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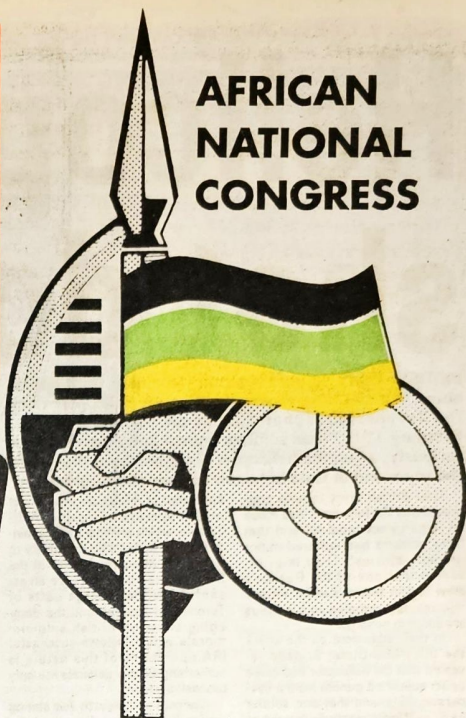
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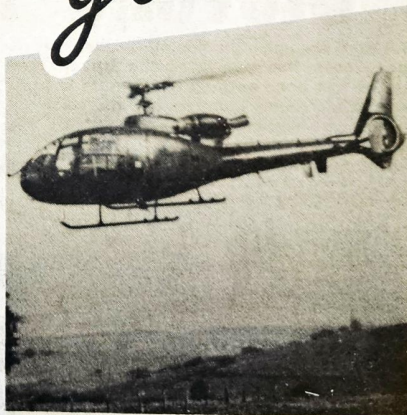
AFRICAN
NATIONAL
CONGRESS



Mandela FREED



*The armed
struggle
goes on*



IRA SHOOT DOWN HELICOPTER

Helicopter shot down

BRITISH ARMY sources are still remaining tight-lipped about the shooting down of a Gazelle helicopter near the Tyrone/Monaghan border on Sunday evening, February 11th. Three soldiers were injured, one of them seriously, when the helicopter was shot from the sky in the townland of Gala between Augher and Aughnacloy.

First British army reports suggested that the helicopter had made an 'emergency landing' and that three soldiers had suffered minor 'impact injuries'. They later revealed that one of the Gazelle's crew had in fact sustained serious injuries and remains in a serious condition in hospital.

In their statement on the attack the IRA's Mid-Ulster Brigade revealed that the helicopter had come under sustained gunfire from a five-person ASU, and that one soldier had suffered serious gunshot wounds in the attack. The statement said:

"A five-person ASU, armed with two general purpose machine-guns and three AK47 assault rifles identified and opened fire on the helicopter which was carrying four British soldiers. Our ASU fired approximately 300 rounds. It is our firm belief that one of the soldiers sustained gunshot wounds. This latest attack once again demonstrates our resourcefulness and our ability to strike at the British forces at will."

The refusal of British army sources to confirm the shooting down of the Gazelle and its crew is in keeping with a long-standing pol-

icy aimed at minimising the effect of IRA operations against helicopters, which are vital to the maintenance of Britain's limited ability to operate in many rural areas of the Six Counties. Helicopters are an essential lifeline in large parts of Tyrone and Armagh and the damaging effect on British soldiers' morale which follows successful IRA operations of this nature is something British generals are only too well aware of.

Concern will also be felt among senior British army figures at the IRA's ability to shoot down aircraft using general purpose machine-guns, which are a comparatively light weapon unlike the Browning 50/50 or 12.7mm anti-aircraft guns used in previous IRA attacks on helicopters.

The first shooting down of a helicopter came in February 1977 when the IRA's South Armagh Brigade brought down a craft near Bessbrooke, killing two soldiers, one of whom, Lt Col Ian Cordon Lloyd, was the highest-ranking soldier to die here. In another attack that year the windscreen of a helicopter was shattered and the occupants were slightly injured when the helicopter was shot at.

Other attacks followed on May 7th 1981 when a helicopter was sprayed with heavy machine-gun fire not far from Jonesborough; on July 20th 1982 when a helicopter crash-landed outside Jonesborough after being struck by fire from an M60 machine-gun; on May 12th 1983 when two British soldiers were seriously injured by heavy automatic fire when their low-flying helicopter was sprayed near Silverbridge not far from Crossmaglen; on May 24th 1985 a Wessex troop carrier came under sustained fire from two Browning 50/50 machine-guns and an M60 machine-gun and on June 23rd

1988 when IRA Volunteers filmed the shooting down of a Lynx helicopter flying from Bessbrooke to Crossmaglen.

This latest attack in County Tyrone may, like previous attacks, be played down in public, but for the soldiers flying helicopters to keep the border lifeline open and for those isolated troops dependant on helicopters for everything from food to life itself, Sunday's attack is a timely reminder of just how vulnerable that lifeline is.

BRITISH SOLDIER INJURED

One British soldier suffered serious blast injuries in Belfast on Wednesday, February 7th, when the mobile patrol with which he was travelling came under landmine attack in the Turf Lodge area of West Belfast.

The soldier who was injured was standing in a raised firing position in the rear of one of two jeeps which were making their way along the Monagh by-pass on the edge of the Turf Lodge estate when the attack occurred.

In claiming responsibility for the attack the IRA's Belfast Brigade said that the soldier suffered blast and shrapnel injuries when one of their ASUs detonated a landmine containing a substantial quantity of Semtex and shrapnel, which had

been concealed at the edge of the carriageway.

SHORTS POSITION CLARIFIED

The following is the full text of a supplied statement issued by the IRA on Saturday, February 10th:

"A statement issued by the Belfast Brigade, IRA, on Wednesday, February 7th, after a successful mission in the military section of Shorts has been the basis of some speculation in the press and misrepresentation by anti-republicans.

"Because of the possible confusion in the minds of the general public it has been decided to clarify the situation. IRA policy, as has been stated on numerous occasions, is to take all necessary precautions to avoid casualties amongst innocent civilians.

"There will be no departure from that principle and ordinary workers in Shorts or elsewhere have nothing to fear. However, we do reserve the right, as in the past, to target individuals who play a significant role in the maintenance of the British war machine.

"The IRA has no intention of planting bombs without adequate warning in any area where the risk of non-combatant casualties exists."



● The remains of the Gazelle helicopter shot down by the IRA

Leakers escape Stevens' net

FAR from stemming the tide of so-called security leaks, five months on the Stevens' Inquiry has done nothing to alleviate the fears of increasing numbers of nationalist families who have been informed by the RUC that their personal details are in the hands of loyalist death-squads.

With the number of nationalists informed that their 'secret files' are in the hands of loyalist death-squads reaching 800, following the discovery of yet more missing files on Monday, February 12th, the RUC informed a further 40 families in Derry and seven in Portadown that they were at risk from 'people with criminal intent'.

In the isolated nationalist areas of Portadown, whose vulnerability to loyalist attack has a well documented history, tension has mounted with the revelation that not only have more names been discovered to be on loyalist death-lists but that the RUC were aware of this

for over three weeks before they informed those whose lives were at risk.

INFORMATION AVAILABLE

As local Sinn Féin spokesperson, Johnny Dignam, pointed out that official information is seemingly abundantly available to loyalist killers. When it has come to informing victims of the collusion conspiracy the response of the RUC has been neither prompt or comprehensive, a laxity endorsed by the recent ruling in Belfast High Court which upheld the RUC chief constable's decision to withhold the nature of the details

leaked to loyalist death-squads from their potential victims

In Derry where the number of families at risk is now running into hundreds, local speculation has linked the latest discovery of leaked information with the arrest of Cecil McKnight, a member of the UDA Inner Council.

Condemning the Stevens' Inquiry Sinn Féin Councillor Mitchel McLaughlin, who was recently informed for the third time of plots to kill him, said the Stevens' Inquiry had been an exercise in capturing those who are receiving files not those who are leaking them.

Since the Laughlin Maginn murder, all of those charged with possession of leaked information have been loyalist paramilitaries, the Stevens' Inquiry has made no ground in identifying the leakers or the orchestrators of leaks within



● Getting their priorities 'right'—the RUC remain loyal to the crown the RUC itself, demonstrating clearly that Stevens, like Stalker before him, is running into a brick wall as far as RUC co-operation with his inquiry is concerned.

STATE SEEKS APPROVAL FOR BRITISH BRUTALITY

TORTURE INQUIRY DEMANDED

JIM CLARKE from Letterkenny, whose case mirrors that of the Guildford Four and the Birmingham Six, took his battle against extradition to the Dublin Supreme Court on Tuesday. The outcome could have serious implications for civil rights in the 26 Counties.

Clarke was convicted by a Diplock court in 1979 and received an 18-year sentence. The only evidence against him was a forced confession obtained in 1977 after a series of beatings by the RUC in Strand Road, Derry and Omagh RUC barracks. Like the Guildford Four, his 'confession' was extracted by violence. He escaped from Long Kesh in 1983 but was re-arrested in the 26 Counties a year later. Now the British government is seeking his extradition.

In July last year Judge Costello ruled in the Dublin High Court that Clarke should be extradited, brushing aside an appeal from the Donegal man to inquire into the way in which his 'confession' was obtained. Costello did not deny that the confession was obtained by force. But he said that the 26-County courts had no right to inquire into what went on in RUC cus-

today. On Tuesday, Jim Clarke challenged this ruling before the Supreme Court. His barrister Frank Clarke reminded the five Supreme Court judges that the Donegal man signed two other statements involving him in separate attacks but that these were not used against him. "He was not charged in any way over these statements," said the barrister. The fact that the statements "do not appear to have been accepted even by the prosecuting authority, would seem to show they were obtained under duress."

PUNCHED & SLAPPED

Jim Clarke was slapped in the face, punched in the stomach and kidneys and was dragged into a standing position by pulling his hair. When his mother first saw him after his interrogation he was clad only in his underpants and bloodied

clumps of hair fell from his head when he ran his fingers through his hair.

"There is a strong prima facie case that the statement on which this conviction is based was procured by ill-treatment," said Frank Clarke. The 1987 Extradition Act says that extradition should be avoided in "exceptional circumstances" and the barrister argued that Jim Clarke's case fell into this category.

The Donegal man named his torturers in affidavits to the Supreme Court but the British government did not provide the court with affidavits from these named individuals. Frank Clarke argued that, if the British denial that the torture took place was to be believed, it would surely have to provide statements from those whom Clarke accused.

Before the 1979 Diplock court case which followed the torture, Jim Clarke pleaded 'not guilty' to a charge of attempting to kill a British soldier. But when his friend Paddy McIntyre who was tried with him refused to recognise the court, Clarke told his counsel to



● Jim Clarke leaves Dublin's Supreme Court on Tuesday, February 13th

make no submission.

RIGHTS BREACHED

The Supreme Court judges repeatedly quizzed Frank Clarke about this fact and the Donegal man's barrister pointed out that his client's refusal to plead did not change the fundamentals of the case. There was still a principle involved — one of defending Jim Clarke's constitutional rights which were breached when he was 'fitted up' with a false confession after beatings.

Frank Clarke argued that the Supreme Court had a duty to inquire into the interrogations which occurred in Derry and Omagh in 1977 before it could even think of extraditing his client.

Edward Comyn replied for the state with a brutally short submission which perfectly reflected the real attitude of the Dublin government to British 'justice'. In spite of the injustices suffered by the Guildford Four and the Birmingham

Six, Comyn argued that "the very basis of extradition, if there is to be extradition at all, is that there is a trust in the procedures of the requesting country". In other words: Irish lawyers have no rights to question British courts.

TORTURE PROVED

Answering him, Frank Clarke pointed out that the effect of his words would be to rule out any inquiry by the Dublin Supreme Court, even in cases where it had already been proved that torture went on. Irish people would be handed over simply at the whim of a British judge. That would make it impossible for the state to defend the constitutional rights of its own citizens.

The Supreme Court is now considering the submission made on behalf of Jim Clarke and will rule on it in the next few weeks. If it does not block Clarke's extradition, its claims to independence will be laughable.

NARROW VOTE FOR HAUGHEY'S DEAL

BY TOM O'DWYER

AT A sharp debate in Liberty Hall, Dublin, the Irish Congress of Trade Unions (ICTU) voted on February 8th to retain the much-criticised Programme for 'National' Recovery by 180 votes to 141. The outcome was a disappointment but not a surprise to opponents of the tripartite deal between the Haughey government, the employers and the unions.

The narrowness of the vote to keep the agreement was welcomed publicly by unions such as MSF (Manufacturing, Science and Finance Union) which led a consistent campaign to ditch it. But many supporters of the Programme privately welcomed the close outcome which will strengthen their hands in any further negotiations with the Fianna Fail/DPD Coalition.

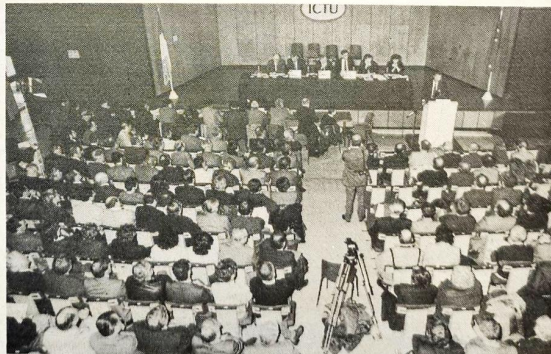
The three-year agreement has only just over six months to run and already government ministers are putting out feelers for a successor. The current programme proved very useful for the Fianna Fail government when it was first agreed in 1987. Charles Haughey was able to claim that he had brought together 'the national partners' in a deal which held wages back while promising 20,000 new jobs per year.

While the unions played

their part, employers often refused even to pay the miserly £4 wage increase for the lowest paid. The government did provide some new jobs but far more were lost. There was a tiny drop in unemployment but 46,000 people emigrated from the state in the last year. To make matters worse, inflation rose to 4.7% in 1988 and the 3% wage 'increase' became a wage cut.

SHOCK, THEN FEAR

The ICTU executive was shocked at last year's annual conference in Bundoran when a motion to call a special conference to reconsider the pact was successful. A group of unions, including MSF, the ATGWU, the Bakers' Union and ASTI, the secondary teachers' union came together to fight the deal. Shock turned into fear for the executives when, for a while, it seemed



● Delegates gather to vote on the retention of the Programme for 'National' Recovery

as if its opponents might be successful.

A spurious but dangerous row erupted over voting procedure. For years certain unions with members on both sides of the border have voted on all matters using their full complement of delegates.

Suddenly the executive called on these unions to vote only with the number of delegates which would reflect their

26-County membership. It was no coincidence that almost all of these unions were opposed to the PNR. The effect of the executive's call was to further partition a movement which has been seriously weakened by the border.

But as delegates began to appear at the Liberty Hall conference it became quite clear that the executive would win. The executive called on

Northern delegates of MSF, the Bakers' Union and two delegates from Derry Trades Council (which also represents some 26-County workers) not to vote on the matter but its call was rejected.

PREDICTABLE

The debate followed predictable lines. Peter Cassells and Billy Attley of the executive warned that if the agreement

was voted down, the movement would never again be able to negotiate a pact with any government. They argued that a negative vote would mean the unions were breaking "unilaterally" with the programme.

This point was taken up by John Tierney of MSF who said: "We're not breaking this agreement. It's already broken. The private sector has already broken it."

A succession of speakers dealt with various aspects of the Programme, following lines agreed well in advance. Seán Redmond of the municipal employees' trade union (METU) noted this fact and drew laughter when he suggested that a 'psychiatrist might wonder why we inflict such a debate on ourselves' instead of just voting on the matter.

Among the more surprising speeches came from John O'Dowd of the civil servants' union CPSSU who was vitriolic in his condemnation of those opposed to the deal. This was in spite of the fact that a good number of his less well-off members suffered directly under it.

Although supporters of the deal won the day, it was obvious that any further agreement would have to provide very substantial benefits to working people and the unemployed before it could be accepted.

Cookstown Discrimination Condemned

FOLLOWING an investigation into the employment practices of a Cookstown company, Blue Circle Cement Ltd, local Sinn Féin Councillor Sean Begley has called for an immediate freeze on all British government and EC grants to the company until the massive sectarian imbalance in the Cookstown plant is rectified.

The plant is situated in an area which is evenly mixed between Catholics and Protestants but only 18% of its workforce is Catholic. This figure is even worse than in 1985 when Sinn Féin drew the attention of the Fair Employment Agency to the plant's disproportionate workforce.

Calling for immediate action by the now renamed Fair Employment Commission, Councillor Begley said:

"The levels of discrimination at the Blue Circle plant are not unusu-

al. Report after report from voluntary and statutory agencies have produced unequivocal evidence of structured political and religious discrimination. Last year's continuous household survey actually reported that discrimination against Catholics has in fact increased in recent years despite British government claims that its anti-discrimination legislation is working. Moreover the new Fair Employment Act introduced last July is so weak and ineffective that no one seriously believes that it can reduce the



● SEAN BEGLEY
disparity between Catholics and Protestants.

"Sinn Féin intends to continue highlighting this outrage and will use the Blue Circle situation as an example of the ineffectiveness of so-called anti-discrimination legislation."

DISCRIMINATION IN UNIVERSITY

A REPORT compiled by the Fair Employment Commission (FEC) reveals continuing discrimination at the second largest higher education establishment in the Six Counties.

The report to be released shortly points out that, despite a pledged commitment to equality of opportunity and after six years of 'co-operation with the FEC', the University of Ulster still employs four times as many Protestants as Catholics.

The largest of the university's four campuses, Jordanstown, employs the lowest number of Catholics who make up only 17% of the workforce, a proportion reflected in both the Belfast and Coleraine campuses.

In the all too familiar pattern of

discrimination, Catholics, even where they do have jobs, are in the majority in lower salary positions. Key employment areas remain overwhelmingly Protestant reserves. In the highest pay band Catholics account only for 16% of the total. In the Belfast campus only two of the academic staff are Catholic.

Implicit in the report's findings, but a consideration which the report fails to address, is a condemnation of the effectiveness of the Fair Employment Commission itself. Despite the university's compliance with the FEC over a considerable period of years, glaring discrimination continues throughout the establishment. The report not only illustrates the inherent weakness in existing legislation and strategies, but also the absolute imperative to adopt the kind of goals and timetables advocated by supporters of the MacBride Principles.

BRITS DESTROY BORDER ROAD

THE British army closed the Lenamore to Muff road on Thursday, February 8th, using metal tanks which were filled with concrete.

The Lenamore to Muff road is one of the 15 linking Derry City with its natural hinterland of Donegal, which were first closed by the British army in 1974.

As part of an ongoing campaign being waged in the area, the Lenamore to Muff road has been re-opened on three occasions. Fifteen people, including three Sinn Féin councillors, have been charged with interfering with the border crossing there.

The British army actions are completely contrary to the stated wishes of the people living in the area, over 3,000 of whom have signed a petition which the Derry Donegal Cross-Border Community Association is currently circulating around the greater Shantallow area calling for the Lenamore road to be re-opened on a permanent basis.

Condemning the British army's actions the Shantallow Sinn Féin councillor on Derry City Council, Gearóid O hEara, said that the road had now been completely destroyed.



● British army close Lenamore to Muff Road on Thursday, February 8th

BORDER-BUSTERS WORK ON

ON SUNDAY last a large group of local farmers gathered at the Mount Forest border crossing on the Tyrone/Monaghan border and carried out additional work in their ongoing efforts to complete the re-opening of this major crossing which links Emyvale in County Monaghan and Clogher in County Tyrone.

The South Tyrone/North Monaghan Community Association has been carrying out work on this particular crossing over a long period

of time. It has already been able to ensure a free flow of farm vehicles over it in the past few weeks and extensive surfacing work is ongoing

and will continue until it is accessible to all road users. This work is a protracted and major undertaking which entails much cost, especially in terms of surfacing material. Several lorry-loads of fine stones have already been delivered.

During the course of the work on Sunday, some 40-50 men and women were disturbed in their work by the sound of nearby gunfire. The crowd initially dispersed

into the 26 Counties as they feared they may have come under fire from the British army. When it became clear that there was no danger they regrouped and got back to work. It was later learnt that the IRA, which had been operating close by, had shot down a British army reconnaissance helicopter which had been observing the border road-works.

NO SHOVELS SEIZED

All cars leaving the area were later stopped and searched by a large force of gardai and heavily-armed Special Branch detectives, backed up by the 26-County army. Despite the long delays there were

no arrests and according to the association's chairperson Jimmy McKenna, "no shovels were seized".

He later, along with association secretary Mary Treanor, repeated an earlier request that more and more people should involve themselves in the association's work as there was still a considerable number of roads to be re-opened or completed. Both paid tribute to the courage of those who have come out week after week despite the threat to their safety such as the indiscriminate firing of plastic bullet rounds at workers at the nearby Ballagh Bridge crossing some weeks ago.

BRUTALISED IN INTERROGATION CENTRES

WITH intensive British crown forces operations continuing to heighten tension in County Tyrone, three men who have been targeted for constant harassment were arrested and taken to interrogation centres following the latest series of dawn raids in the county.

During four days of intensive interrogation, the lives of all three were continually threatened. Taunted about the collusion and the leak of documents to loyalist death squads, Kevin McMenamin was told "we even know which side of the bed you sleep on and some night you'll go to sleep and not wake up again". As his photograph was taken an RUC man said: "This would look good on a wall in

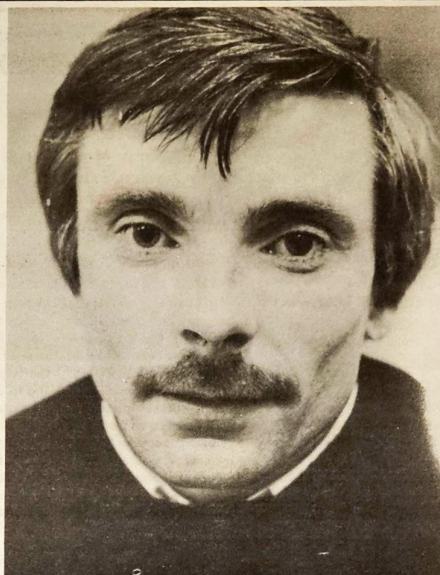
Belfast."

Padraig O Seanachain, who narrowly escaped a loyalist attempt on his life last year, was told: "Next time we'll get it right". Outlining his experience in Castlereagh he said: "They seemed to devote entire interrogation sessions to threatening me with assassination, either by British forces or loyalists. I always take this kind of thing seriously, but I know it is used as a

psychological weapon, an attempt to get you to say and do what they want."

DAWN RAID

Speaking of his experience in the same interrogation centre, Eamon McGarvey who had details of his personal security arrangements noted during the dawn raid in which he was arrested, said: "While I was being interrogated, the security details



● KEVIN MCMENAMIN

at my home were brought up and they threatened these would be passed to the UVF."

Mindful of the history of controversy surrounding assaults during interrogations, the interrogators in these cases as in many others confined themselves to the techniques of slapping around the head, and lifting their victims by inserting two fingers up their nostrils, painful in themselves but designed to leave no marks.

McGarvey records: "I was continually slapped in the face. At times one RUC interrogator would smack me across the face while another thumped the top of my head. One RUC man pushed his fingers up my nose

and forced my head back, lifting me off the seat. I was held like this for long periods and beaten for most of one interrogation session on the second day."

The third man, Kevin McMenamin from Omagh, was held in Gough Interrogation Centre for three days. During his time with his interrogators an attempt was made to recruit him as an informer.

"I was offered £1,000 for any name and was told if I passed information about 'a really big job' I would be given £10,000 and a new life in America or Australia. I remained silent."

Complaints about these incidents have been passed by all three men to their solicitors.



● Padraig O Seanachain and Eamon McGarvey

PLAYING FIELDS NOT KILLING FIELDS

TORRENTIAL RAIN could not dampen the anger of West Belfast parents, as they protested against the construction of a motorway by-pass only yards from their Twinbrook homes.

The parents, carrying placards bearing the slogans 'playing fields not killing fields' and 'houses not roads', gathered in driving rain on Thursday, February 8th, to stage a one-hour road closure at Summerhill Road.

The protesters, who were representing the Concerned Parents' Against the By-pass Group (CPAT-BG) and the Twinbrook Tenants and Community Association (TTACA), demanded an immediate meeting in the area with the Department of the Environment (DOE) who had given the go-ahead to build the motorway despite local representations and petitions on the issue.

Local residents and parents have been consistently warning that the by-pass will cut off the local St Colm's School from the estate, and will, at the very least, endanger the lives of the 200 pupils forced to cross it each day. They have threatened to block work on the construction site if the DOE fails to meet them within the week. Speaking on behalf of the parents, Brendan

Morgan said that local residents were opposed to the whole idea of a major road within yards of their homes but were particularly worried about the risk to children. He continued:

"The sectarian bigotry of unionist-controlled Lisburn Council has denied any play facilities for children in this estate, now even the wasteground on which our children play is to be replaced with a by-pass, which will immediately endanger them and force them into the added risk of playing on streets busy with local traffic."

POLLUTION

Commenting on the noise pollution and emissions of lead from the expected heavy volume of motorway traffic which would be routed past the estate, Annie Armstrong of the TTACA called on residents of the adjacent Protestant Areams estate "to come and picket with us as it will affect them and theirs as much as it will us".



● Twinbrook residents protest against motorway by-pass

Referring to the underlying sectarian intent of the motorway, Armstrong said:

"This roadway has been designed not only to divide local

Protestant and Catholic communities but to cut off and isolate Twinbrook from the only industrial estate in the locality. This by-pass is perceived locally as the clear mani-

festation of the sectarian jaundiced outlook of Lisburn Council's bigots who wish to isolate, deprive and contain our community. We however, are not taking this lying down."

Jail threat to service charge campaigners

THE FIGHT against the double taxation of service charges has escalated in Cork with the prosecution of 40 people for non-payment. The resisters to the charges have been told that they will face imprisonment within two weeks if they continue to refuse to pay.

The district court in Cork was crowded on Friday, February 9th, when the 40 defendants were brought up to answer the case taken against them by Cork Corporation. The judge issued examination orders which compel the defendants to show their income. They were ordered to pay between £5 and £20 per month to pay off their arrears in service charges.

One of those before the court was Brendan O'Neill of the Cork No 3 Branch of SIFTU. Justice Clifford refused him permission to read out the Fianna Fáil manifesto in the last local elections in which that party pledged its opposition to the service charges which it is now implementing all over the 26 Counties.

OPPOSITION CENTRE

Cork has been a centre of opposition to the charges but the politicians and the city manager in City Hall are determined to force the issue to the point of sending people to jail. Kathleen Lynch of Cork Corporation was in the court to read out the amount of arrears owed by the defendants. The judge said that there would be committal orders for the jailing of the resisters if they continued their refusal to pay.

Several of the defendants, including Brendan O'Neill who has not paid the charges since 1984, vowed to continue their protest even if it meant going to jail.

The court was picketed by members of the Ballyphehane Tenants' Association. Among the picketers was Sinn Féin community worker Joe O'Callaghan who commented:

"This is a new twist in the service charges saga. People should not forget that the politicians whose policies are threatening to imprison people were the same ones who voiced opposition to service charges and were elected on that basis. They should resign and the campaign against this unfair taxation should continue."

Monaghan TD targeted

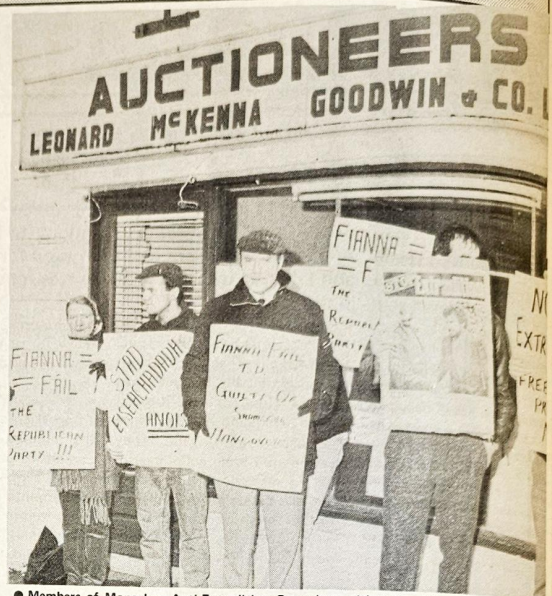
A REPRESENTATIVE protest was organised by the County Monaghan Anti-Extradition Committee on Saturday last in Monaghan town outside the Political Office and Auctioneers business of local Fianna Fáil TD, Jimmy Leonard, a strong supporter of the Dublin government's current policy of extradition of republican activists.

His extreme bitterness today can be traced back to the loss of his seat to IRA hunger-striker Kieran Doherty, elected TD for Cavan/Monaghan in 1981. The protest displayed posters calling on the Fianna Fáil/DPD government to immediately cease its current extradition policy. A letter of protest was given to the deputy, who was in his office meeting constituents for the entire length of the almost two-hour protest. A number of people attending the office were asked to raise the extradition issue with the TD and most confirmed afterwards that they had indeed done so.

The letter, while dealing with the whole issue of ex-

tradition, gave special attention to the case of Dermot Finucane, who is likely to be handed over to the RUC at the Tyholland border crossing in County Monaghan. Monaghan county councillor and chairperson of the County Monaghan Anti-Extradition Committee Caoimhghin O Caoláin said afterwards that this protest was but the first in a series planned:

"Fianna Fáil has turned its back on its traditional supporters, choosing instead to court its new 'yuppie' following with their pro-British tendencies and opposition to the nationalist cause. Haughey can continue down this road at his peril."



● Members of Monaghan Anti-Extradition Committee picket the office of local Fianna Fáil TD Jimmy Leonard



● CHRISTY BURKE

DUBLIN'S RENTS INCREASE

DUBLIN CORPORATION is attempting to make Dublin's working class foot the bill for central government cutbacks in funding to local authorities.

Up to 38,000 Corporation tenants face the prospect of rent increases of £1.50 a week which will

further erode their meagre living standards.

The latest rent hikes should be

seen against a background of cutbacks which have led to a run down of Corporation services and created a major housing crisis in Dublin city and county.

Three thousand families are on the housing list waiting to be allocated a home while another 6,000 are on the transfer list waiting for more suitable accommodation yet no new houses were built by the Corporation last year.

The existing housing stock is badly run down and is in need of £147 million for maintenance and refurbishment but only £19 million has been allocated to it.

NO NEW HOUSES

The housing stock is diminishing due to the sale of Corporation dwellings and because no new houses are being built. Young people have almost no hope of accommodation in the communities in which they were raised and families living in overcrowded conditions have little prospect of a transfer to adequately sized housing while the plight of Dublin's homeless is set to continue.

Last week Dublin City Council passed a motion to suspend the rent increases until there was a full debate on the issue. During the meeting Sinn Féin City Councillor Christy Burke said that "even a 50p rent increase could mean removing a loaf of bread from a family table".

Councillor Burke voted against the annual Dublin Corporation estimates last December which provided for the latest increases.

"It is a scandal," he said "that £3,000 million annually is allowed to be drained out of this state in untaxed profits while Dublin Corporation tenants, 70% of whom are living on social welfare, are being made to fork out more in rent from the little money they have."

Solicitor wins libel case

BELFAST SOLICITOR, P J McGorry, who represented the families of Sen McCann, Mairéad Farrell and Sean Savage during the Gibraltar inquest into their killings, has won an undisclosed six-figure sum in damages against the owners of the Today newspaper, News (UK) Ltd.

The damages were awarded on Wednesday, February 14th, following a two-day hearing before Judge McCollum and a six-person jury.

During the course of the trial the editor of Today, David Montgomery from Bangor, County Down, said that he would apologise to McGorry given the latter's obvious affront at the content of an article published by his paper on July 6th, 1988, but added that he did not accept that the comments were defamatory.

The article in question, which appeared under the title "SAS must face provocation lawyers says coroner", stated "To expose undercover British soldiers to lawyers, who are effectively promoting the IRA's propaganda war, would be to condemn these men and their families to a lifetime under constant threat of IRA revenge."

On the Wednesday morning McCollum called the jury who were to resume the hearing at 10.30am and informed them that they could recess until after lunch. Lawyers for both sides then began discussions aimed at reaching a settlement. Without the jury being recalled, Frazer Elliott who appeared for the defendant, read a prepared statement of settlement to the court which unreservedly apologised to McGorry and accepted that the disputed article was defamatory. It also included acknowledgement that the defendant had agreed to meet McGorry's costs and pay a substantial sum in damages.

After Frazer's statement to the court McGorry's solicitor revealed that a settlement on similar grounds had been reached in two other libel actions against Express Newspapers PLC and Express Newspapers and John Junor over articles which appeared in the Daily Star on July 5th and in the Sunday Express on July 10th, 1988.

Asked by reporters outside the court to comment on who he thought was behind the British press campaign against him McGorry pointedly posed the question "Who were my opposition in Gibraltar?"

EISEACHADHADH

— CEIST PHOLAITIÚIL

BH'os cionn 80 duine i láthair ag cruinniú ar an téama "Eiseachadh — Ceist Díl Nó Ceist Pholaitiúil" in Óstán an Russell Court, Dé Céadaoin, Feabhra 7.

D'oscail fite Ní Chionnaith, iar-uachtarán Chonradh na Gaeilge an cruinniú, ar a ndearna si cathaoirleacht. Thagair si don chúil ón náisiúnachas agus ó spiorad 1916 a bhí le sonrú sa tír agus dúirt si gur cheadaigh an athrú meoin seo eiseachadh agus go gcaithfí troid ina aghaidh.

Bé Séamus Ó Tuathail, abhcóide, an chéad cainteoir, agus thug sé cur síos an-soiléir ar dli an eiseachadha agus an tionchar polaitiúil a bhí i mír go láidir air. Thagair sé don am a dhíoltaigh an Breitheamh Cearbhaill Ó Dálaigh Séan Burke a eiseachadh go Sasana tar éis dó cuidiú le éalú an spíodóra Blake ón bpríosún. Tháinig athrú iomlán ansin le cás Dominic McGlinchey agus saimhiní nua an Bhreitheimh O'Higgins a chuir deireadh le cosaint ar eiseachadh i gcásanna polaitiúla.

Ó thaobh an tionchar pholaitiúil de rinneadh iarracht ar phoblachtánaigh in Éirinn a chuir ar aon chéim le grúpaí cois na lucht Baader Meinhof sa Ghearmáin agus na Briogáid Dearga san Iodáil, nach cosúil iad in aon chor (mar nach bhfuil coimhlint náisiúnach ar siúl acu) nuair a síníodh an Coinbhinsiún Eorpach chun Sceimhlitheoireacht a Chosc. Dúirt Ó Tuathail go raibh súil ag lucht údaráis go ndéanfaí

dearmad ar stair na hÉireann trí chaint ar "international terrorism" ach nach féidir dearmad a dhéanamh air agus an ceist seo á phlé.

Thaispeáin Ó Tuathail na cosúlachtaí idir chás James Napper Tandy (1798) agus cás an tAthair Pádraig Ó Riain, a bhí i láthair ag an ócáid.

Labhair an seanadóir neamhspleách Breandán Ó Riain ar eiseachadh mar cheist cearta daonna. Dúirt sé nach raibh glór liberálaigh na hÉireann le cloisteáil ar an éagóir seo a bhí ag tairlú sa mbaile ach go raibh siad an-ghlórach ar chearta daonna san Afraic Theas, i Meiriceá Thuaidh, Lár agus Theas agus ar fud an domhain. Sheas sé go láidir in aghaidh eiseachadha mar gur sárú ar chearta daonna a bhí ann.

FEAIRG

Dúirt seanadóir Fianna Fáil, Eamonn Ó Cuiv, go raibh sé go mór in aghaidh gach saghas foréigean — foréigean an stait agus foréigean an chosmhuintir. Ach thairis sin thug sé deacrachtaí na náisiúntóirí sa Tuaisceart agus bhí sé féin ag tuith go mór le hÉire aontaithe. Cháin sé an t-athrú miníu a bhaineann breithimh as an dlí eiseachadha ó 1984 i leith (breithiúnas O'Higgins) seachas na dlíthe a ritheadh i dTeach Laighean.

Bhí sé soiléir go raibh daoine ag an gcrúinniú an-mhi-shásta le seasamh Fianna Fáil ar eiseachadh agus chuir siad a gcuid feirge in iúl ach glacadh leis nach raibh sa seanadóir Ó Cuiv ach duine amháin agus gur



● Antoine Ó Sluain ag labhairt ag an cruinniú. Ag an mbord tá Séamus Ó Tuathail, fite Ní Chionnaith agus an seanadóir Breandán Ó Riain

bhíu go mór go raibh sé i láthair mar chain-teoir.

I láthair freisin bhí Antoine Ó Sluain agus Roibeárd Campbell, beirt den ochtar a bhíu bagairt eiseachadha orthu faoi láthair. Fuair Antoine Ó Sluain an-áird ón lucht eisteachta nuair a léigh sé amach ráiteas thar ceann an ochtair. Cháin sé an Brainse Speisialta, á gchur i gcomparáid le Securitate na Rómáine. Chuir sé síos ar an gCoinbhinsiún Eorpach chun Sceimhlitheoireacht a Chosc a bhí sinithe ag an stát seo. D'háig seo go raibh sé níos éasca Éireannach a eiseachadh ná saoránach ar bith eile san Eoraip.

I láthair ag an gcrúinniú freisin bhí Deirdre McKenna atá geallta le Jim Clarke, Martha Ellis, deirfiúr Dessie Ellis agus Máirín Ní Mhuineacháin, ball de choiste saoradh Sheisear Birmingham.

Tar éis gur labhair roinnt daoine ón lucht eisteachta ghlac an cruinniú leis an rún seo leanas d'aon ghuth:

"Iarrann an cruinniú seo ar an tÁire Dlí agus Cirt, Ray Burke a chumhacht a usáid faoi Alt 50, Fo-Alt 4 den Acht um Eiseachadh 1965 le cosc a chur ar eiseachadh Eoghan Mac Carráin, Dessie Ellis, Roibeárd Campbell, Antoine Ó Sluain, Paul Magee, Diarmuid Finucane, Micheál Mac Aoidh agus Jim Clarke toisc gur coireanna polaitiúla atá curtha i leith gach duine acu."

Beidh ócáidí poiblí eile á shocrú go luath ag Gaeilgeoirí in Aghaidh Eiseachadha agus is féidir eolas a fháil ón gCoiste Náisiúnta in Aghaidh Eiseachadha, 29 Cearnóg Mhuinseo, Baile Átha Cliath 1. (Tá beathainneáisei an ochtair faoi bhagairt eiseachadha ar fáil freisin).

NAIMHDEAS AN RUC DON GHAELGE

£100 do 'aistriúchán'

I GCÁS CÚIRTE i nDoire an tseachtain seo caite, chuala an Breitheamh Harte gur ghabhadh fear ag an RUC toisc gur dhiúltaigh sé a ainm a "aistriú" go Béarla.

D'inis Donncha Mac Niallais don chúirt go raibh sé ina sheasamh le grúpa daoine eile nuair a stad síp RUC i ngar dó agus tháinig beirt phóilín fad leis.

D'iarr siad a ainm air, agus nuair a d'fhreagair sé, dúirt siad nach raibh siad sásta leis sin. Mhásaigh siad an Ghaeilge agus Mac Niallais. Tar éis tamaill, thóg siad é faoin Acht Eigeandála agus choinnigh sa bhearaic é ar feadh uair a chloig.

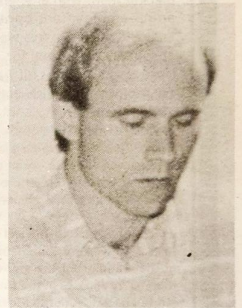
FIANAISE

Ag thabhairt fianaise dúirt póilín nach raibh aon rud i gcoinne na Gaeilge aige agus thóg sé Mac Niallais toisc nach

raibh sé ábalta é a aithint. D'fhiafraigh abhcóide de an tuige a ndeachaigh sé fad le Mac Niallais nuair a bhí daoine eile sa tine buis chéanna. D'fhreagair an póilín go raibh sé amhrasach fá a raibh á dhéanamh aige.

AITHNE

D'fhiafraigh an dlíodóir ansin an tuige nár chuir sé aon cheist mar sin ar Mac Niallais. Ní raibh an póilín ábalta é a fhreagairt. Chuir an dlíodóir ina leith go raibh aithne aige ar Mac Niallais agus mar gheall ar ainm Gaealach á usáid aige, thóg na póilíní é.



● DONNCHA MAC NIALLAIS

Ag foghlaim na Gaeilge



CEAHT A CÚIG

Sa Teach Osta. — In the hotel. Tháingamar ó Luimneach. — We came from Limerick.

Ba mhaith linn fanacht anseo anocht. — We would like to stay here tonight.

Tá sibh mall. — You are late. Dar Dia, nilimid. Táimid luath. — By God, we aren't. We're early.

Ba mhaith leo leaba agus bricfeasta — They would like bed and breakfast.

Sin cúig phunt is fiche an duine. — That's twenty-five pounds each.

Táimid — we are Tá sibh — you (plural) are Tá siad — they are Nilimid — we are not

Ba mhaith liom — I would like Ba mhaith leat — you would like Ba mhaith leis — he would like

Ba mhaith léi — she would like Ba mhaith linn — we would like Ba mhaith libh — you (pl) would like

like Ba mhaith leo — they would like Ar mhaith leat? — would you like?

Ar mhaith libh? — would you (pl) like?

FEAGRA/ANSWER

Ba mhaith — yes Níor mhaith — no

Teach ósta — hotel

Ó — from

Mall — late

Luath — early

Fanacht — to stay (wait)

Anocht — tonight

Leaba — bed

Bricfeasta — breakfast

Anseo — here

Duine — a person

Punt an duine — a pound each

ABAIR AGUS AISTRIGH

Ar mhaith leat bricfeasta?

Ar mhaith leat pionta?

Ar mhaith leat fanacht anseo?

Ba mhaith liom pionta.

Ba mhaith liom leaba singil.

Ba mhaith liom fanacht, le do thoil.

Tá mé mall.

Tá siad luath.

Tógtha ó Irish is Fun y/Lofa

FEARADH FÁILTE ROIMH FHILLEADH

REACHTÁLADH oíche comhórtha i mBéal Feirste Dé hAoine seo caite le fáilte a chuir roimh seisear de chimí poblachtánacha ón chathair a scaoileadh saor as campa na Ceise Fada ar na mallabha.

Cuigear acu gearradh téarmaí saoi orthu sna 70dí luatha agus mar sin bhí stad na polaitiúil acu. Duine ar bith a daoradh i ndiaidh Márta 1976 caitheadh leo mar coirpigh. Dhíoltaigh poblachtánaigh glacadh le seo agus tharla an staille ocras agus agóid na pluide da bharr.

Cé gur oíche craic a bhí ann don chuid is mó ní dheanadh dearmad de na poblachtánaigh

eile sa tír seo agus thar lear atá go fóill faoi glas ag Gaill, ná den cruatan atá á fulaingt acu féin agus ag a gcuid muintir. Cé go bhfuil tearmaí fada curtha isteach ag na fir uilig a comóradh an oíche in omós dóibh aithníonn siad gur scaoileadh saor iad de thairbh go gceiddeann na Sasanaigh go n-ísleofar tacaíocht do Gluaiseacht na Poblachta dá dheasca.

Mhaigh na cimi d'aonghuth gur poblachtánaigh anois iad chomh mór is a bhí riamh agus gur cuma caide seift a chuirfeadh Séan Bui i bhfeidhm, nach bhfuil ach dui amháin leis an chogadh sna críocha gafa a thabhairt chun deiridh— sé sin, aistharraingt agus gnaithe na hÉireann a fhágáil fa na hÉireannaigh.

A community fight for survival

ARIGNA, on the Leitrim/Roscommon border, is an area of small farms, miners and small industry. Surrounded by a region which has been devastated by the blight of emigration and whose landscape is constantly being denuded of its population, the economic lifeline of the area is the Arigna mine and the ESB power station fuelled by it.

It is now proposed to close the Arigna power station and dependant mines. The government has no proposals for replacing them with anything near equal employment opportunities. The results of this would be absolutely disastrous for an entire region already hit hard by unemployment which stands at 28% in the area.

It is now evident that the Fianna Fáil/PPD Coalition have no sympathy whatsoever with the social considerations which were the original reason for the power station's construction.

The effects of closure will hit, not just those who work in the mine or at the station, but the entire community. Businesses in the surrounding towns will suffer the loss of £3 million in disposable incomes as a result of around 250 lay-offs.

Already miners working for one of the mining companies at Arigna, Flynn and Leheny's, are on a two-day week. Most of the Arigna workers are men with serious commitments such as young families to support and house mortgages to pay. The dole or further emigration from the area are all that seems to be on offer. Many of the Arigna workers bought their houses on the strength of special low interest loans which were made available by the EC under a special scheme for coal and steel workers. With the conditions of the loans now changed, most of the workers have not got the interest paid yet and fear that the loans signed by the employers could be called in. They feel that they now stand to lose their homes as well as their jobs.

The decision to stop taking coal from the three mines, Arigna Collieries, Flynn and Leheny and Wynne's was announced at a meeting between trade union representatives and the ESB's PRO Lorcan

Canning and Regional Operations Manager Bill Flood on October 25th.

NO RESPONSIBILITY

The ESB said, in no uncertain terms, that they did not see themselves as having any responsibility to the miners, "but would be reminding the employers of their responsibilities". They announced at the meeting that they would discontinue taking coal in six to nine months and would be closing down their Arigna operation soon afterwards. The reasons given were that Arigna was costing too much to run — £3 million, which they say is four times as much as the Moneypoint power station — and that supplies of coal were running out. The ESB propose that Moneypoint, fuelled by imported US coal, would generate the power currently provided by Arigna.

The Arigna Miners' and Power Workers' Committee are challenging all of the assertions made by the ESB.

For a start they point to the fact



● The Arigna workers are determined to keep up their fight

that the government gets £2.7million in tax and PRSI from the Arigna workers and if they allow lay offs to occur they will end up paying out £1 million in social welfare. They contend also that the Arigna operation is 1% of the total expenditure of the ESB and that this works out at only one tenth of a penny to the consumer. They also point to the survey carried out by John Barnett which showed that there is another 15 years' coal left in the mine. This was submitted to the Department of

Energy and the ESB but was totally ignored.

MASSIVE SUPPORT

Massive local support for the Arigna workers' campaign was demonstrated when over 1,500 people packed Drumshanbo's Mayflower Community Centre on Sunday, January 28th, for a meeting organised by the workers' committee.

Committee chairperson and trade union official Charlie Hopkins

called for the rescinding of the closure decision as "it was made without all the facts being examined". Vice Chairperson Jim Nolan declared: "We are here today to fight for the future of this area. I don't want this area going back to another economic war. We want the progress of the 1950s to continue."

GHOS COUN

MUCH of the area threatened by the closure of Arigna power station and coal mines lies in County Leitrim, the worst emigration county in Ireland.

Leitrim, as any of its inhabitants will tell you, has forever been ignored and neglected by central authority. This situation has always pertained since the establishment of the 26-County state and long before. It is no accident that the area has an illustrious radical and republican history. Even in the years



● Some of the Arigna miners being left without a future by state neglect

ay's vival

BY
ART
Mac EOIN

And mineworker Gerry Layden summed up the situation as "a case of import coal, export workers".

Minister for Trade and Marketing Terry Layden admitted that "200 job losses in Arigna is like 50,000 job losses in a city".

The proposed siting of a new wood pulp factory in the region was severely criticised as not being any sort of alternative employment source. The fact that it could only provide between 40 to 60 jobs and a high pollution risk were the main objections.

The meeting was attended by all the local parliamentary representatives and opposition to the planned closure was voiced across the political spectrum. Talk is cheap, however, and preventative action from those affiliated to the governing parties is what the people need and want.

Two proposals were passed by those present. One was that the ESB rescind their decision to stop taking coal from the mines on March 31st. Secondly the proposal was accepted which declared in favour of the mines remaining open for ten years and/or until further employment is in operation. The Miners' and Power

Workers' Committee are also to stage a protest at Leinster House this month.

In a recent development a special 'Task Force' has been set up comprised of representatives from the Department of Finance, the Department of Energy, the IDA and FAS as well as county council managers. According to Minister Terry Layden its role is to "create 300 jobs to replace those about to go at Arigna and to lobby the Minister for Energy and the ESB to maintain Arigna and these jobs". However, Jim Nolan of the Arigna Workers' Committee said that he felt the Task Force would not be able to work fast enough to prevent closure.

DEVASTATION

The Arigna Miners' and Power Workers' Committee launched a highly informative position paper on Wednesday, January 31st, in the County Hotel, Carrick-on-Shannon. It gives a detailed history of the coal mines and the devastation closure will inflict on the local economy of the region.

It explains also that mining of one material or another has been carried out in the Arigna region as



far back as the 15th century. It was the mines which boosted the area during the 'Emergency', 1939-'45, when the Sugar Company, the railways and the ESB relied on Arigna.

The slump which followed led to local campaigning which succeeded in persuading the government of the day to build an ESB electricity generating station in the area. It was never envisaged that the project would be financially profitable but for social reasons the government ordered its initiation.

The ESB, in order to minimise the foreseen financial losses by the station, made contracts with the Layden mining family. These contracts included minimum supply clauses which meant that the ESB could not unilaterally reduce deliveries of coal.

In addition to the 35,000 tonnes supplied by Laydens, a further 12,000 tonnes was supplied by Flynn & Leheny and Wynnes on an annual purchase order basis.

Arigna power station, commissioned in 1958, has performed at a very high efficiency level within plant parameters. In the past year it was the fifth most efficient power station in the ESB network, well ahead of Moneypoint which came eighth.

BLEAK PICTURE

The committee's document paints a very bleak picture of the economic future for those living in the surrounding areas of Drumshanbo, Keadue, Drumkeerin, Ballyfarnon, Geevagh, Kilronan and North Ardcarne.

In the early 1980s Arigna was promised a 'crow' coal station (a generating station which burns a lower grade of coal) but this never materialised. The position paper asks for this idea to be put back on the agenda.

The committee is scathing of the government's attitude:

"The silence is deafening regard-

ing the proposed closure from our government and the relevant departments... it is devious, misleading and incorrect for the government to imply that the decision is entirely an ESB policy decision... Arigna power station and mines have been a financially sound business as far as the state is concerned... The government has responsibility for the state not the ESB."

A Senate motion last week tabled by the Labour Party which called on the government to rescind the ESB's closure decision was defeated with the acquiescence of local Fianna Fáil senators.

Speaking to AP/RN, miner Michael McPartland (22) explained that he has worked in the mines for the past seven years and that he always thought that his job was secure and would have emigrated long ago if he had known otherwise. He sees no future now except the dole.

"There is any God's amount of coal left in that mine and it's the same grade coal as it's always been."

His sentiments are echoed by Eamonn Carthy who sees emigration or the dole as the only options now open for him.

EMIGRATION

John McGreevy (35) has a family of four children ranging in age from two to eight years to support.

"A hundred pound on the dole is no good to me. The politicians kept on saying that while there was coal in the area there would be work here. Well it's either the plane or the boat now."

Many local people are of the opinion that the authorities wish to clear counties such as Leitrim of their people and leave the region clear for exploitation by multinational afforestation interests. Miners who attempt to adapt to small farming with the loss of their mining jobs can expect to be massively outbid by multinationals and will have no option but to leave the land as well.

The future of a community and an entire region now seems destined for destruction but the Arigna workers are not giving up their fight easily. As they say themselves "the ultimate fate of the region will in fact be a political decision".

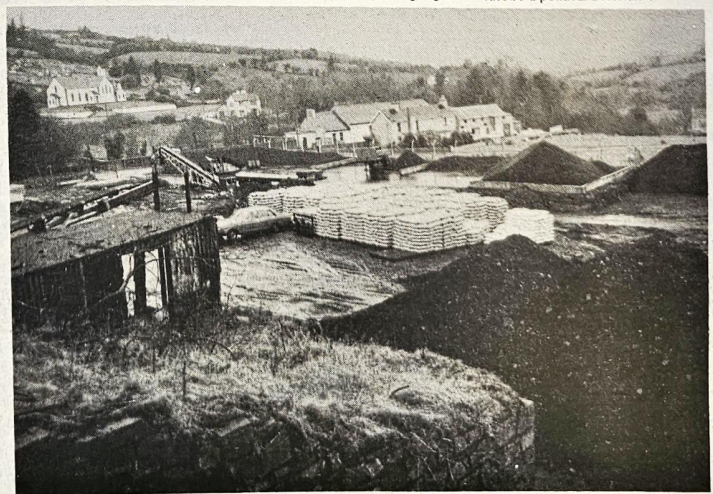


been edging them off the land. Miners and power workers now seem set to join them as well as the thousands of young Leitrim people who can be found in throngs in Boston, New York or London.

As the county is left to the old and the very young it is ironic to think

that one would probably hear more Leitrim accents in the USA or England than in Leitrim itself.

Now Leitrim is left without enough youths to field football teams and the present Leinster House regime seems set to allow its decline to continue.



● Arigna — an industry and a community allocated for destruction

MEMORIAL UNVEILED TO TYRONE VOLUNTEER

'We are proud of him'

IN A carbon copy of the tragic day, a year ago, when 20-year-old Volunteer James Joseph Connolly was buried in the rainswept graveyard at Aghyaran, County Tyrone, crown forces mounted a massive, and totally provocative, show of strength as family and friends gathered from all over the county, and further afield, to unveil a striking black Celtic cross memorial in the Republican Plot.

From early morning helicopters flew sorties of the isolated rural graveyard and deposited dozens of riot-clad RUC personnel and British soldiers who then proceeded to block every approach road to the area.

Long tailbacks quickly formed at the checkpoints with every car being stopped, the occupants ordered out and searched. Crown forces at the checkpoints made a point of being abusive, delivering derogatory remarks about individuals and the Volunteer-whom people had gathered to honour.

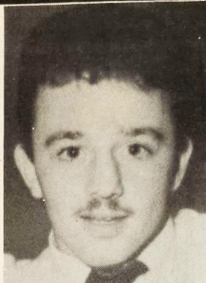
TORRENTIAL RAIN

With torrential rain sheeting

down the proceedings eventually got under way over an hour late. Charlie McHugh, Sinn Féin councillor for Castlederg, Connolly's home town, warmly thanked all who had braved both the weather and the crown forces harassment to join the Connolly family in remembering their son.

McHugh then asked Josie's parents, Joe and Anna, formally to unveil the black marble monument and matching family plaque, both bearing colour pictures of their son.

Councillor Ivan Barr, Strabane, read the 1916 Proclamation and a local republican recited the Tyrone Roll of Honour, with Josie Connolly's name ending the tradi-



● JOSIE CONNOLLY

cally long list.

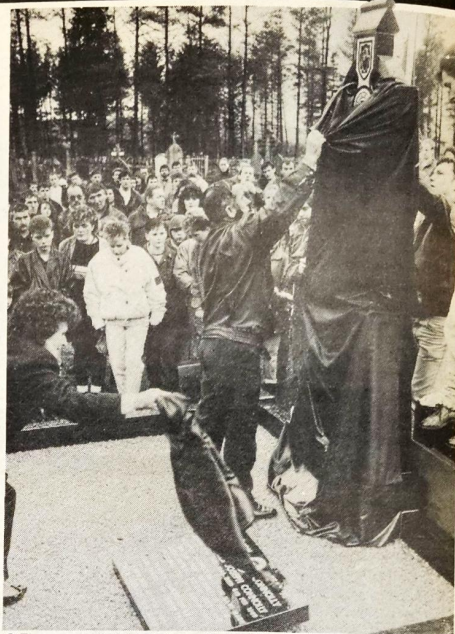
Throughout the day's events riot-clad RUC men, including Assistant Chief Constable Cecil McComb, lined the walls of the cemetery. RUC and British army photographers took endless pictures, both stills and video, as wreaths were laid from the republican family, the Connolly family and local support organisations.

A solemn minute's silence was observed following a lament played by a lone piper before the main speaker, Martin McGuinness, was introduced.

He began by paying tribute to the National Graves' Association in Tyrone and thanking them and the Connolly family for the honour of speaking at the unveiling ceremony.

STRIKING SIMILARITIES

With world attention focusing on the release of Nelson Mandela he drew striking similarities with the ongoing armed struggles in Ireland and South Africa. He outlined the role played by Volunteers of Josie Connolly's stature and emphasised how, despite his youth



● The parents of Vol Josie Connolly unveil the memorial cross

and having the whole future in front of him, Josie Connolly had chosen the role of a Volunteer in Oglagh na hEireann, a role he knew only too well could lead him to a prison cell or an early grave.

McGuinness went on to say that when FW de Klerk and Afrikaaner nationalists can speak to people whom they have daubed terrorists for years, then Margaret Thatcher and her government should recognise that, inevitably, they will have to talk to the Republican

Movement. "The outcome of those talks," McGuinness noted "will be the establishment of a 32-County republic." He continued:

"The unfortunate thing is that those who will have most credit for bringing this about are like young Josie Connolly, lying in graves. But we are proud of Josie Connolly, and his family are proud of him because he has shown us that we all have it within ourselves to win freedom, justice and peace in our country."



● COUNCILLOR JOHN DAVEY

COURAGEOUS COMRADE HONoured

THE first anniversary of the death of Sinn Féin Councillor John Davey was marked by a commemoration and wreath-laying ceremony on Sunday, February 11th, at St Mary's Churchyard, Lavey, County Derry.

The proceedings were chaired by Councillor John Hurl who extended his sympathy and that of the Republican Movement to the Davey family. Among the friends and family of John Davey who were present were his wife Mary and daughter Pauline who took over from her father as Sinn Féin councillor for the area.

The chairperson called on a drummer to play a drum-roll as the colour party from the Brendan Convery Memorial Flute Band, Bellaghy, lowered their flags in salute.

Wreaths were laid on behalf of the Republican Movement, County Derry, South-West Antrim Sinn Féin, Fearghal O'Hanlon/John Davey Cumann, Lavey, Antoine MacGiolla Bhrighde Cumann, Antrim, Connolly/Hughes/McElwee Cumann, Bellaghy, Hogan/Martin

Memorial Committee, Dunloy, the Brendan Convery Band, and the Davey family.

Councillor Brendan Curran, himself a victim of loyalist murder attempts on two occasions, addressed the 200-strong crowd and in a moving speech he told of his personal friendship with John. He spoke of his friend's courage and self-discipline and recalled one incident when on a visit to Long Kesh the prisoners' relatives' bus was stopped by British soldiers. One of them threatened to shoot John Davey but he took the rifle from the soldier and threw it over a hedge.

COURAGE

Behind such incidents, said Curran, was John Davey's "love of his people and refusal to give in to armed aggression". He said that now when republicans were under



● BRENDAN CURRAN

severe pressure from the forces of the state, the hierarchy and political collaborators with the British the lesson of John Davey's courage and refusal to bow down was very important.

Brendan Curran recalled how he had spoken to John about the possibility of assassination and, said Curran, even though John was in greater danger than himself it was Brendan's safety that was his main concern. Brendan Curran concluded by calling on people to take inspiration from John Davey's belief in the rightness of his cause and his commitment to win.

To conclude the ceremonies the band played *Amhrán na bhFiann*.

THE FLYING COLUMN

John Stalker recommends Nationwide Security Blinds

Former Deputy Chief Constable of Greater Manchester

INTRUDERS LOCKED OUTSIDE

Nationwide Blinds keep out burglars. Automatically locking when fully shut.

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The insulated slat formation, manufactured from toughened aluminium, locks heat in, cold out, cutting your heating bills and giving you security and peace of mind.

24 MONTHS INTEREST FREE CREDIT*

*Offer subject to credit approval. (2% discount available for cash payment.)

• Simple pull inside rolls down shutter outside.

• Premier range available with electric operation and remote control.

• Shade from the sun, ensuring coolness in summer.

• Every installation is tailor-made in our factory and fitted by our own craftsmen.

• Choice of colours available.

NATIONWIDE SECURITY BLINDS

JOHN STALKER, the man who knows almost as much about frame-ups as Colin Wallace has taken to advertising security blinds to earn a crust.

Nationwide's roll down shutters are recommended by Stalker as "tough, resilient and durable", just like he used to be before he encountered his country's dirty tricks department in the Six Counties. His post as Deputy Chief Constable of Greater Manchester was doubtless as "warm, safe and quiet inside" as results from fitting these shutters until he got transferred and started digging too deep into shoot-to-kill in Ireland.

DETAILS have reached the *Flying Column* of Operation Patchwatch, henceforth to be referred to as Operation Pat Watch.

This "major counter-terrorist initiative", was launched in the wake of IRA successes at Colchester and Deal. Families in the South-East Essex area are being asked to report "suspicious activities or people", (ie anyone with an Irish accent) by ringing Freephone Patchwatch.

Operation Pat Watch warns civilians that "men or women who appear to be studying targets might be seen holding cameras or binoculars, on foot, in parked cars or commercial vehicles" (ie beware of tourists with Irish accents).

A GLASGOW court heard last month that a light-fingered Territorial Army storeman in Scotland had stolen so much military equipment from the Quartermaster's Stores in Glasgow over an eight-year period that three police vans were necessary to carry it all away from his home.

Among the almost 2,000 items found in the house were bayonets, rifle butts, gas masks, maps, furniture, clothing, rations and petrol. He was only found out when a disgruntled neighbour wrote to the police.

AND two soldiers from the 26-County army are facing disciplinary action following an investigation into the disappearance of £51,000-worth of army clothing. The fraud involved the disappearance of large amounts of army clothing, including tunics, boots, underwear and shirts. Most of it was apparently sold in pubs in the Curragh area to other army and FCA personnel.

The headline on the heist in the *Irish Independent* over the by-line of its inimitable "security correspondent" Tom Brady, read "Probe rules out IRA link in £50,000 Army fraud". The only people who had "ruled in" the IRA were Fine Gaelers Brendan McGahan and Gay Mitchell, the latter of whom conjured up bizarre images of the IRA using the clothes to "stop people at bogus check-points at night".

A *WORLD IN ACTION* documentary shown on ITV on Monday last exposed the reasons why the West Midlands Serious Crimes Squad boasted such an impressive conviction rate before its disbanding a few months ago. Forced and doctored "confessions" formed the basis of their success.

The programme also revealed that one officer, Detective Sergeant Michael Hornby, has received the Queen's Police Medal for his police work. Hornby was one of three men demoted last August when the squad was disbanded. Another was Detective Inspector Peter Higgins. Both men were involved in questioning Hugh Callaghan, who says that when Higgins was in charge of questioning him, he was slapped and kicked. His confession was taken and signed by Hornby. In court Callaghan said that Hornby had added an account of his involvement in planting the bombs to his statement. This claim has been consistently rejected by the British courts.

Hornby, however, has been the subject of similar allegations in the more recent past. In 1987 papers were sent

to the British Director of Public Prosecutions concerning Hornby when a man was cleared of a jewellery robbery after it emerged that those parts of his confession which had incriminated him were actually inserted afterwards. Hornby was not prosecuted then but was accused in court of "conveniently burying" evidence in the case which directly led to the disbanding of the Serious Crimes Squad.

A BRITISH soldier who recently shot an Alsatian pup while on foot-patrol off the Falls Road and laughed at the good of it may yet be prosecuted if animal lovers can raise the necessary £1,000.

The pup was badly wounded and had to be put down by a vet. The soldier claimed the dog had attacked him but witnesses said it was only barking. They also say that the brave Brit could not have been in any danger from the dog as he was protected from it by a garden wall and gate.

PREDICTABLE Wit of the Week Award goes to the *Flying Column* fan who spotted the name of the place on the Tyrone border where the British Gazelle helicopter came to grief after it ran into a volley from an IRA anti-aircraft battery. The "wit" described it as, you've guessed it, a "Gala performance".

THREE RAF OFFICERS were jailed for nine months last month for a "prank" on a fourth member of the force. Flying Officer Timothy Gibson had white spirit poured over him and set alight and required over a dozen operations for his injuries. The assault was part of celebrations at the end of a weapons training course at RAF Chivenor in Devon.

Dúirt Siad

The factors which necessitated the armed struggle still exist today. We have no option but to continue.

— Released ANC leader Nelson Mandela speaking in Cape Town.

Our struggle has reached a decisive moment.... We have waited so long for our freedom. We can no longer wait. Now is the time to intensify the struggle on all fronts. To relax our efforts now would be a mistake which generations to come will not be able to forgive.

— Nelson Mandela speaking in Cape Town to a gathering of over 250,000 people.

If all this carry-on about the Guildford/Birmingham cases is real concern about standards of justice and not just pragmatic anti-Brit stuff seeking a compassionate front, we need to be consistent. If people like Paul Hill shouldn't be put away for years on the basis of disputed uncorroborated confessions obtained in dubious circumstances, then people like Jim Clarke shouldn't be slung across the border on the same evidence.

Or the least Charlie Haughey could do is buy him a cheap suit before slinging him across the border. Because the odds are that Charlie won't be around to shake his hand when they let Clarke out.

— Gene Kerrigan in the *Sunday Tribune*.

If justice means this kind of injustice then there will never be confidence in any police force.

— Tory MP Anthony Beaumont-Dark on the West Midlands Serious Crimes Squad motto, "You name them — We framed them".

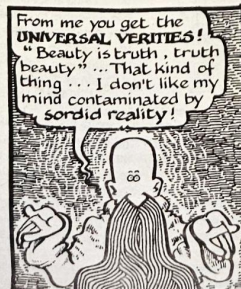
Those that wish to sit down and negotiate need our support.

— William Waldegrave, British junior foreign minister referring to the situation in South Africa. This policy does not apply, of course, closer to home.

The battle for the mind of Ronald Reagan was like trench warfare in World War One. Never have so many fought so hard for such barren terrain.

— Peggy Noonan, former presidential speech-writer.

NOES



Imeachtaí

WHITE-LINE PICKET
2-3pm every Saturday
Whitework Road/Falls Road
Junction
BELFAST
Organised by Belfast Anti-
Extradition Committee

**NATIONAL POSTER
COMPETITION**
for secondary/vocational schools
Theme: Justice
Prize fund: £500
Application forms: Birmingham Six
Committee
Usher House, 40/41 Usher Quay
DUBLIN 8
Mark envelope 'Poster
Competition'
Closing date February 28th 1990
Adjudicator: Robert Ballagh

CIORCAIL COMHRA
9m gach Luan
Club an Conartha
6 Sraid an Fheachair
BAILE ATHA CLIATH
Irish Learners' Conversation Group
9m every Monday
Conradh na Gaeilge Club
6 Harcourt Street
DUBLIN

WHITE-LINE PICKET
Justice for All
6-7pm every Friday
Finglas Dual Carriageway
Janelle Shopping Centre
DUBLIN

**VIDEO SCREENING &
DISCUSSION**
'Behind the Mask'
7.30pm Thursday 15th February
Cinema Action
27/28 Winchester Road (Swiss
Cottage tube)
LONDON NW3
Entrance: £2.50/£1.00 concessions
Organised by Camden and
Islington Troops Out Movement

FOLK NIGHT
Featuring the Irish Brigade
10 till late Thursday 15th February
Ducks Night Club
McNaughton
WATERFOOT
County Antrim
Proceeds to the Hogan/Martin
Memorial Fund
(Bus from Flasharkin, Dunloy and
Loughgiel)

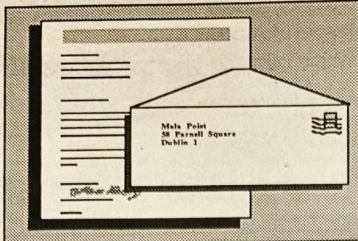
**NICARAGUA SOLIDARITY
CAMPAIGN**
MURAL UNVEILING
1.30pm Saturday 17th February
Cornmarket
BELFAST
Robert Ballagh will perform the
ceremony

PICKET
'Against US interference in
Nicaraguan elections'
11.30am to 1.00pm Saturday 17th
February
Outside US Embassy
DUBLIN
Organised by the Irish Nicaraguan
Solidarity Group

**VOLS HENRY HOGAN AND
DECLAN MARTIN**
6th Anniversary Commemoration
Sunday 18th February
2pm: Wreath-laying ceremony
St Joseph's Cemetery
DUNLOY
3pm: Parade from
McAleese's Filling Station
Bridge Road
DUNLOY
Prominent Speaker
All bands welcome

**ANTI-EXTRADITION PUBLIC
MEETING**
8pm Thursday, 22nd February
Connolly Hall
LIMERICK CITY
Prominent speakers

(continued on page 13)



Pauline Drumm A Chairde,

As a concerned group of friends of Pauline Drumm, presently being held in Fleury Merogis Prison, France, we wish to highlight the conditions which this young Irish woman is compelled to endure.

Since Pauline's arrest in July 1989, the prison administration have blatantly refused to consider her numerous requests that she be permitted a cell of her own. During this period of time she has been forced to share a cell with one or more toxicoman prisoners and continuously subject to daily cell searches or 'cell changes'.

This prison policy being directed towards Pauline is causing much mental stress not only to Pauline but indeed to her family. Added to this pressure for Pauline is, of course, the communication barrier, since Pauline has no knowledge of the French language she is not even afforded the stimulation of conversation. At present Pauline Drumm is sharing a cell with a 'HIV positive' prisoner.

Not surprisingly her family are very concerned at the implications. It is totally unacceptable that Pauline is compelled to associate with prisoners of this nature. After each visit with Pauline her family have noticed increasing changes in her personality and physical appearance — the pressure of life within the prison being so great upon her.

We would call on all interested groups or individuals to lend their voice and support to Pauline

Drumm. This woman asks only that she is allowed to serve her time in a cell of her own and that she is allowed the choice to associate with those she wishes. We ask all concerned people to write to the Administrator, MAF Fleury Merogis, Sainte Genevieve des Bois, 91705, Paris, France.

**Irish Political Prisoners in
Europe Solidarity Group.**

Eastern Europe A Chairde,

Please permit me to reply to the serious misrepresentations, distortions, and outrageous innuendoes contained in Sean O'Leary's letter on Eastern Europe (AP/RN February 1st), denouncing my letter of the previous week.

Nowhere in my letter did I argue "in defence of bureaucratic mismanagement". In fact I identified "the socialist bureaucracy's inflexibility, corruption, and economic mismanagement, and the ruling parties' failure to confront it" as central to any valid explanation of political upheavals in Eastern Europe.

I did not suggest that the communist parties 'voluntarily' abandoned their leading role. I distinguished between them forfeiting their leading role by failing to act on Lenin's exhortation to fight, ceaselessly, the evils of bureaucracy and their subsequent abandonment of Marxism-Leninism in the infectious atmosphere of political upheavals and resurgent capitalist ideology.

I did not blame the workers for demonstrating publicly their

legitimate grievances against the bureaucratic malaise under socialism. I did certainly suggest that spontaneous mass protest is being hijacked and diverted by right-wing nationalists, counter-revolutionaries, and democratic socialist charlatans, not towards genuine socialist renewal, but towards the re-establishment of the dictatorship of the capitalist class. Sean O'Leary argues that I "attempt to excuse the inexcusable" Soviet military intervention in Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968. On the contrary, I merely suggested, and re-assert, the right of a sovereign state to enlist the direct military aid of other sovereign states to protect itself from violent combined external and internal aggression, especially when the state in question is a socialist governed state facing the subversive activities of imperialist sponsored right-wing nationalists and counter-revolutionaries. Moreover the exercise of that right in accordance with, and integral to, the right of nations to self-determination, and practical instances may be cited as the USSR's aid to Afghanistan in 1979 and Cuba's direct military involvement in Angola.

Violations of the right of nations to self-determination are unacceptable. This is not merely because the right is enshrined in international law, but because it corresponds to the interests of the international working class and oppressed nations in defeating imperialism and building a voluntary union of socialist states. However, the principle goes hand-in-hand with the Leninist requirement to "assess any national demand, any national separation, from the angle of the workers' class struggle" and to place "foremost the alliance of the workers of all nations". In reality the USSR departed from Leninist principles in 1956 and 1968 on national self-determination, and Sean O'Leary does as well now by lending unconditional support to all nationalist manifestation in Eastern Europe and the USSR.

However, to criticise the USSR's 1956 and 1968 interventions is not to deny that there was ever a popular basis to the post-war socialist revolutions in Eastern Europe nor indeed to suggest that Soviet intervention did not enable the re-instated socialist regimes to regain legitimacy

(even if contemporary developments indicate that such legitimacy cannot be sustained in the long-term in socialist countries without proper economic management, adequate public constraints on bureaucracy and unremitting struggle against capitalist ideology).

The accusation of Stalinism levelled against me by Sean O'Leary deserves as much contempt as his ludicrous attempt to condemn Stalin for the British & Irish Communist Organisation's (BICO) perversion of Stalin's ideas. O'Leary's attempt to equate my references to "right-wing nationalism" with BICO theory represents a petty smear tactic and a pathetic attempt to introduce a pink herring in order to evade his making any direct admission that nationalism can (and does) take on a reactionary, as well as progressive form, and opposed to revolutionary socialism is reactionary in any form.

Sean O'Leary enquires whether I believe "Section 31 type methods are wrong under imperialism but correct as a norm under socialism?" In posing the question O'Leary shows clearly he does not understand that "elementary democratic rights" such as freedom of speech and assembly are not, and cannot be, absolute in any state. They are always qualified by the public interest/common good. And the public interest/common good in any given state is defined according to which class has state power. Therefore 'Yes I support' Section 31 type methods" to defend the power of workers under socialism, and 'No I don't support such methods to defend the power of capitalists in exploiting workers and oppressing nations under capitalism/imperialism'.

IO'Leary believes that methods are more important than the way to which they are applied, then why does he (or does he) support the armed methods of the IRA and oppose the armed methods of the British occupation forces?

Moreover I support socialist "police-state methods" to suppress the exploiters, and when they involve telling "the vacillating petty bourgeoisie...either reconcile yourself to the dictatorship of the proletariat or we will defeat you by revolutionary means" as Lenin did. But when the authority

of socialist states and the ruling workers' parties therein has been so fundamentally undermined by the corruption, errors, and mismanagement of their leaders (as in Eastern Europe generally), then "police-state methods" are superfluous to the more urgent need to reform and purge the communist workers' parties in order to re-produce a credible leadership with the confidence of the working class, and hence to re-impose the class hegemony of the working class in the political and social life of the nation.

But to say that the restoration of capitalism is least likely in Eastern Europe minimises the major threat to socialism presented by a whole series of connected events — the collapse of the workers' states; the liquidation of many communist parties into social democratic parties, and the discrediting of others; resurgent capitalist ideology in social democratic or free market forms; the direct input of the business class in government, as a result of their dominant political influence in the mass upheavals, popular forum, and various political parties; the prospects of them converting their input into political power through ill democracy, and the legitimisation of their already expanding economic power; the penetration of the multinationals into the socialist economies, and the aid-with-strings programmes of the international bankers; the statements attributed to some of the new state leaders on the desirability of free membership.

One doesn't have to join the Albanian Communist Party to note that any socialist renewal in Eastern Europe must entail a limited restoration of capitalism (which it occurs), but also a limitation on the social and political forces of 'limited' capitalism (which is not occurring).

Sean O'Leary's refusal to recognise as much is on a par with his failure to recognise the difference in the class content of rights under capitalism and socialism, his abstract concept of the "absolute" nature of democratic rights and methods, and his unbelief that socialist renewal can take place without the political dictatorship of the working class in a socialist democracy.

Seán Cullen,
Wexford.



Bring on the clowns

"OUR EXPERIENCE with the Irish authorities in recent years is that they're addicted to aid for its own sake, almost like a Third World country, without really considering what it is being spent on or why...If they go on like this, they'll end up on the sidelines, like clowns at the circus."

These were the words of an EC source in December 1988. He or she was referring to the Dublin government's 'National' Development Plan which was the hastily-cobbled together plan drawn up by the Department of Finance to outline how they would spend the first instalment of £2.86 million in EC structural funds allocated to the 26 Counties to prepare for the Single Market in 1992.

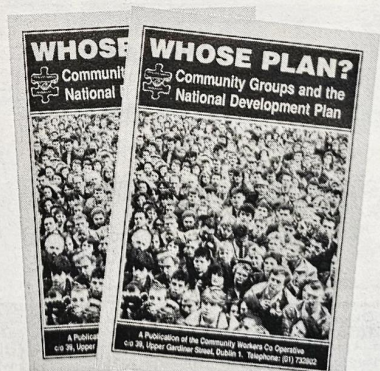
The drawing up of the plan was a perfect example of the blatantly undemocratic nature of the 26-County government where all power is concentrated in the bureaucracy in Dublin. It is also a measure, as the above quote demonstrates, of the neo-colonial mentality of the government and their complete surrender of sovereignty to Brussels.

This is all made very clear in the Community Workers' Co-op booklet *Whose Plan?* It outlines how the Dublin government broke EC rules by not consulting with local authori-

ties, trade unions or community organisations when putting together the plan. This was supposed to be done "through close consultation between the commission, the member state concerned and the competent authorities designated by the latter at national, regional, local or other level, with each party acting as a partner in pursuit of a common goal". The regulation was flouted and as the booklet says:

"It is ironic that while we might bemoan the transfer of decision making power to Brussels the reality has shown Brussels to be a more liberal and progressive force when compared to the authoritarian and centralised manner in which our state operates."

Lip-service was paid to the consultation process by the government. Working groups, made up entirely of civil servants, were to draw up plans for seven different regions. The token nature of even these bureaucratic bodies was con-



firmed when the National Development Plan was submitted to Brussels before the working groups had finished their regional plans.

MILLIONS SPURNED

But worse was to come. Even though the government had not requested it the European Commission offered to include an £8 million grant for local development initiatives. The government turned it

down. They did so because the money would have to be administered locally and not by the Department of Finance. So obsessed with retaining power centrally were the bureaucrats and their political masters that they refused to take the money.

As well as documenting the way the plan was drawn up the booklet looks at the plan itself. Designed to prepare the 26-County economy for the Single Market, the plan looks like a rub-

ber dinghy about to be launched into a tidal wave. The economy is set to be swamped and the booklet reminds us of its weak position, the result of decades of non-development by successive Dublin governments.

The Community Workers' Co-op is to be congratulated for this publication, and indeed for their submission on the drawing up of the 'National' Development Plan. (They were forced to draw it up in a matter of days after the government announced, at the last minute, that it would take submissions. All of them were, of course, ignored.)

This little book is an indictment of the lack of real democracy in the 26 Counties and the exclusion of communities from decision-making which has a devastating effect on their lives. Reminding us that virtually the only state investment is to be in the creation of "cultural tourism" with the designation of Dublin as 'European' cultural capital in 1991, the booklet comments:

"This is reminiscent of former Philippines First Lady Imelda Marcos's project of developing Manila as Cultural Capital of Asia."

● *Whose Plan? Community Groups and the National Development Plan*. Published by the Community Workers' Co-op, 39 Upper Gardiner Street, Dublin 1. Tel. (01) 732802. Price £2 including post and packaging.



The Unbroken Strand

BY TAM ROSSI

THE BALLADS OF ST MATTHEWS — the music and poetry of the people of the Short Strand — would be value for money at twice the price.

The Short Strand area is situated on the fringes of loyalist East Belfast in the most highly developed industrial area in the North of Ireland. Its people suffer a life of constant high unemployment, bad housing and discrimination, eternally striving to keep above the poverty line. Yet this constant pressure has forged a deep community spirit which has remained steadfast down through the years and helped them survive many horrific catastrophes — like the sectarian pogroms of the 1920s, when 'B'-Specials and loyalist gunmen murdered many in the community, and of the '70s when eight of its residents were killed in one night in Anderson's Street, and the loyalist bombing of the Strand Bar which claimed the lives of seven elderly people.

This year marks the 20th anniversary of the Battle of St Matthews chapel — the first major gun-battle of the present campaign — in which the IRA and the local defence group successfully defended the Strand against a concerted loyalist attack on June 27th 1970. Vol Henry Molihone died in the battle. Since then, a further 13 local IRA Volunteers have died in Ireland's freedom struggle and 27 civilians from the area have died as a direct result of

the British presence in Ireland. The Short Strand Commemoration Committee plans to erect a marble plaque in their memory. Which brings me back to *The Ballads of St Matthews* — an hour-long cassette tape of songs and poetry by local residents — produced specifically to raise funds for the plaque.

And an excellent tape it is, featuring individual singers and music groups, singing both with music and unaccompanied, and also reciting poetry.

PRIDE

Side One begins with *A Rebel Community*, written by an 18-year-old poet, reflecting on the indomitable spirit of this rebel community where:

"Each terrace street has a secret to hide."

Looking back on its history fills me with pride."

Then follows the first ever recording of *The Battle of St Matthews and Freedom Day*, the latter dedicated to the four Volunteers who died as a result of a premature explosion in February 1972. Next comes a swinging version of Christy Moore's *Viva la Quinta Brigada*, which, incidentally, correctly describes Jim Stranney and Liam Tomlinson as coming from the Strand and not from



●Brendan 'Ruby' Davison the Falls Road as in Christy's version. Both were members of the local 'D' Company.

For a number of reasons, some of the artists on the recording wish to remain anonymous. However, I can reveal that the next track Tom Williams is beautifully sung by Ceilly McComb, who herself has two sons in jail in England, and *A Toast to Ireland* is rendered by Norah Ward, a local

Cross collector for the past 20 years.

Also on Side One are: *Two Mothers* — a poem dedicated to all women involved in Ireland's struggle; the old republican ballad *Show Me the Man*; and *The Belfast Brigade*, a unique version identifying Seaford Street as the spot where British soldiers were 'de-layed' on their way from Hollywood Barracks; and *He*

Who Dies for Ireland Lives, locally written and dedicated to those who died in the Anderson's Street explosion of May 1972.

SAD NEWS

Side Two opens with the poem *Big Ruby*, a moving tribute to Volunteer Brendan Davidson, "Our big, gentle comrade from over the bridge", written by a prisoner in Crumlin Road Jail on hearing the news of his death. Then another Christy Moore number *Irish Ways and Irish Laws*. *I Wish I Was Back Home in Derry* is included in memory of its composer Bobby Sands, who shared a particular kinship with the lads from the Strand while a POW in Long Kesh. (Eight young men from the area are currently imprisoned in Irish and British jails.)

Grace, the story of Joseph Plunkett's last farewell to his young wife — a beautiful version demonstrating the excellent singing talent of the area, is followed by an Elvis Presley type interpretation of *The Sniper's Promise*.

And there you have it. As I said at the beginning, at £3 a copy, great value! So enhance your library of republican music and support a worthy cause at the same time. I'm told that over 200 copies have already been sold in the Short Strand alone.

The Ballads of St Matthews is available from: The Art Shop, 51 Falls Road, Belfast, or 44 Parnell Square, Dublin 1; or from the Sinn Féin Centre, 2a Moira Street, Belfast, Tel: 731297. Price £3.

The spirit of combination

BY TOM O'DWYER

WATERFORD'S labour movement has a tradition of radicalism stretching back into the 18th century and Emmet O'Connor's excellent history does it justice.

O'Connor points out that local labour history in Ireland has been largely ignored by the colleges and the institutes. Little has been written of the struggles of ordinary Irish people. But his work is a fine antidote, redressing the balance in the case of Waterford at least.

It is highly detailed but written in a clear style. More importantly, it does not succumb to the prevailing 'revisionist' wind. He refuses to adjust facts to fit in with the current prejudices of the academic establishment and he can be quite caustic about those who do. At one point he refers to the "claustrophobic character of Workers' Party politics".

But then Waterford has often been a thorn in the establishment's side. During the hunger-strikes its trade union movement became the backbone of the H-Blocks campaign in the city and hunger-striker Kevin Lynch got 7.5% of the first preference vote — the second-highest tally for the campaign in the 26 Counties.

The city's manufacturing industrial history stretches back to the 1770s, when people like 'Bullocks' Wyse established

metal works in the city and the coopers were often at the forefront of local wages struggles.

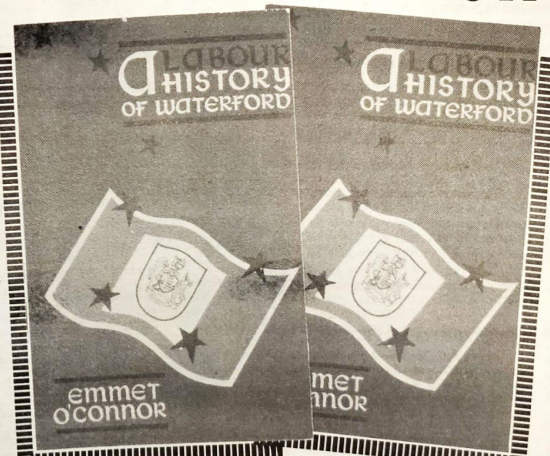
CLAMOROUS

The British authorities tried to suppress these 'illegal combinations' of workers but their efforts provoked a strong reaction. A local newspaper describes a demonstration for higher wages in 1810:

"A considerable number of men, accompanied by females not less turbulent and clamorous, paraded through various streets and inflicted severe punishments on several persons whom they thought hostile to their cause."

O'Connor does not ignore the rural industrial struggles and he highlights the Caravats, a class-conscious breakaway from the Whiteboys in early 19th century Waterford and Tipperary.

Trade unions in Waterford City date from 1822 and the first trades council was formed in 1862. The first modern one was set up in 1895 but it was not until 1909 that it really sought to unite all workers under its banner. Larkinism was the spark which ignited a broad



anger among the skilled and the unskilled alike, but the effect of the 1913 Lock-out was to demoralise them.

The tide turned after the 1916 Rising and the following year, the trade unions set up the Waterford Co-operative Society. Union membership blossomed in this period and in 1920 the Waterford Soviet was set up. During a strike to free republican political prisoners,

the unions took control of the town and trades council officials with red badges patrolled the streets. In fact the 'soviet' consisted more of show than of substance, but it caught the imagination of a number of British journalists who exaggerated its importance.

Radicalism in Waterford has ebbed and flowed over the years but recent decades have shown strong support for so-

cialist republican ideas among its workers and especially those in 'the Glass' — Waterford Crystal.

O'Connor deals with this aspect honestly and accurately. His book is no dry tome. It is readable and should be on every trade unionist's bookshelf.

● *A Labour History of Waterford* by Emmet O'Connor. Published by Waterford Trades Council.

Imeachtaí

(continued from page 12)

LECTURE

'An Gaeilge agus faicbeanna an tír seo'

8in Déardaoin 22ú Feabhra
USI, 16 North Great
Georges Street
DUBLIN

Speaker: Eoin O Murchu

FUNCTION

Featuring The Irish Brigade
Saturday February 24th

The '79
(formerly The Hunting Lodge)
Ballyfermot
DUBLIN

**MARBLE
PLAQUE OF
BOBBY
SANDS
SOLD OUT**



Saoirse

Tá *Saoirse* 9 ar fáil anois. Is í *Saoirse* iris pholaitiúil Shinn Féin.

I measc an iliomad ábhair lena bpléann sé tá gné-ailt, cartúin, cúrsaí eachtracha, stair, litríocht agus cúrsaí reatha. 70p a luach.

Is féidir sintiús bliana a ordú, luach £3.00, ó:

An t-Eagarthóir,
SAOIRSE,
147 Bóthar Bhaile
Andarsan,
Béal Feirste 11.

GRAVESIDE TRIBUTES TO MARTYRS

THE 50th ANNIVERSARY of the judicial murder of IRA Volunteers Peter Barnes and James McCormick was commemorated on Sunday last with wreath-laying ceremonies in the men's respective home towns of Banagher, County Offaly, and Mullingar, County Westmeath.

The hanging of IRA Company Captain Peter Barnes was commemorated with a wreath-laying ceremony at 11.30am in Banagher, which was attended by around 200 people. The proceedings were

chaired by John Carroll, a member of Birr UDC and there was a nine-person colour party present, including members of Fianna Éireann. Wreaths were laid on behalf of the Barnes/McCormick Committee, the

Republican Movement in Offaly and the Sinn Féin POW Department.

At 3pm in Ballyglass Cemetery in Mullingar, the birthplace of IRA Staff Captain James McCormick, where both men are buried, the proceedings were chaired by Aodán Uí Mhuimhneacháin, while a 13-person colour party including six members of Fianna Éireann were present. Despite snow, sleet and strong winds, over 150 people, including visitors from England, were present for the wreath-laying ceremony.



● Wreath-laying ceremony at Mullingar on Sunday last



● Nephew of Peter Barnes lays a wreath at the Barnes/McCormick memorial during Sunday's commemoration in Banagher



PÉADAR Ó DEARÁIN.

In Memory of
Company Capt. Peter Barnes
and
Staff Capt. James McCormick
Irish Republican Army
who died for Ireland at
Winsen Green Prison,
Birmingham
on 7th February, 1940.

Go méaraíocht Dia éndeacha omni.



SÉAMUS MAC CONAID.

EXCELLENT WORK

Wreaths were laid on behalf of Oglaiha na hÉireann, the POW Department, Caitlín Uí Mhuimhneacháin, Fianna Éireann, the National Graves Association, the McCormick family, the Old Comrades Association from Cork, the Barnes/McCormick Committee, the Martin Hurson Sinn Féin Cumann and the Barnes/McCormick Sinn Féin Cumann. Special mention was made of the Committee's excel-

lent work in restoring the men's graves, especially Mick Dalton, Johnny Creagh and Kevin Hope.

Paddy Ryan delivered the address at both venues, praising the courage of the two men and going on to condemn the "cancer that has now developed in the Irish body politic", that "the claim to seek reunification and to assert Irish sovereignty is now characterised as being subversive".

He went on to say: "Our politicians go through endless mental and verbal gymnastics to abandon the claim to sovereignty made by earlier generations and now vigorously pursued in the North by the present generation of young people." He condemned Haughey's support for extradition, thereby becoming "an accomplice in the oppression and persecution of his own people".

Published on occasion of Unveiling of Memorial at Banagher, 27th July, 1965

REMEMBERING THE PAST ENEMY OF BRITISH TYRANNY

BY PETER O'ROURKE

THE DISQUALIFICATION of elected republican representatives by the British government, intended to disenfranchise large numbers of nationalists over the past 50 years, was first used in 1875 when the Young Irishman, John Mitchell, twice returned as MP for Tipperary, was deprived of his seat.

In May 1848, following the suppression of his paper, *The United Irishman*, Mitchell was arrested. Charged with treason-felony, he was sentenced to transportation to Van Diemen's Land (now Tasmania) for 14 years but escaped to the US in 1853.

In July 1874, after an absence of 26 years Mitchell, still a convicted felon in the eyes of the law and liable to arrest on landing, visited Ireland. While in Ireland he agreed to stand for parliament should a vacancy occur but on the clear understanding that he would not take his seat in the House of Commons.

On his return to the US he received news that a vacancy had occurred for Tipperary and he had been nominated to stand. Mitchell's candidature had been announced to the newspapers by his friend John Martin, who also had published the election address which he had left in Ireland on his previous visit. In the address he declared: "I am in favour of Home Rule; that is, the sovereign independence of Ireland."

ELECTED

Once again Mitchell set out for Ireland and when he landed at Cobh, County Cork, on February 17th 1875, he was told that the previous day he had been elected, unopposed, as MP for Tipperary. The election, however, was declared void by the English House of Commons and a new election ordered for March 11th.

Mitchell was again nominated to contest the vacant seat and, despite poor

health, addressed huge gatherings of his constituents in Tipperary town and Clonane. In the course of a lecture, delivered on his behalf by a friend due to his deteriorating health, at the Theatre Royal in Cork, Mitchell stated:

"The first and greatest good which I see in that election is, that it was a magnificent pronouncement in favour of the national right of Ireland, and against the usurpation of the British parliament. The people of Tipperary elected me as the most implacable enemy of British tyranny."

OVERWHELMING VICTORY

The result of the election announced on March 12th was an overwhelming victory for Mitchell. By 3,114 votes to 746 for his Conservative opponent, Stephen Moore, he was re-elected MP for Tipperary.

"Your county," he wrote in a letter of thanks to the electors of Tipperary, "has used her franchise in the best manner possible — that is, in making a desperate protest against the whole system of pretended parliamentary government in Ireland."

Once more Mitchell was disqualified by the British as an undischarged felon and the seat was awarded to his opponent. But by the time the verdict was announced Mitchell lay dead in his old home in Newry, County Down.

John Mitchell was elected MP for Tipperary on February 16th 1875, 115 years ago this week.



Gibraltar petition — urgent appeal

THE organisers of the Gibraltar Petition which called on the 26-County government to take a case to the European Court of Human Rights on the assassination of Daniel McCann, Mairéad Farrell and Seán Savage by the SAS, would like to remind all collectors of signatures who have, as yet, not returned their petition forms that the final date for forms to be returned is February 23rd.

The petition organisers will be submitting the petition to the Dublin government on March 6th, on the second anniversary of the

killing of the Gibraltar Three.

The petitions should be returned to: Miss Mary Savage, 14 Downline Gardens, Turf Lodge, Belfast BT11.

Comhbhrón

LEAHY. Heartfelt condolences are extended to Ted, Stephanie and the Leahy family circle on their recent loss. From Cork Comhairle Ceantair Sinn Féin.

LEAHY. Deepest sympathy is extended to Ted and Stephanie Leahy and family circle on this sad occasion. From Cork Sinn Féin.

LEAHY. Sincere sympathy is extended to Ted, Stephanie and the Leahy family circle on their recent bereavement. From the Countess Markievicz Sinn Féin Cumann, Cork.

LEAHY. Fianna Éireann, Cork, extend sincere condolences to Ted and the Leahy family on their recent loss.

CARTHY. Deepest sympathy is extended to the family, relatives and many friends of the late Kieran Carthy, Bundoran, who died on December 10th 1989. He will never be forgotten by the Patrick Carthy/Antoine Mac Giolla Bhrighde/Ciarán Fleming Sinn Féin Cumann, Bundoran.

CARTHY. The Republican Movement, Cork, extends deepest sympathy to Ted and the Leahy family circle on the recent death of his father.

Cuimhní Breithlae

DAVISON. Birthday memories of our beloved son Brendan Davison, who would have been 35 on St Valentine's Day. To us you were someone special. Day to us you were someone special. What more is there to say except to have all our hearts that you were here today. Remembered always by Mom and Dad, brothers and sisters.

DAVISON. Birthday memories of my brother Vol Brendan Davison, Belfast Brigade, Ogligh na hÉireann, who would have been 35 on St Valentine's Day. You were my loving brother, gentle, kind and true. No other friend in all the world can take the place of you. Remembered always by Terry, Katrina and baby Nadine.

DAVISON. Birthday memories of my brother Brendan Davison whose 35th birthday would have occurred on February 14th. Never more than a thought away. Loved and missed every day. Sadly missed by his loving brother Jim and Katrina.

DAVISON. In loving memory of Brendan 'Ruh' Davison whose birthday would have occurred on February 14th. I mease laochra na nGael go raib sé. From his nephew Jack, Corrie and kids.

DAVISON. In fond memory of Brendan 'Ruh' Davison whose birthday would have occurred on February 14th. Always remembered by Kieran Flynn and family.

DAVISON. In loving memory of Brendan 'Ruh' Davison whose birthday would have occurred on February 14th. Always remembered by Pat and Angie.

DAVISON. In fond memory of Vol Brendan 'Ruh' Davison, whose birthday would have occurred on February 14th. From Joe and Margaret.

DAVISON. In proud memory of Brendan 'Ruh' Davison, whose birthday would have occurred on February 14th. Always remembered by Zack and Bernie.

DAVISON. In loving memory of Brendan 'Ruh' Davison, whose birthday would have occurred on February 14th. Always remembered by Alec and Ann Marie.

Beannachtaí

ANDERSON, Martina (Durham). You'll always be my Valentine. I love you very much. From your loving husband Paul.

HARDY, Basil (H-Blocks). Happy birthday, son. May you have many more. Thinking of you always. Keep the chin up. I'm proud of you. Love from Mother xxx.

HARDY, Basil (H-Blocks). Happy birthday. Many happy returns. Love from Maire, Gary and Cailin. xxx.

HARDY, Basil (H-Blocks). Happy birthday. Many happy returns. O Gail, Dan, Gail Go agus Grainne.

HARDY, Basil (H-Blocks). Happy birthday. We'll have a pint for you. From Philip, Stephen and Denise.

HARDY, Basil (H-Blocks). Happy birthday brother. Another year wiser. Thinking of you now and always. From your loving kid sister Linda. xxx.

HARDY, Basil (H-Blocks). Happy birthday, comrade. Onwards and upwards we'll go! From your comrade and brother Len (Portlaine).

KAVANAGH, Paul (Full Sutton). Happy Valentine's Day, darling. From your loving wife Martina.

Apparel; 2nd prize: No 29, Lillian Kennedy (Shamrock Apparel); 3rd prize: No 13, Shay Brady.

Lower Falls Martyrs Flute Band; February 9th:
No 157 Green, No 931 Green. Tel: 234224.

WILL those bands who took part in the Bloody Sunday Commemoration in Derry this year please contact: Elton O'Reilly, Cable Street Sinn Féin Centre, Derry. Tel: 368926.

Draw Results

Dublin North-East Monthly Draw January
1st prize: No 39, Lucia Fay (Shamrock)

NOTICES DEADLINE

All notices must be in our Dublin or Belfast offices by 5pm Mondays for inclusion in that week's paper.

In Chuimhne

BAILEY, Sean (14th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Sean Bailey, 2nd Battalion, Belfast Brigade, Ogligh na hÉireann, who died as a result of an accidental explosion while on active service on February 13th 1976. I mease laochra na nGael go raib sé. Always remembered by his friends and comrades in the Belfast Brigade.

BAILEY, Sean (14th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Sean Bailey, 2nd Battalion, Belfast Brigade, Ogligh na hÉireann, who died on February 13th 1976, from injuries he received while on active service. "I would have liked to know you, but I was just a kid. The candle burned out long before the legend ever did." From Jason, County Dublin.

BEST, Paul (14th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Paul Best, Sinn Féin, who died on February 18th 1976 as a result of wounds received when he was shot in the back by Workers' Party gunmen. Paul was a tireless worker for the cause of a socialist republic. Always remembered by his friends and comrades in Belfast Sinn Féin.

BEST, Paul (14th Anniversary). In loving memory of Paul Best, Sinn Féin, who died on February 18th 1976 from gunshot wounds inflicted by Workers' Party gunmen. Mass offered. Always remembered by his friend Pol, Patricia and family.

DAVEY, John (1st Anniversary). The Republican Movement remembers with pride Sinn Féin Councillor John Davey, who died on February 14th 1989. "If they aren't able to destroy the desire for freedom, they won't break you. They won't break me because the desire for freedom and the freedom of the Irish people is in my heart. The day will dawn when all the people of Ireland will have the desire for freedom to show. It is then we'll see the rising of the moon." — Bobby Sands. I mease laochra na nGael go raib sé.

DAVEY, John (1st Anniversary). In loving memory of my dear husband John Davey, Sinn Féin Councillor, who was murdered on February 14th 1989. RIP Mary, Queen of Ireland, pray for him. You carried the cross for Ireland's freedom and you never faltered. Ireland unfree shall never be at peace. Your face and memory will never fade from us. Always remembered by his loving wife Mary, son Eugene, daughters Pauline and Maria, daughter-in-law Donna and sons-in-law Robert Kennedy and Kevin O'Neill.

DAVEY, John (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of John Davey, Sinn Féin Councillor, who was murdered on February 14th 1989. Ireland unfree shall never be at peace. Always remembered by his daughter Paula, son-in-law Robert and grandchildren Gloria and Sarah Kennedy.

DAVEY, John (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Sinn Féin Councillor John Davey, who was murdered on February 14th 1989. Always remembered by his daughter Maria, son-in-law Kevin and granddaughter Clara.

DAVEY, John (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of John Davey, Sinn Féin Councillor, who was murdered on February 14th 1989. Always remembered by his son Eugene, daughter-in-law Donna and grandson Shane.

DAVEY, John (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my dear brother John Davey, who was murdered on February 14th 1989. RIP. Mary, Queen of the Gael, pray for him. You are always in my thoughts and will never be forgotten. Sadly missed by his loving sister Mary.

DAVEY, John (1st Anniversary). In loving memory of my uncle John Davey, Sinn Féin Councillor, who was murdered on February 14th 1989. RIP. We speak your name with love and pride. We smile through the tears we try to hide. You left a place no one can fill. We miss you, Uncle John, and always will. Always remembered by his niece Siobhán, Colin and daughter Nicola.

DAVEY, John (1st Anniversary). In loving memory of my uncle John Davey, Sinn Féin Councillor, who was murdered on February 14th 1989. RIP. On his soul, sweet Jesus, have mercy. Our thoughts are always with you.

Your place no-one can fill. In life we loved you dearly. In death we love you still. Always remembered by his nephew Sean, Rosie and family.

DAVEY, John (1st Anniversary). In loving memory of my uncle John Davey, Sinn Féin Councillor, who was murdered on February 14th 1989. RIP. No longer in our lives to share but in our memories you are always there. Sadly missed by his niece Bernadette, Martin and family.

DAVEY, John (1st Anniversary). In loving memory of my uncle John Davey, Sinn Féin Councillor, who was murdered on February 14th 1989. RIP. A mass, a prayer are all we can give. This you shall have as long as we live. Always remembered by his nephew TA, Ann and family.

DAVEY, John (1st Anniversary). In loving memory of John Davey, Sinn Féin Councillor, who was murdered on February 14th 1989. Always remembered by the Hughes/Connolly family. Wee Sinn Féin Cumann, Bellaghy.

DAVEY, John (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of our friend John Davey, Sinn Féin Councillor, who was brutally murdered by pro-British DAVEY, John (1st Anniversary). "We struggled as no other nation has struggled; we have bled as no other nation has bled; we have endured agony compared with which the agonies of other nations have been as child's play." — Pádraic Mac Piarais. I nae ghluimhne go deo. Always remembered by Joe and Dominic (H3-Block, Long Kesh).

DAVEY, John (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of John Davey, Sinn Féin Councillor, who was killed on February 14th 1989. "There is an inner thing in every man, do you know this, is my friend? It has withstood the test of a million years and will do so 'til the end." — Bobby Sands. Always remembered and sadly missed by his friends in County Derry and South-West Antrim Comhairle Ceantair Sinn Féin.

DAVEY, John (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of John Davey, Sinn Féin Councillor, who was killed on February 14th 1989. You are that unbroken cropp, refusing to lie down, who paid no homage either to border, pound or crown. You walked the path for a Republic, bold and never got weary. There is no creed or black misdeed that could kill the 'Heart of South Derry'. Always remembered by his friends in the Fergal Cumann, Lavey.

DAVEY, John (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of John Davey, who was brutally slain on February 14th 1989. A true patriot, asleep in his grave, who to his people his life he gave. Always remembered by Margaret McKenna.

DAVEY, John (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of John Davey, Sinn Féin Councillor, who was killed on February 14th 1989. Always remembered by his comrades in the Seamus Steele Sinn Féin Cumann, Newbridge, South Derry.

DAVEY, John (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of John Davey, Sinn Féin Councillor, who was murdered on February 14th 1989. I mease laochra na nGael go raib sé. Always remembered by Sean and Bernadette.

DAVEY, John (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Councillor John Davey, who was killed on February 14th 1989. A man well thought of and sadly missed. Always remembered by the Hogan/Martin Memorial Comm.tee.

DAVEY, John (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of John Davey, who was murdered on February 14th 1989. Too good in life to be forgotten in death. Always remembered by the Hogan family, Dunloy.

DAVEY, John (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of John Davey, a gallant republican, who was murdered by pro-British elements on February 14th 1989. In death as in life you remain an inspiration to all those who believe in the cause of Irish freedom. Always remembered by the McPeake family, Brackagh, Maghera.

DAVEY, John (1st Anniversary). The Brendan Convery Flute Band, Bellaghy remembers with pride Councillor John Davey, who was killed

by pro-British elements on February 14th 1989. God bless you, John. In Ireland's arms you rest, flower of Irish manhood, the bravest and the best. Tíocfaidh ár lá.

DAVEY, John (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Councillor John Davey, who was killed by pro-British elements on February 14th 1989. A gallant, veteran republican, his courage is an inspiration to us all. Always remembered by Gerard Magee, Crumlin Road.

DAVEY, John (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Councillor John Davey, who was murdered by pro-British elements on February 14th 1989. There is nothing in their whole imperial arsenal that can break the spirit of one Irishman who does not want to be broken. Always remembered by Gerard and Frances McPeake, Maghera.

DOLAN, Bridie (15th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Bridie Dolan, Cumann na mBan, who dedicated her life to the cause of Irish freedom and died on February 9th 1975. Fuair sí bás ar son saoirse. Always remembered by her friends and comrades in the Republican Movement.

FINUCANE, Pat (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Pat Finucane, murdered in his home on February 12th 1989 by a death squad encouraged and abetted by British government officials and the RUC. How proud we were to have known you as a lawyer and a man. You touched and moved our lives as much as anyone could. We will never forget. From Betty Tomlinson, Rich Lawlor, Mike Graham, Janice LeConche, Darrell Graham, USA.

FINUCANE, Pat (1st Anniversary). In loving memory of Pat Finucane, who was murdered by pro-British agents on February 12th 1989. Mass offered. Always remembered by Pol, Patricia and family.

FINUCANE, Pat (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Pat Finucane, who was murdered by pro-British agents on February 12th 1989. Always remembered by the POWs in Portlaine Prison.

FINUCANE, Pat (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Pat Finucane, murdered by a pro-British death squad on February 12th 1989. The Connecticut Chapter of the US National Lawyers Guild salute our fallen comrade and colleague who gave his life in the fight for justice. Continued sympathy to Pat's family and friends and to the people he served.

MCGRIFFEN, James (14th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol James McGriffen, 2nd Battalion, Belfast Brigade, Ogligh na hÉireann, who was killed while on active service on February 14th 1975. Fuair sé bás ar son saoirse na hÉireann. Always remembered by his friends and comrades in the Belfast Brigade.

O'NEILL, James (14th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Fian James O'Neill, who lost his life at the age of 17 years on February 13th 1976. Fuair sé bás ar son saoirse na hÉireann. Always remembered by his friends and comrades in Fianna Éireann.

O'NEILL, James (14th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Fian James O'Neill, who died on February 12th 1976. Ireland and the nation lost a lot the night that you died and those of us who were lucky enough to have known you will never forget you. Sadly missed by the James O'Neill/Robert Allopp Flute Band, New Lodge Road.

STAGG, Frank (14th Anniversary). In loving memory of Vol Frank Stagg, Ogligh na hÉireann, who died on hunger-strike on February 12th 1976. Mass offered. Always remembered by Pol, Patricia and family.

THOMPSON, Eddie (7th Anniversary). In loving memory of my dear husband and our dear father Eddie Thompson, who died on February 15th 1983. Mass offered, Mary, Queen of the Gael, pray for him. Never from our hearts that loved you does your memory ever fade. For we who loved you sadly miss you as it dawns another year. Always remembered by his loving wife Bridie, son Eddie, sons Jim, Tony and Maurice and families, and sisters Anne, Brieghe and Marie and families.

AS the most famous political prisoner in the world walked free on Sunday, his steps marked out a new course for his country and for liberation movements everywhere. By freeing Nelson Mandela, the racist Pretoria government recognised an iron law of politics; that a people united in struggle cannot be defeated. That law operates in Latin America, in Asia and in Ireland today.

The tall, quietly-spoken man, who left Victor Verster Prison for a Cape Town rally, might have chosen to repay those who released him by toning down his politics. He might have promised immediate talks with the government or a ceasefire by the ANC's armed wing, despite the state of emergency under which police open fire at will.

Mandela's authority is so great at the moment that the ANC would probably feel bound to obey him if he took the

Amandla — Cumhacht

road of compromise. The world leaders who want to prop up South Africa would have hailed such a move as 'statesmanlike'. It would have strengthened FW de Klerk and given more time to the 'moderates' in his government.

Politicians like Margaret Thatcher felt so sure Mandela would take this course, she actually planned a press conference to launch her latest drive to reduce sanctions against South Africa. But Mandela disappointed them all.

CONDITIONS

He told a quarter of a million people in Cape Town that neither he nor the ANC could negotiate "over the heads of

behind the backs of our people". He said talks could only come about if the ANC's two conditions were met. The state of emergency must be ended and all the political prisoners must be freed.

He reminded his listeners: "The factors which necessitated the armed struggle still exist today. We have no option but to continue."

The hopes of de Klerk and Thatcher were dashed as Mandela warned:

"Our struggle has reached a decisive moment... We have waited so long for our freedom. We can no longer wait. Now is the time to intensify the struggle on all fronts. To relax our efforts now would be a mistake which generations



to come will not be able to forgive."

Sanctions against South Africa must be maintained.

IMMENSE COURAGE

The struggle which freed Nelson Mandela involved immense sacrifice and courage by a whole people as they rose up again and again in spite of the arms used against them. It involved anti-apartheid protesters — such as the Dunnes strikers — throughout the world. And it involved Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC's armed wing, which has repeatedly shaken the structure of apartheid.

The message of the freed ANC leader echoed in El Salvador, in Palestine and here in Ireland. It is not a message of freedom — yet. But it is a sign that in Johannesburg and Cape Town the liberation is fast approaching. When the apartheid state finally tumbles, its fall will shake colonial powers throughout the world, especially Britain. By walking free, Nelson Mandela brings our freedom that much closer.

1918: Born, July 18th, near Umtata.

1940: Expelled from university with Oliver Tambo for organising a strike.

1942: Opened first black legal firm in South Africa in partnership with Tambo.

1944: Founded ANC Youth League with Tambo and Albert Sisulu.

1949: Elected to ANC National Executive.

1952: Prosecuted under the Suppression of Communism Act. Received nine-month suspended sentence and was confined to Johannesburg.

1956-61: Tried with 155 others for treason. All were acquitted. Mandela went into hiding.

1961: Sought unity with the Pan Africanist Congress. Organised three-day national strike, Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC's armed wing began armed struggle.

1962: Left South Africa in secret to attend military training course in Algeria. Arrested one month after his return and sentenced to five years.

Mandela, Nelson *Freed*

1963: Rivonia trial: Mandela charged with sabotage as "accused Number One". Alongside him were eight ANC leaders.

1964: All nine leaders received life sentences. Mandela said he was prepared to die for a non-racial South Africa.

1964-1982: Imprisoned on Robben Island off Cape Town.

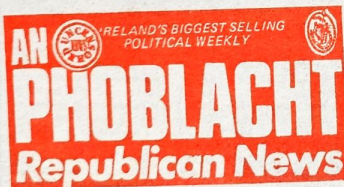
1982: Moved to Pollsmoor Prison near Cape Town.

1985: Rejected government offer of release in return for renouncing armed struggle.

1988: Mandela contracted tuberculosis and was moved to a Cape Town hospital. He was later transferred to a warder's bungalow in Victor Verster Prison.

1989: Mandela has talks with South African President PW Botha. He later met Botha's successor FW de Klerk.

1990: February 11th: Mandela walks free.



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