

# An Phoblacht

## REPUBLICAN NEWS



Sraith Nua Imi 4 uimhir 50 Deardoin Nollaig 16 Thursday, December 16th, 1982 (Britain 25p) Price 20p

# Six now dead in Armagh executions



• SEAN BURNS



• EUGENE TOMAN



• GERVAIS McKERR



• MICHAEL TIGHE



• RODDY CARROLL



• SEAMUS GREW

# SHOOT ON SIGHT



THE EXISTENCE of special RUC killer squads operating in County Armagh was put beyond any doubt last Sunday night by the murder of two more local men in a planned RUC ambush on the outskirts of Armagh city, bringing to six in the last month those summarily executed by the brutal force.

As usual, the RUC version of events conflicts with logic and with an eye-witness account of the latest killing, in which two unarmed members of the INLA, Roddy Carroll (22) and Seamus Grew (31) were gunned down in cold-blood.

And, as usual, the hypocritical shrieks of condemnation of the attack last week on British soldiers in Ballykelly are in sharp contrast to the reactions now to these planned summary executions of designated nationalists by the sectarian RUC.

Church leaders this week do not angrily preach that 'murder is murder', but feel only 'disquiet' and 'concern', and worry about the 'good name' of the RUC.

Loyalist politicians openly celebrate the further unleashing of the RUC against the nationalist population and enthusiastically congratulate them on their murderous actions.

And the SDLP, which was last week calling on its

supporters to inform on republicans to the RUC, are this week, equally offensively, wringing their hypocritical hands at the reality of RUC repression.

### CONFIRMATION

For nationalists, however, who have consistently despised the sectarian force and the occupation army which maintains it, the latest killings are only confirmation of what they have known all along and of what republicans have been saying all along.

The RUC have never been anything but a bunch of loyalist paramilitary murderers who, when the leash is slipped by their British masters, go to their work with a will.

And the nationalist people also know that it is only resistance to this murderous brutality which will ultimately defeat these oppressors and drive their terror from the land.

Each such attack only serves to stoke up the fires of that resistance towards explosion point.

# NEW RUC ORDERS

# The hungry eighties

**MORE JOINING THE QUEUES  
AT 'OLD-STYLE' SOUP KITCHENS**

BY SIOBHAN O'MALLEY

'SOUP KITCHEN' is a term which conjures up an image perhaps of the Famine days, or of the 1913 Lock-Out, or of the hungry '30s and the queues of people waiting for a bowl of soup and a piece of bread.

But, in fact, not only do they still exist today, but there is a rapidly growing demand for such facilities. And the people taking advantage of them now are, increasingly, young unemployed people and women with children.

In Dublin city centre alone there are at least eight such 'food centres', as they are now called, with the same number again scattered around the Dublin suburbs. The majority of these centres are run by religious institutions and are attached to convents or churches.

## DINNERS

Sister Philomena of the Holles Row Centre says that they serve between 140 to 200 dinners each day, six days per week. Holles Row is one of the biggest centres and they cater for anyone who comes to them.

The charge for a hot dinner is a nominal 20p, the standard charge for such centres. Their customers are still predominantly older men, who live alone or are homeless, but they have a growing number of women and children who are regular callers.

Many of the centres are open for breakfast as well, and they report increasing numbers of young men and women coming to them for food.

One of the oldest venues providing this service is the 'Penny

Dinners' scheme in Longford Lane, behind Whitefriar's Church, which has been in existence for over 100 years. The price of a dinner is now 20p, instead of a penny, but that is the only change.

The need is still there for this type of charity, in spite of all the so-called advances in social welfare and care of the underprivileged.

## VOLUNTARY

One of the few non-religious independent charities involved in this work is the Mendicity Institute on Island Street which provides in the region of 1,000 hot meals each week. It is run by a voluntary committee funded by donations, public appeals and legacies. The meals are free and a cooked breakfast, as well as dinner, is provided every weekday.

Charles Smith, secretary of the Mendicity Institute, also reports increasing numbers of men and women, obviously not 'down-and-outs' or homeless, who are seeking help from them, and, again, a number of children being brought by a parent.

The Mendicity Institute was founded in 1818 and has continued its work of providing free meals for Dublin's poor ever since. As with the other centres, finance is constantly needed, but the Mendicity Institute rely more on annual donations than the others and make appeals to regular supporters.

This is not solely an 'inner-



It could well be the 1880s we live in as more and more people are forced to turn to the soup kitchens

city' problem, as evidenced by the many suburban schemes. Most of these also operate a 'meals-on-wheels' organisation, staffed by voluntary labour, who deliver hot meals to house-bound old people several times a week. This scheme gets a grant from the Eastern Health Board to cover a percentage of the running costs, but could not operate without voluntary subscriptions and workers.

## STARVATION

The Eastern Health Board and Dublin Corporation also give food grants to some of the centres,

usually in the region of one-third of the cost. So the main task of ensuring that the elderly, poor, young unemployed and mothers, who cannot manage to provide enough food for their children on inadequate social welfare, do not face 'old-fashioned' starvation still rests on charitable organisations funded mainly by voluntary subscriptions.

The state therefore is able to evade its responsibility, safe in the knowledge that someone else is dealing with it.

Rising unemployment is creating more and more customers for

these charities. Rent for private accommodation often takes up most of a single person's social welfare assistance and rising food prices mean that families simply cannot afford to buy the staple food items for their children.

The people running these centres try to preserve the self-esteem and independence of their customers as much as they can. But the traditional humiliation of poverty is hard to withstand and the psychological effects on their image of themselves and their will and ability to survive with some sort of dignity are bound to be severe.

# COLD WAR OVER COOLE HOSPITAL

BY JACK MADDEN

TALK of 'health-cuts' rings hollow for the people of Coole, near Castlepollard in County Westmeath. For 1½ years they have watched an established orthopaedic hospital lie idle and empty and at the same time have listened to pleas for the creation, at great expense, of a similar facility in Mullingar or Athlone.

St Joseph's Hospital, Coole, was originally bequeathed to the people of Westmeath by the Deasy family as a 'cripples' home', in 1916. For many years it catered for the young victims of polio and TB and when these were no longer widespread, it adapted to general orthopaedic care.

In June 1981, however, the Sisters of Charity finally closed the hospital because of lack of patients, as the hospital was operating outside the ambit of the Midland Health Board.

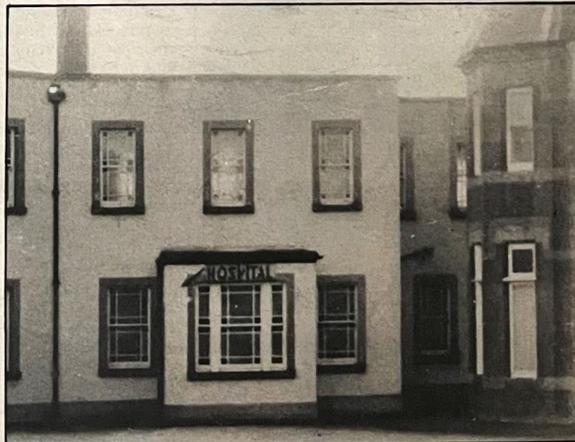
Since then, a Coole Hospital Action Committee has been striving to have the hospital re-opened by the Midland Health Board.

They argue that St Joseph's is structurally an excellent facility and has an added advantage in that its location on the borders of the Midland and North-Eastern Health Regions would mean that both areas could share the children's hospital facility, where none presently exists.

## OPPOSITION

Opposition to Coole centres on the argument that, in comparison to Athlone or Mullingar, it is inaccessible and that the growth rate in the population of Athlone will necessitate a hospital, which has every facility, in the near future.

A deputation from Athlone approached the Midland Health Board with these arguments early this year.



St Joseph's Hospital, Coole: its future is uncertain due to inaction from both politicians and clergy

The response from the Coole committee was swift and sharp and in answer to the Athlone claims they wrote:

*"Coole would joyfully second Athlone's just claims to all necessary hospital facilities. It will not second an attempt to take by stealth an orthopaedic hospital which Coole has already built - which Ireland's patients have already used. If the hospital spokespersons from Athlone are too dense to know this, or too shameless to care, the people of Athlone should replace them... If the Midland Health Board cannot afford to take over and run an existing orthopaedic hospital, what hope is there that it could afford*

*to set up a new one? There is none..."*

Support for Coole has come from many quarters and, predictably, from politicians of all political parties in a period which has seen three general elections. A bus-load of people from the Coole area visited Leinster House late in 1981 to lobby support amongst local politicians. The response was encouraging, especially from the Fianna Fail people who were then in opposition.

## POLITICIANS

In the run-up to the February election, candidates were asked to sign a petition in support of Coole. All signed. After this little

was heard from any of these politicians until last month - and the new election campaign.

The Midland Health Board has been largely supportive of the Coole Hospital campaign and all of its members have been canvassed by the action committee. Earlier this year, a cross-party motion proposed that the Board acquire Coole and pay the purchase price and the running costs. This was unanimously passed.

The problem, however, is that no-one knows just how much the hospital will cost.

Bishop McCormack heads the four-person trustee committee which controls the destiny of St Joseph's. All the other members are parish priests from within the diocese. Only they have access to the deeds of trust which would help determine the nature of the sale. Permission to view these deeds has been refused to the Coole Hospital Action Committee. Nor will the trustees suggest a purchase price.

The fact that there is no asking price for St Joseph's presents the Midland Health Board with a problem. Without an accurate costing of the scheme they cannot approach the Department of Health, and without an offer from the Department they cannot approach the trustees.

## DEADLOCK

An attempt to break the deadlock will be made at the monthly meeting of the Midland Health Board this week. A motion is being proposed which will allow the Board to put a figure to the minister which he in turn can offer to the trustees.

Thus the dealing may soon begin and Coole Hospital's future will be left to the whim of a board of trustees who have shown little inclination to be co-operative so far, and politicians who have done nothing to encourage such co-operation.

# More empty chairs at Stormont

BY HILDA MacTHOMAS

TO THE general relief of all, including its members, the Stormont assembly goes into hibernation for six weeks on Thursday this week, December 16th.

And this Christmas recess will undoubtedly provide the Official Unionists with an opportunity to discreetly backtrack on their headline statements about boycotting assembly business because of their displeasure at the allocation of committee chairmanships on Wednesday last week.

Jim Kilfedder, who as assembly speaker allocated the chairs, gave the finance committee and economic development seats to the OUP, agriculture and environment to the DUP, and education to the Alliance.

He also allocated the chairmanship of the health and social services committee to the SDLP, should they decide to return to the fold, and seats were left vacant for them on each committee. In the meantime the SDLP chair went to the

OUP as the largest party.

In spite of their three seats, the allocations were a double blow for the Official Unionists. First of all, they had sought the two chairmanships allocated to the DUP. And, secondly, Harold McCusker of the OUP had opposed the Catholic Alliance member, John Cushnahan, taking the chair of the education committee, on religious grounds — even though all the committees are powerless, only having the power to question Westminster legislation on the North and have it explained to them.

Kilfedder's preferential treatment of the other two parties, as the OUP saw it, was not unconnected with his gratitude to the DUP and Alliance for combining to put him in the speaker's job against the OUP's nominee.

They announced that they would be advising the speaker that "the party does not accept the allocations to the posts of chairmen" and began consideration of some strong protest action — again trying to recover ground lost to the DUP, who have continually wrong-footed them since the assembly began, even though coming only second best at the polls.

And the action mooted was either a boycott of the committee system, making the assembly even more meaningless, or, the total boycott of the assembly itself.

The likelihood remains however that the OUP will come up with some less drastic form of registering their protest and the assembly will stagger on for a while longer. But nevertheless, by the end of last week, Kilfedder was not only leaving vacant names of SDLP members as he announced the committee vice-chairmen and members, but also names for the OUP to nominate.



● The Christmas recess provides the OUP with an opportunity to backtrack

# Sinn Fein expulsion ripples

BY HILDA MacTHOMAS

THE MAJOR political storm last week over the Greater London Council invitation to Sinn Fein to visit London, which reached its peak with the exclusion from Britain of three Sinn Fein elected representatives, continued to cause ripples over the weekend.

The exclusion order signed by William Whitelaw on Wednesday last week, against Gerry Adams, Danny Morrison and Martin McGuinness, was stated to be based on 'intelligence reports' received by London police. But even supporters of the ban did not bother to disguise that it was a blatant attempt to silence political opponents.

Sinn Fein quickly reacted by inviting the GLC leader, Ken Livingstone, to come to meet their elected representatives in the North, and he agreed to do so, some time in the new year.

## 'INTERNAL EXILE'

The British gutter press congratulated itself, more than that a blow had been struck against 'Red Ken' than anyone else. And a plethora of politicians, from loyalists to Labour Party leader, kicked for touch on the issue, by wondering not why 'internal exile' was being imposed but why the three could wander around Belfast but not London.

However, apart from those who were associated with the visit, condemnation of the exclusion came from the *New Statesman*,



● Livingstone: withstanding attacks from the right-wing

a political magazine close to the British Labour Party, in its December 9th issue, and on the same day Labour MP Tony Benn supported Livingstone's invitation and went on to call for a British withdrawal and negotiations with republicans.

Benn however continues to have the blind spot of calling for United Nations intervention, in spite of the record of such interventions

demonstrating a clear advantage to the established Western powers.

## 'MAJOR BLUNDER'

Irish newspapers reacted predictably by calling the ban a 'classic boob' which gave a 'propaganda victory' to republicans (*Irish Times*), and a 'major blunder' which will be 'inviting a bigger vote for Sinn Fein at the next election' (*Irish News*).

Television and radio interest in the political drama continued throughout the weekend, with Livingstone ably defending himself against a hostile panel on BBC2's 'Saturday Briefing' programme. And on Sunday both Gerry Adams and Danny Morrison took part in a phone-in programme on LBC, one of the independent radio stations in London, answering questions from Londoners, including some Labour GLC members, in spite of the ban.

On Monday night this week, the controversy continued at a meeting of the GLC Labour group, where a motion put forward by the right-wing members of the party sought to prevent Livingstone from 'interfering' in Irish affairs. It was defeated.

But a motion of censure against the GLC leader was passed at the full council meeting on Tuesday night, due to the abstention of nine Labour right-wingers, one of them Derry-born Tony McBrearty.

The motion however did not question Livingstone's position as leader of the GLC, nor did it attempt to bind him to keeping quiet on Irish affairs.



● PAUL WHITTERS

# Cosmetic inquest on plastic death

THE FATHER of 15-year-old Derry teenager Paul Whitters, who died from massive head injuries on April 25th 1981, ten days after being struck by a plastic bullet fired by the RUC, lashed out this week at the inquest on his son's murder. It was, he said, 'a cosmetic exercise', and he pledged to take further legal action.

"This is just another case of a plastic bullet death that no-one has been made accountable for. I intend to take out a summons against the policeman involved," he said.

The inquest, which lasted three days, heard conflicting evidence from the RUC and local eye-witnesses as to the circumstances surrounding the firing of the fatal plastic bullet. As ever in such situations, the RUC claimed that they had followed all the required procedures before firing the round.

An RUC witness told the inquest that a warning had been given and that only then, with a bakery lorry in danger of hijacking, and at a range of 20 to 25 yards, had a plastic bullet been fired at the lower half of the body of the clearly identified ringleader of a large group of rioting youths.

However, local witnesses, including a woman who lives in Great James Street where the killing took place, gave evidence contradicting on every point the RUC version. Paul Whitters, they said, was one of a small group of youths. No warning was given and the fatal shot was fired at less than half the stipulated range and was directed at his head.

One eye-witness claimed that the RUC could easily have arrested the youths, and he said that Paul Whitters was shot by a ringleader of a mob and that the bread van used by the RUC in their excuse for the murder of Paul Whitters had been driven away five minutes earlier.

After four hours, the jury of three men and four women returned a verdict which accepted the RUC version, Coroner James Elliot described as 'satisfactory' this further whitewash of a plastic bullet death.

# FEW CATHOLIC JOBS IN NIES

BY EAMONN TRACY

A FAIR Employment Agency (FEA) report on the Northern Ireland Electricity Service, published on Wednesday of this week, has clearly exposed, as have all such reports previously, the blatantly sectarian nature of employment and promotion opportunity. But it also underlines the ineffectiveness of the FEA in combating sectarian discrimination of this nature.

The FEA found that within the NIES, of the 241 senior directors and managers, between 2% and 4% were Catholics, whilst 91% at least were Protestant. In fact, in the whole area of administration, fewer than 12% were Catholic, while less than 10% of engineers were Catholic.

As usual, the FEA attempts to see some light at the end of the tunnel claiming that increases in Catholic representation detected at the bottom of the scale may be "because the number of Catholics joining the service has been steadily increasing."

## REALITY

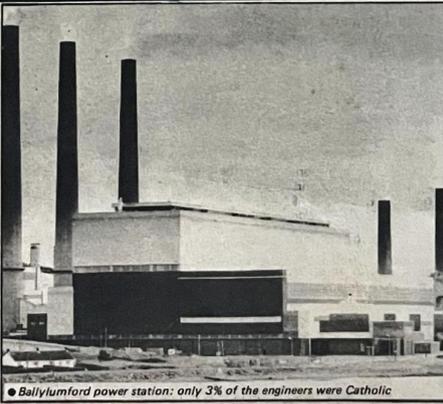
The reality, however, as previous studies have shown, is more accurately reflected in the report when it says that, for Catholics, "their chances of promotion have been less good than the chances of their

Protestant peers — thus fewer Catholics are able to mount the promotion ladder, and progress becomes more difficult the higher they go."

The report continues:

"Certainly, for senior posts, it is difficult to see how Catholics can be anything except disadvantaged. Every time candidates are interviewed, they appear before selection boards which are predominantly, if not altogether, Protestant."

But, once again, the stark failure of the FEA to make any move against this sectarianism is clear and has been acknowledged by its chairman, Bob Cooper, who admits that it has not proceeded "with the full weight of the powers given to the agency of holding formal investigations into particular firms or industries and then laying down binding rules for an affirmative action programme..."



● Ballylumford power station: only 3% of the engineers were Catholic

## Sinn Fein AGMs

AT the recent AGMs of the following branches of Sinn Fein new officer boards were elected.

### CHONNACHT

Comhairle Cuige Chonnacht: chair: John Joe McGinn (Leitrim); secretary: Brieghe McIntyre (Mayo); treasurer: Gerry Farrell (Longford); PRO: Mary Mulvihill (Leitrim); education: Caoimhin Campbell (Galway); youth officer: Malt O'Bradaigh (Galway); regional government: Joe Gallagher (Leitrim); women's affairs: Helga Keogh (Sligo); and delegates to the ard comhairle: Frank Guckian (Leitrim) and Sean McManus (Sligo).

### DONEGAL

McGinn/McLaughlin cumann, Lifford: chair: Patsy McHugh; secretary/PRO: Tony McDavid; treasurer: Frankie Herron; and education/vice-treasurer: Brendan Devenney.

H-Block Martyrs cumann, Ballyshannon: chair: Margaret McGinley; vice-chair: Tony Lawne; secretary: Mary Slavin; education: Tom Bannon; joint-treasurers: Anthony O'Malley Daly and Conall Gallagher; and PRO: Vera Bannon.

### MONAGHAN

Monaghan comhairle ceantair: chair: John McCoy; vice-chair: Seamus Murray; secretary: Pat Arthurs; joint-PROs: Brian MacDonald/John Kerley; joint-treasurers: Jackie Crowe/Thomas Donoghay; education: Peter McAteer; organiser: Caoimhin O'Caolain; and delegates to comhairle cuige: Noel Cassidy and Jackie Crowe.

### MUNSTER

Munster Comhairle Cuige: chair: Richard Behal; secretary: Sally Walsh; treasurer: Maire Quinlivan; education: Don O'Leary; PRO: Pat Walsh; regional government: Michael Hegarty; youth: Maura Stack; and women's affairs: Pat O'Leary.

### SLIGO

Sligo comhairle ceantair: chair: Sean McManus; vice-chair: Tommy Love; secretary: Helga Keogh; organiser: Con D'Arcy; treasurer: Eamonn Healy; finance: Jimmy Newell; PRO: John Murtogh; and education: Jack McElduff.

### ULSTER

Ulster executive: chair: Tom Bannon (Donegal); secretary: Mary McDermott (Antrim); treasurer: Pauline McAteer (Tyrone); electoral officer: Francie Molliv (Tyrone); PRO: Seamus Kerr (Tyrone); and delegates to the ard comhairle: Patricia Campbell (Tyrone) and John Carlin (Derry).

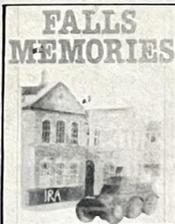
## Irish classes

IRISH CLASSES have been organised in Belfast by Sinn Fein's Roinn an Chultuir at the following times and venues:

Monday 7pm: Ballymurphy Tenants' Association; Tuesday 7pm: The Felons' Club, Andersonstown, and 8pm: Sinn Fein Advice Centre, Divis Flats; Saturday 1pm (dara rang) and 2pm (bun rang): The Felons' Club.

Classes have also been organised by Conradh na Gaeilge as follows:

Tuesday 8pm: Lamb Dearg GAC, and 9pm: O'Donnell's GAC, Rockmore Road; Wednesday 8pm (four classes): Andersonstown Social Club; Thursday 8pm: Gort na Mona GAC; Sunday 4pm: Trench Park.



## Falls Memories

'FALLS MEMORIES', the recently published 144-page book by Gerry Adams containing recollections of Belfast's Falls plus a number of excellent line drawings, is now available from Republican Publications, 2a Monagh Crescent, Turf Lodge, Belfast (phone 620768); 44 Parnell Square, Dublin (phone 726932); or 5 Blessington Street, Dublin (phone 308783).



● Dick Spring collecting the rewards of his abject surrender, on Tuesday night of this week, under the approving eye of Garret FitzGerald

# LABOUR PARTY SELLS OUT AGAIN IN POWER DEAL

## Empty Coalition concessions

BY KEVIN BURKE

THE SELL-OUT by the Free State Labour Party in exchange for cabinet seats in the new Coalition government with Fine Gael, formed on Tuesday of this week, was never unexpected once the election results were in. But after all the trumpeting of the newly invigorated Labour Party under Dick Spring, the totally abject nature of that surrender was particularly noteworthy.

The programme for government approved at the special Labour Party conference has nothing of any meat in it — on Labour's pretended major issues in the election — unemployment and 'fair' taxation — and only vague confusion on anything else.

First of all, although Labour claims it has won the concession of abolishing the balance of payments deficit over five years rather than Fine Gael's four years, this minimal reduction of the fiscal rectitude aim is only a 'maybe' in the document — and 'financial stability' is stressed as the prime goal before all else, including employment.

### EMPLOYMENT

The second acclaimed gain is supposed to be the establishment of a National Development Corporation as a job-creation vehicle with the aim of expanding productive employment in the public sector.

But the drop-in-the-ocean for the already

capital-starved state-owned sector is a mere £200 million — not in 1983 but "over a period of years."

Youth employment, the catch-cry of the election and the subject of many promises in Labour's own cosmetic policy, gets one sentence only in the programme of government for the next five years!

### TAXATION

Thirdly, in the area of PAYE taxation, Labour has achieved nothing but the magnificent statement that the "proportion of tax derived from PAYE on wages and salaries will be reduced" — a meaningless platitude without detailed proposals copper-fastened into the deal.

But probably the most amazing part of the programme is the exciting new property tax, which, like the £9.60 for wives in the home of the last Coalition, has already fallen flat on its face.

In fact, it is not a tax on property at all, but only on residences. It will supposedly be payable by people with incomes of £20,000 on residences worth more than £65,000.

But since incomes can be assessed separately on spouses and homes are usually joint-owned, or can be transferred to the low-earning spouses, nobody has yet suggested a believable way in which the tax can be levied.

On RTE's 'Today Tonight' programme on Sunday night, Garret FitzGerald fumbled embarrassingly with the new tax, disagreeing with Spring's earlier contention that joint-

family income was to be taken into account in arriving at the £20,000 income level. And he did not think the tax would be levied on second homes!

Optimistic forecasts of the tax (which will be self-assessed!) estimate that it might bring into the exchequer a couple of million pounds and is, in those terms, hardly worth collecting.

And that is the sum total of capital expenditure won by the Labour Party.

### HEALTH-CUTS

If youth employment was one catch-phrase at the hustings, the other was health-cuts. Again the programme 'won' by Labour sinks into vague promises of 'reviewing' the cuts and restoring 'some' of the 900 items recently removed from the free medical card scheme.

In other areas, Labour's social policies have disappeared into the mists of vague formulae and proposed 'joint committees' which have already been shown not to work.

Labour, having embraced economic and social conservatism as enthusiastically as it has grasped power, has now entered into what everyone acknowledges is going to be the worst period of financial stringency and high unemployment seen so far, as those least able to afford it are forced to bail the capitalist economy out of the recession.

The voting situation in Leinster House seems to ensure they can survive in government for the full five-year period. But will there be a Labour Party at the end of it?

# Galway councillor jailed for a day

BY JACK MADDEN

FRANK GLYNN, a Sinn Fein member of Galway County Council, walked free from Mountjoy Jail on Thursday, December 9th, having served just one day of a 14-day sentence, imposed for non-payment of a fine.

"His early release," said Sinn Fein general secretary Cathleen Knowles, "was due to the high level of media attention which the arrest provoked."

She discounted as 'ridiculous' garda claims that the fine had been paid anonymously.

The arrest of Councillor Glynn follows the similar detention of Sinn Fein councillor Eddie O'Doherty of Carrick-on-Suir.

The 'crime' of both men was their refusal to pay a fine imposed for non-payment of television licence fees. Both men have, with all other Sinn Fein councillors and all Sinn Fein members, pledged that they will withhold the licence fees until such time as Section 31 of the Broadcasting Act — which debars Sinn Fein members from appearing on RTE — is repealed, and until such time as the importance of broadcasting more Irish is recognised by RTE.

The anomalies of Section 31 are clearly seen in the case of Frank Glynn.



● Frank Glynn: jailed for Section 31 protest

He has been a serving member of Galway County Council for 15 years. In 1979 he was elected chairperson of that body, ending 45 years in the chair by successive Fianna Fail members.

His stature and achievements within Galway are worthless in the eyes of the Broadcasting Act, however, and Frank Glynn is debarred from speaking about even the most local and

mundane affairs on RTE.

### CAMPAIGN

To counter this blatant censorship, Sinn Fein has recently established a three-person committee who have been instructed by the ard comhairle to organise a campaign against Section 31.

"The function of the committee is to initiate such a campaign, not run it," said spokesperson Paddy Bolger.

The committee has been approaching 'sponsors' in areas as diverse as politics, trade unions, law and entertainment. These sponsors will then be asked to support a campaign of press adverts, declaring their opposition to Section 31, and indoor meetings for the education of public opinion will also be held. It is then hoped that they will organise within their own sectional interest a more general opposition to censorship and in particular to Section 31.

"The initial response has," says Bolger, "been encouraging, with leading members of the NUJ, and others from all the other interest groups, having pledged their support for the campaign in writing. All Labour Party representatives in Leinster House have been lobbied, with a mixed response. Nearly all who were sympathetic were cautious about a public declaration."

# Death threats reported

BY MAEVE ARMSTRONG

A 24-YEAR-OLD man from Andersonstown in West Belfast approached *An Phoblacht / Republican News* last week to place on record a threat by an RUC man to shoot him, made on Thursday, December 2nd.

Thomas Guiney, married with two small children, reported a series of incidents where either himself or his wife Rose have been verbally abused or threatened by Brits and RUC men. But he has taken this latest threat seriously due to the violent manner in which it was issued.

Guiney was on his way to the local post-office when he was stopped by Brits and RUC men, who jumped out of several jeeps in Tullymore Gardens. He was pulled to the side and told to produce his 'gun' by one RUC man who then gave him a thorough search. The RUC man then jabbed a rifle into Guiney's stomach and told him:

*"We're going to get something on you and even if we don't, we'll shoot you anyway."*

Guiney and his wife have been stopped and verbally abused on numerous occasions but lately he has been held for periods of half-an-hour or longer.

*"It's getting to the stage where every time he goes out he's getting stopped by them,"* explained his wife. *"We're not afraid of them, don't get me wrong, we just want people to know what they're doing."*

## CROSSMAGLEN

Former blanketman Noel White from Ard Ross, Crossmaglen, has, over the past few months, been subjected to what amounts to daily harassment by British soldiers, who seem intent on making it quite clear to him that they have marked him down for more serious retribution before they leave the North.



● Thomas Guiney, with his wife Rose: an RUC man threatened to shoot him



● Noel White: harassed

White was released from the H-Blocks in May, and not long afterwards, he was arrested and severely beaten by RUC Special Branch detectives in Gough Barracks, Armagh.

To add insult to injury, the same Branch men charged Noel with assault. His life since then has estab-

lished a daily pattern as he can expect British soldiers calling to his home several times each day. He is also regularly stopped and detained.

But two weeks ago, as he was making a telephone call, a British soldier stuck his rifle through a broken pane of glass in the booth

and told him that before his 'tour of duty' was completed, Noel would be dead.

Sinn Fein elected representative for Armagh Jim McAllister has described the incident as "an outrage carried out on a member of the nationalist community by the armed thugs of the British army."

## McALLISTER DETAINED

JIM McALLISTER, Sinn Fein's elected representative for Armagh, was physically prevented from attending the funeral on Wednesday morning last of Seamus Grew and Roddy Carroll, the two INLA Volunteers murdered by the RUC on Sunday 12th December.

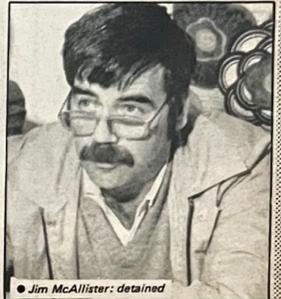
McAllister and a friend, Pat Murphy, were stopped at around 10.30am on their way to Armagh on the Keady Road just outside Newtownhamilton by an RUC patrol.

They were taken to Newtownhamilton joint RUC/British army Barracks, where for four hours they had to stand in the rain while the RUC stripped the car. Seats, wheels, headlamps and engine parts were all removed.

All of Jim McAllister's personal and confidential papers were minutely examined.

At 2.35pm an angry McAllister and Murphy were finally released. In a statement later McAllister said:

*"Today's action by the RUC was a deliberate exercise to prevent me from attending the funerals of Seamus Grew and Roddy Carroll."*



● Jim McAllister: detained

# Informers still under wraps

BY SEAN DELANEY

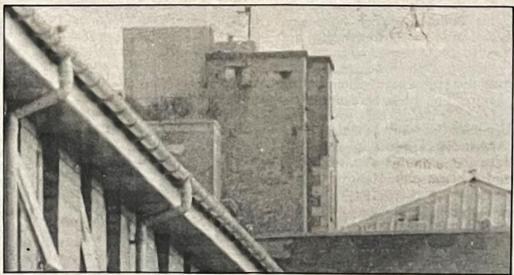
THE TRIAL of 38 defendants being charged on the evidence of North Belfast informer, Christopher Black, is now into its second week, with the crown counsel for the prosecution continuing to read out 'background evidence' based on Black's statements. These cover a series of alleged IRA operations carried out in North Belfast, in December 1975, when Black was arrested and imprisoned for five years, and following his release in December 1980 until his re-arrest in November 1981.

An application by defence counsel to have Black produced in court, in order that two prosecution witnesses could try to identify him, was turned down by the trial judge, Justice Kelly, on Wednesday, December 8th, after crown counsel argued that the necessary 'security arrangements' would take time to make. It is not expected that Black will appear in court until he is called to give personal evidence in the new year — in order that the RUC can continue to exert maximum psychological pressure on him to testify, right up until the last possible moment.

Also, on Friday, December 10th, the judge turned down applications for bail by 21 of the defendants who had been on bail up until the trial's commencement, but who have been imprisoned since. They, along with the 16 defendants who have been imprisoned on remand for over a year, now face the prospect of Christmas in jail, although the judge has promised to review five of the applications on December 21st. The only one of the 38 defendants now out on bail is 70-year-old Rose Harvey, from Ardoyne, and even she faces having her bail revoked on December 21st, according to Justice Kelly.



● CHRIS BLACK



● The British army post in Ardoyne's Flax Street

One of the few items of interest to come from an otherwise fairly humdrum trial so far, illustrates graphically the trigger-happy panic of British soldiers under fire and the way in which they endanger civilians in the area.

Giving evidence about an alleged IRA sniping attack on August 3rd 1981 in Ardoyne's Flax Street on British soldiers, a Brit sergeant testified that he believed the shots to have come from nearby Herbert Street. He said he looked towards Herbert Street and saw a figure carrying some-

thing 'long and thin' and fired 'two aimed shots at the figure, who ran off. Another member of his patrol alleged he saw smoke coming from the window of a house in Herbert Street and fired three shots towards it.

All this, obviously, would have been reckless enough in a residential area even had the IRA been operating from Herbert Street, but — according to the crown prosecution witness himself, Chris Black — the IRA had fired from Etna Drive, right on the other side of Ardoyne!



● Mrs McLarnon points to where a Brit put his boot through the ceiling of one of her rooms

# Iveagh ordeal

BY EAMONN TRACY

IN RAIDS on Monday night last, 12th December, which went on for over four hours, a large force of several hundred Brits and RUC sealed off the Iveagh district of West Belfast and proceeded to search dozens of homes and hundreds of people.

The McLarnon family of Iveagh Parade found the raid on their home a particularly terrifying ordeal.

Mrs Teresa McLarnon (48), her husband David (48), and their three children, Joanne (20), Mary (13), and Tracy (5½), were all at home when four Brits and three RUC members, one of them a female, forced their way into the McLarnon house.

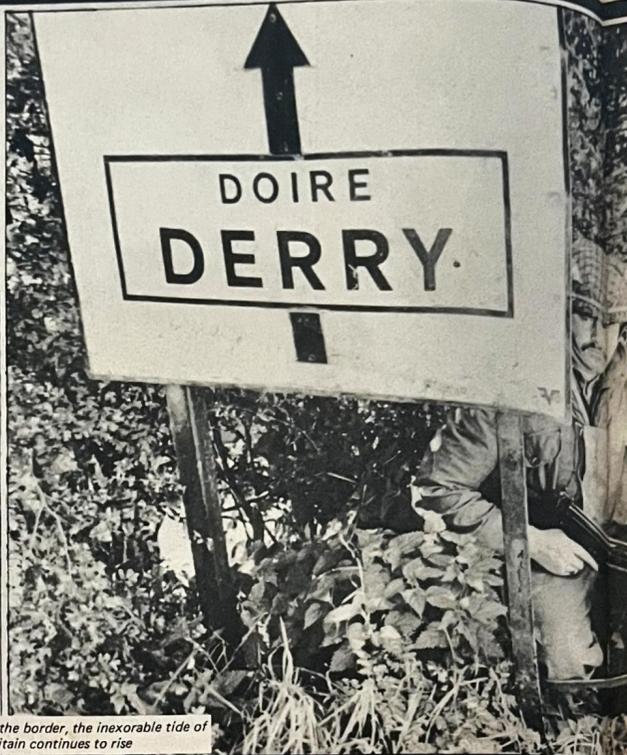
Mrs McLarnon, who has been

under medical care for the past four years, collapsed as the RUC woman attempted to carry out a body-search. An ambulance was called and, accompanied by her husband, she was rushed to the nearby Royal Victoria Hospital where she was detained for several hours.

In the course of the search of the roof-space one Brit put his boot through the floor into a rear bedroom.



• Whether in the courts or on the border, the inexorable tide of Free State collaboration with Britain continues to rise



# FREE STATE SUPREME COURT SIGNALS CHANGE ON EX THE ULTIMATE COLLABORATION

BY KEVIN BURKE

DOWN THE years of Free State collaboration with Britain's occupation of the North, there has been a practical bottom line marking the total surrender point of that version of Irish nationalism as espoused by Dublin governments.

That bottom line has been the refusal of the Free State courts to comply with extradition requests for republicans in the South to be handed across the border to the RUC.

Of course, republicans have been shot and hanged by the Southern authorities, interned and jailed by them, hounded and harassed by them. Legislation, in the form of the Offences Against the State Act and the Criminal Law (Jurisdiction) Act, has been introduced and developed so that the tentacles of Britain's rule can reach and imprison those who may have escaped the North.

But, so far, physical extradition of those suspected by the RUC of involvement in political offences has been refused. And it is this which rankles most with British and loyalist politicians in spite of all the slavish panoply of Dublin's lickspittle co-operation.

## VICTIMS

The Criminal Law (Jurisdiction) Act, outside of the renowned escape trials from Crumlin Road and Brixton jails, has not been used with success by the RUC. And rather than prepare cases for the Southern courts under that Act, the RUC hankers for the delivery into their clutches of their chosen victims, so that more sophisticated methods of extracting evidence may be employed against suspects once they are at their tender mercies, followed by trials in the Diplock courts before

Orange judges.

However much the Free State shows willing, the RUC prefers to do things its own way.

And it is important to remember that extradition does not require a case against the person to be established, but can be sought only on suspicion. Thus anyone is, in theory, in danger of coming under a bogus application once the extradition issue was conceded.

## RULING

Extradition of political offenders to the North has come into focus once again following remarks made in the Free State Supreme Court in the course of a ruling by Chief Justice O'Higgins on Tuesday of last week.

The case concerned an appeal from the High Court against extradition of a former IRA member, Dominic McGlinchey. He was claiming that the death of a Toomebridge woman in 1977, in a gun attack on the house where she lived, was a political offence because at the time he was operating as a member of an IRA unit.

During the Supreme Court proceedings, however, McGlinchey's counsel withdrew the plea that the killing was a political offence. The court granted the

extradition request therefore as an ordinary offence.

(In any event, the extradition has not taken place as McGlinchey meanwhile jumped bail and is presently on the run.)

Chief Justice O'Higgins did, however, make some dramatic remarks on extradition. Because the political offence contention was withdrawn and therefore not ruled on, these remarks are not binding on the lower courts, such as the High Court where political extradition cases have until now been dismissed. His remarks do, though, give a clear indication of what changes he may try to achieve in the future if a suitable case does arrive in the Supreme Court.

## PRECEDENT

And such a future ruling, once made, is binding on the lower courts who must then in subsequent cases follow the precedent set.

O'Higgins observed last Tuesday, in the McGlinchey case, that it "should not be deduced that if the victim were someone other than a civilian who was killed or injured as a result of violently criminal conduct chosen in lieu of what would fall directly or indirectly within the ordinary scope of political activity, the offence would necessarily be classified as a political offence or an offence connected with a political offence."

"The judicial authorities on

the scope of such offences have, in many respects, been rendered obsolete by the fact that the modern terrorist violence, whether undertaken by military or paramilitary organisations, or by individuals or groups of individuals, is often the antithesis of what could reasonably be regarded as political, either in itself or in its connections."

"The court," he continued later, "is invited to assume that because of the existence of widespread violence organised by paramilitary groups in Northern Ireland, any charge associated with terrorist activity should be regarded as a charge in respect of a political offence or an offence connected with a political offence. I am not prepared to make such an assumption."

"Under the Extradition Act 1965, the onus of establishing that the offence in question is either a political offence, or one connected with a political offence, as a reason for not handing over a person sought on a warrant... is upon the person who seeks asylum in our jurisdiction."

## POLITICAL

What O'Higgins seems to be saying is that republican actions against even British army and RUC targets would need to be proved to him to be political before he would dismiss an extradition case in the future.

And the obvious strong suggestion is that, given a suitable case, he would support extradition and try to turn the traditional direction of court decisions to date.

Legal opinion on O'Higgins' statements and the possibilities

which might arise from them is, as in all things legal, divided.

However, the opinion of other Free State judges has always been against him, so far. And two leading Dublin judges, Mr Justice Walsh and Mr Justice Henchy, strongly argued the case against extradition in the Law Enforcement Commission of Irish and British legal experts which was set up in 1973 following Sunningdale, and from which emerged the Criminal Law (Jurisdiction) Act as a means of circumventing the extradition difficulty.

The provision of the 1965 Extradition Act which excludes extradition for political offences is itself based on Article 29.3 of the Free State's 1937 Constitution which accepts the generally recognised principles of international law as its rule of conduct in its relations with other states.

And those generally recognised principles of international law include the non-extradition of political offenders.

That principle was first laid down by a British court and which has been accepted most recently in regard to Irish affairs by the United States judges in the cases of Peter McMahon, Desmond Macken, and, only last week (although not finally), in the case of William Quinn, wanted by the London police for the shooting of one of their members whilst on IRA active service in London.

## 'TERRORISM'

It is of relevance also, although O'Higgins did not deal with the point, that in relation to his remarks on 'terrorism', both the



• The new Fine Gaelite Peter Sutherland — he convert his welcome of Court remarks into action

Northern Ireland (Envisions) Act 1978 and 1976 define "terrorism" as "the use of violence for political ends or any use of violence for any section of the public."

It would therefore be that the British then the traditional notion of political offences.

On the other hand, Henchy, both before the Law Enforcement Commission and in his argument against extradition since it, has made the point in court, that



# GE ON EXTRADITION BORATION



● The new Fine Gael attorney general Peter Sutherland — he is likely to convert his welcome of the Supreme Court remarks into action

the Irish version of the constitution rather than the English version, the international law restriction could be avoided.

This argument rests on the words 'ina dreoir' in the Irish version of Article 29.3 which could be construed as meaning that international law need only be taken merely as a guide rather than as a restrictive rule.

Thus a new Extradition Act could be introduced omitting the political offences restriction and it could be submitted to the Supreme Court to test its constitutionality. The Supreme Court, if all its judges follow the mood of O'Higgins last week, might find in its favour.

No referendum would then be needed for a constitutional change, which is usually suggested as the only method of altering the extradition ban.

## FINE GAEL

It is significant, in the political context, that the new Fine Gael attorney general, Peter Sutherland, has already welcomed the Supreme Court remarks of Chief Justice O'Higgins.

It remains to be seen whether the new Coalition government will attempt to manoeuvre extradition, even in some cases, through O'Higgins' inviting open door. Or whether, at some time in the course of his government, Garret FitzGerald, at some opportune moment will try for an amended Extradition Act as a grand gesture of conciliation to the British and the loyalists.

Whatever happens, it is certain that the extradition issue will not be allowed to remain at the stage it has done until now.

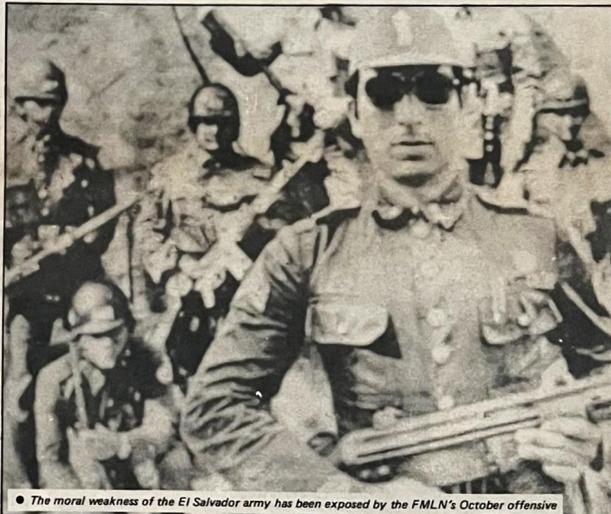


● (Left and above) FMLN guerrillas

# The war in El Salvador

AS THE rebel forces in El Salvador develop a new and decisive offensive AF/RN has obtained an exclusive interview with a leader of the FMLN (Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front).

On the 20th October the FMLN armed forces launched a major offensive which has resulted so far in over one thousand enemy deaths and the capture of 3,000 square kilometers in a country the size of Ireland. Towards the end of November we asked a leader of the FMLN what the nature of the offensive had been.



● The moral weakness of the El Salvador army has been exposed by the FMLN's October offensive

**Q. Could you tell us a little about this offensive?**

**A.** This offensive is part of a global plan of the FMLN GHQ. It reveals the incapacity of the El Salvador army to consolidate its military power and dictate the terms of the war. It has also led to a deep crisis in the leadership and officer corps of the enemy forces.

**Q. Is there now a clearer unity between the five politico-military organisations which make up the FMLN?**

**A.** After the general offensive of January 1981 we have deepened and developed the process of unity between the revolutionary forces. This campaign is precisely the result of the degree of unity we have achieved. Perhaps for the first time in these years we have achieved such a co-ordinated participation of all the military forces within the FMLN. All our military fronts acted in a co-ordinated manner.

**Q. Had this not been achieved before?**

**A.** This is the first time that practically all the forces of the FMLN have been thrown into a military campaign, though not the first time we have engaged in co-ordinated actions. During the elections last March, when we took the city of Usulután for example, the five organisations participated. This is, however, the first joint action on such a scale. And the results are plain to see — some one thousand enemy soldiers dead, recovery of an immense amount of weapons.

**Q. What type of equipment have you seized?**  
**A.** During the first month of the offensive alone we have recovered nearly 400 assault rifles, over 20 machine guns, some 500 grenades, 10 military vehicles, five radios and over 60,000 rounds of ammunition.

**Q. What are the effects so far of this offensive?**  
**A.** In particular it has highlighted the demoralisation of the army, the difficulty of the officers to impose a combat discipline on the troops. And this demoralisation cannot be resolved with US advisors. They will have to look for other solutions.

**Q. Such as a call for foreign military intervention?**

**A.** Already we have been bombarded by planes from Honduras. The Reagan administration is seeking increased participation by the region's

armed forces. Nor do we discount the possibility of an eventual direct intervention by the USA.

**Q. Do you see this as imminent?**

**A.** No. They would have to surmount many difficulties before they would throw troops into El Salvador. But it is probable that other armies following US directives will enter not only El Salvador but Central America as a whole.

**Q. Has the Malvinas war not made it more difficult for the USA to use the Inter-American Reciprocal Aid Treaty to this effect?**

**A.** The Reagan administration is trying to involve Guatemala and Honduras in the war being waged in our country. That is the purpose of Reagan's tour of the area. The participation of troops from these countries is now more probable than the intervention of Argentina and Chile as we feared before the Malvinas war.

**Q. On various occasions the FMLN has repeated its desire for talks with the government. What can be negotiated with the government of D'Aubuisson? Will the FMLN hand in its arms? How will the right-wing paramilitary groups be dissolved?**

**A.** We have proposed a dialogue for a long time. At the United Nations General Assembly the FMLN leadership put forward a list of five points as conditions for a dialogue. Today we pose no conditions at all to sit round the table. To answer your question, we are not proposing negotiations but a dialogue. These are very difficult things. We have not yet elaborated a list of the concrete problems to be resolved.

This will be done in a future phase, once the dialogue has begun. Then of course the question of the death squads, the future of the army, etc., will be dealt with concretely. The October campaign has sharpened the deep internal contradictions of the army and its moral weakness. Our campaign's success is clear evidence that to resolve the present critical situation of the country, the El Salvador government and the Reagan administration have only two options: dialogue or intervention.

**Q. As a result of this campaign and your control over a sizeable part of the territory will you now be passing from a guerrilla war to a war of positions?**

**A.** That's a military secret. However, a preliminary assessment of the situation depends on whether we maintain the occupation of the towns we have seized in the military struggle between ourselves and the army. Until now we have managed to defend the areas seized at the beginning of October in spite of a major counter-offensive by the army. But this does not mean that at some point we will not have to organise a tactical retreat to prevent a big offensive by the enemy, which we could not resist head-on. We have not posed as a priority the need to pass into a phase of war of positions, it is the very dynamic of the war which will pose this.

**Q. Have you got a final message?**

**A.** I would call on the peoples of the world to support our just cause and struggle, and to oppose the regionalisation of the conflict and the intervention of US imperialism.

# Liam Leddy laid to rest

THE funeral took place on Wednesday, December 8th, of Liam Leddy of Ardinglen, County Cork, who died in Limerick Hospital after a short illness.

A large crowd attended the ceremonies at Ardinglen Church and followed the Tricolour-draped coffin, flanked by old comrades, to the local cemetery. The cortege was led by three pipers.

Paying tribute to Liam Leddy, in a graveside oration, Donal Whelan described him as a man who had given his entire lifetime to the cause of Ireland.

He had been imprisoned in Arbour Hill in 1936 and again in the Curragh internment camp throughout the Second World War, during which time he was O/C of the republican prisoners.

Whilst in jail he became a fluent Irish speaker and on his release, as well as becoming involved in the re-organisation of the Republican Movement, devoted himself to the work of the Gaelic League, travelling on his bicycle over a wide area of Counties Cork and Waterford.

He continued active involvement in the republican cause until his death, being very active in the North Cork H-Block/Armagh Committee during last year's hunger-strike.

# Monaghan NGA formed

THE inaugural meeting of the new County Monaghan branch of the National Graves Association was held in Castleblayney on Sunday, December 12th.

The general secretary of the NGA, Sean Fitzpatrick, presided and gave a detailed account of the history of the NGA since its formation in Dublin in 1928.

"It was not alone to commemorate our patriot dead but also to give inspiration to the youth of Ireland by recalling the heroic deeds of Ireland's martyrs that the National Graves Association was formed," he said.

Vincent Conlon of Monaghan introduced a recently-compiled roll of honour for the county and referred briefly to the Monaghan calendar of historical events for 1983.

Officers elected for the new branch includes: chair: Vincent Conlon; vice-chair: Patsy McGinn; and secretary: Pádraigín Ní Mhurchú.

# Sinn Fein supports students

SLIGO Sinn Fein comhairle ceantair has passed a motion in support of the current campaign by third-level students against education spending cuts.

In a statement, they report that they are also receiving numerous complaints from people forced by the recent health cuts to pay for basic medicines even though medical card holders.

Sligo Sinn Fein points out that a fraction of the £500 million being spent on border collaboration would cover the current cuts in both health and education.

# Wanted

THE Sinn Fein POW Department, Dublin, are urgently in need of a new or good second-hand typewriter.

If anyone has a typewriter they would like to donate or sell cheaply could they please contact the department at 5 Blessington Street, Dublin (phone 308763).

# New EP

A NEW EP, dedicated to the memory of the martyred hunger-strikers, has just been released by the 'Irish Brigade'.

One side of the record features two songs, entitled 'McEwles' Farewell' and 'Martin Hurson', whilst the other side contains 'A Father's Blessing', which is dedicated to Joe McDonnell, and the old republican ballad 'Show Me the Man'.

The record costs Stg£1.50 and is available through Bellaghy Sinn Fein or 'any Irish Brigade' function.

# Mála poist...Mála poist.

## Withdrawal movement

Dear Editor,

Once again we are being told that the Labour Party will be the basis for a withdrawal movement.

A document produced by four members of the Troops Out Movement (TOM) argues that the demand 'Troops Out Now!' is not a principle. That is true, true for the Labour Party and its supporters, and obviously if the TOM wish to crawl into the same bed as these 'comrades' they will have to drop their principles.

'Comrades' who sent in the troops, who introduced the Prevention of Terrorism Act, who withdrew political status. It is not the Tories but Labour who are responsible for these events.

At every stage of the struggle since 1969 the Labour Party has been at the forefront of stepping-up oppression.

The point made by Denis Thompson (APRN, December 2nd) about support for military actions carried out by the Republican Movement in Britain is a valid one.

Humanitarians will not support these actions so why on earth should they support those freedom fighters who are captured by British imperialism and treated viciously within British jails?

We only have to look back to last year's hunger-strikes to see the British labour movement was asked to support the prisoners' demands. Where were the humanitarians then?

We looked hard and couldn't see any. Yet when some horses met their demise in Hyde Park there was a huge outcry — humanitarian news bulletins every hour. For weeks on end all we heard about was how these poor beasts were recovering from such a gruesome experience.

Obviously, to 'humanitarians' in Britain, horses rate higher than Irish people.

British imperialism is at war with the Irish people and this is our starting point in Britain. It is a simple fact that there are two sides in any war, and this war is no different so people in Britain have to choose a side.

We say that a movement will be built in Britain amongst friends of the Irish people and they are to be found amongst the most oppressed sections of British society: black people and unemployed youth, both black and white.

We must remember what the youth of St Paul's in Bristol said in 1980, when they fought off a police attack: "We are the black IRA."

These are the real forces for change in Britain and they will, through their actions, draw support from larger sections of British society.

This youth have no interest in the continuing oppression of the Irish people. British imperialism offers these youth nothing except no jobs, no future and growing in frustration at the hands of the police and later the army.

This force for change is growing as can be witnessed by the 1981 uprisings, the Liverpool 8, Brixton, Leeds, Birmingham, etc. This is where the withdrawal movement will be built — a movement in solidarity with the Republican Movement.

This withdrawal movement will show the same fighting spirit as that of the nationalist people in the occupied six counties and the youth of Dublin.

This was the perspective which brought together over 250 delegates from all over Britain on November 20th and united behind a common banner of 'Victory to the Irish People/Troops Out Now!'

That conference will be the starting point for the building of

A Chara,

May I through the medium of your paper offer a word of warning to the strategists within the Republican Movement who seem to be in a dilemma over just what road to travel, following the success of Sinn Fein in the assembly elections.

Perhaps there is a conflict of interest between the political and military activists, but whatever the reason, the Movement must recognise the true value of the mandate which they received from the electorate and as a consequence haul itself from the quagmire of antiquity, lest they become submerged in intellectualising to an already believing populace.

If Fidel Castro or the Sandinistas had commanded this volume of support their respective struggles would have been concluded sooner.

Now I am the first to acknowledge that conditions vary from country to country and from struggle to struggle, but the principle of mass participation remains the same wherever you go. No struggle has yet been successfully concluded by a small, highly motivated group. Certainly they inflict injuries and casualties, but they don't win revolutions without mass participation.

The Movement's main task should entail converting their poll success into a meaningful anti-imperialist expression before the opportunity is lost to us.

To think that the present level of political and military activity is adequate in its goal of dismantling the 'Brit colonial system' is to completely misread the sit-



● Sinn Fein's electoral successes must be built upon and converted into a meaningful anti-imperialist expression — revolutions aren't won without mass participation

uation and in that context is fraudulent because it perpetuates the myth that victory is only around the corner.

I agree that it's proper to prick the tiger than do nothing at all, but when an opportunity arises to tackle him head-on then that opportunity must be taken.

I would also suggest that if we fail to utilise this support, history will record this anomaly and con-

demn us in comparative terms to the Treaty era as a time when republicans could have secured their liberation but failed to grasp the nettle.

Therefore, I would beseech republicans to at least consider extending their franchise to include and embrace all nationalist groups and individuals within the revolutionary process, in order to push forward together rather than

stagnate separately. Surely we can purify in a post-revolutionary situation rather than insulate ourselves now, at a time when the Movement should broaden its horizon.

A British withdrawal is the first step in securing a future for our people — let us tackle it together.

G. Parlin, Belfast.

a British withdrawal movement, i.e. a solidarity movement.

Mark Peters, Chairperson, North London Irish Solidarity Committee, England.



● FR FAUL

# Informers

A Chara,

I have just heard a report on the radio that Fr Faul has invited parents to give information to himself, and other priests, about their children's suspected republican activities.

He apparently offers spiritual and moral support, which, no doubt, is his job anyway, but also adds the insult of financial bribery to his disgusting olive branch.

I must assume that he speaks for and on behalf of the Catholic Church.

In my own area of West Belfast it was the selfless sacrifice of poor people which provided the finance in the past to build churches and schools. Is some of this money now to be used against their own interests or will Faul and Co use funds from some

other miscellaneous source?

It is a great pity that when it was really needed, the Church couldn't provide financial aid to provide social amenities for the same children they now wish to bribe.

We know only too well the deprivation caused by bigoted city 'fathers'. The Church went along quite happily with that situation as long as they were allowed to provide their own brand of second-class education for our children.

Over-crowded schools, insufficient teachers, no money for expansion unless it was provided by the already over-burdened people in the ghetto areas, the motto seemed to be: 'You must suffer to get closer to God'.

Now Faul wishes parents to trust potential collaborators with the safety of their children's lives. I sincerely hope that all parents involved will analyse very carefully the actions of this extremely dangerous man.

Informers has always been a dirty word throughout our history — this man now wishes to make it respectable.

Surely we have had enough of hypocrisy and double-standards from these people. They must be made accountable to their parishioners for their actions. If they are not accountable then surely they should not be allowed to enter our lives at all.

It is my understanding that faith and religion are contacts with the god of your choice. For the shepherd to use religion as a platform for political activity is, it seems to me, morally inexcusable.

When the political activity favours a foreign oppressor then it surely becomes treachery.

I know that republican youth will give Faul his answer. I can only hope that their parents will do the same.

Brian Keenan, Leicester Prison, England.



● SEAN MacMATHUNA

# Iarrthóir Gaelach

A Chara,

Tá Seán Mac Mathúna, Ard-Rúnaí Chonradh na Gaeilge, ag seasadh do thoghchán an tSeánairid i dtoghchán Ollscoil na hÉireann.

Molta ag An Dr. Tomás de Bháirdáithe (Ollamh na canúin-olaíochta sa Choláiste Ollscoile, Baile Átha Cliath) agus ag Donnchadh Ó Súilleabháin (Iar-Rúnaí air Oireachtas na Gaeilge) tá acafócht oifigiúil Chonradh na Gaeilge aige.

Tá Seamus P. Ó Buachalla, An Canóbach Cosslett Ó Cuinn, Máirtín Ó Dúráin, An tAth. Pádraig Ó Fiannachta, Peadar Mac An tOmair, Eoin McKiernan, Máire Uí Mháin, Labhrás Ó Murchú, An Br. P.U. Ó Néill, Seán Ó Siocháin agus an tOllamh Seán Ó Tuama i measc lucht tacaíochta.

Is é seo an dara uair do Sheán Mac Mathúna bheith ina iarrthóir sa Toghchán seo. Fuair sé beagnach 900 vóta sa toghchán i mí Aibreán seo caite. B'áin f' an chéad uair ar cuireadh iarrthóir aontaithe ar eighid ar son na Gaeilge. Léiríonn an vóta sin gur aithnín ábairtí an tseachtas de na céimithe go bhfeadfad sé, mar Sheanadóir neamhspleách, cuid mhór a bhaint amach don Ghaeilge. Feictear do Chonradh na Gaeilge gur chóir go mbeadh na tuiscidh na Seanad a bhainneadh na Toghchán na nOllscoileanna neamhspleách ar phairtíocht na Gaeilge. Ba chóir go mbeadh 'Guth don Ghaeilge' sa Seanad. Aithníonn an Conradh go bhfuil gáiríocht buailte leis an nGaeilge. Is iad seo a leanas na príomhphointí polasáit atá ag Seán Mac Mathúna chun duí ngeilge go fuinnúil leis an ngáiríocht sin: Staid na Gaeilge sna scoil-anna a athrú ó bhonn le go mbeadh cumas labhartha agus scríofa sa Ghaeilge ag daltaí ar fháidh na scoile dóibh. Tacaíocht leith a thabhairt do scoilleana lán Ghaeilge. Billie Cearta don Ghaeilge a aicthí le go mbeadh lucht labhartha na Gaeilge ar chomhchóir agus ar chomhchearta le lucht labhartha an Bhéarla. Réimse leathan de chláirca tuilifíse a chraoladh do dhaoine óga agus do dhaoine fásta. Táis a chur leis an obair phleanála chun bealach tuilifíse lán Ghaeilge a bhunú. Plean tarbhúna a fhóigeáir a chosnóidh an Ghaeilchacht, a chuirfeadh stop lena meath agus a leanúidh amach f. Iarrann Conradh na Gaeilge ar gach cdfmí ar suim leis nó léirítochtair na Gaeilge a léibhíd a chur in iúl go soiléir trf vóta a haon a thabhairt d'iarrthóir na Gaeilge, Seán Mac Mathúna.

PRO,

Conradh na Gaeilge, Baile Átha Cliath.

Mac Mathúna bheith ina iarrthóir sa Toghchán seo. Fuair sé beagnach 900 vóta sa toghchán i mí Aibreán seo caite. B'áin f' an chéad uair ar cuireadh iarrthóir aontaithe ar eighid ar son na Gaeilge.

Léiríonn an vóta sin gur aithnín ábairtí an tseachtas de na céimithe go bhfeadfad sé, mar Sheanadóir neamhspleách, cuid mhór a bhaint amach don Ghaeilge.

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Billie Cearta don Ghaeilge a aicthí le go mbeadh lucht labhartha na Gaeilge ar chomhchóir agus ar chomhchearta le lucht labhartha an Bhéarla.

Réimse leathan de chláirca tuilifíse a chraoladh do dhaoine óga agus do dhaoine fásta.

Táis a chur leis an obair phleanála chun bealach tuilifíse lán Ghaeilge a bhunú.

Plean tarbhúna a fhóigeáir a chosnóidh an Ghaeilchacht, a chuirfeadh stop lena meath agus a leanúidh amach f.

Iarrann Conradh na Gaeilge ar gach cdfmí ar suim leis nó léirítochtair na Gaeilge a léibhíd a chur in iúl go soiléir trf vóta a haon a thabhairt d'iarrthóir na Gaeilge, Seán Mac Mathúna.

PRO,

Conradh na Gaeilge, Baile Átha Cliath.

# Rumour has it...

## Burke's at the back BY KEVIN BURKE

**GARRET FitzGerald met Ian Paisley for dinner in the National Liberal Club in London on Monday night, November 29th, just four days after the Free State general election.**

That is the very strong rumour which has been buzzing around London for the past fortnight.

The rumoured dinner engagement, which two United States senators are also said to have attended, took place amid major security on the evening of the British and Irish Association meeting which had been taking place earlier at Lambeth Palace.

The meeting is a forum for a confidential exchange of views between British MPs, Irish politicians from the North and South, prominent media people and other, sometimes shadowy, interested parties.

Among those who attended the meeting this time, apart from the Orange brig himself and the Americans, were James Prior, Don Conncannon, John Hume and Tim Pat Coogan, editor of the *Irish Press*. It is understood that FitzGerald did not attend the British and Irish Association meeting as he had intended because of the election result, but did fly to London in the evening for the dinner.

The venue of the meal was switched from Lambeth Palace to the National Liberal Club, for all those involved, after catering facilities at Lambeth broke down.

Fine Gael press officers insist that FitzGerald was in his Dublin office all day on Monday but have refused to comment on his whereabouts that evening.

If such a meeting did take place, it is a very strong indication of the new Dublin premier's avowed intention of doing all in his power to appease the most ultra-loyalist elements in the North. For Ian Paisley, of course, the confirmation of the rumour would be a major embarrassment.

★ ★ ★

Also at the British and Irish Association meeting was Belfast councillor Hugh Smyth of the Progressive Unionist Party, the political front for the outlawed Ulster Volunteer Force.

Unlike the excluded Sinn Fein elected representatives, Smyth, who was badly defeated in West Belfast in the assembly elections, had no problems rubbing shoulders with politicians of all parties at the London meeting.

And in conversations with them, Smyth made no bones about the fact that he was speaking on behalf of the UVF.

★ ★ ★

The blatant bias of 'Today Tonight the Workers' Programme' has really got out of all proportion.

Tuesday night's programme dealt briefly with the latest RUC murders of the two INLA members in Armagh. It had Seamus Mallon of the SDLP hypocritically slamming the 'bad apples' in the RUC, and John Cushman of the Alliance Party waiting for further details.

But an editorial decision was taken on the programme not to seek a unionist view on this occasion - Harold McCusker being the obvious contributor - because the sight of him crowing over the latest murder would not be conducive to the 'appease loyalism' line which is RTE's, the Workers' Party's and Garret FitzGerald's most precious policy.

★ ★ ★

After the hysterical condemnatory adjectives poured out on the killing of 11 Brits by the INLA last week, it was good to see that Cardinal O'Flaich had a couple left for the RUC's gunning down of the two INLA men Sunday night.

It has apparently caused the bulky bishop 'grave disquiet'.



● FitzGerald and Paisley - did they meet for dinner?



Very mild criticism, you may say. But for these few words may the Lord make us truly thankful.

★ ★ ★

"Labour reports breakthrough in coalition talks," shouted the Dublin headlines last Friday morning.

Apparently, Dick Spring had finally discovered the secret venue where Garret FitzGerald



had been deciding the new government's policies for the previous ten days.

★ ★ ★

And wasn't it nice of the media not to invade Dr FitzGerald's privacy by attempting to identify the venue of these talks? How understanding and responsible the political correspondents have become.

Can you imagine that happening if Charlie Haughey had been meeting Tony Gregory at an undisclosed venue?

★ ★ ★

But what a stroke FitzGerald has already pulled on the meaningless property tax, supposed to be on houses over £65,000.

The crafty Coalition boss has just 'sold' half his three-storey home at 30 Palmerston Road, Dublin, to his son Mark and thus almost wiped out his own liability under the proposed tax.

★ ★ ★

The *Irish News* last week carried a typically unbelievable piece of British black propaganda about an IRA link-up with the UVF to shoot Lennie Murphy.

And where, you may ask, did the paper's new editor, Martin O'Brien, actually take on board this piece of anti-republican nonsense? Well, I cannot give a definite answer.

But on Thursday night of last week, three days after printing the smear, O'Brien was observed in Hollywood's Culloden Hotel, deep in conversation with none other than James Prior's curly-haired side-kick Lord Gowrie.

And after apparently unloading whatever information he had gathered recently onto the attentive peer, O'Brien was overheard to observe that "the IRA are not as good today as they were ten years ago."

But then neither is the *Irish News*. Or is it just nostalgic?

★ ★ ★

Faced with the prospect of appearing live on radio or television with any Sinn Fein representatives, unionist politicians are instructed to throw their hands in the air, shout loudly about murderers and storm out of the studio - and wait outside until the Sinn Fein person is removed.

But last Thursday, on the London independent radio station Capital Radio, a phone-in programme between 7.30pm and 8.30pm involved the linking up of Sinn Fein's Richard McAuley, Steve Bundred of the British Labour Party, Tory MP Tom Bannion and Martin Smyth of the Official Unionist Party.

Throughout the hour Smyth commented on McAuley's points, and vice versa, in the natural format of such programmes, without Smyth realising he was breaking the party's golden rule.

A big red face later for the leader of the Orange Order, I would imagine.

## WHAT'S ON

### ANNUAL CHRISTMAS SOCIAL NIGHT

Thursday 16th December  
The Stag's Head Lounge  
Linenhall Street  
DUNDALK  
County Louth  
Admission £1  
Organised by An Cumann Cabhrach

### SECOND ANNUAL FERGAL O'HANLON MEMORIAL LECTURE

4pm Saturday 1st January  
St Macartan's Hall  
MONAGHAN TOWN  
Speaker: Ruairi O Bradaigh  
(preceded by wreath-laying ceremony at O'Hanlon graveside at 3pm)

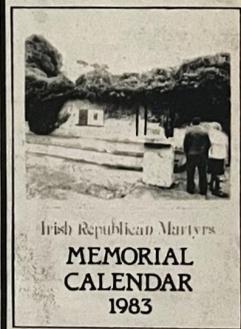
### SEAN SABHAT COMMEMORATION

3pm Sunday 2nd January  
Bedford Row  
LIMERICK  
Prominent speaker



## Christmas card

GREEN CROSS '73 have produced a Christmas card, in green, white and orange and bearing the names of jails where republican freedom fighters are held.  
The card costs 30p (plus postage) and is available from Green Cross '73, 51/53 Falls Road, Belfast.



## Memorial calendar

THE 1983 Irish Republican Martyrs Memorial Calendar, in honour of our patriot dead and produced by Republican Publications, is now available. Individual copies will cost IR£1.20 and St£1 (Britain and abroad), plus postage. Bulk order rates are available on request.  
Orders should be sent to Republican Publications, 2a Monagh Crescent, Turf Lodge, Belfast (phone 620768); or 44 Parnell Square, Dublin 1 (phone 726932).

TU & RADIO

Big bombs and little bombs

BY SIOBHAN O'MALLEY

BRITISH Tory MP Julian Critchley, one of the panel on 'Question Time' on BBC1 last Thursday, says that Ken Livingstone was invented to scare us — 'us' being most of the panel and three-quarters of the studio audience.

The question under debate was whether Ken Livingstone's invitation to Sinn Fein elected representatives to go to London was 'ill-advised' or not.

British Labour Party MP Eric Varley said that Livingstone was not speaking for the Labour Party, was not representative of the Labour Party, and that the Labour Party was horrified at the very idea.

Detta O'Ceathain, an Irish woman who looked and sounded like a ventriloquist's puppet with strings pulled by Margaret Thatcher, works for the Milk Marketing Board as 'strategic marketing planner', whatever that is. I cancelled two pints the next morning.

She thought it was 'absolutely awful' that 'Denny Morrison' had been invited to London, 'after all' they will not speak to the 'assembly' to which they were elected.

Joan Ruddick, a member of the CND Committee, thought Ken's concern for dialogue was good, but hastily added that he should not have actually done anything about actually setting up such a dialogue.

AUDIENCE

The contributions from the audience underlined the need for someone to go and explain a few things to the great British public.

But a few courageous individuals pointed to the hypocrisy of the Sinn Fein men, when he had met republican leaders in London himself and asserted that elected representatives must have a message that needed hearing.

But Labour's Eric Varley said that it was bad enough that they had been 'allowed' to stand for election but 'evil men' should not be talked to. Joan Ruddick, encouraged by this bit of plain-speaking from the floor, gathered the courage to observe wistfully that 'we say they can be elected but then say it doesn't count.' But she hurriedly added that, of course, she was 'totally opposed to the IRA.'

NUCLEAR

Later in the subsequent debate on the stockpiling by Britain of more and more nuclear weapons, no-one commented on the glaring hypocrisy of condemning 'violence' in the North, whilst preparing weapons to kill countless millions.

In fact, Julian Critchley turned up later the same night on BBC's 'Newsnight' advocating that Britain should buy more missiles. He had earlier been calling the Sinn Fein representatives 'evil murderers and terrorists'.

It was chilling to watch Air-Marshal Stewart Menaul, on the same programme, licking his lips as he lovingly described how the latest Wasp missile could be trained on Moscow and wipe that city out.

Obviously Irish bombs need to be much bigger before they can become acceptable.

AIRPORT

'Newsnight' also covered the story of how nearly £5 million meant for Third World development had been spent by the British government's Commission for Overseas Development on building an airport on a tiny island in the Caribbean.

Club Med, who have holiday villages in several countries, had made a deal with the Commission to build one of the villages on the island, called Providenciales, if an airport was supplied, but then decided against it. So this minuscule island with 1,000 inhabitants now has a useless airport but that is all.



● The Brits have no objections to their bombs which kill millions

Neil Morton, the Tory minister responsible, saw nothing wrong with spending money intended to help poor countries on facilities for rich tourists, and refused to admit that any mistake or malpractice had taken place.

Even with this and the tens of millions being spent on a second (I) airport for the 1,800 Falkland Islanders, the British still have the nerve to laugh at

Knock airport!

MEANINGFUL

'Traveller', was the title of Monday night's film in the 'Eligwen Hour' series on Channel 4.

Based on a short story by Neil Jordan, who also wrote 'Anger', it follows two young travellers who go through an arranged marriage, get involved with an IRA man in Strabane, rob a post-office and eventually leave for England.

It was directed by Joe Comerford, one of Ireland's leading film-makers.

I think the film was meant to portray the way that the travellers' lives are taken over by forces outside themselves.

They are pushed along by the influences of out-dated traditions and the suspicion and hostility of the rest of society.

I say 'I think' because I found this film so 'meaningful' and so full of 'symbolism' that it was hard to grasp the message. Though the surface of broken dolls' heads rolling on the ground, caged birds being tormented and condoms being trampled in the mud.

The film is also meant to be saying something about the national struggle but it would seem that the author is not clear in his own mind what he wants to say and his efforts collapse on film into mere caricature.

Sound political analysis

BY GERRY ADAMS

KEVIN KELLEY describes himself as "a North American radical journalist who, despite an Irish surname, has no direct connection with Ireland or any Irish person or organisation." He spent a year in Ireland and Britain to research 'The Longest War — Northern Ireland and the IRA', a 364-page book published in Ireland by Brandon, in America by Hill and Co, and in Britain by Zed Press.

In the preface Kelley makes it clear that his book is, to a large degree, a partisan study of the political evolution of the 'Provisionals' — a term which I dislike immensely — with the main emphasis on the political aspects of the struggle in Ireland rather than its military facets.

The chronology which commences in 1170 with Strongbow's mission and ends in 1982 with 'IRA kills five soldiers, one RUC in one-week period', gives some idea of the period covered in this analytical history, which commences by sketching the historical background to the present struggle.

I must confess that I skipped through this early section but from my quick browse it seems to owe a lot to Beresford Ellis's 'History of the Irish Working Class' and T. A. Jackson's 'Ireland Her Own'. This observation is not a criticism, however, because, apart from Connolly and the above, scientific studies of the conquest of Ireland and the evolution of Irish society are few and far between and Kelley does well to set the present struggle into its proper perspective.

STATELETS

Starting at 200 BC, Kelly

takes us to the Easter Rising and from there, with competent and accurate political analysis, through the heady days of the republic and the establishment of both Free State and Stormont statelets, and with some detail to March 1963, and a section 'Reforms are Revolutionary' which takes us to August 1969.

I found this and subsequent sections particularly interesting and I concur with Kelley's analysis of loyalism, especially during the supposedly benign O'Neill era, and his general examination of the political tendencies then working within the Republican Movement.

Discerning readers, sick to the teeth with having O'Neill served up for the last decade as the 'great liberal', will be pleased, as Irish Times leader writers will no doubt be displeased, to see O'Neill compared with 'the benevolent plantation owner in the ante-bellum US South who had gone off to college in New England for a few years and had at least learned not to refer to the servants back home as 'darkies'. Paternalism and a condescending pseudo-liberalism are the hallmarks of such an educated racist.'

Again in this section, the

BOOK

Lemass-O'Neill dialogue is put into its proper context against British/Free State efforts to join the EEC and with partition becoming an economic obstruction for a changing British and multinational capitalism.

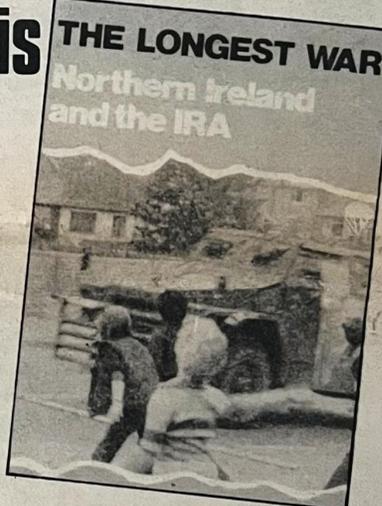
"The EEC was going to safeguard prevailing property relationships for all its members, so what was the point of maintaining an antiquated and unprofitable separation on an island whose strategic and economic interests were now to be reinforced by that one Big Common Market?"

These points understood perhaps by many republicans, are also, I believe, under-rated, and a fuller grasp of such strategic and economic factors would permit many Irish people to grasp the full motivation behind today's cross-border co-operation, Dublin-London summits, Councils of Ireland and the like.

ACADEMIC

Again, in tracing the early stirrings of the Civil Rights campaign, Kelley's analysis is useful and generally accurate with his political commentary on the Johnson/Goulding era in the Republican Movement of the 1960s being particularly well-researched and presented.

The mistakes are minor. For example, the office at the centre of the Dail Street riots is described as the headquarters of the Republican Labour Party when it was in fact a Sinn



Finn office. This lack of personalised knowledge, repeated occasionally in later chapters serves only to emphasise the general nature of this work. When the author gets into specific incidents of personalities his dependence on academic research is obvious but, while this may jar nit-picking reviewers, it does not undermine the sound political analysis throughout.

His recent history of the IRA, that is from 1969 onwards, is somewhat superficial and while this may be understandable, given the secret nature of that organisation, any felon-

to some degree the see-saw battle between the British establishment in Ireland and the 'forces of resistance. At times, presumably because of the eventful period covered, these sections tend to read like a well-padded chronology of events, but every so often one is rewarded by Kelley's clear-sighted observations even when occasionally these are not complimentary to the Republican Movement.

DEVELOPMENTS

The various political forces, the ongoing armed struggle, political developments within the Movement, the prison protests and the hunger-strikes are covered in some detail and the book concludes with a final comment which no republican and few informed Ireland-watchers could disagree with:

"By the time this book appears, others will undoubtedly have lost their lives in the North. It is a war without an end in sight. There can be no peace until Ireland itself is made whole again."

There are a few points in this book which I would disagree with, and a number of small errors which I think are unnecessary in what is otherwise a well-researched and readable account of political events and forces in Ireland.

For all that, 'The Longest War — Northern Ireland and the IRA' should be read by all those who profess an interest in Irish affairs. For too long we have been served up rams of pro-establishment revisionism, Kevin Kelley's 'Longest War' goes some way to redressing the balance.

'The Longest War — Northern Ireland and the IRA' by Kevin Kelley is published in Ireland by Brandon Book Publishers Ltd. Price £6.95.

Two sides of the question

BY SEAN O'BRIEN

THESE pamphlet/posters are something of a new idea; and most recently there was an excellent one published on plastic bullets by the London-based Information on Ireland. Now comes one from Troops Out on the British Prevention of Terrorism Act 1976.

The problem with these posters, it seems to me, is that you get all this valuable information on one side, then open it out for a splendid full-size poster on the other side. Of course when you stick this upon the wall, you can't refer again to the text on

the back without taking it down again.

However that may be, this Troops Out one on the PTA is well worthwhile. It contains a summary of repressive legislation in the North, and, since the PTA in 1976, in Britain, aimed

PAMPHLETS

against Irish people on a straightforward racist basis.

Some details are also given of individual cases of just how indiscriminately it is used against the Irish in Britain and the effect it has even on the most un-political of them. As one Labour MP remarked about the PTA in 1976:

"Many innocent Irishmen are going to suffer... but they'll

just have to lump it."

In fact over 5,000 Irishmen and women, and some English sympathisers of the Irish cause, have been detained for periods of up to seven days since the legislation was brought in and only a handful actually charged.

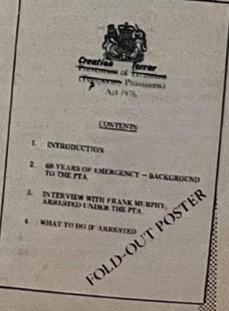
In the event of such an arrest, the poster/pamphlet contains some sound advice on what to do in custody. It includes an emergency phone number to contact for legal assistance.

And the pamphlet ends with the reliably succinct commentary of our very own cartoonist, Cormac (double-jobbing yet again).

PROBLEM

It occurs to me that one way of surmounting the problem of these two-sided posters is to stick it up in your window and then you will have no difficulty. But then if you do, you will most probably be arrested under the PTA anyway, so you would be better keeping it handily folded up in your pocket...

I admit defeat, but don't let me put you off obtaining one at Stg 65p each from the TOM, Box 353, London NW5 4NH.



1. INTRODUCTION
2. 20 YEARS OF EMERGENCY — BACKGROUND TO THE PTA
3. INTERVIEW WITH FRANK MURPHY, ASSAULTED UNDER THE PTA
4. WHAT TO DO IF ARRESTED

FOLD-OUT POSTER



BY JIM GIBNEY

HERE'S ME lying on a single bunk in a cell in Crumlin Road Jail, very definitely out of circulation, but my mind is on the Falls Road and I'm walking past the Sinn Féin centre and heading towards the black-taxi stand at the corner of Grosvenor Road.

I'm nodding and waving to people I know and, with newspaper firmly under arm, I am very set in my direction.

It's a trick of the mind that all prisoners use at different stages. It helps pass the time. There are blokes in here who have spent months walking all over Ireland and they haven't left the precincts of the jail-yard. It's a harmless illusion and really dawns very quickly at the sound of jangling keys in the hands of a warder.

Magicians use illusion to great effect. While they concentrate their audience's mind on one prop, by sleight of hand they introduce another and 'hey presto!' the trick is performed, and the watcher seldom spots the sleight of hand technique and, as time passes, the magician's illusions become almost reality.

**ELECTION**

Ireland's political landscape is full of illusionists and magicians. And the greatest illusionists of them all are the leaders of Fionna Fáil and Fine Gael in the South, Haughey and FitzGerald, who put on a show second to none in the recent election there.

Aided by radio, television and the press, we had the dreary duo giving us their variations on Ireland's great illusion: that they are the leaders of an independent nation which won its freedom from Britain in 1922.

They too had props to aid their deceptive performance. They rely on the outward trappings of independent states, like a parliament, a constitution, a police force, an army, a judiciary and the myriad of institutions which through time become pillars on which the apparatus nation rests.

Their most essential prop, of course,



● JIM GIBNEY

is the patter which accompanies and forms part of the illusion, and there is no shortage of it when it comes to underlining the nation notion.

During the election they appealed to

the 'people of the country', the 'Irish people' and the 'ordinary people of the republic' to give them an overall majority to restore stable government to the 'country'.

Why? Because there is an economic crisis which the nation has not seen since 'independence' and only a firm 'Irish government' can effectively deal with its problems.

It must be admitted that they are good at it. Repeating the 'nation' illusion without taking a red face takes some doing, but then they have had over 60 years' experience at it and, like the magician's sleight of hand technique, when something is repeated often enough an audience can be taken in.

And, of course, the illusion is helped along by a slavish media which meekly serves instead of probing beyond the verbalising.

**REALITY**

There were times, like the warder's rattling keys, when reality sneaked into the election and the sham nationalists were confronted by the fact that they are the leaders of only 26/32nds of a nation and that the rest of the nation is in the military hands of the British government.

But in the true tradition of the magician producing a rabbit from a hat, each produced a blueprint from their inside pocket which would restore the part nation to a full nation.

FitzGerald's is, of course, his 'crusade', another illusion which will be quickly terminated if ever it seems to be in danger of becoming the Pandora's box which it could be and begins upsetting things in the South.

Listening to and reading this type of Free State nationalism, I now understand why the Northern nationalists feel abandoned and unwanted; the Northern loyalists are constantly assured in their statelet and the two-nations theory is very much in the ascendancy.

**Memoriam**

**BARRETT, Dick; MCKELVEY, Joe; MELLOWES, Liam; O'CONNOR, Rory.** (60th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Dick Barrett, Joe McKelvey, Liam Mellowes and Rory O'Connor, Irish Republican Army, who died for Ireland on December 8th 1922. Always remembered by Mrs Burns.

**LEE, Martin; BATESON, John; SHERIDAN, James.** (11th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vois Martin Lee, John Bateson and James Sheridan, Ogligh na hÉireann, County Derry, who died while on active service duty on December 18th 1971. Fear siad bás ag tríd ar son na saoirse. Never forgotten by their friends and comrades in the Republican Movement, County Derry.

**LEONARD, Louis.** (10th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Louis Leonard, Ogligh na hÉireann, will, Always remembered by Tessa McCullough and family and Andrea.

**NOLAN, Tony.** (11th Anniversary). In loving memory of Bridget who died on December 18th 1971. RIP. I should have come the call, without goodbye you left us all. We think of you often, we talk of you still, you have not been forgotten and you never will. Always remembered by Tessa McCullough and family and Andrea.

**MOORE, Mary.** (11th Anniversary). In loving memory of Bridget who died on December 18th 1971. RIP. I should have come the call, without goodbye you left us all. We think of you often, we talk of you still, you have not been forgotten and you never will. Always remembered by Tessa McCullough and family and Andrea.

**NOLAN, Tony.** (11th Anniversary). In loving memory of Vol Tony Nolan, Belfast Brigade, Ogligh na hÉireann, who was killed on active service on December 8th 1971. "Lay him away on the hillside, along with the brave and the true, in letters of purest gold." Always remembered by the Nolan/Downey Sinn Féin cumann.

**SYMPATHY**

**CARROLL, GREW.** In proud and loving memory of my brother INLA Vol Roddy Carroll and INLA Vol Seamus Grew who were murdered by RUC thugs on December 12th. They died as they had lived in dedication to a socialist republic. Always remembered by Irene and Malachy Leonard and family.

**CARROLL, GREW.** The Republican Movement, Monaghan, extend their deepest sympathy to the families, friends and comrades of INLA Vois Roddy Carroll and Seamus Grew who were murdered by the RUC on December 12th.

**CARROLL, GREW.** Most heartfelt condolences are extended to the families of INLA Vois Roddy Carroll and Seamus Grew who were brutally murdered by the RUC on December 12th. Deepest sympathy is extended to my friends Aidan, Dessie (Portlaoise) and Oliver Grew, "wherever death surprises us, it will be welcome, provided that this, our battle cry, reaches some receptive ear, that other hands stretch out to take up weapons and that other men come forward to intone our funeral dirge with the staccato of machine guns and new cries of battle and victory." (Che Guevara). From Gerry, Short Strand.

**COONEY, Tony.** (11th Anniversary). Sinn Féin, extend their deepest sympathy to the family of Dennis Cooney, Tulla, County Clare, on their recent bereavement.

**MOORE.** The Republican Movement, Kerry, extend their deepest sympathy to Ted and Mary Moore on the death of Ted's father Edward.

**MOORE.** Deepest sympathy is extended to Ted and Mary Moore, Ardferd, County Kerry, on the death of Ted's father Edward in St Michael's Hospital, Dun Laoghaire. From Cathleen Knowles and the Mooney family, Dun Laoghaire.

**MOORE.** An Cumann Cabhrach, Kerry, extend their deepest sympathy to Ted and Mary Moore, Ardferd, County Kerry, on the death of Ted's father Edward.

**MURRAY.** The Republican Movement, Cloness, extend their sincere sympathy to Eileen McAleer following the recent and tragic death of her brother Hugh.

**Birthday memories**

**DEMPSEY.** Birthday memories of my beloved son Flan John "Johnny" Dempsey, who was shot dead by the British

**Thanks**

THE families and friends of the five men from the Strabane/Lefroy/Castletroy/Latterkeny areas, who were recently sentenced to eight years' imprisonment in Dublin, would like to sincerely thank the staff of the Sinn Féin POW Department, Blessington Street, Dublin, for all their kindness and help during the trial. We are deeply in their debt. Go raibín mhaí agáibh.

**GREETINGS**

**MALONE, Joe.** (Portlaoise). Congratulations on your 33rd birthday, Joe. From the '75 Club (Portlaoise).

**MALONE, Joe.** (Portlaoise). Happy birthday and best wishes, Joe. From the Sinn Féin POW Dept., Dublin.

**Irish Lesson 9**

**anso** (unshuh) — here  
**anshin** (unshín) — herein  
**aris** (areesh) — again  
**amuih** (amuih) — outside  
**istigh** (istigh) — inside  
**thuas** (hoo-us) — above  
**thios** (he-us) — below  
 Note: "Here" in Munster is "anso" (unshuh) and "there" is "ansan" (unsunu), again is "arist" (areesh).

**An bhfuil mé?** (un will may) — Am I?  
**An dtuigim tó?** (un will thoo) — Are you?  
**An bhfuil sé?** (un will shay) — Is he?  
**An bhfuil sí?** (un will shee) — Is she?  
**An bhfuilimid?** (unwillimeed) — Are we?  
**An bhfuil sibh?** (un will shiv) — Are you (ye)?

**PRONUNCIATION:** The pronunciation given in brackets is as near as possible to the sound.

**CH** is sounded as in **LOCH ERNE**.  
**D** and **T** before **A, O** and **U** are thick, spoken with the tongue pressed against the upper front teeth.  
**DH** and **GH** are like a **G** far back in the throat — almost a **GARGLE**.

**An bhfuilimid ansó arís?** — Are we here again?  
**An bhfuil sibh amuih?** — Are you (ye) outside?  
**An bhfuil siad thuas ansin?** — Are they, down there?

**PHRASES**

1 — **Ní thuilim (nase hígim)** — I don't understand.  
 2 — **An dtuigean tú mé** (un digun thoo may) — do you understand me?  
 3 — **Tóg go bog é** (thoog gu bog ay) — take it easy.  
 4 — **De sía a chéile** (du rare uh chuyuluh) — bit by bit (gradually).

**REMEMBERING THE PAST**  
**Six years in Wicklow**

BY PETER O'ROURKE

OF all the counties that rose in 1798, Wicklow held out the longest. In fact for almost six years in all.

Michael Dwyer, an uncle of Anne Devlin, was born in the Glen of Imaal, County Wicklow, in 1771. He joined the United Irishmen in 1797 and took part in the '98 Rising in Wexford and later in Wicklow.

In the summer of that year, with a band of followers, he took refuge in the Wicklow mountains. In 1800, a bounty of £1,000 was put on his head by the British and £250 on each of his men, the best known of whom were Hugh Byrne, Martin Bourke and Samuel McAllister.

The British built a road — the 'Military Road' — deep into the Wicklow mountains, in an attempt to capture him, but failed. The road remains a fitting monument to the abilities of the Wicklow men.

In July 1803, Dwyer led nearly 500 Wicklowmen into Dublin as far as Rathfarnham, but, learning that the rising had failed, returned again to the mountains.

**RENEGED**

At the end of that year, having arranged that he would give himself up on the guarantee of a passage to America for himself, his comrades and their families, Dwyer surrendered voluntarily, on December 17th. Hardly surprisingly, however, the British authorities reneged on the deal and Dwyer was sent to Kilmainham Jail.

He was held there until August 1805 when he was transported not to America but to New South Wales in Australia.

But the story of Dwyer was not finished there. After his years as a



● MICHAEL DWYER rebel, he changed sides and in 1815 was appointed High Constable in the Sydney police by the British authorities. He died ten years later in 1825.

**Relatives' Christmas party**

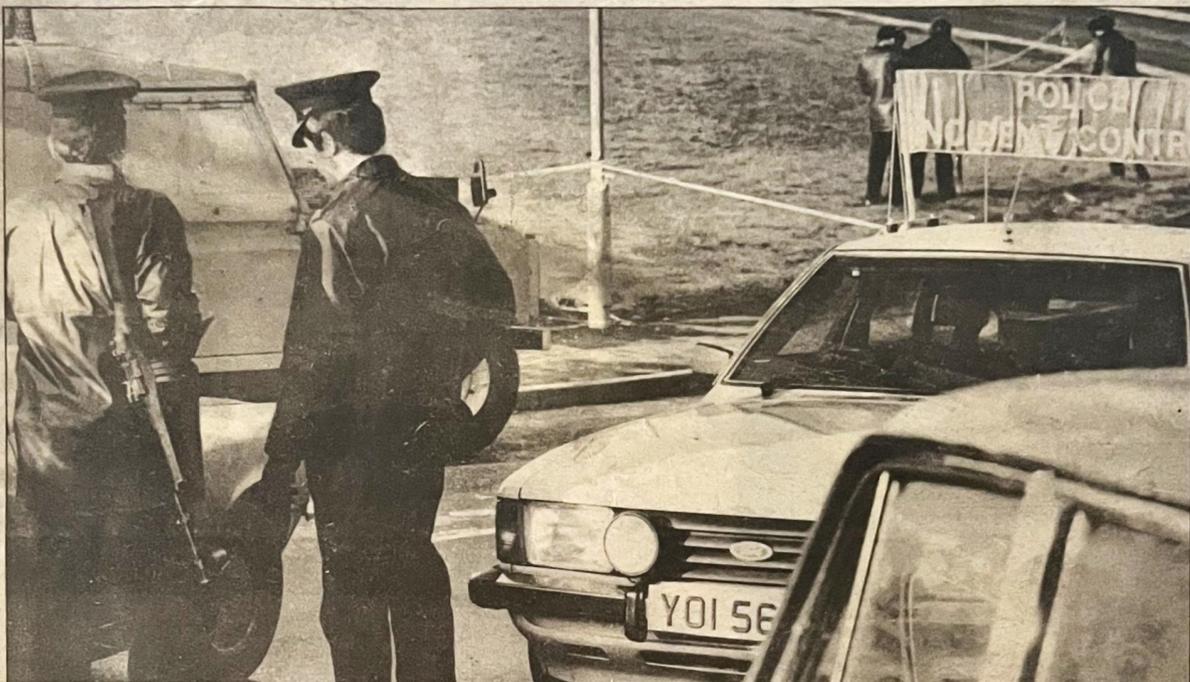
SINN FEIN'S POW Department in Dublin held a Christmas party for relatives of republican prisoners, on Friday night last, December 10th. The well-attended gathering was provided with food, drink and musical entertainment from several artists, including popular musician Christy Moore.

**Six-county electoral register**

The list of electors for 1983 has now been made available for public inspection. Sinn Féin, in an effort to consolidate and build upon the advances made over the last year, call upon their supporters in the nationalist community to check and see if their name appears on this up-dated register.

Enquiries should be made to local Sinn Féin centres in the event of any difficulties.

*Don't miss out this time — REGISTER NOW!*



● The scene of last Sunday's murders of Seamus Grew and Roddy Carroll by the RUC

# RUC murder two more Armagh men

BY MAEVE ARMSTRONG

A SPECIAL undercover RUC unit shot dead two men in Armagh last Sunday night, December 12th, bringing to six the total of people murdered in the Lurgan/Armagh area in under a month. The two men, later claimed by the INLA as being members of their organisation, were 22-year-old Roderick Martin Carroll, a single man, and 31-year-old Seamus Grew, married with a 9-year-old son.

Once again, as with the two previous shootings — firstly on November 11th on the outskirts of Lurgan which claimed the lives of three IRA Volunteers, followed by the fatal shooting of Ballinury youth Michael Tighe and the wounding of his friend — the RUC's actions on this occasion raise many serious and, as yet, unanswered questions.

The suspicious circumstances surrounding this shooting, like the other two incidents, has left the nationalist community in Armagh in no doubt whatsoever that the RUC are engaged in summary execution without trial of republicans, a policy which has been sanctioned by the British government and has received the joyous approval of loyalist politicians.

## WELL-KNOWN

Roddy Carroll and Seamus Grew were well-known by both the Brits and RUC for their republican sympathies. Carroll and Oliver Grew (Seamus's brother) were released

from custody on October 18th after so-called INLA informer Sean Mallon withdrew his evidence. Seamus Grew was released from Long Kesh in April after serving seven years of a 14-year sentence for an attempted killing. This was ironic in itself, as it was due to an act of attempted murder on the part of the RUC in April 1975 in which he was shot in the mouth coming out of a club with his wife and friend, which led to his arrest in hospital and subsequent imprisonment.

## ASSASSINATION BID

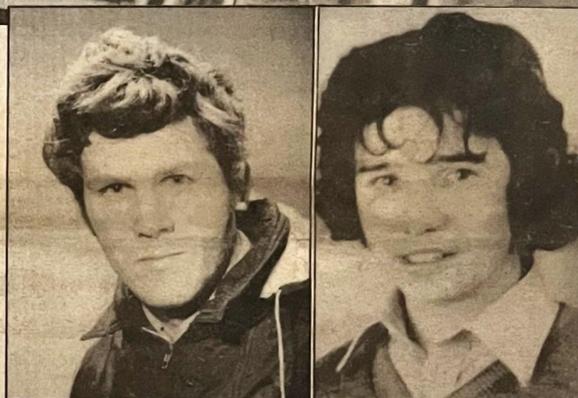
Not long after his release Seamus Grew and his son, Michael, escaped an assassination attempt at their home in Mullacreevie Park, in September, when loyalists fired several shots through the door.

In view of their republican activities it was inevitable that the two men would be singled out for repeated harassment at every given opportunity, including being detained for long periods along the roadside and constantly being arrested. On one such occasion just over two weeks ago, according to Roddy's brother, Francis, he was bluntly informed by an RUC man that they would 'box him off' adding:

*"There'll be two dead Carrolls and two dead Grews before Christmas."*

Apparently the RUC made no secret of the fact that they intended to execute them and this was well-known to both men, their families and friends.

Two other local men, Paul Duffy and Stephen Fields, who were recently in Gough Barracks, have also recalled that during their



● Seamus Grew and Roddy Carroll, pictured some years ago

detention the RUC let them know on a number of occasions that they were out to get Carroll and Grew.

Earlier last Sunday afternoon, members of the Carroll family, including Roddy, went in Grew's car to Magherafelt in County Derry to attend their grandfather's funeral. When they returned, the house was surrounded by a UDR patrol, intent on another act of intimidating the family. Around 5.30pm, Seamus and Roddy set off for Monaghan with his sister Irene. They left her home shortly after 7pm to return to Armagh.

It is here that the RUC's version differs from that of a reliable eye-witness who saw the car shortly before the shooting.

The RUC claim that the car accelerated through a checkpoint at Glivan's Bridge on the Armagh to Keady Road injuring an RUC man. They further claim they identified the car as belonging to 'a known terrorist' and radioed through to another RUC car to give chase. This car is alleged to have given chase for several miles, finally overtaking it at the entrance to the Mullacreevie estate and, believing that they were 'in danger', opened up on the occupants when the headlights of Grew's car placed them in a vulnerable position.

## EYE-WITNESS

Directly contradicting this statement is an eye-witness account from a local man, who prefers to remain anonymous.

He recalls that Seamus waved at him as he passed by him walking along the Killylea Road towards Armagh. He estimated that the car was doing no more than 30 mph — hardly the speed expected from a car which had allegedly just crashed through a road check, or, for that matter, which was being

followed in hot pursuit by an RUC car!

Continuing, the eye-witness observed an RUC car at high speed which caught up with Grew's car, and overtook it by pulling up in front. He did not observe, however, what happened next as it was dark but he heard one burst of fire, followed by a short gap of seconds, then two single shots.

## PRIEST

A local priest, Fr Patrick McDonnell, who arrived on the scene shortly after the shooting, found Seamus Grew lying face upwards towards the rear of the car, Carroll was slumped across the driver's seat. He estimated that there were around 13 bullet holes in the car, many through the side door, a feature similar in many aspects to the bullet-ridden car of the three Lurgan IRA Volunteers.

Both Roddy Carroll and Seamus Grew had been shot three times, in the arm, chest and, what is the most sinister and damning aspect of the affair, a single shot through the back of the head.

At this stage no-one — apart from the RUC killer squad who shot them and who have a vested interest in seeing that the truth never comes to light — knows exactly what happened.

However, all available evidence from the eye-witness account recording the leisurely pace of Grew's car, his casual hand-wave, the fact that no firearms were recovered in the car and, more suspiciously, two bullet wounds to their heads, would seem to tally with the assumption that they were deliberately and cold-bloodedly murdered by a special RUC assassination unit.