

republican news

THE VOICE OF REPUBLICAN ULSTER

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NEXT WEEK'S EASTER SPECIAL EDITION

NEXT WEEKS PAPER WILL BE
A SPECIAL 16 PAGE ISSUE
IT WILL QUICKLY BECOME A
COLLECTOR'S ITEM SO ORDER
YOURS NOW.

A.S.U.'s Move Into Action As...

IRA OFFENSIVE ROCKS BELFAST AND SUBURBS

Newspaper speculation, forecasting the immediate demise of the Irish Republican Army, received a set-back with the massive offensive of Monday last. Active Service Units, operating from bases in all Belfast Brigade Battalion areas, struck with devastating effect at economic targets throughout the city. An entire block of buildings in the heart of Belfast's Royal Avenue was destroyed despite intense British army deployment in the area. Massive publicity had been given to the "Safety Zone" programme which entailed the sealing off of the City Centre. Brit propagandists must now be feeling extremely embarrassed following the IRA success.

The death of Staff Officer Sean MacDiarmada during one operation in the Finaghy area was a severe blow to the Movement. Sean, a former P.O.W.; was a revolutionary from the school of Connolly and Mellows and will be missed by all who knew him. Staff Officer MacDiarmada gave his life while attempting to secure transport for his comrades who had been trapped by an RUC/ British army patrol. The Britishers had arrived at the Conway hotel after the A.S.U. had planted a series of delayed action bombs, adequate warning had been given and the Volunteers ensured that the hotel was evacuated before leaving.

Two explosions occurred in the Conway shortly before 3 p.m. and a fierce fire started. The hotel, which was extended and modernised after another bomb attack several years ago, was soon enveloped in dense, black smoke, a third bomb went off in the smouldering ruin.

The Conway and the other hotel target — the Wellington Park, on the Malone Road — were probably the busiest hotels in Belfast, particularly since the closure of the Europa and more recently, the Russell Court.

At 3 p.m., a blast destroyed the Headline shipping office, on the corner of Victoria and Corporation Streets.

The explosions — all happened within a 50-minute period — and a number of suspect devices and vehicles caused traffic chaos in the city centre as traffic was diverted and stopped.

British Government sources later "admitted" that hotel accommodation in Belfast had been cut by "50%" since last June. The figures given by the British are generally regarded as being false, it

is thought that the tourist industry in the occupied Counties is on the verge of total collapse.

No large hotels now exist in Belfast and tourists/visiting businessmen now have to travel to the country areas in search of accommodation. The IRA offensive was a traumatic shock to both the British and Free State Governments. Garret Fitzgerald had only recently predicted, with confidence, the defeat of the Irish Republican Army. It is now thought that the new British Prime Minister, Jim Callaghan, will re-think his party's policy on Ireland. The leaderships of the IRA have made their position clear — the struggle continues until Britain gives a clear declaration of intent to withdraw from Ireland.

We have recieved
so many Tributes to
Staff Officer Sean
McDermott that we
will devote a section of
the Easter issue to his
memory

BRITISH SOLDIERS WILL CONTINUE TO DIE IN IRELAND UNTIL...

Late on the 3rd of March, three British soldiers, members of the Royal Scots Regiment, were blown up on a lonely road in South Armagh. Within hours of their deaths, the local Unit of the Irish Republican Army had admitted responsibility for the attack and said it was as a result of the British presence in South Armagh, and that such operations would continue until the British realised the futility of their continued military and political presence in the six counties and gave a date for withdrawal.

Taken on the context of the last six years of war, what happened in South Armagh was not unusual, unfortunately, it is only one more operation resulting in death which the Irish Republican Army has had to carry out in its seemingly endless war with the British occupation army. What was unusual, was the scathing personal attack launched the next day on Mrs. Maire Drumm, Vice-President of sinn Féin. Mervyn Rees claimed she should be glad now as only months previously she had, in his words, 'boasted' of sending British soldiers home to their coffins. This piece of verbal abuse has only helped illustrate the opposing mentalities of the British and Irish people, and before any reader puts pen to paper accusing me of racism and opposing my statement, let me explain what I mean.

Firstly, what is a British soldier? To the Republican, he is a support, a pillar, one of the many which help to bolster up the British establishment in Ireland, and like other supports, for example economic targets, it is necessary to undermine and destroy him. In reality, he is an even greater and more appropriate target because he is an outside agency helping to shore up the tottering ruins of this artificial statelet. Because of his unique position in the war now being waged, he is the prime target, however, this does not blind Republicans to the fact that he is a human being. On numerous occasions, Republicans have spoken out against the needless deaths of British soldiers, but who listens? We are accused of hypocrisy and portrayed by the media and British propaganda machine as 'mindless murder ers'.

VAGUE NOTIONS

In the main, British soldiers know little of what is happening in Ireland; they have vague notions, but no real idea of the reasoning behind the present war. Their presence in Ireland now, is just the continuation of centuries of occupation and conquest. In 1921 they attempted to create two neo-colonial states in Ireland, through which they could maintain control of Ireland and continue their exploitation of its resources. If this plan had succeeded, British troops would never again have had to fight Irishmen, since other Irishmen would have been doing the job for them. Unfortunately for the British, they neglected to consider the resilience of the Irish people or of the Republican Movement.

Today they are again, as so often in the past, engaged in war in Ireland. British soldiers are once again fighting and dying here, in defence of British control of Ireland, in defence of British investment in Ireland and in defence of continued British exploitation of the Irish people.

HOME IN COFFINS

British soldiers will continue to die in Ireland until either the British government or the British people, or both decide they have had enough. The I.R.A. may pull the trigger or press the switch which kills, but the individuals who should be in court for this violence and for all the other acts of savagery against the Irish people, and for their insistence upon sending further numbers of British soldiers home in coffins, remain free. For they are the faceless bureaucrats and politicians.

Such is British democracy — such we will continue to fight and undoubtedly this time we will win.

R.G. Mc Auley P.O.W.

SHORT STRAND BRIT ANIMALS

A Chara,

Once again the British Government have deemed it necessary to remind the people of Ballymacarrett of their presence in the area. The armed thugs who patrol our streets, under the guise of 'protecting' us must have found themselves bored when they decided to harass a young boy of sixteen. Bad, but not unusual would be the reaction of most people. But there is one difference. As a result of a S.A.S. type attack by Loyalist extremists on the 31st December last, this young boy lost both his legs. Still on Thursday, 23rd of March, while he was being pushed in a wheel-chair by two friends of the same age a Brit patrol stopped them, for a 'search.' They refused to allow the boy's friend to put the brake on the wheel-chair and while they searched the boy pushing the wheel-chair, the rest of the foot-patrol gathered round and said "Dance to your Daddy" to the young boy in the wheel-chair. We ask the so called security forces to explain this? Another example of British protection? Or a reminder to the people of the area what to expect if they continue to refuse to recognise the British lackeys as our masters? How can these sick minds believe that we who have lived under a foreign rule for so long and still refuse to accept that we are British continue to believe that we will be beaten, now when we are so near what we have suffered so long to win...Our freedom. We have suffered famine, murder, seen our sons, fathers, brothers incarcerated because they refused to "bend the knee" to their oppressors. So in their sick petty minds they seek to hurt us, as a people by degrading a young boy like this. A boy who is probably more of a man at sixteen than they, with their armoured cars and tanks can ever hope to be. But then, this young boy is Irish. Perhaps that explains it.

Is mise le meas, P.R.O.
MARTIN/TRACEY SINN
FEIN CUMANN.
BALLYMACARRETT.

New Cumann

A Chara,

We would like it to be known that a new Sinn Fein Cumann has been formed in the Moyard/New Barnsley area of Belfast. The name of the Cumann is the EDWARD O'RAWE/JAMES BRYSON CUMANN.

We are proud to be named after the two such brave and fearless sons of Ireland. Men, who by the very mention of their names struck fear into the hearts of the age-old enemy of Ireland.

We pledge to keep alive their memory, and to do our utmost to uphold the very high ideals for which these patriots gave their lives.

We pledge our allegiance and support to the leadership of the Republican Movement.

p.R.O.,

Edward O'Rawe/James Bryson, Sinn Fein Cumann

THIS IS THE SPECIAL SYSTEM THESE ARE THE SPECIAL COURTS

It was an amazing sight, to see the furore created in the media, by the revelation from a private in the 3rd Parachute Regiment, that he had lied in court to cover up the shooting of an Ardoyne man, Brian Smith by his patrol, almost three years ago. As a result of his lies and those of the other in his patrol, along with what can only be regarded as assistance at very high level, an innocent Ardoyne man, Eddy McClafferty was sentenced to eight years imprisonment.

For years now, the Republican Movement has consistently maintained that the

Special Diplock Non Jury courts of the 6 counties, and the procedures which accompany them, allow for the internment of Irishmen under another guise.

In a recent court case a young man who was up in front of one of these Special Courts, accused those taking an active part in the running of the system, as being like a band playing in a brothel, they were living off 'immoral earnings.' A more appropriate condemnation of the system you would have difficulty finding.

As a result of British law

existing in Ireland, for almost 3 years now an innocent man has been separated from his family. There are countless examples of the corruptness of this system. Only last week the media, again a little late in getting at the truth, revealed the way in which the R.U.C. were using the Diplock Courts to 'rig' their statistics of supposed successes against sectarian assassinations.

In the years in which countless numbers of Republicans and Loyalists have passed through these Special Courts, not one member of the British Army or the R.U.C. has been convicted of an offence, and

ample evidence exists of the bias apparent in the handing out of sentences to members of various organisations.

This is the Special system, these are the Special Courts, Mr. Rees places so much faith in. The McClafferty case has only helped to underline the repressive, corrupt system in the 6 counties. British 'Justice' is for the British, it is not for the Irish, who demand laws which are just, fair and above reproach.

R.G. McAuley P.R.O.
Republican Prisoner of War,
Long Kesh.

Gerald O'Callaghan Cumann: Black Staff Hazard



Our Cumann has begun a campaign in the Colin area of Belfast to highlight a dangerous health hazard, namely the Black Staff river. This open cesspool that ruins the length of our area has become a breeding ground for large water rats who roam the banks and entries in large numbers and a dumping ground for old cars, beds and furniture. Because there are no playing facilities in the area this river provides a Natural attraction for young children who have easy access to it. It's infected waters (in fact four open sewers run into it) and eight foot high slopes are a constant worry to the mothers nearby. Our solution to this pollution is that the river be covered in and made into a playground and to this end our Cumann will do all in its power.

MOVEMENT MUST MOBILISE WORKERS IN MASS ACTION

A Chara,

The letter from T. Enis in Republican News, 28 February 1976, raises points which many supporters of the struggle against British rule in Ireland have felt for a long time. Following the excellent article on Liam Mellows, it focuses attention on the most important problem of the present war, how to unite the anti imperialist and the social struggles. The two articles make the same point - despite the magnificent achievements and self-less devotion of the Republican Movement in the last five years, the struggle against British rule in the North, and the struggles of workers and small farmers in the South, remain separate.

The Republican Movement understands that these are not separate problems - that capitalist domination of Ireland, via Unionism in the North, and the gombeen men of Leinster House in the South, is the root cause of the suffering of the Irish people. Every day this suffering increases: unemployment, inflation, and the destruction of the small

farmer, has led to the re-emergence of poverty on a large scale.

Despite this, and the treacherous role of the trade union and Labour Party leaders, the struggles are not united. The task of uniting them is not an easy one - but it is essential. No opportunity of involving the working class and the small farmers of the South in the struggle should be lost.

But as T. Enis points out, opportunities have been lost. Perhaps the most memorable occasion was the burning of the British Embassy, when thousands of workers turned out to protest at the Derry Massacre. This is not the only instance. Too often, the response of the republican leadership has been to tell the people to return home and leave it to the volunteers to carry on the struggle.

This is a mistake - the mass of the people have an active part to play in the fight. The new Ireland for which the Republican Movement is fighting is not to be an Ireland

in which, as Connolly puts it, "the band of the nearest regiment of the Irish Army, escorts you to the workhouse door to the tune of St. Patrick's Day." The Movement must learn how to work in the trade unions, in the factories, in the rural areas, in such a way as to bring the ordinary people into the struggle.

We must use the economic power of the working class to fight the British and their gombeen men. A victory against Ireland's enemies needs an industrial as well as a guerrilla army; it demands the organisation of the mass of the people to play an active role in the struggle.

Freedom cannot be given to the people however dedicated the minority involved in the struggle may be. Freedom has to be taken by the people. The Republican Movement has earned the right to lead the mass of the people in the fight for freedom. It must learn to live up to all aspects of that responsibility.

Is Mise,

P. McDermott

THE TRIALS' OF TOM GREEN

Dear Sir,

We would be obliged if through the medium of your paper we could expose the use of repressive legislation - offences against the state act in the twenty-six counties in the vindictive manner in which this legislation is currently being used.

A young man from Lurgan, Tom Green age 26 has between the period of January 1973 and April 1976 served two sentences, one of six months and one of one and a half years. He is once again held under the same act with the eventual four year sentence, no doubt, to be imposed by Cooneys farcical courts. This in fact means that this young man in the past three years has served the equivalent of a three year sentence without any evidence whatsoever being produced incourt against him.

Under the circumstances it is clear Tom Green faces a life prison sentence in the twenty-six counties. We call upon the people of Ireland to reject such repressive laws and Governments which enforce such laws.

Is Sinne,

Tom Williams - Thomas Harte Cumann, Sinn Fein Lurgan

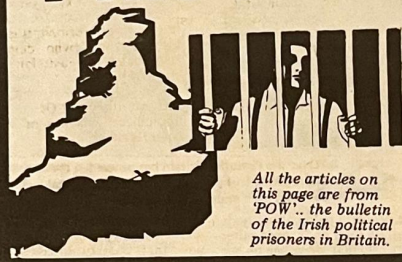
REPORTS AND PICTURES

OF ALL EASTER MARCHES
AND CEREMONIES
SHOULD REACH THE

EDITOR, at

170a FALLS ROAD, Belfast
NOT later than Wednesday,
21st April, Before 12 noon.

NEWS FROM BRITISH PRISONS



All the articles on this page are from 'POW', the bulletin of the Irish political prisoners in Britain.

Walton, Liverpool

IRISH PRISONERS RECIEVE BRUTAL BEATINGS BY ENGLISH POLICE

Walton, Liverpool

The trial of the 5 Irishmen on arms charges etc. begins on 28th April. At the committal in January they refused to participate in the proceedings and gave their solicitors the sack.

The 5 are, Noel Gibson and Paul Morney, both Belfastmen who were arrested in Manchester last July following shooting incidents involving police, and Brendan O Dowd (Kerry), Steven Nordone (Louth) and Sean Kinsella, one of the Portlaoise escapees, who were picked-up in a police raid in Liverpool. All 5, who have been jointly charged with conspiracy etc, were brutally beaten-up by police in Merseyside following their arrests.

The following are excerpts from the medical reports on two of them. The reports on the other 3 are equally horrifying.

Re: Noel Gibson (2/7/75)

He had injuries consistent with being "Kicked in the face the back, the loins...lumps on the head...a left black eye and a broken nose...damaged lower ribs (8-10)...A bruised stomach...grazes on backs of hands... Senior House Officer, Manchester Royal Infirmary.

Re: Brendan O Dowd (10/7/75)

"Brought here under guard with a police story that he had been involved in a fight...was drowsy and practically unconscious...had two black eyes, a broken nose and a broken jaw...bleeding from the nose

and mouth...had an enlarged bladder...body was also extensively bruised." Brian C Haggart, consultant surgeon, Walton Hospital.

It must have been some 'Fight'. Knowing the British sense of foul play and injustice he was probably outnumbered 20-1.

According to Manchester solicitors "The five were seriously assaulted whilst in police custody and therefore any statement they made would be open to question in these circumstances."

How naive can they get. We know from bitter experience that there is nothing OPEN about the political show trials concerning Irish people in this country and that the State has worked out the sentences, jails etc. long before the "trial" even begins.

WINCHESTER BRITANNIA WAIVES THE RULES

The trial of Ronald Mc Cartney (Belfast) begins on 28th April also Ronnie has been charged with conspiracy and shooting policemen in Southampton in Dec, 74.

He was kidnapped by British agents from his workplace in Ireland on 9th May last year and has been on remand in Winchester jail since then. Whilst in police custody he was badly beaten about the face and body as has now become normal practice.

Winson Green, Birmingham

VISITS TO PRISONERS RESTRICTED

There are 5 political prisoners on remand here. Following the report in our February 6th issue and representations to the prison authorities, the British Home Office and solicitors the men are now being allowed to wear their own clothes instead of being forced to wear prison clothes. However victors are now restricted to family members and non-

political friends who have been screened by the police.

The trial of one of the men, D.B. Mc Laughlin, has been well and truly prejudiced by recent press reports stating that 'he was a well-known terrorist who had planted a bomb.' These reports followed the acquittal of a woman in Southampton on a charge of harbouring him.



WAKEFIELD

BRIT SOLDIERS IN WAKEFIELD TELL OF CROSSMAGLEN FEARS

Peter Shortt (Belfast) recently received 56 days solitary confinement and 6 months loss of remission for 'swearing at a warder. Peter, it will be remembered, was the one who with Tony Madigan, staged a roof-top protest in solidarity with Frank Stagg (R.I.P.) on Sunday 25th January.

Meanwhile two English prisoners who ASSAULTED two warders each received only 14 days solitary for their 'crime'.

Incidentally both Peter and Tony received 28 days in the punishment block and loss of remission for their brave roof-top protest.

Wakefield also contains several British soldiers, serving sentences for petty larceny etc...They have confessed to the Republican P.O.W.'s that they had committed such crimes while serving in Ire-

land so that they would be arrested and so escape having to risk their lives fighting for something they did not believe in. They said that many other soldiers had done the same to escape service in Ireland. They said they were sh...t scared all the time they were over there, especially those who had been to Crossmaglen. (Can't say we blame them)

Reports we have had from other prisons like Long Lartin and Gartree indicate that there are substantial numbers of British soldiers locked-up on similar charges and tend to confirm the above: that the soldiers have turned to crime to escape when they found that they had been duped and could not afford to buy themselves out.

BRITISH TROOPS OUT OF IRELAND - POLITICAL PRISONERS OUT OF JAIL.

A TRIBUTE TO SEAN McDERMOTT

Now, we've lost many comrades, down thru the years, and tears we've shed a few. 'Mongst men, some were the greatest, this Nation ever knew. Ah! but boys, times more than that, when Sean Mc Dermott died!

For times though a part of us, were slow, right there at his side And we sighed down in our hearts. "We agree," My three best friends and me.

The epitome of all t'was good, honest, brave, and bold - Not for him to seek a place, nor any lackeys gold. But only ask.

The humblest task, And we sighed down in our hearts, "We agree," My three best friends and me.

Now death has done, what no one could do, and stricken is the strength, from which we all had drew. But! sure died as he's have wanted, a gun clutched in his hand. For a Socialist Republic! No compromise! McDermott took his stand

And we shouted from our hearts! "We agree," My three best friends and me!

Im measc na leochra, etc.

MAI ACHY, FEORDINE, NOEL & TERRY.

ANOTHER FUSILIER INCIDENT

Another incident, involving the Fusilier Regiment, has been recorded in Ballymurphy. On Monday evening a young girl, Teresa Clark, was returning home from a local Disco when two girls began to shout at a Fusilier foot patrol. The soldiers grabbed young Clark, who was not involved, and hit her across the mouth with the butt of a rifle. Teresa returned home in a state of shock and informed her mother who approached the 'soldier' responsible. The members of the foot patrol laughed and jeered at the woman. She then took her daughter to the Henry T Teggart Fort to complain to the Major in charge. She came in from the Fort in a distressed state and collapsed. It is only three weeks ago that a similar exercise in Brit brutality caused the death of Mrs. Fegan.

CUMANN HIT OUT AT CANON MURPHY'S SILENCE

A Chara, Regarding the recent article in the Republican News about Canon P. Murphy and St. Thomas' School. We would like to know if it is true, as we have not yet seen any denial of this from Canon Murphy. We would like to ask Canon Murphy outright - has he taken funds which were intended for St. Thomas' School and used them in the build up of St. Louise's. Is he also selecting the

best pupils from one school and putting them into another school, thus running one school down from an academic point of view.

We would like Canon Murphy, for the benefit of the people of this area who are disturbed about this allegations to answer them.

Is mise le meas,

PRO, EDWARD O'RAWE/ JAMES BRYSON SINN FEIN CUMANN

THE NECESSITY OF A MILITARY CAMPAIGN

Political Status has over the past few months once again become a contentious issue, and in the coming year its political importance is undoubtedly going to become even greater as the different parties involved in the present campaign fight for its retention of its finish, depending upon which side of the fence they happen to be sitting. One of those parties, or at least a significant portion of one of those parties, is you, the reader. In the main most of you reading this article are

understand the situation (so much for the myth of indoctrination in Catholic Schools). Finally, however it began to seep into our thick skulls that there was something very wrong with our society, and it was with this dawning of a new understanding that certain vital points began to make an impression on our way of thinking.

Firstly, we came to realise, that "Northern Ireland" was an artificial state, in that it had been established against the wishes of the majority of the

who had been fooled into believing that Catholics were their natural enemies, would continue to support the link with Britain. Peace and prosperity we realised could only be achieved within a United Ireland free from British interference.

Thirdly, it was obvious, even to the most blind of individuals that no political party then had the will nor the means to secure for Britain reunification of our country. Since then of course we have seen the establishment of the Social Democratic and Labour Party but even with the array of talent it had at its disposal, it quickly proved itself to be just as politically bankrupt as the Old Nationalist Party. Its leaders have on more than one occasion, backstapped and backtracked on electoral pledges, and it is now quite apparent that many of its leaders are more interested in personal aggrandisement than in ensuring a safe, secure and peaceful future for the besieged Nationalist minority.

The fourth and final point that struck us all as of vital importance, was the realisation that Republicanism offered to us a means for securing for our people and ourselves, security, justice, peace, prosperity and a United Ireland, which would incorporate all we aspired to. It is understandable that at first many of shied away from Republicanism because of its use of violence to achieve its political objectives but common sense dictated, and



"Over the centuries Britain has persuaded many brave and trusting Irishmen to use peaceful political methods to attain their ends."

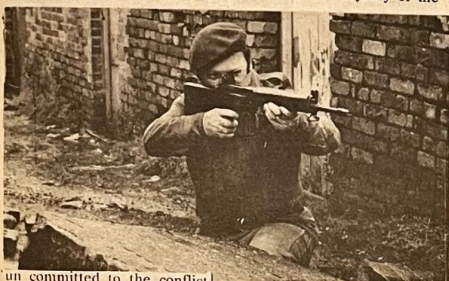
use peaceful political methods to attain their ends, or in other words, to play the game by her rules. What chance do you have playing against an opponent who dictates the rules? How can you beat a stacked deck? None of them ever did. Republicanism not only clearly gave us the method to use against the British, but it also spelt out the type of new Ireland, Eire Nua, in which Catholic and Protestant could live together without fear of the others intentions. Indeed, the type of Ireland in which Britain would no longer pull the strings, and manipulate the political scene to suit her purpose. I could quite literally go on at some length singing the praises of the Eire Nua policy suffice it to say that it is, despite what its critics say, an economically viable alternative to the present system. In all the above I have tried,

same time after reading the above you must surely realise now that contrary to British propaganda we are not "Criminals" nor is our struggle a "criminal conspiracy" but in fact we are political idealists fighting for our beliefs, as men devoid of political ideals, as "criminals" trying to line our own pockets. Common sense tell you that these are lies and that con-

by
Dustin

trary to Britains propaganda we are motivated by a political ideology - Republicanism.

We, the Republican Prisoners of War are political prisoners, we have fought along hard and inside prison to be



un committed to the conflict your basic interest being in the establishment of a fair, just prosperous society.

This article, I hope, will go some way in at least convincing you that support for the political prisoners is something you should at least involve yourselves in, and perhaps, it might also help convince you that the Republican Movements present tactics, while although under normal circumstances abhorrent, are under present circumstances necessary.

Before we could honestly expect you to involve yourselves in our struggle for the retention of Political Status, I feel that an explanation of why

we as individuals, took up arms against the establishment and have for the last 6 years fought the British Army and its various allied groups, in what has undoubtedly become one of the most prolonged and vicious campaigns ever seen in Ireland, must be given.

To begin with, I have no intention of listing once again the historical reasons behind the present division of our country, and the systems of Government which were set up following that division. There could be few amongst you who don't know or comprehend the reasons behind the establishment of a one party dominated state in the 6 counties of N.E. Ireland.

The attempt by the Civil Rights Movement in the late 60's to gain the vote for the Nationalist Minority and to show up the blatant discrimination, being waged against that same minority, has now also passed into the history books.

Many of us now involved in the Republican Movement were, even in 1969-70, either totally uninterested in what had been going on and which was even then still blatantly taking place, or we, just didn't

Irish people, by the British, and that for 50 years it had been maintained by Britains' support. All that our people had suffered at the hands of Loyalists for 50 years, from the pogroms of the '20's to the pogroms of 1969, was due to Britains incompetence and unwillingness to interfere in Stormont affairs. Careful reading of an old history book clearly indicated that Sectarianism was not some-



thing natural to the 6 counties but instead it was a cancer which had been carefully fostered by English and some domestic groups e.g. Orange Order, to ensure their continued exploitation of the Irish people.

Secondly, we came to comprehend that as long as the British remained there could never be peace, justice, and equal opportunities for all the people, because the Loyalists

the intransigence of all the groups involved reinforced this belief, that violence was the one method that Britain understood and feared.

Britain it must be remembered was the first to introduce violence into Anglo-Irish politics, yet, when, as in the past others had the audacity to use it against her she loudly cried "foul!". Over the centuries she has persuaded many brave and trusting Irishmen to

as best I could, to explain to you the reader why so many people are today involved to various degrees with the Republican Movement. I hope I have explained to you why we feel it is necessary to use a military campaign against the foreign occupiers of our country.

There may be those of you reading this who disapprove of the Republican Movements military campaign, but at the

treated as becomes prisoners of war and we will fight every step of the way any attempt to remove from us or our comrades the status which is rightly ours. To succeed in this as in the war outside, we need your support and assistance, be generous with your time and energy. Show Britain that her lies and deceit will gain her nothing but contempt. Support the Republican Prisoners of War.

BRITISH LABOUR & BRITISH IMPERIALISM

Pamphlet reviewed by PETER DOWLING

"The British presence in Ireland, far from promoting democracy, will necessitate a further intensification of repression to maintain its imperialist interests. The struggle to remove the British troops is therefore a struggle against imperialism and socialism cannot, without ceasing to socialists, equivocate on this issue."

There have been very few publications of value produced by the British left during the current war. Few have attempted to combat the deep-bred anti-Irish chauvinism of the British working class. A notable exception was Bob Purdie's pamphlet, 'Ireland Unfree.' A further welcome exception is a recently produced pamphlet quoted above. This is called, 'Ireland: British Labour and British Imperialism' and is produced by RCG Publications. As the pamphlet correctly points out: "The chauvinist idea that British workers have more in common with the British ruling class than with workers in other countries is deeply rooted in this country (i.e. in Britain). For example in 1974, striking Scottish drivers blacked the transport of all goods with two exceptions — essential supplies to hospitals and supplies to the army of occupation in the six counties of Ireland. Yet few saw and pointed out the contradictory position in which the lorry drivers found themselves."

An excellent feature of this pamphlet is its readability. The authors have obviously made a brave effort to break from the incestuous jargon which characterises most revolutionary left propaganda. The main strength of the pamphlet lies in the well argued and well documented fashion in which it sets about achieving a given limited aim. This aim is to devastate the Communist Party's strategy of a Bill of Rights used in this dissection process.

UNITY AND EQUALITY

In a previous series of articles I have tried to show that the only logical outcome of the CP/Stickies political strategy of democratising the Northern statelet will be for them to end up on the wrong side of the barricades. The RCG pamphlet agrees that: "The whole political orientation exemplified in the CP approach to the question of Ireland leads to a slavish submission to the ruling class. This becomes very clear when it encounters the problem of violence."

The day following the Kingsmill killings, the British CP daily, the Morning Star, carried this report: "Official Sinn Fein in a statement said that the people of the North continue to bear the brunt of sectarian killing and violence because the British government are not prepared to tackle sectarianism in that area. Loyalist and Provisional violence has fed like a culture on British policies which have been a godsend to every sectarian bigot in Northern Ireland. The deaths also brought a demand from the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association that the government takes serious action at last against the killer bands." The pamphlet shows a good understanding of this Stickey pitfall: "The whole logic of these demands — from organisations

ism can be done away with only by removing its basis — the privileges real or promised which are entrenched by the British connection."

BRITISH WORKERS

This leads straight into the underlying theme of the pamphlet. While on the one hand:

"The progress of the Irish people towards socialism is inseparable from their progress towards national independence." On the other hand the British workers "must see the Irish question as a question that directly involves our own class interests and recognise that we have the same interests as the Irish workers in ending the annexation of the North. The only position on Ireland which expresses an

some evidence already points in this direction. For instance, "the call for phased withdrawal and a Bill of Rights which is supported by the ITUC and majority sections of the Republican Move-

alone is no way forward. Correct abstract ideas are necessary but not sufficient. A movement must be developed around a programme of action. Otherwise people will still be left sitting in the

'THE CONTINUAL INSISTENCE IN THE PAMPHLET THAT 'SUCH AND SUCH' AN APPROACH IS THE ONLY WAY FORWARD SMACKS OF AN ARROGANCE BORN OUT OF ISOLATION FROM THE STRUGGLE AND CONSEQUENT IGNORANCE.'

which support the CP programme — is for the British state to intensify repression, to direct it not only against Catholics, but also against Protestants. This is the only kind of 'unity' and 'equality' that the CP proposals can bring about — the subordination of the entire Northern Irish working class to the jackboot of British imperialism."

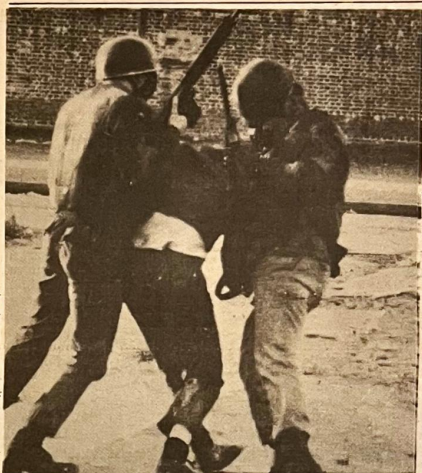
The thorny problems posed by the only realistic route to working class unity, North and South, Protestant and Catholic are tackled fairly and squarely: "The Protestant section of the working class, in adhering to loyalism, is supporting British imperialism. It is partition that has measurably deepened the divisions in the Irish working class movement and only the struggle to reunite the country can lay on the basis for enabling the Irish labour movement to undertake a united struggle against capitalism. The only unity which has any meaning in the present situation in Ireland is the unity against continued political domination by Britain. It sounds nice to talk about unity around demands for certain democratic reforms; but it does not get to grips with the reality of the situation existing in Ireland at the present time. The bitter sectarianism which exists, depends on the ability of the loyalist ruling class to dangle the carrot of continued privilege in front of the Protestant workers. — Sectarian-

independent working class standpoint is that which rejects absolutely the right of the British state to interfere in the affairs of the Irish people — The two demands: **Troops Out Now! and Self-determination for the Irish People as a Whole** form a clear political programme for the British working class on the question of Ireland."

THE ONLY WAY

The main weakness of the pamphlet is a strong streak running throughout it, of a tendency which is unfortunately habitual to the revolutionary left. This is to deal mainly in abstract scheme instead of getting to grips with the concrete practicalities of specific problems. The continual insistence in the pamphlet that 'such-and-such' an approach is the ONLY way forward, that there is NO other way forward, smacks of an arrogance born out of isolation from the struggle and consequent ignorance.

This is readily recognisable as the hallmark of a group closer to home — the Peoples Democracy. The smaller they get the more they appear to believe that they are the 'Chosen People.' Their 'Divine Mission' is to spread the 'Word' to expose the supposed inadequacies of the Republican Movement. One must sincerely hope that the authors of this pamphlet will not fall into a similar trap. Unfortunately



"The whole logic of these demands ... from organisations which support the C.P. programme, is for the British state to intensify repression, to direct it not only against Catholics, but also against Protestants."

ment offers no way forward." Since when have the Provos been calling for a Bill of Rights? In conclusion, I would draw a positive balance sheet of the pamphlet. A word of warning however. 'Debate'

armchairs that my comrade Peter Arncliffe is so correctly anxious that the revolutionary left should vacate.

HOUSING REPAIRS IN TWINBROOK

A Chara,

It has come to the notice of the Fennell/McDonnell Sinn Fein Cumann, that many residents in the Thornhill/Summerhill part of Twinbrook estate are having difficulty in getting repairs done to their new homes.

In fact, we have been speaking to some residents who have been living in their new homes for nearly a year now and their homes are still in need of repair. From what we gather it appears that the builders don't appear to be doing anymore repairs to the new houses. It is known that the Builders on this particular site in Twinbrook will be "packing their bags" in the next few months and when they are gone, residents may find it even more difficult to get their homes finished. It is known that the Housing Executive has had to cut-back on

expenditure on orders from the British Government and they may be reluctant to incur the cost of repairing new homes. Regarding this situation the Fennell/McDonnell Cumann would like more information from the residents of Thornhill/Summerhill so that we might be able to get some action on the matter — whether from the Builders or the Housing Executive. In this respect we would ask the residents that if you are still waiting on repairs to your home and have had no satisfaction from the H.E. or the Builders then get in touch with any member of the Fennell/McDonnell Cumann, and we'll do all in our power to help you.

Is Mise Le Meas,

P.R.O. Gerry Gennell/Eddie McDonnell Cumann, Provisional Sinn Fein, Twinbrook.

Book Review

THE GENESIS OF REVOLUTION

I read this book (137 pages) in an afternoon and though it made interesting reading I was disappointed for a number of reasons.

1. The title is a misnomer, even if I was to be charitable on the grounds that his subject matter is the genesis of the revolution and not the revolution itself. The title suggests a political thesis which the book is not (in fact, it's not until Page 111 that we first meet the term "revolutionary situation" and by that time the book is almost at an end.

REHASH OF PAMPHLETS

2. I had the distinct impression that it was a rehash of the pamphlets and booklets already written on the subject of contemporary Ireland and political forces therein, interspersed with a few minor novel comments.

3. The book was strongly and favourably recommended to me by a fellow Republican Socialist, whereas the book though well disposed towards the Provos in no way represents a left-wing interpretation.

Genesis Of Revolution opens with a short resume on the sectarian history of the 6-County State, the arrival of the British Army in August '69 and an account of the Dublin Arms Trial — already the subject of Kelly's last book **Orders For The Captain**.

One of his novel comments in his assessment of factors increasing the likelihood of development of the IRA and

a war with the British, of which he emphasises Lynch's desertion of Northern nationalists and the subsequent arms trial which "made certain of the evolution of a nationalist People's Army."

He recalls the whole gamut of British oppression and counter-insurgency operations — curfew, Internment, Bloody Sunday and Operation Motorman.

It is always interesting to have the past reflect the inconsistency and opportunism of contemporary notables. After Bloody Sunday Fr. Daly, now Bishop Daly of Derry, said "We accused — myself and other priests — accused the British Army of Murder — I will stand on that accusation." He subsequently became a moral collaborator with Frank Stagg's murderers.

ENDING OF INTERNMENT

Austin Currie speaking in February '72 said, "I believe that the ending of Internment is a prerequisite for any solution." And then he participated in the "solutions" of the Assembly and Executive and Constitutional Convention while internment continued.

In chapter 9 (Irish Loyalty) Kelly traces the history of Unionism/Loyalism and how its working-class adherents were manipulated and exploited by a clique of industrialists and landowners. He quotes generously and relevantly from

Connolly in support of this view.

Craig's Vanguard rallies and motor-cycle escorts — the neo-fascist phenomena — are interpreted as the modern



by Peter Arncliffe

atavistic approach of the most extreme loyalist spokesmen. It was at a Monday Club meeting in October '72 that a steaming Craig hiccupped through his infamous "shoot-to-kill" speech and boasted "I can mobilise 80,000 men who will not see any compromise in Ulster." Kelly, though I disagree with him, says that Craig's Voluntary proposals are coming from the same man. In '72 Craig was being opportunist and exploitive, in '75 he was being shrewd in evaluating continuing intransigence against the historical commendations of political magnanimity.

The two most interesting chapters are 5 and 11. "The British Propaganda Campaign" and "The IRA response to Prorogation." The immediate response of the IRA to the announcement of Stormont's suspension was

that "Operations were to continue," and history has subsequently justified that action in opposition to the fawning, reformist approach of the Sticks.

He quotes generously and relevantly from Connolly.

Of the Sticks he says: "The factor that finally undermined the Official plan was the reaction of the Northern Ireland Nationalist population, in lending support of a policy of military means."

He states that all British solutions to date have been based on increased repression development of propaganda, discrediting of IRA, and the essential Free State collaboration — their counter-revolutionary measures often surpassing those of the Brits.

He details boringly the constitutionality or otherwise of certain British Acts. But the reader is little interested in the technicalities and ramifications of the constitutional contradictions in a package such as the Sunningdale agreement.

After Page 111 he draws comparisons between China,

Vietnam and Ireland, and even then his patchy analysis doesn't readily identify with the existing situation.

It is too simplistic to say, as Kelly does, that the political and security policies of the Free State and Britain "will create the circumstances of chaos, violence and repression, which is the classic mix necessary to give to Communism the opportunity to orchestrate and put into effect the revolutionary techniques calculated to bring Communism to power."

In the revolutionary context he says: "It is at this stage that the mastermind comes into his own and that Ireland's Mao, Ho, or Guevara will come to the forefront." This statement represents in Kelly a Freudian slip — a belief in fate — that the process of natural selections will throw up a master-mind national saviour! Only revolutionary political determination will allow substantial leadership to appear.

Having predicted the appearance of a Mao, Kelly then negates against his development and shows that he doesn't really believe in him since he (Kelly) goes on to advocate a political settlement — though based on a British withdrawal and



Craig's Vanguard rallies and motor-cycle escorts, the neo-fascist phenomena, are interpreted as the modern atavistic approach of the most extreme Loyalist and spokesmen.

the Irish People's right to self-determination, also envisages UN involvement!

Though a revolution is in process in Ireland (its greatest pace being achieved in the 6-Counties) I couldn't find corroborative evidence in Kelly's catalogue. In short, the title is misleading and the book an uninspiring comment.

The Real Meaning of Cultural Development

When Republicans speak about cultural development, most tend to think in purely Nationalistic terms, i.e. Gaelic culture in general, Irish language, dancing sports. Within the context of the war situation cultural development means much more than that. The war is not only about the National question, it is also about the class struggle, and the role of the individual within society. Cultural development is about improving the quality of life, not for the privileged few, but for the masses of the working-class.

Cultural development is about creating for the individual social conditions in which he can develop fully, not existing in isolation from the machinery of government, but actively participating, confident that he can influence the social order in which he lives.

National culture is important, but without the emancipation of the working-class from the shackles of social inferiority, exploitation and economic suppression culture will remain little more than a symbol of our past classless society. The Republican movement must seek to weld

together the more effectively the Nationalist struggle with a drive for radical social and economic change, because, although economic equality is important, it is just as important for the individual to feel as an equal among equals and to find expression for himself in a common identity, not just a National identity but a social identity as well. Cultural development is dependant upon communication within the community, an interchange of ideas and opinions which encourage creativity and participation. It is in the interest of the Movement that such communication should be encouraged amongst its working-class support. By encouraging better communication the Movement would be encouraging cultural development at both National and Class levels.

By creating the broadest possible base for cultural development the Republican Movement would be consolidating its support for the National and class struggles on the one hand, while, on the other, destroying the political, economic and cultural effects of British imperialism.

SOUTH DOWN STATEMENT ON KIDNAPPING

The abduction of Sean Mc Kenna jnr. and treatment to fellow Republicans in Belfast jails has not being overlooked by the Republicans in Belfast jails has not being overlooked by the Nationalist people.

It is now more evident that the S.A.S. are operating on the Southern side of the Border. We all remember what the Brits did to Sean's father. They are along with the Free-Staters responsible for his death.

We will not forget.

Please continue your generous support for Green Cross

40,000 Readers

WEEKLY WITH SALES
CONTINUING TO RISE.
Make sure of your copy!

Diamond Jubilee

Easter Rising - 1916—1976

on
APRIL 25th, 1976, 2.30 p.m. DUBLIN.

Parade leaves Stephen's Green, and marches to rally in O'Connell Street, outside the G.P.O.

BUSES: Transport will be leaving from all areas of Belfast. Contact any of the following S.F. Centres for details - FALLS ROAD, NEW LODGE ROAD, BALLYMURPHY, or any member of Sinn Fein

BELFAST COMHAIRLE CEANNTAIR SINN FEIN
present

Irish Folk Night

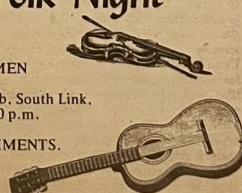
WITH

THE FABULOUS FREEMEN

Andersonstown Social Club, South Link,
FRIDAY 9th April, at 8.30 p.m.

BALLOT AND REFRESHMENTS.

TAILLE 50p.



ON I hobbled over to the doctors during the week. Luckily I had been able to time the spraining of my ankle to coincide with the weekday hours in which the prison regime allocates a doctor for the thousand odd prisoners here. I was feeling pretty pleased with myself because if you are going to sprain your ankle (or anything else for that matter) in Long Kesh there's nothing like getting the time right. Anyway that's another story. I just want to let you know what I was doing out of the Cage. It's pretty good crack (If you're perfectly healthy) going to see the doctor here. First stop is the cage gate. It opens into a wee wire tunnel. That's where the screws rub you down. Today's rubber-downer has a pretty smile for me; out of the wee wire (the regime calls it an air-lock) then, via the other cage gate. A brisk hobble takes us to the wicker gate in the wall which now surrounds our cages. Three gates within yards of each other with screws at each one. Big screws, wee screws, strong screws, weak screws — screws of all shapes and sizes — smart clean regimental screws, washed out bogging scruffy screws — security screws, visit screws, sports screws, friendly screws, nasty screws. Screws performing all kinds of functions, every role programmed to suit their capabilities — every role programmed to suit our attitudes.

Out of the phase now and on to the road which runs alongside the visiting boxes. Lots of muck about the place. Building workers escorted by screws, sentry boxes inhabited by screws, screws in vans, screws at gates, screws to-ing and fro-ing — all programmed — all functioning well. When I feel fit enough to go to the doctor's I have my own special screw to keep me company. He is a remarkable piece of machinery — I pause, he pauses — I hobble fast, he hobbles fast — I stop, he stops. I smirk at him, he smiles shyly back — I glare at him, he looks away — I address him as 'my good man', he grins stupidly — I ignore him, he observes me sleetily. I go to the doctor's he goes to the doctor's. I think he really hates me. Deep inside his blue uniform, I reckon that he really, really harbours a burning hatred for me. Like I'm not sure of that of course, but if I was him, I would hate me.

Just me and him then. Almost at the doctor's. Brit watchtowers with in range, more building workers, the whole place being assembled on grip work and overtime. Out of the ashes of Long Kesh arose the Maze Prison. That's if they have their way of course. But then that depends on you dear reader, doesn't it. Just like me and my screw, we depend on each other. I wouldn't dream of going to the doctor's without him. Only one more box and one more gate to go. Only one more screw to pass — this one is programmed to open and gates and to write down names. A breakthrough! Usually they train two screws for complicated performances like that. One to open gates, one to do the names. This looks like an experiment. Something like the one-man buses when they came out at first. Inside another cage now, my screw following closely. I'm glad we

both made it. I tell him this and ask him, in my most regal tone, to open the door. He scurries forward, fumbles, takes a reddener, succeeds. I ignore him and we step inside — me into a partitioned 'waiting room' — he into a corner.

No-one else about. I examine the graffiti, '...Joe Blogs,

what's happening. They pretend they don't. They ignore us. The UP gets cockier and pockets the cigarettes I give him. He is about 15 or 16, pale-faced bar the bruising. I ask him for his name he gives me his surname. Almost completely institutionalised. He looks uncomfortable again as I leave, I

I ignore him, he says goodbye. He uses my first name, he cringes. I come through the gates, in by the tunnel. Through the next gate. I stand and watch as my screw hobbles towards the gate in the wall. He glances round, misses me, stops hobbling and walks normally. I shout after him. Startled,

it brings in extra money. What Rees refers to as racketeering. Davy Long, who has made so many enemies, that he's bound to meet a nasty end some day — he'll probably cut out this article and send it off to us if he sees it. He needs that kind of boost to keep his ego going. A screw who likes

SCREWS

15 years! Wait for me Sadie love you...'. '26 into 32 won't go...'. 'This doctor is hereby named Lourdes — If you get cured, it'll be a miracle...'. 'Bump...'. 'Jim O Toole, 12 years...'. 'Mickey...'. 'A whole wall of them. An interesting but unprintable one on the window-sill. Another one about that much maligned old Italian Republican, Red Socks himself. The place is piggling. I sit down, my screw looks

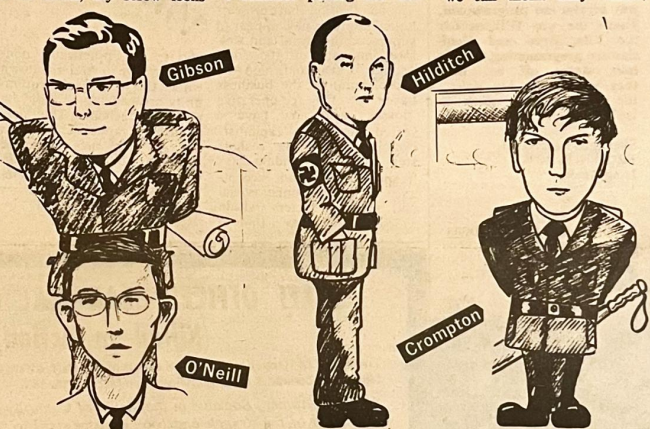
hear the screws say something. Into the doctor's. More screws — three of them in white coats. Clean screws, called medics. We examine my leg together. I wince, wince — I explain how it happened, they nod their heads sympathetically. The doctor prescribes something or the other. The screw with the pen calls me mister. I wonder how they will deal with the YP? I consider pulling the doc-

he starts hobbling again. He doesn't look round, I don't understand why he does it, I don't know why he takes the abuse I give him — I only weight 11 stone and he's at least three stone heavier. He hobbles off out the gate, I go in for my tea.

We discuss O'Brien. Other names crop up. Kidd, Terry Mullan, Irvine, Paddy Magee, Davy Long — all local screws. Northern screws as we call them. Billy 'Adair,

his job — a screw who knows where he wants to go and who is hated by other screws because of the way he climbed over their backs into his present position. He's in charge of security — a firm's man while the money is higher than the risk. Resented by old hands like Dixon because of his going, to take their jobs and hated by the other screws because of the way he does it and scorned by the prisoners because he detests our scorn.

We make more tea — cigarettes and snouth tins are passed around. The names keep popping up: George, who does the beating up in 'B' Wing, Crumling Road. Some of the new lads tell you George and Tommy Steele hammer Republicans who are shifted on punishment from 'A' Wing into 'B' Wing. Mc Clenahan, who takes pleasure from taunting young prisoners on rmand — he doesn't do any beating himself, but leaves that to those who he winds up McConnell, an Assistant Governor who used to take charge of Borstal boys in Armagh — he surpassed himself after rioting in the Crum by pouring urine over an unconscious Republican. Somebody recalls how George had his nose broken when a POW caught him in conditions which were a bit more even. Evans, the Welshman, who puts men in punishment cells and encourages other screws to beat them up. "Why don't they do that here?", somebody asks. "They will if they get the chance. They have the odds with them in the Crum. The boys are divided into tiers and cells. They are all targets after lock-up. The papers won't carry the stories. The screws are cocky when they get prisoners like that — Aye, that's why O'Brien



away again. A young lad combs his hair cut short, tattoos across his stomach knuckles, swelling below his left eye, a bruise on his forehead. He sits down, ill at ease. I grin at him ignoring the screws, and offer him a cigarette. He takes two drags while the screw has his back turned and then hands it back to me. The poor kid is frightened to death. He still hasn't spoken a word. "Do you want some snout, a mhic?"

tor about O'Brien. Just to get rid of my frustrations, just to get shouting a bit. I look at them all and feel lost for a second. Feel like punching all round me. They know there is something wrong — they're programmed for that eventually. They move away — I go out. Past the YP. He pretends he doesn't see me, past the screws — they look sheepish. My own personal screw tags along behind me and he hobbles back. Back past the

Joe Curley, lifelong screws or young ambitious ones. All career men. Adair drives the priests in and out of here and is programmed to check that none of us leave disguised in dog collars. Curley censored parcels, but he's now in charge of the new cell-blocks. He's programmed to take status of political prisoners. Irvine is programmed to do the visits with Jack McKinney. McKinney comes from a long line of screws — following his father's baton

The boys are divided into tiers and cells. They are all targets after lock-up. The papers won't carry the stories.

I give him another drag and wait for his answer, feeling protective I suppose, disdainful of the screws. "Can you get word to Cage 16? About O'Brien. He beat me up — he beats all of us up," he rushes at me in a frenzied whisper. "Who's the OC of 16?" I ask. "We'll get word up today." "It's UDA," he hesitates, then, "But O'Brien's a bastard he beats up both sides. He's the worst screw of the lot."

The screws at the door must know what he's telling me. They must know

gates, across the road. I notice heavy cable beside the wicker gate — they must be going to make it automatic. In past more screws. We head for the cage, but I hobbled past towards the next one. My screw follows uncomplaining. I talk with our Batt. Vice-O.C. at the wire, giving him a rundown on the YP O'Brien. My screw must know what I'm doing — he must know what's happening. He pretends that he doesn't. We part at the cage gate. I wish him a safe journey home, he stares at me.

marks. Paddy Magee used to live in Dermott Hill. Jim Bryson [God bless him] escaped in Paddy's uniform — paddy wasn't programmed to oppose a POW with a gun — he surrendered. He'll do it again, I'm sure — the money's not good. Terry

and his mates beat up YPs. They can't get at us. The whole business of political status prevents him. That's why Rees wants control. He can't get at us. People on the outside will have to on their guard or

By 'Brownie'

Mullen — another Castle Catholic. Plays a lot of golf and is programmed to beat up non-Catholic prisoners on the side. He and old Irvine [an ex-B Special] do a lot of security work nowadays -

he will fool them into deserting the POWs. I can't see our people being fooled that easily. Well, we'll see about that — we can't do

SCREWS

(continued from page 7)

much in here. Nawh, they've stood by us all these years. It'll be fair crack anyway these next few months...' We pass around more cigarettes, a few lads leave to catch the news, the conversation goes on.

Outside our huts the screws continue their patrols. Outside our cages they hunch against the wind. At their gates they jangle keys. In sentry boxes they huddle against the cold. Don't ask me why they do it. I'm not programmed like they are — I couldn't give you an answer. It took the British Army, the RUC, a goon dressed as a judge and a few Special Branch men to get me in here. Screws serve life sentences voluntarily. Well, for fifty pounds a week plus overtime, I don't really hate them. I'm not so much against anything, it's just what I'm for a lot of things that screws are against — things like National Unity, equality, Things like a Britless Ireland and a Socialist Republic — things like no more sectarianism, no more need for killing. Things like peace.

Only I don't think we'll get things like that while screws oppose us. Not without fighting anyway. There's not enough money in our game, or in these things for screws to support us, or them.

They'd rather take their risks for a few extra pounds. I don't much mind them doing that as long as they understand the risks. You see, nobody likes screws. No-one likes thinking of Paddy Teer dead in the prison 'hospital.' Teddy Campbell dying his last few years here to be released to a premature grave. Jim Moyne breathing his last agonising breath against all the wire, all the screws and all the gates between his cage and the doctor's. Frankie Dodds dying at the gate of the cage — just outside the wee wire tunnel.

My personal screw shined when I called him an idiot. He is programmed to do that. If he had me on my own in solitary he wouldn't whine — not while he had assistance. Not if I was without status. Not if I had me the way they had Jim Moyne, Frank Stagg, Paddy Teer, Michael Gaughan, Teddy Campbell, Frankie Dodds. That's the way screws are programmed. That's the way O'Brien has the YPs. Rees and Heldridge are programming them to take status off us. Only they won't take big risks — the money isn't worth it. Isn't that right, idiot?

Slán agus beannacht,
BROWNIE, POW,
Long Kesh.

ANDERSONSTOWN CO-OP..... EIRE NUA IN REVERSE

(The concept of certain sections of the Eire Nua document becoming an immediate reality grew within the confines of Long Kesh. The Andersonstown Co-operative became a physical manifestation of that reality, an opportunity for the working-class to actively participate in economic resistance to local capitalism, however symbolic. That the co-operative should now display symptoms of 'pro-capitalism' on the one hand, while creating the potential for counter-insurgency exploitation on the other hand is now a matter for serious consideration.

The purchasing of the Suffolk Inn presented the most vivid indication that 'pro-capitalist' interests now appear to supercede the social and welfare interests of the local people. It also confirmed the consolidation of the business base of the co-operative 'bosses' who now have a vested interest in 'capitalist' exploitation. It is but a short step now to middle-class 'respectability' and acceptance of the economic, social and political system within which war exist. At a time of

great social need within Nationalist working-class areas the spending of vast sums of money on non-essential priorities must be seriously questioned. Could the money not have been more 'profitably' spent in areas such as Ballymurphy, where facilities for the educational development of local school-children, involved in non-academic act-

That the co-operative movement should be a vehicle for British, counter-insurgency operations is not so illogical as it might first appear. If one recalls similar operations in 1973/74 when a local self-help group idea, backed by the Rowntree Trust, was greatly publicised, apprehension is a natural reaction. That large amounts of money should be made freely available through the British financial system can only increase this apprehension. The objective, it appears, is the 're-habilitation' of ex-internees, and the de-politicisation of the armed struggle by 'financial inducement.' If a man can be induced to consider his own self interest a priority above the interests of the Nation and its people as a whole, then these objectives have been secured.

The 'Buying back Ireland' theory, which has been quoted by some of the co-operative's 'executives', can now be seen as an indication, not only of their political limitations, but as confirmation that in at least one area the counter-surgency operations of the British might well have 'succeeded.'

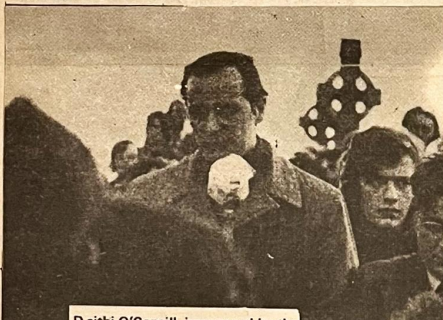
BY
VINDICATOR

ivities, are practically non-existent? Or in Andersonstown where the local Gaelic community are seeking to build on all-Gaelic school? The purchase of 'capitalist' interests does not just mean ultimate isolation for the working-classes, it is also a direct contradiction to the revolutionary struggle for National Independence.

STAFF OFFICER SEAN MAC DIARMADA (Killed in Action)

The Editor of Republican News, on behalf of the staff, offers sincerest condolences to the family and comrades of Staff Officer Sean Mac Diarmada.

"A Revolutionary Socialist in the mould of Connolly and Mellows, he knew the nature of the struggle and took positive steps to smash the hold of British imperialism in Ireland. He died, as he would have wished, with a gun in his hand. We make his sacrifice an inspiration as we strive to fulfill Sean's dream."



D aithi O'Conaill, imprisoned by the Blueshirts in an attempt to wreck the bi-lateral truce, is now back on Freedom Street. Best wishes from all at REPUBLICAN NEWS'

EASTER RISING

1916

DIAMOND JUBILEE

1976

DINNER DANCE

in aid of REPUBLICAN PRISONERS' DEPENDANTS

IN

**BOYNE VALLEY HOTEL
Drogheda**

FRIDAY, 23rd APRIL, 1976

Music by

MAHER FAMILY plus TRAVELLING JOHN
Ballad Group

Bar Extension

Dance 9—2

SUBSCRIPTION - - - £3

GOVERNOR NEVER SET EYES ON

FRANK STAGG

Alexander Solshenitsyn
Please Note!

Prisons must be made so unpleasant that no body will risk it, even if it means Russian-type labour camps, says the journal of the Association of Magisterial Officers. Well, we have for news for you 'administrators of Justice', that is precisely what your prisons are like. Take Wakefield for instance...The Governor admitted at the Inquest into the death of Frank Stagg that he had not once been see him during the 61 day hungerstrike, he left the welfare of the prisoner entirely in the hands of the Medical Officer. Even Lord Widgery is not prepared to accept the credibility of M.O.'s.

Hughes, McCrystal, McElean

(Fourth Anniversary)

In proud and loving memory of Volunteers Sammy Hughes, Charlie McCrystal, Jackie McElean, killed on Active Service, April 17, 1972. — R.I.P. Always remembered by Joseph Cunningham Sinn Fein Cumann, Newtownabbey.

Staff Officer Sean McDermott I.R.A.

G.H.Q. Staff and Army Council

Oglaigh na hEireann

Republican Movement, Belfast, comprising
Belfast Brigade Oglaigh na hEireann
(1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th Bats).

Cumann na mBan

Cumann nagCalliní

na Pianna Eireann

Republican Political Prisoners

Auxiliary units, Oglaigh na hEireann

Sinn Fein

National Graves Association

deeply regret the death of

**Staff Officer Sean McDermott,
1st Batt. Oglaigh na hEireann**

(killed in action)

and extend deepest sympathy to his Mother and Family
Imeach Laasca na hEireann, hEilathas de go Rabb se.