000 was taken in gate receipts, so let us hope the GAA can overcome its greed for gold and tell Ford where to stick it.

But I wouldn't be surprised if the Tones, who are now synonymous with *Siamsa Cois Laoi*, are quietly dropped next year — 'time for a change' — and a 'safer group' 'given a chance'.

Let's wait and see.

Meanwhile, the Monday newspapers were agast to find IRA tee-shirts had been on sale at Parc Ui Chaoimh. They were also on sale at Slane Castle — which is much nearer the border — but nobody seemed to think it worth mentioning, what with all the other little problems Fine Gael peer Henry Mountcharles was suffering.

But the Wolfe Tones, Christy Moore, unemployment, multinationals, rebellion, social protest, anti-nuclear — and IRA tee shirts! The whole thing is just too explosive!

Surely Section 31 could be extended to deal with this kind of thing?

Has the Forum been a complete waste of time?

Is this the death knell for constitutional nationalism?

Does Bono still love Garret FitzGerald?

(Have you quite finished? — Ed)

With *Siamsa* by the banks of the Lee over for another year, the next major event is Ballyshannon for the August bank holiday weekend.

Christy Moore will be there too of course, along with an array of festival talent including Paddy Reilly, Na Casad- aigh, De Danan, the Northern folk expert Len Graham and countless others.

The cost for the three days is £15; if you think of it as £5 per day then it does not seem so bad. Certainly you are sure to get value for money. But keep clear of the gardai during the evenings, the hot weather seems to have been adversely affecting them.

If you get this paper by Friday, and live in or near Drogheda, then you can just catch the tail-end of John Martyn's Irish tour, at the White Horse Hotel that night.

Glasgow-born Martyn has been around the folk scene for the past 16 years or more and many would claim his musical development to have been as innovative as Dylan's but without the commercial success.

Having introduced and expanded jazz influences into his music, Martyn has more recently spent time in Jamaica and has incorporated that country's particular music into his repertoire.

Catch him if you can and you will appreciate why he is held in such high esteem. If you miss him, there is a new album by John Martyn due to be released during the autumn.

By the way, talking of tail-ends of tours, Stockton's Wing are rounding off in Castlebar and Kilkenny this weekend leading up to the release of their new album *Take One*.

This week in Galway, there is much of interest in the city's centenary arts festival, with the centre-piece a magnificent exhibition which proudly boasts all the work of

artists of the region for the last hundred years.

There is plenty of music to be had at various venues, and theatre in a tent from the remarkable Footsbarn wandering players. They do Shakespeare like you never saw it, and have a children's show *The Circus Tosov*. (They will be in Dublin in early August, I believe.)

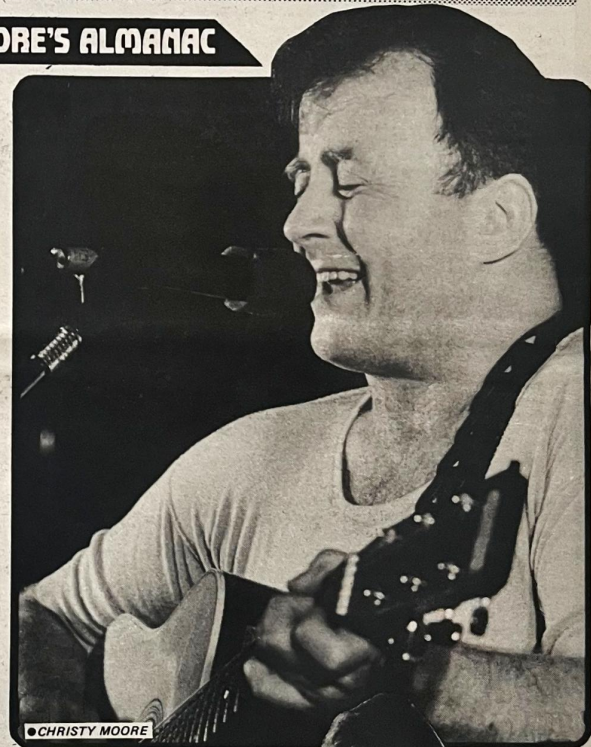
Galway's Druid Theatre Company are putting an O'Casey's *Bedtime Story*, a one-act comedy if I remember correctly.

There is also a theatrical project, *Phaidin Mhairi*, involving the Druid and young people from a Youth Employment Agency scheme which is moving around various Galway community centres. The idea is so imaginative that it is hard to believe there is a government agency involved.

Galway audiences will also be privileged to see the much acclaimed *Ann Devlin* film from Pat Murphy, for which the rest of us must wait a while longer, and Cathal Black's *Pigs*, and Joe Comerford's *Waterbag* and Thaddeus O'Sullivan's *On a Paving Stone Mounted*.

Such amazing Irish talent, and such quantities of it!

If RTE did not keep us tranquillised with *Dallas*, *Dynasty* and the *Late Late Show*, we might well become over-excited or even big-headed!



• CHRISTY MOORE



• From Slane to Cork to Ringsend — the T-shirts are going a bomb!

SPORT

REVIEWS

Brawling Champions

BY JOHN JOE KING

TYRONE'S high-scoring Frank McGuigan should hire a couple of 'minders' for his county's semi-final clash with Dublin. Because the first ten minutes of the game will involve an all-out attempt to kick him out of Croke Park into the Mater Hospital.

The All-Ireland Brawling Champions began their match against Meath with the same tactics they use against any team whom they fear has the advantage in skill — blatant intimidation.

Dirty fouls and dangerous tackles are continually described as 'tough physical play' by the media Dubophiles — but what do they call the weeping and whimpering when one of the toughies is packed off to the dressing-rooms?

If young supporters copied their football heroes on the way home from the game, there would be a Garda baton charge! Luckily, they are more disciplined.

There are two ways to stop such tactics on the field. The first way is the one Kerry adopts with such aplomb when meeting their old opponents — kick the you-know-what out of them! The second way is firm unflinching refereeing.

Thankfully, after 25 minutes of Dirty Auld Dublin last Sunday, referee Gunning sobered things up by sending schoolteacher John Caffrey home early after he had attempted to teach the prone Meath goal-scorer Ben Tansey a lesson with a well-placed boot to the stomach.

Will Caffrey now be judged unfit to teach children, *in loco parentis*, and be sacked for his bad example?

FOOTBALL

So Dublin were left with

14 men and began playing football. And the thing is they have some excellent footballers — Claran Duff, Barney Rock and Joe McNally were superb going forward, Tommy Drumm, Mick Holden and Gerry Hargan unmatched in defence. I am fairly sure they could perform almost as well against an opposition unbranded and unbattered.

Or could they?

Mind you, Meath cannot claim to have been robbed of the Leinster title.

Yes, they were very unlucky to have Mick Lyons out injured, his defensive genius would almost certainly have been enough to turn the match on its head on Sunday — but that is Meath's only valid excuse.

Any team that is beaten by 14 men is beaten, full stop. Whilst Dublin sent their forwards scattering over the extra space left by Caffrey's absence, thus compensating for the missing man with enthusiasm and determination, Meath had Robbie O'Malley, their extra man, wandering, in mid-field and, then in defence, like a lost soul.

TACTICS

Which brings us to Meath's worst failing — the lack of flexible tactics on the field, and on the bench.

It was obvious that Meath's hope of kicking high-balls to Colm O'Rourke was not working, but it did not seem to sink home until the dying

minutes. Surely the place for the extra man was up there in support of him, especially with Meath actually winning the battle for possession in mid-field.

Nobody seemed to be reading the game for Meath — until after it was over.

But worst of all for Meath was the penalty miss in the early minutes of the game. The psychological blow to confidence showed in several missed chances afterwards and I have no doubt that had the penalty gone in, then Meath would have won with ease.

But there again the blame ultimately lies off-field — what kind of vote of confidence is it in your forwards that a corner-back has to come up to take the penalties? And then to miss it....



● Despite Meath's best attempts, Dublin storms to victory in the Leinster Senior Football Final with Barney Rock (top) and Claran Duff (bottom) contributing some superb football

Popcorn bags

BY EDDIE STACK

IF the film reviews have been few and far between in the last few weeks, that has only been a reflection of the sorry state of cinemas which are currently bristling with film fare ranging from bad to nauseating.

Now flinging onto our screens at the earth-shattering rate of one per week, films have taken the place of buses in our hearts: you never know when the next one is going to come along.

For example (and don't worry I'm not going to review it), just one commercial film was revealed to a hardly awe-inspired public last week. After three *Superman* films you would think we had enough, but, alas, *Supergirl* has been forced upon us to leave our flabber extremely gasted.

Putting aside the producers' desire for big bucks, *Supergirl* confirms that women are this year's thing in America, particularly in the light of Walter Mondale shocking that nation by picking a woman as his running-mate. But in the same way that Reagan can score points off Mondale by saying that his opponent has given in to 'special interest groups' (despite, of course, the fact that women make up half the population) so is *Supergirl* miles away from being 'super' in the modern sense of the word, coming across as liberated as my great-great-grandmother in the moral values she preaches to our youth.

At least that is what I understand goes on in the film which has been charitably described to me by a friend as "an appalling piece of hideous garb". It looks likely, therefore, that Geraldine Ferraro will do for women what *Roots* did for blacks: make sure there are two token women in the cop shows on TV.

MERMAIDS

Superwoman aside, I couldn't bring myself to pay good money to see *Splash*, the story of a mermaid washed up in New York. I don't know about you, but mermaids just don't seem important in my life at the moment. Neither, of course, does joining the police force, but attracted by the queues outside the cinema, I paid my pieces of silver for a ticket to *Police Academy*.

After what I'd heard about this particular film, I entered the cinema with all the enthusiasm of a man about to handle a dead snake, but it was so nice to be back in a cinema seat again with empty Coke cans and half-empty popcorn bags from the last performance scrunching under my feet.

FILM

The masses have taken *Police Academy* to their bosoms, but, alas, unless you have been suckered enough to see it already, all I can recommend is give it a wide berth.

Police Academy, like *Supergirl* is a follow-up/tribute/rip-off of comedy films that have gone before; i.e. *National Lampoon's Animal House* and *Porky's*, to name just two. The idea is take an institution, in this case a police force (in *Porky's* it was a high school), and fill it with an unlikely bunch of bozos whose sole aim in life is to have the greatest possible sexual experience in the shortest possible space of time. The humour lies in the fact that the institution keeps getting in their way. Get it?

Secondly, to ensure your film is a box office megahit, fill your film to the brim with every character likely to get a cheap laugh; i.e. blacks, homosexuals, fatsoes, unattractive women and, of course, women who are ambitious, now there's a laugh!

In this day and age, when every police force on the planet seems to be getting 'special powers' to help them be 'more effective', there definitely is room for a good satire on the coppers, much in the same way that they used to satirise the army and nuclear warriors so effectively way back in the liberal sixties.

To say that *Police Academy* is not an effective satire is a total understatement. The



● No qualifications needed for this Police Academy — so what's new?

makers of *Police Academy* believe that your funny bone is located somewhere between your navel and your knee. When they try to tickle it, it's very embarrassing.

POSTERIOR

In short, then, the film's plot revolved around the fact that some American town's mayor decided (in a 'dumb liberal gesture' no doubt) that there need be no qualifications, height requirement etc, to join the local police force. So, of course, all sorts of 'funny people' want to join the force

— women, blacks etc, and chaos ensues. When I tell you that the climax (oops) of the picture comes when the despised police sergeant is thrown head first into the posterior of a horse, then I think that I am illustrating quite well the level of humour *Police Academy* operates at. But don't mind me, the rest of the audience was in tears. *Police Academy* will probably run and run and it might be Christmas before another film gets up on the screen it currently occupies. Which is a pity, as there are less and less

screens around at the moment. In Dublin's city centre, three cinemas have closed this year already, starved of quality films by the big guys who themselves are finding it hard to get entertaining films from a Hollywood making less films than ever before.

I'm not saying, of course, that the loss of a cinema like the Film Centre, where they used to play such classics like *Strip first, then we talk* is a devastating blow to Irish culture, but there's a screen in there that could be showing decent films at a decent price.

BURKE'S AT THE BACK

By Kevin Burke

I LIKED the suggestion from the Northern prison authorities, after news broke that 700 Valium tablets had gone missing from the H-Block hospital, that there were real fears that prisoners would possibly dope the tea of warders in an escape bid.

But the truth is stranger than fiction. The pharmacy in the prison hospital is kept under the control of three people. The first of these is Chief Medical Officer Frank Smith. Unfortunately for Mr Smith he has three major failings in the eyes of his colleagues. Firstly, he is a Catholic. Secondly, he is pig ignorant and hard to get on with. And, thirdly, he has for some time been addicted to tablets.

Directly under Smith is a Principal Officer by the name of Georgie Scott. Now Scott is everything that Smith isn't, and he has two other small bonuses: one is his prominent position in the Orange Order and the other is his rumoured membership of the Freemasons.

The third key-holder to the dispensary is a qualified former chemist, Medical Officer Ronnie Barr, who discovered the heist after returning from his annual holidays.

Among the staff hierarchy of around 20 at the hospital, three are Catholics — even Catholic patients in the hospital are in a minority. Fair Employment Agency take note!

Chief MO Smith has been a thorn in the side of his Orange colleagues for some time but, for all his problems, was unlikely to steal so many tablets in one go, knowing the loss would be noticed. But Smith — against all prison regulations — just happens to have a personal set of keys to the room in question, and the brethren have been so quick to point the RUC in his direction, after a search of prisoners' cells drew a blank, that he appears to be the victim of a set-up job.

Smith, the token Taig, and Chief MO, is now chief suspect on whom the hatchet seems likely to descend.

★★★

The 'compassionate grounds' given as the reason for the release of Nicky Kelly are, it appears, based not on compassion for the prisoner but for the Coalition Minister for Justice, Michael Noonan.

Apparently, in recent months Noonan had become obsessed, to the point of paranoia, with the fanciful notion that he was the target of an assassination plot by nasty subversives because of his continued refusal to live up to his official title.

The addition of another little Noonan to his Limerick-based family added further emotional pressures.

Hard-line Fine Gaelers are now in contempt of their ministerial colleague, who was already branded a 'softy' for slightly watering-down the Criminal Law Bill.

In particular, Fine Gael's Minister of the Military Wing, Paddy Cooney, who was not consulted or even informed in advance of Kelly's release, is extremely

Turning the screw



●MICHAEL NOONAN

angry and sees it as a reflection on the great days of his service as Minister for the Heavy Gang, back in the days of the Real Coalition.

★★★

Double congratulations are due to Garda Superintendent Gurry of Wexford!

Firstly, on his early retirement from the force.

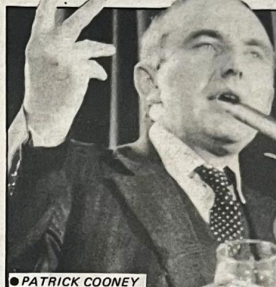
Secondly, for the reason for that early retirement...

★★★

Mysterious goings-on at Drumsna, on the Leitrim/Roscommon border, where, last Sunday, a member of the Task Force was discovered in a clump of bushes overlooking the home of long-time republican Sylvester Fitzsimmons.

When challenged, he claimed to be bird-watching.

On Monday, after several hours of thinking how to cover-up this under-cover cock-up, a large squad of Task Force heavies — including such stalwarts as Noone, Feeley and Furey — raided



●PATRICK COONEY

the Fitzsimmons home, demanding to know if they could identify the lurker in the bushes. They seemed to think this was very clever.

On Tuesday morning, Michael Fitzsimmons, son of Sylvester, was arrested in Carrick-on-Shannon and taken for questioning on the same subject.

Which should teach the Fitzsimmons family not to let themselves be spied on in future.

★★★

Britain's Ministry of Defence has admitted after all that British troops are still in danger in the North.

The threat to withdraw their £2.15 per day 'danger money' whilst in the North has been dropped.

I have received a letter pointing out that only the *Daily Star* and *Burke's at the Back* highlighted this issue.

I am still thinking about the political implications of this.

★★★

One Brit who is not in any danger is Lance-Corporal Shaun Bowen of the

Staffordshire Regiment.

A few months ago he was shot in South Armagh. The bullet went into his head just above the left ear and came out just below the right one.

But it did no damage on the way through! And Bowen is now back with his regiment.

Is this what they mean by mindless violence?

★★★

But it's Brits Out in Manchester, where the Labour-controlled council has dropped the usual military exhibition and display from the annual Manchester Show.

The event has, in recent years, been the target of pickets and protests by Troops Out supporters, who object to the glamourised recruitment tactics aimed at gullible unemployed youths.

Now the council has agreed.

★★★

Most people in Bundoran, the County Donegal holiday resort, are doing the best they can to attract and keep as many tourists as possible in these lean times.

They are scarcely being helped by the residents of nearby Finner Camp.

Last weekend, as holiday-makers basked in the sunshine on the beach adjacent to the camp, their summer reveries were rudely ended by a squad of sweaty Free State soldiers, who made a sortie from the stronghold and drove them all away at gun-point.

No explanation of this bizarre behaviour has been offered. Perhaps Paddy Cooney was heading down for a paddle?

★★★

As if the phenomenon of crazed mass-killers was not enough, the latest technological advance about to go on the market in the United States is the killer robot.

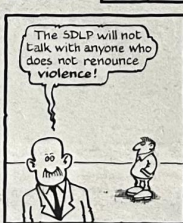
One such machine is the Prowler, developed by Robot Defence Systems of Thornton, Colorado. Prowler stands for Programmable Robot Observer With Logical Enemy Response and is equipped with micro-computers, artificial intelligence software and distance-ranging sensors, allowing it to patrol the perimeters of an area, such as a military base, factory, pipeline or prison, and to identify foe from friend and kill them.

The prototype Prowler is equipped with two M60 machine-guns and a grenade launcher, but weaponry is at the choice of customer.

Another company, Denning Mobile Robotics, has produced a robot prison guard, capable of patrolling prison corridors, detecting stray inmates and ordering them to 'Halt or I fire!' before broadcasting a warning to human warders.

How long before the Brits start buying them?

NOTES



DÚIRT SIAD

"Direct elections would run the risk of a swift introduction of adversarial politics and would intro-

duce an element of instability at a crucial time." — The representative of British democracy in Hong

Kong, Governor Sir Edward Youde, explaining why the people of that colony would not get the chance to vote in elections before Britain's departure in 1997.

"A community whose benefits are scarcely visible." — Garret Fitzgerald in Strasbourg, on

Wednesday this week, describing the EEC in rather different terms than during last month's elections.

"Maybe once a fortnight there's some people being busten for very minor breaches o' the rules." — Nicky Kelly describing the conditions he left behind in Portlaoise.

"I know I won't be very

popular with local people for offering this, but I have my beliefs and I feel the travellers should have the right to live in comfort like the rest of us." — Loughlinstown man Gerard Warren explaining why he had offered his garden to a travelling family moved on by court order from a nearby open space.